‘DEAD MEN DO TELL TALES’

‘Teasing out’ the contribution of the folk hero to heritage-based tourism

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A thesis submitted in total fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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September, 2011
'Dead Men Do Tell Tales'
'Teasing out' the contribution of the folk hero to heritage-based tourism

ABSTRACT

This study has been designed to explore the proposition that 'dead men do tell tales', and to construct a means of 'teasing out' the evidence from both the tales per se and from the inputs to and influences on those tales which impact on the translation of them into resources for (and of) heritage-based tourism.

The basic proposition is linked to a commentary from Pearce, Morrison and Moscardo (2003) that the tourism potential of folk icons and folk heroes is under-researched. Three basic questions are posed:

- what is the evidence that 'dead men do tell tales'?
- 'how can that evidence be 'teased out' ?
- given that evidence, what contribution could it make to 'touristed landscapes' and to heritage-based tourism?

In order to concentrate the focus of the investigation this study has taken an experimental route in the search for a means by which the distinctiveness (Urry, 1992, p.172) of what was being studied could be realized. This search was undertaken through a deliberately-imposed set of study filters – basing the study in the discipline of 'thinking geographically' and using the perspectives of semiotics (especially signs and symbols). Allied to this was a focus on the opportunities afforded by the adaptation of 'scape'-related investigative structures such as 'heritagescape', 'powerscape' and 'tourismscape'. These structures were used to provide the building blocks of a 'scape'-type framework using the advocacies of the Nobel Laureate Elinor Nostrom (2009 and others) to create an investigative and analytical framework capable of handling the complexities of the folk icon and folk hero phenomena.

The outcome has been the construction of a "well-theorized integrated framework ... [which exposes] the complexity, dynamism, scale and scope of doing a research study related to heritage and tourism" (Jamal and Kim, 2005, p.56).

Using the disciplinary perspective of geography, and the investigative tools from semiotics this study has exposed the nature of the phenomenon of the folk hero and the diversity of the components – (a) cultural, geographical, historical, political, social, and (b) 'physical and material reality' – which may be drawn upon in the commodification of the hero as a resource for the purposes of heritage-based tourism. A single, in-depth case study – of the Australian Bushranger Ned Kelly – has been used to provide evidence of the quarry of information which can be found through the 'teasing out' process.

The principal conclusions to be drawn are that although there may be a diversity of evidence embodied in tales about folk heroes and manifest in a number of tangible and visible forms, exposure of it, clarification of its distinctiveness, and its potential manipulation through commodification for the purposes of heritage-based tourism is dependent upon the efficiency of the 'teasing out' process and the consistency of interpretation through sustained disciplinary perspectives and tools.
Dead Men Do Tell Tales’
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STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

Except where reference is made in the text of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma.

No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgement in the main text of the thesis.

This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

Acknowledgements

The research recorded here began with tentative steps into the vast scope of what David Lowenthal has referred to as the 'spoils of history' – the resources of history and heritage; it became crystalized and took on the form of one of Lowenthal's crusades when it encountered the relative neglect of the circumstances of folklore and especially the folk hero as both a heritage resource and particularly a resource with potential for heritage-based tourism.

My patient supervisors – Sue Beeton and Gary Best – extended to me considerable latitude while I struggled to give a firm shape to my crusade, encouraging me to hasten slowly so that good opportunities would not be missed. This encouragement proved to be valuable in a number of ways I had not expected. For example, my anxiety about the slow pace of progress led me to Catherine Palmer (at the University of Brighton) who, with Catherine Branch (at the University of Exeter) challenged me to reshape my emerging interest in folk heroes so that my study could draw on the investigative perspectives and approaches embedded in my original ‘knowledge force field’ – geography. Just as the study was achieving a more specific direction, an encounter with Laurajane Smith (formerly at the University of York, and now at ANU, Canberra) improved my understanding about the uses of heritage, and what at the time seemed to be an almost casual observation from Sue Beeton about my entanglement of signs and symbols with heritage-based tourism provided the final impetus to this study, and led to the twinning of the geographical and the semiotic (the 'gaze') perspectives.

The conduct of fieldwork, both in Australia and overseas, was helped considerably by funding from a La Trobe University Postgraduate Research Scholarship (LTUPRS), and my previous alma mater – The University of Queensland – has been generous with its support of my library searches.

Various previous versions of this work have run the gauntlet of editorial observation and commentary from my two supervisors. What has emerged has benefitted from their input, but neither Sue nor Gary can be held responsible for what I finally decided to include (or leave out); this final version is mine.
Ethics Application

All of the procedures reported in this thesis were assessed as lying within the category of 'Negligible Risk' by the Chair of the Faculty Human Ethics Committee in accordance with Clause 5.1.22 of the National Health and Medical Research Council's National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research, and with Clause 5 of the La Trobe University Human Research Ethics Guidelines. [Reference: Ethics Application 51/11G; decision dated 05/08/2011].

Signed

Dated 1 September 2011
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

"All at once heritage is everywhere ... the chief focus of patriotism and a prime lure of tourism. One can barely move without bumping into a heritage site... To neglect heritage is a cardinal sin, to invoke it a national duty"

Lowenthal, 1996, p.ix

"... the roles of famous individuals (icons), who have become heroes or heroines in their fields, as the basis for developing and marketing tourism destinations ..... have been neglected in the tourism literature"

Pearce, Morrison and Moscardo, 2003, p 63

INTRODUCTION

This study has been designed to explore the proposition that "dead men do tell tales", and to construct a means of 'teasing out' the evidence from both the tales per se and from the inputs to and influences on those tales which impact on the translation of them into resources for (and of) heritage-based tourism.

1.1 Some background considerations

It is the observations from Lowenthal (1996) and Pearce, Morrison and Moscardo (2003) which are listed at the commencement of this Chapter that set the underlying, the general and the specific context and orientation of this study.

In the first of the cited observations, Lowenthal (1996) draws attention to the scope of heritage as a general treasure trove of resources for tourism, while in the second Pearce, Morrison and Moscardo (2003) have highlighted what they consider to be an often 'overlooked' (p.83) niche of resources which has both an actual and a potential (p.64) contribution to make to the development and marketing of tourism attractions and destinations. It is to the second of these observations that attention is directed in this study, firstly in a discussion which is progressively refined from general matters of heritage, through folklore to a sharpened focus on the circumstances of the folk hero, and secondly through a case study which uses selected aspects of an episode of Australian history and particularly of the bushranger and folk hero Ned Kelly to expose the contribution that stories about folk heroes could make to heritage-based tourism.

One of the outcomes of the engagement with the proposition that 'dead men do tell tales' and the implication it has for heritage-based tourism is the need for some means of exposing and unraveling the nature and scope of the contribution which folklore-based stories can make to the treasure trove of resources for heritage-based tourism. That challenge has been expressed generally by Jamal and Kim (2005) with their argument for
"a well-theorized ‘integrated framework’ showing the complexity, dynamism, scale and scope of doing a research study related to heritage and tourism”
(2005, p.56)

and by Knudsen, Metro-Roland, Soper and Greer (2008) with their advocacy of a means

“to better tease out ... the ways in which tourist sites are artfully constructed” (2008, p.1)

Responding to these challenges has drawn this study into an experimental methodological strand. As will be explained later (especially in Chapters 5 and 6) research in both tourism studies and in heritage studies has a tendency to subscribe to a ‘comfort zone’ of both subjects and methods (see, for example, the observations of Franklin and Crang, 2001; Sorensen and Carman, 2009). For the case being explored here, the regularly-used conventional theoretical approaches and methods were found to be unsuited to the particular demands of the task being faced, especially given the previously-cited challenges of Jamal and Kim and of Knudsen and his colleagues. This situation nudged this study towards experimentation, drawing on the opportunities which can be found in the domain of ‘themoscape’ research (see later, and Chapter 3), and encouraged by recent advocacies in heritage studies from Andrews (2009) and Palmer (2009), and in tourism studies from Chambers (2007), Jennings (2009) and Tribe (2005, 2007) for the pursuit of innovative strategies and innovative frameworks.

To summarize, this study has been engaged in two experiments; one of these has been to expose and explore the potential of the folk hero as a tourism resource, and the second and its companion has been to construct a suitably-theorized method by which that potential can be investigated.

In pursuing these two matters, this study has leant heavily on a number of social science-based and largely qualitative investigative and interpretive strategies, such as following a heuristic process, ‘thinking geographically’, and using a semiotics-based perspective (in this study, ‘the gaze’). The construction of the analytical framework (Chapters 5 and 6) has emphasized the search for and exposure of ‘distinctiveness’ – of (a) the hero and his story, and (b) the potential for enriching that story by extending the range of issues beyond the hero himself to include places, ‘things’, events, forms of presenting and re-presenting the story and even other people associated with the story. The background studies and the empirical test case (Chapter 7) have been based on both desk-based and fieldwork-based investigations.

For the remainder of this introductory chapter consideration is given to the proposition that ‘dead men do tell tales’ (in 1.2), to a synoptic explanation of the research strategy and design (1.3 – for the more detailed treatment see Chapter 2), to a statement about the significance of this study (1.4), and to the principal research proposition and questions (1.5); and the chapter concludes with a brief explanation of the organization of the thesis (1.6).

1.2 ‘Dead Men Do Tell Tales’

The proposition ‘Dead Men Do Tell Tales’ has been used variously, for example, to expose the focus of reports about archaeological expeditions in Abyssinia, for case studies in forensic anthropology, to headline an episode in the TV series The Dead Zone, as the underlying focus for a website on mystery, as the foundation volume to a series of books about crime and mystery in the USA, and as a backgrounding rationale for maritime folktales. It has particular relevance for this study because it provokes at least two questions:

- what is the evidence?
• and, how can that evidence be gathered?

These questions are at the heart of many issues in heritage and folklore, and, especially in the commodification of the resources for purposes such as tourism; the issues include curiosity, and challenges about the veracity, plausibility, and accuracy of the evidence, which, in turn, raises the spectres of skepticism, contention and dissonance. Dead men's tales are confronted with persistent questions about embedded degrees of fact and verifiable information, the influence of the romantic embellishments of them in myths, legends and folktales, and the different interpretations recorded in 'official' and less-'official' reports. Many of these issues are endemic to folklore-based stories, and they have a particular resonance in the case of the empirical investigation of the Ned Kelly presented and analyzed in Chapter 7.

The 'dead man' in this study is the Australian Bushranger Ned Kelly, considered by some as a folk hero and by others as an outlaw and criminal (see, for example, Seal, 1996; Tranter and Donoghue, 2006). He is a central character in various story forms generated during and after his lifetime, and in the accounts of the history of the State of Victoria. As will be explained in Chapter 7, some of his activities during his short lifetime (1854-1880) contributed significantly to the unfolding story of colonial Australia in the nineteenth century, and a small number of his actions have become firmly embedded in Australian history and folklore. Even if some of the tales about him are apocryphal and embellishments, there is a basis of evidence to support much of his story so that he may even be claimed to be archetypical of the circumstances of the dead man (the folk hero) illuminating a period of folkloric history and heritage. As Hughes-Hallett (2004) has commented, "once dead, a hero becomes an infinitely malleable symbol" (p.12), and this sets up the opportunities for dead men to tell all manner of tales from their posthumous position, both complementing and challenging the stories of history; eventually, these tales, whether fact or fiction, filter into heritage-based tourism.

1.3 Influences on the research strategy and design.

Chapter 2 explains more completely the inputs to and the configuration of the research strategy and design for this study; in summary, the shape, content and design of this investigation have been fashioned by a response to a number of contextual and operational influences.

Underpinning the overall approach to this study has been a response to the suite of guiding principles for investigations of tourism studies referred to as the 'knowledge force field' by Tribe and Airey (2007, pp. 7-10). Lowenthal's influence – with his observations about 'the heritage crusade and the spoils of history' and the 'explosion of public interest' in history and heritage – has been particularly pervasive. Other persuasive sources have included, for example, Prentice's specific reference to tourism with his comment about the "power of heritage imagery" (2003, p.171), and Tunbridge and Ashworth's (1996) commentaries about dissonant and contesting interpretations of historic events, happenings, people, materials and the 'evidence' of history embedded in, for example, myths, legends and folktales. In the special case of the folk hero, particularly persuasive has been the advocacy of some heritage commentators (such as Hughes-Hallett, 2004; Seal, 2001) to refocus attention away from the historic person per se (whether or not a folk hero) and towards their actions, the contexts in which they took place, and the outcomes and consequences. This has been a significant influence on the construction of the framework through Chapters 5 and 6. Of special influence on the construction of that framework have been the conceptualizations of 'themescapes' (Rodaway,1994), and some of the 'scape'-linked analytical frameworks which are explained in Chapter 4 – see, for example, Garden (2004 – 'heritagescape'), Jacobs (2006 – 'powerscape') and van der Duim (2005 – 'tourismscape').
1.4 The significance of this study.

The quotations at the head of this Chapter and the brief commentaries in the introductory paragraphs are indicative of what is being attempted here. In summary, this study engages with two experimental tasks:

- one of these is to expose and explore the potential of the folk hero as a tourism resource;
- the second, and its companion, is the construction of a suitably-theorized method to facilitate both the exposure and the exploration.

Throughout the study there is an emphasis on 'distinctiveness'; and this is evident in three matters – the focus on the folk hero, the construction of the investigative framework and the adoption of twinned geographical and semiotic approaches.

Firstly, there is engagement with the challenge of Pearce, Morrison and Moscardo (2003) about the relative lack of published research which examines the potential for tourism development of stories about folk heroes. In this study the folk hero (icon) is isolated from the main prospectus of heritage resources, and this provides both a general opportunity to consider evidence about the circumstances and exploits of folk heroes, and a specific opportunity through the particular evidence from a selected case study to examine the potential treasure trove of resources for heritage-based tourism which lie within the proposition that 'dead men do tell tales'.

Secondly, and perhaps related to the first matter, this study has sought to address some of the principal criticisms which are leveled at heritage-based tourism research. For example, Sorensen and Carman (2009) and others have suggested that some of that research occupies what they refer to as a fuzzy 'comfort zone', which exhibits a consistency of topics and subjects, a replication of investigative methods, and few new insights into the substance of heritage-based tourism resources. Whilst some of the criticism targets the sameness in the choice of subject (heritage resource) – and therefore raises concern about the epistemological contribution – some is focused squarely on the methods used in the investigation. Sorensen and Carman argue, for example, that in the case of heritage studies "there has been little dialogue about how heritage as a phenomenon can be investigated, and little effort has been given to clarify ... and thus shape our understanding" (2009, p.4); Palmer's (2009) contribution is that "too often studies of tourism employ methodologies that lack the subtlety and reach needed to scratch beneath the surface" (p.135). In responding to comments such as these, this study has been shaped by the encouragement found in (a) Andrews' suggestion that researchers in heritage studies should be free "to employ novel lines of enquiry towards our aim of a more complex and satisfying understanding of heritage" (2009, p.140), and (b) in the advocacies of Chambers (2007), Jennings (2009) and Tribe (2005, and 2007) about research in tourism studies being open to experimentation, and to the creation of 'novel' and innovative investigative and analytical frameworks and strategies.

After finding from both desk-based and pilot fieldwork-based investigations that no previously-existing investigative method was capable independently of exposing the intricacies of the stories of folk heroes – in part because they are located across a range of social science and humanities domains – this study adopted and adapted an approach used in various organizational contexts by the Economic Sciences Nobel Laureate Elinor Ostrom; in this study her advocacy that a framework is a useful and convenient device for "providing a common set of potentially relevant variables and their subcomponents to use in the design of data collection instruments, the conduct of fieldwork, and the analysis of findings" (2009, p.420) was used to shape the investigative framework composed for this study to meet the challenges of Jamal and Kim (2005) and Knudsen and his colleagues (2008) for a well-theorized investigative
tool with which to 'tease out' the intricacies of the proposition that 'dead men do tell tales'.

Thirdly, and certainly related to the second matter, the viewpoints for the investigation have been drawn from geography and semiotics. This provides this study with two linkable perspectives, one spatial and locational – 'thinking geographically' (Hubbard, et al, 2002) – and the other visual – 'the gaze' (Urry, 2002) – with which to expose and explore the evidence that 'dead men do tell tales'. By linking these two perspectives, the examination of the proposition that 'dead men do tell tales' is extended beyond the focal point of the folk hero per se to engage with, for example, the enrichment of the story with such associated and contextual matters as places, buildings, regions, artefacts, documents, events and happenings, various forms taken by the presentation of that story, and other people important to the story.

One final point needs to be made about the focus on 'distinctiveness'. John Urry (1992) has claimed that "it is the distinctiveness of the visual that gives to all sorts of activities a special or unique character" (p.172 – emphasis added), and, with particular reference to tourism, "there has to be something distinctive to be gazed upon, that the signs collected by tourists have to be visually extraordinary" (p.173 – emphasis added). It is through the revelation of the distinctiveness of any folk hero and the associations of his story that his attractiveness and potential for the purposes of tourism becomes heightened, and his contribution to the treasure trove of resources for heritage-based tourism is realized.

This study has sought to expose and explore the distinctiveness of the folk hero as a resource for heritage-based tourism.

1.5 The Principal Research Questions

It has been made clear throughout the introductory paragraphs of this Chapter, that this study is configured to engage with the proposition that

'Dead Men do Tell Tales'.

To examine this proposition three research questions can be posed:

1. **What is the evidence** (that 'dead men do tell tales')?

2. **How can that evidence be 'teased out'?**

   and,

3. **Given this evidence, what contribution could the stories about folk heroes make to 'touristed landscapes' and to heritage-based tourism?**

1.6 The Organization of the Thesis.

This study is presented in three Parts, sequenced through eight chapters. (See Figure 1.1)

- Chapters 1 and 2 are introductory, with the first setting out the nature, scope and context of the study, the approach taken, and the principal research questions. The second chapter explains the strategy and methods used to address the basic proposition about dead men and the telling of stories.

- **PART A: RESEARCH DESIGN, BACKGROUND ISSUES, and LITERATURE REVIEW.**
This Part is composed of two chapters. In the first of these – Chapter 3 – there is an overview of the important backgrounding issues of the nature and scope of heritage, folklore, folk 'stories' and folk heroes; it is this body of information which sets the background for the case study which occurs in a later chapter. The second of these chapters (4) focuses on aspects of the Knudsen et al (2008) challenge for a method with which to 'tease out' the intricacies of 'artfully constructed' tourist sites; consideration is given to the opportunities to adapt 'themescape'-derived and 'scape'-linked analytical structures for the special purpose of the folk hero.

• PART B: CONSTRUCTION of the ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK.

The two chapters in this Part are focused on explaining the construction of a 'well-theorized integrated framework' (Jamal and Kim) in the form of 'a scientific mode of ordering' (van der Duim). In Chapter 5, with the first of three phases, the underlying inputs to and influences on the construction of the analytical framework are considered; this phase contributes especially to the theoretical background for the framework. Chapter 6 presents the second and third phases of the framework construction process, progressively refining the inputs and influences through synthesis so that they contribute to an operational 'scientific mode of ordering' fine-tuned for the needs of the study of the folk hero.

• PART C: EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE, ANALYSIS and INTERPRETATION

The only one chapter in this Part (Chapter 7) is composed of three sections. In the first of these there is a brief description of the treasure trove of folklore and folk heroes in Australia, and in second there is a synopsis of the Ned Kelly story. The final section focuses on the empirical evidence of the Ned Kelly story, and matches it with the final phase of the analytical framework developed in Chapter 6.

• Chapter 8: This final chapter – Interpretation; Outcomes; Conclusions – is designed (a) to present an interpretive commentary on the degree to which the challenges of the Research Questions have been met – what is the evidence ?, and how can it be 'teased out' ? – and the implication this has for assessing the contribution of the stories about 'dead men' to heritage-based tourism; (b) to comment on the circumstances (opportunities, difficulties) which are faced by studies of this kind, and especially those which address the potential of the folk hero as a subject for heritage-based tourism; (c) to make observations about the use of the two selected perspectives ('thinking geographically' and 'the gaze') for studies of this kind; and (d) to speculate on future directions which may be taken by further research, including other uses for the analytical framework and using the folk hero as an entry point to extend the penetration of folkloric studies into heritage-based tourism.
1: Introduction

- Underlying purpose: to explore the proposition that 'dead men do tell tales', and the implications this might have for heritage-based tourism.
- Research Questions:
  - What is the evidence (that 'dead men do tell tales')?
  - How can that evidence be 'teased out'?
  - What contribution could the stories about folk heroes make to 'touristed landscapes' and to heritage-based tourism?

2: Research Strategy and Design

PART A: BACKGROUND ISSUES, and LITERATURE REVIEW

3: Heritage, Folklore, Folk 'stories' and Folk heroes

4: 'Touristed landscapes' and 'Themescapes'

PART B: CONSTRUCTION of the ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

5: Analytical Framework 1: Components and Phase 1

6: Analytical Framework 2:
   - Phase 2: Synthesis
   - Phase 3: 'Dead men do tell tales'

7: Empirical Evidence; Analysis and Interpretation

   - Context: the Australian Case
   - Case Study: the Ned Kelly Story
   - Analysis and Interpretation

8: Interpretation; Outcomes; Conclusions

- Commentaries on (a) the responses to the Research Questions, (b) what is faced by studies of this kind.
- Speculation about (a) further directions of research on this topic, (b) using this approach and the twin perspectives, and some alternatives, (c) using the folk hero as an access point for folkloric studies to penetrate further into heritage-based tourism.

Figure 1.1
ORGANIZATION of the THESIS
'Dead men do tell tales'
'Teasing out' the contribution of the folk hero to heritage-based tourism

CHAPTER 2:
RESEARCH STRATEGY and DESIGN

• "...each research process unfolds in its own way ... As long as the method is congruent with responsible ethical concerns, any course that a researcher's ingenuity is capable of suggesting is an appropriate method for scientific investigation ...The heuristic researcher constructs methods that will explicate meanings and patterns of experience relevant to the question"

Moustakas, 1990, pp. 43, 44

• "in order to develop a means of analysis that will allow a better understanding of these unique social spaces, the methodology must be replicable and transparent, but it must also be able to capture a sense of heritage sites as both tangible and intangible spaces and also as places 'of the past'"

Garden, 2009, p.270

INTRODUCTION

This Chapter addresses briefly the five phases of this investigation (see Figures 2.1 and 2.2), and it is separated into three inter-linked parts:

• in the first part there is a summary statement about the special focus and purpose of this investigation (Section 2.1);
• in the second part important influences on the background to and positioning of this study are considered, including where this investigation fits into the scope of studies in tourism generally and heritage-based tourism in particular (Sections 2.2 and 2.3);
• in the third part, there are five sections which reveal the basic approach taken to this study and the investigative methods used, and a concluding section which justifies the adoption of the case study approach (Sections 2.4 to 2.9)

In concluding this Chapter there is an interpretation and assessment of the outcomes of the investigative process

As with most chapters in this thesis, there is some back-referencing to the previous chapter(s) and forward-referencing to later chapters, especially where the narrative is
not strictly sequential; in every case, however, the back or forward reference will be to the relevant numbered section of the particular chapter. The design of this chapter has been influenced by the implications of the two quotations from Moustakas (1990) and Garden (2009) which lead into these introductory comments; the 'message' from them both is that the design should be congruent with scientific methods of research, relevant and appropriate for the purpose of explicating meanings and patterns, replicable and transparent, and capable of leading to an improved level of understanding – all of which are in some way encapsulated by Jamal and Kim (2005) in what has been adopted for this study as the basic overarching research challenge ‘to better understand ‘heritage’ and ‘heritage tourism’.
Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

Chapter 2: RESEARCH STRATEGY and DESIGN

PART 1: PURPOSE of the INVESTIGATION

PART 2: BACKGROUNDING and POSITIONING of the STUDY

PART 3: INVESTIGATIVE APPROACH

OUTCOME and CONCLUSION

PART A: BACKGROUND ISSUES and LITERATURE REVIEW

Figure 2.1
STRUCTURE OF CHAPTER 2
APPROACH to the RESEARCH

Overarching research challenges:

- "to better understand 'heritage' and 'heritage-tourism' ... [and to achieve this to develop] a well-theorized integrated framework showing the complexity, dynamism, scale and scope of doing a research study related to heritage and tourism" (Jamal and Kim, 2005, p.56);
- with that 'integrated framework' "to better tease out ... the ways in which tourist sites are artfully constructed" (Knudsen et al, 2008, p.1);
- and to consider "the actual and potential role of famous individuals in the development and marketing of tourism destinations" (Pearce et al, 2003, p.64)

Specially-focused subject and derived proposition:
- that 'dead men do tell tales'

Research Questions:
- What is the evidence [that' dead men do tell tales' ?
- How can that evidence be 'teased out' ?
- Given this evidence, what could the stories about folk heroes make to 'touristed landscapes' and to heritage-based tourism ?

Background:
- Research in tourism studies
- Research in heritage-based tourism studies

Background issues:
- Heritage
- Folklore
- Folk 'stories'
- Folk heroes
- 'Touristed landscapes'
- 'Themescapes'

Selected investigative Approach:
- Social science perspectives
- forensic social science
- 'Thinking geographically'
- Tourism geography
- Semiotic approach - 'the gaze'
- Heuristic inquiry
- Methods of inquiry - desk-based; fieldwork-based (unobtrusive observation)
- Case study

- Construction of 'test case' analytical framework to 'tease out' the evidence
- Empirical case - the 'teased out' evidence

Assessment of the proposition
Responses to the three Research Questions
PART 1: PURPOSE OF THE INVESTIGATION

In the introductory chapter (1) reference is made to the engagement of this study with both general and particularly-focused issues. An explanation is offered here of what the general and particular issues are, and how they are addressed in this study; this leads to the statement of the over-arching proposition and the three research questions.

2.1 Purpose of the Investigation

The general issue is derived largely from the observations made by Jamal and Kim (2005) about the need for researchers “to better understand ‘heritage’ and ‘heritage tourism’”, and for the development of “a well-theorized ‘integrated framework’ showing the complexity, dynamism, scale and scope of doing a research study related to heritage and tourism” (p.56). In addressing the first of these observations, the investigation reported here engages with an explication of some of the important components of heritage (including folklore, folk ‘stories’ and folk heroes) and some equally-important aspects of heritage-based tourism (such as the nature and arrangement of ‘touristed landscapes’, and the specialization of them through ‘theming’); this is the focus of Chapters 3 and 4. Jamal and Kim’s overarching observation about the need for ‘a well-theorized integrated framework’ is addressed through two phases in Chapters 5 and 6 where there is the progressive construction of an experimental framework. Although the constructed framework is finely-tuned to focus on the matter of the folk hero, it demonstrates the ‘complexity, dynamism, scale and scope’ of engaging with research tasks at the interface of heritage and tourism.

Some of the recent commentaries about research in matters linked to the nature and use of heritage resources, including use for the purposes of tourism, have focused attention on the repetitive nature and scope of the studies (see, for example, Sorensen and Carman, 2009), while others have drawn attention to some neglected issues and subjects. An example of neglect has been the relatively scarce attention to the special case of the folk icon embodied as a folk hero (see, for example, Pearce, Morrison and Moscardo, 2003). It is this often-neglected subject of the folk hero which is addressed as the special focus in this study, and the investigation has been shaped to examine the possible contribution the folk hero could make as a resource for heritage-based tourism.

Set in these backgrounding circumstances the research task has become shaped by the proposition that ‘dead men do tell tales’ – for ‘dead men’ read ‘folk heroes’; so that, by interpretation:

• the purpose of this study is to examine the implications of this proposition, and to investigate the contribution the ‘stories’ about the folk heroes might have for heritage-based tourism;

and

• the research questions are:
  1. What is the evidence (that ‘dead men do tell tales’) ?
  2. How can that evidence be ‘teased out’ ?
  3. Given this evidence, what contribution could the stories about folk heroes make to ‘touristed landscapes’ and to heritage-based tourism ?
PART 2: BACKGROUNDING and POSITIONING OF THIS STUDY.

In this Section there is an explanation of the positioning of this study in heritage-based tourism. Two general positioning issues are considered briefly – research in tourism studies and in heritage studies – before attention is given to six substantive backgounding issues – heritage, folklore, folk ‘stories’, folk heroes, ‘touristed landscapes’ and ‘themescapes’. It is from within the combination of these various issues that the more specific topic about folk heroes (in response to the proposition from Pearce, Morrison and Moscardo, 2003) is developed for consideration in this research (see Figure 2.3).

2.2 Research in tourism studies, and in heritage studies

Recent commentaries about the nature and scope of research across the spectrum of heritage-based tourism have referred to a degree of sameness about the topics being addressed and the methods being used in the investigations (see, for example, Aremberri, 2010; Sorensen and Carman, 2009), due, in part, to the concentration of effort into a conspicuously narrow band of topics which focus on (a) exotic locations and ‘things’ (especially from non-European and European linked cultures), or (b) locations and ‘things’ which are exceptional with little scope for transference of the experience to other contexts, or (c) the adoption of a limited range of investigative methods which, despite their almost impeccable pedigree, tend to be used repetitively and without challenge. Those criticisms from and about heritage research have companions in the domain of tourism research (sometimes with cross-referencing to heritage-based tourism research); examples of these include Beeton (2005), Echtner and Jamal (1997), Franklin and Crang (2001), Garden (2006), Green (2002), Jennings (2009), and Tribe (1997). The basic ‘message’ from commentaries such as these is to avoid standardized explanations, accepted analyses, previous foundational ideas and common subjects, and to seize opportunities to escape from a common ‘research comfort zone’ and to engage with ‘new and novel ways’ of investigating the mysteries of tourism. For reasons which will be stated often in the early chapters of this thesis, this work may be considered as being experimental in terms of both subject and method.

Research in tourism studies

There is a considerable stock of what might be referred to as ‘background noise’ about how to conduct (or how not to conduct) research in tourism studies, with ongoing speculations about the scope and methodological appropriateness of the research effort, with some interpretations being that the situation continues to be in a state of turbulence, contention, continuous change or evolution (see, for example, Botterill, 2001; Coles, Hall and Duval, 2006; Dann, Nash and Pearce, 1988; Dann and Phillips, 2000; Davies, 2003; Echtner and Jamal, 1997; Franklin and Crang, 2001; Harrison, 2007; Jennings, 2009; Mehmetoglu, 2004; Riley and Love, 2000; Tribe, 1997; Tribe and Airey, 2007; Walle, 1997). Despite these criticisms there is no shortage of guidance for the conduct of scientifically-credible tourism research in, for example, manuals or handbooks (Jennings, 2001, 2009; Ritchie, Burns and Palmer, 2005; Smith, 2010; Veal, 2006), basic texts used in social science research, and particularly those which focus on qualitative methods of inquiry (Berg, 2001; Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, and later editions; Flick, 2007; Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006 and 2008), and in carefully (and deliberately) selected collections of research papers which purport to present examples of ‘good practice’ in the application of methods of scientific enquiry to tourism matters (Pearce and Butler, 1993, 2010; Fredline, Jago and Cooper, 2003; Matias, Nijkamp and Neto, 2007; Tribe and Airey. 2007). Some of these matters have been considered recently in many of the contributions to The Sage Handbook of Tourism Studies (Jamal and Robinson, 2009).
General influences on Research in Tourism Studies and Heritage Studies

- Paradigms of scientific inquiry
- Practice – current state-of-the-art/science
- Ideo-philosophical considerations and movements
- Disciplinary preference, choice
- Context (of the study)
- Subject (of the study)
- Contemporary approaches, perspectives, methods
- Challenges 'to be different', novel, experimental

Research in this study influenced by

Substantive issues

Backgrounding issues:
- Heritage
- Folklore
- Folk 'stories'
- Folk Hero
- 'Touristed Landscapes'
- 'Themescapes'

Perspective, approach, methods:
- From across the spectrum of social science disciplines –
  “Conversations between disciplines” (Massey, 1999) so as to engage with methods appropriate to the needs, and to allow patterns of discovery to emerge (Green, 2002);
- Forensic social science
- ‘thinking geographically’ (Hubbard, 2002); ‘tourism geography’;
- Semiotics – 'the gaze'
- Heuristic inquiry
- Case study

Positioning: by subject
- 'Dead men do tell tales'
- Folk hero – to better understand the contribution of folk heroes to heritage-based tourism (Pearce, Morrison and Moscardo, 2003; Jamal and Kim, 2005)

Positioning: by methodological task
- To create an investigative tool with which to 'tease out' the inputs to and influences on that contribution (Knudsen et al, 2008)

Figure 2.3
BACKGROUNDING and POSITIONING THIS STUDY
Research in heritage studies, with linkages to heritage-based tourism

The recently-edited compilation of commentaries about methods and approaches to research in heritage studies by Sorensen and Carman (2009), and Aramberri's (2010) description of the 'scissors crisis' in the research spectrum (between the 'how to' focus of the business studies, and the more reflective 'what and why' orientation of the social science based studies), have drawn attention to the differential growth of heritage-linked research for the purposes of, not only knowledge accumulation, but also of investigations of heritage as a means of generating economic activity (including employment, income, infrastructure development, investment), of pursuing a political agenda (including conservation), and of generating community identity and activity (see commentaries from, for example, Cooper, 2003; Przeclawski, 1993; and Tribe, 1997).

Another perspective on the study of heritage-based tourism by Jamal and Kim (2005) has identified three approaches. One of these "brings pasts, peoples, places and cultures into performative contestation and dialogue" (p.78), focusing on landscapes, institutional and structural forms of influence and control (see, for example, Ashworth and Larkham, 1994; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998a; Schouten, 1995; and especially the general proposition of Lowenthal (1996) on the 'heritage crusade and the spoils of history'). Another is focused on commodification in which the 'spoils of history' are transformed into tourism attractions (see, for example, the inputs to and processes of 'tourismification', described by Jansen-Verbeke, 1998; see also Orbasli, 2000). The third is the transformative experience of 'consuming nostalgia (for a vanished past) and buying ideas that are embedded ideologically in heritage and cultural sites ... recreat[ing] an original myth, keep[ing] history alive, attach[ing] tourists to a mythical collective consciousness, and commodify[ing] the past ' (in Jamal and Kim, p. 67, drawn from Bruner, 1994, p.411).

This study

Although this study has been positioned so as to nestle comfortably within both tourism studies and heritage studies it needed a disciplinary framework to prevent it from drifting off into the 'comfort zone' mentioned in a previous paragraph, even though its design was set within the canons of the standard approaches to scientific investigation and the conventional tests of scientific credibility (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008), the advocacies of Moustakas and Garden in the quotations which head this Chapter, and the operating structure of what Tribe and Airey have described as a 'knowledge force field' (2007, pp. 7-10). The disciplinary predilections of this researcher underpin the push of this study towards a safe haven in the social sciences with its corpus of qualitative research methods. In particular, this study progressively engaged with the perspective of 'thinking geographically' (Hubbard, et al, 2002); and, so as to be able to 'explicate meanings and patterns ... relevant to the question' (Moustakas) and 'capture the sense of heritage sites as both tangible and intangible spaces' (Garden), the study adopted an investigative approach capable of 'teasing out' signs, symbols, and signals from 'texts' of many different kinds – in other words, this study adopted a semiotics-based approach (Echtner, 1999), and, despite the adverse criticisms from some commentators, adopted especially the investigative opportunities which are associated with 'the gaze' (Urry, 1990 and 2002).

The basic intellectual challenges of 'what (precisely) to do' and 'how (precisely) to do it' were resolved more by the influences of serendipity and long-standing personal interest and inclination than by responding to the advocacies and admonitions of the tourism research cognoscente. In responding to the Moustakas assertion that "each research process unfolds in its own way" (1990, p.43) this study has engaged with his challenge that "any course that a researcher's ingenuity is capable of suggesting is an appropriate method for scientific investigation" (1990, p.43) by being experimental, by devising new
or different ways of examining tourism phenomena, and by trespassing into previously almost virgin territory of tourism phenomena.

As the preliminary phases of the study unfolded it became clear that two matters were being considered in this one investigation:

- firstly, there was a progressive tightening of the focus of the study from the broad scope of heritage, through the sub-sets of folklore and folkloric resources, to the various story-telling modes (both fact and fiction), leading eventually to a core study area of the folk hero; the culmination of this refining process has been the formulation of the proposition that ‘dead men do tell tales’ (see Pearce, Morrison and Moscardo, 2003);
- secondly, with the growing realization that this was to becoming a (resource) supply-driven study, it became clear that the regularly used interpretational investigation methods which enquired about the purposes of visits to heritage sites, experiences being sought and satisfaction levels achieved which are common to demand-side studies would not be appropriate for this study; in order to meet the challenge of Knudsen and his colleagues (2008) for a ‘teasing out’ process it became apparent that it would be necessary to formulate a ‘new and novel’ way of investigating the inputs to and the influences on the construction of touristed sites if the general proposition that tales about folk heroes could make a contribution to heritage-based tourism was to be demonstrated.

The intricacies of the construction of the ‘teasing out’ process are explained in Chapters 5 and 6; here, there is a brief explanation of the refinements to the basic and largely substantive issues on which this study draws (see Chapter 3 for a more extended explanation).

2.3 The scope of the underpinning issues.

The underpinning issues considered here can be separated into two groups; the first of these groups embraces almost any expression of ‘heritage’ and includes, for example, heritage, folklore, folk ‘stories’ and folk heroes. In the second group there are just two issues which are considered for the purposes of this investigation – ‘touristed landscapes’, and ‘themescapes’. Whereas the first group refers essentially to the raw materials and resources which, through a process of commodification, become transformed into tourism resources, the second group is composed of the end-product of that process in the forms of tourist sites, tourist landscapes, tourist destinations, tourist regions and their expression of particular (or even general) heritage themes as ‘themescapes’. These two groups of issues are examined through Chapters 3 and 4.

Heritage and heritage-linked resources

As will be explained throughout Chapter 3 there are difficulties in defining and clarifying many of the terms used in heritage-linked studies, and in refining the scope of heritage-linked resources. For the purposes of this study there has been a gradual refinement of considerations from the broadest scale – heritage – to increasingly specific ‘layers’ of resources at the levels of folklore, then folk ‘stories’ and then folk heroes, and although this might not provide absolute clarity it at least sets a progressive narrowing of the focus from the broadest to a more specific heritage-linked resource, culminating in the case study of a folk hero from Australian history.

Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000) have usefully differentiated between ‘the past’, history, and heritage, with an outcome that ‘heritage’ is a mediated product designed to communicate selected facts and fantasies (2000, pp. 1-7). Johnson and Thomas have a broad interpretation of the nature and scope of heritage as being “virtually anything by which some kind of link, however tenuous or false, may be forged
with the past” — buildings, ceremonies, customs, literature and art forms, places and things’ (1995, p.170); Sections 3.1 to 3.4 address these issues. Some sources do not separately recognize the contribution made by folkloric resources to heritage and to the creation of artistic, economic, political and social development, but Lowenthal (1996) in his consideration of ‘the heritage crusade and the spoils of history’ gives a significant role to those resources in his ‘checklist of essential icons of identity’. Some of the significance of the folkloric resources lies in their association with events, people and places rather than their intrinsic qualities, and it is this which has influenced the third phase of the construction of the analytical framework (see Chapter 6, Section 6.4).

Both folkloric resources in general and the substance of folk ‘stories’ in particular have the potential to be ‘archeological sites in which lies buried layers of meaning’ (Pretes, 2003, p.140), although in the case of many of these resources historians are concerned about the levels of authenticity and accuracy of interpretation, even though the sources may be ‘official’ reports, eyewitness accounts, diaries and so on. Many of these sources have been used as quarries for information in the empirical study which is presented for analysis in Chapter 7.

The final target in the progressive refinement of the scope of heritage and folkloric resources is the folk hero, considered by Weidenfeld to be “a representative symbol” (2010, p.852), and by Sternberg as “a themalized commodity” (1999, p.4). Few folk heroes escape censorious commentary and transformation through commodification into one or more forms of commercialized attraction, and Seal has commented that the attractiveness of any folk hero for commodification may be influenced by many of them “walking a thin and fuzzy line between the admirable and the reprehensible” (Seal, 2001, p. xiii). It is the symbolism of the folk hero, and the ‘stories’ about him — most are male — which heightens his attractiveness for the purposes of ‘touristed landscapes’ and ‘themescapes’.

'Touristed landscapes' and 'themescapes'

It is the principal purpose of Chapter 4 to explain the terms ‘touristed landscapes’ and ‘themescapes’ and to foreshadow the usefulness of both in the forging of the analytical framework in Chapters 5 and 6. In the introductory quotation to Chapter 4 Diana Harvey claims that “heritage sites are not simply spaces where history is preserved, but spaces where emotive relationships are generated” (2007, p.65); this is the underpinning context for considering ‘touristed landscapes’ (Cartier, 2005) and ‘themescapes’ (Rodaway, 1994) because although there may be intrinsic interest in the ‘touristed landscapes’ (whether buildings, places, sites or regions), it is their association with a story about an event or a person which creates the special emotive attachment and interest.

Using Cartier's recent expression ‘touristed landscape’ builds on a long geographical tradition of studying the symbolism of habitats and the iconography of landscape. The emphasis has not always been on the visual qualities of landscape, but Cartier's inclination has been to focus on the design and experience of tourism areas. That inclination has been carried into this study, and the semiotic perspective of 'the gaze' (see later) has been harnessed to explore the design and meaning of tourism places and attractions, and the commodification and tourismification of those places (Jansen-Verbeke, 1998). One of the important underpinnings for the orientation taken here has been Laurajane Smith's observation that landscapes are vistas "wherein a range of histories, chronologies, events and meanings may be viewed and displayed" (2006, p.168), and it is precisely to unravel or 'tease out' the mysteries of the landscapes and vistas that Knudsen and his colleagues (2008) have argued for new analytical tools.

It is to help in this unraveling process that attention has been given in this study to the potential offered by examining 'themescapes' as descriptive and analytical devices.
Rodaway (1994) provides a useful point of entry for this study; expressed simply, a themescape is "a themed environment ... specifically a space or place which is identified by a single coherent theme or idea" (p.165). Although some skepticism has been expressed about using the 'scape'-based formula for descriptive and other purposes there is increasing evidence of its use for the study of tourism activities (see many contributions to The Sage Handbook of Tourism Studies, edited by Jamal and Robinson, 2009). In this study, the various uses of the 'scape'-based form have been segregated into three types - as descriptive, structural or organizational devices - with particular attention being given to the 'heritagescape', 'powerscape' and the 'tourismscape' forms (Garden, 2004; Jacobs, 2006; van der Duim, 2005), which provide some of the basic elements of the analytical framework developed for this study in Chapters 5 and 6.

PART 3: INVESTIGATIVE APPROACH

In a previous paragraph (in Section 2.2) it was mentioned that this study has been deliberately positioned 'so as to nestle comfortably within both tourism studies and heritage studies', but that it needed a disciplinary framework to prevent it from drifting off into the 'comfort zone' of uncritically-replicated research strategies and design. The following paragraphs offer an explanation of the approach taken to avoid that drift.

This study has been built around the generally-accepted canons of scientific inquiry and credibility, and to that foundation has been added a response to the flexibility both stated and implied in the advocacy of Moustakas (1990 - see the opening quotation to this Chapter). All of this has been undertaken within the loose parameters of research conducted in the social sciences and the opportunities for adaptation and experimentation which are by-products of engagement with qualitative research methods. There have been two principal markers for the approach adopted here. One of these is the commitment to engaging with processes of 'thinking geographically', and the other is a companion commitment to investigating only those resources which can be 'seen' - literally 'seen' as in the 'tourist gaze', actual or potential - such as places, 'texts', things, evidence of people and events, and various representational forms which have been used to tell the stories about folk heroes. The implications of this are that the investigative process has leaned heavily on the opportunities latent in study methods in geography - and especially in cultural geography - and on the opportunities of semiotics in which various forms of signs and symbols are used and interpreted as 'texts' in which are embedded many aspects of the story being told.

This explanation of the investigative approach is in five sections:

- firstly, there is an explanation of the underpinning of the study by the perspectives and approaches of the social sciences, and of 'thinking geographically' in particular (Sections 2.4 and 2.5);
- secondly, there is focus on semiotic approaches to inquiry, and especially to the 'tourist gaze' (2.6);
- thirdly, the commitment to the heuristic approach to inquiry is explained (2.7);
- fourthly, there is a commentary on the investigative methods used in the study (2.8)
- and fifthly, there is an explanation of the use of the case study approach, particularly for the empirical investigation reported later in Chapter 7 (2.9)
BASIC DISCIPLINARY APPROACH, PERSPECTIVES and sources of METHODS (1)

- **Social science approach** (Section 2.4)
  - Core social sciences
    - include cultural studies, geography, history
  - Tourism and the social sciences:
    - 'tourism as an integral part of contemporary society'
    - engagement with social science approaches so as to improve levels of knowledge and understanding of tourism as a social practice
  - Social sciences approach:
    - conversations between [social science] disciplines
    - capability of addressing 'wicked and messy problems'
    - engages with both quantitative and qualitative inquiry
    - mixed methods approaches

- **Forensic approach**
  - Forensic science principles and methods
    - borrowed from traditional sciences
    - underpinned by conventional scientific methods
    - focused on accuracy, authenticity and reality, demonstration, documentation
    - useful for the re-construction of actions, events, buildings, places, and associations with each
  - Forensic social science (Rivlin, 1973)
    - Useful for profiling
    - Uses in history, archeology - reconstructions of historical events, actions, places where events took place
    - Uses in anthropology, sociology - identity, socio-cultural differences, behavior, customs, artefacts, tools, social activities
    - Uses in economics - patterns, consequences of investment, money trails
    - Uses in geography - boundaries, territoriality, retail and market patterns, distributions

- 'Thinking geographically' and tourism geography
- Semiotic approach
- Heuristic inquiry

see Figure 2.5

Figure 2.4
INVESTIGATIVE APPROACH: 1: SOCIAL SCIENCE
2.4 Social science perspectives (see Figure 2.4)

There is a considerable record of the engagement of social science perspectives and methods in the study of many issues in tourism, especially as "the emergence of tourism as an integral part of contemporary society has made it an area of interest to social scientists" (Holden, 2005, p.1; see also Vanclay, 2002). This engagement is ongoing, as is evident in, for example:

- many of the contributions to *The Sage Handbook of Tourism Studies* (2009, edited by Jamal and Robinson) in which commentators have drawn attention to the intellectual link between the contribution of particular disciplinary perspectives to improving the levels of knowledge and understanding of tourism as a social practice (see, especially the summarizing comment by Robinson and Jamal, p.694).
- and, the conference scheduled for July 2011 (organized jointly by *Annals of Tourism Research* and the University of Surrey to mark the twentieth anniversary of the publication of the special issue of *Annals* – 1991, Vol 18, No.1 – which focused attention on the contribution of various social science disciplines and perspectives on tourism);

In a commentary about how to engage in tourism research Law (2004) has advocated the particular usefulness of the social science disciplines because, firstly, they are adept in addressing 'wicked and messy problems', and secondly, because they have the capacity to unravel the intricacies of tourism situations which might be otherwise intractable. Although there is considerable support for this interpretation some cautions have been raised by Coles, Hall and Duval (2006), and the social geographer Massey who has advised that improved levels of knowledge and understanding are most likely to be achieved from what she describes as "conversations between disciplines" (1999, p.6).

The study approach adopted here has been founded on the disciplinary preference of the author, and although geographical factors loom large amongst the special considerations, they have been merged with the fascination of symbols, and signs. Restatements about 'the gaze' by Urry (2002), Knudsen *et al* (2008) and others have nudged the approach taken here towards interpretations which focus more on the objects of 'the gaze' than on the actions of the tourists doing the gazing; this refocusing creates opportunities to indulge in speculations about meaning, identity, and the inputs to and influences on 'touristed landscapes' (see Knudsen *et al*, especially pages 2-6 and 132-134), and underpins the speculations about the potential contribution of this study (and its focus on the folk hero) to heritage-based tourism.

Forensic Social Science (see Figure 2.4)

The approach being taken in this study has drawn on some of the aspects of gathering, analyzing and interpreting evidence which is consistent with the principles and practices of forensic science. It is a commonly-held view that forensic science principles are applicable only in the contexts of law enforcement and the processes linked with criminal investigations, and most literature and web-based searches tend to sustain that view (see, for example, Houck, 2007; Houck and Siegel, 2006; Wecht and Rago, 2006). Further support to that view can be derived from the popularization of forensic science through its exposure in crime detection novels and television series. However, although forensic science is often a formidable component of crime investigation, there are concessions, even in its own body of literature, that "forensic science cannot lay claim to an identifiable set of scientific principles and concepts. On the contrary... forensic science borrows principles and methods from the traditional sciences to achieve its goal" (Siegel, 1993 p.78); (see also Jenkins and Kroll-Smith, 1996; and Smith, 1993).
One of the principal purposes of Rivlin’s (1973) ‘invention’ of ‘forensic social science’, was an insistence that any evidence used through to the final stages of an investigation should be documented, demonstrably relevant, and ‘real’ (1973, p.62; on this, see also Cochran-Smith and Fries, 2002). Her own operational domain was education and organization, but there is evidence that her advocacy has been adopted in, for example:

- reconstructions of historical actions, events, and places where events took place, sometimes involving forensic archaeology – Morse, Crusoe and Smith (1976); Morse, Duncan and Stoutamire (1983); Nawrocki (1998); see especially Spallone (2007) on the reconstruction of an historical image of the Piazza Bodoni in Turin; Jones, Cummings and Hunt (2005) on the investigation of heritage wreck sites;

For this study, the forensic approach to information-gathering, analysis and interpretation – based on the three principles of Rivlin, that the information should be documented, demonstrably relevant and ‘real’ – leans towards the processes of geographic profiling, resulting in, for example,

- the exposure of locations and spatial patterns of heritage-linked tourism resources;
- the identification and isolation of the factors and facts which have contributed to those patterns;
- and the construction of a spatial template/model framework which reveals the range of issues which impact on the geographical circumstances.

Each of these underpins the empirical evidence presented in Chapter 7.

[Note: The revelations from this process are experimental, and are claimed only for the context of this study. There are no readily available comparable studies in the published literature. These opportunities for using the forensic social science approach in the studies of heritage-based tourism are considered in the final chapter (8)].

2.5 ‘Thinking geographically’ (see Figure 2.5).

Most disciplines within the social sciences have at various times been subjected to serious and challenging enquiry about ‘what is meant by them’, ‘what is their special purpose and contribution’, and ‘how are they practised’; and for most, if not all, the speculation about them and the usefulness of them continues. In the case of geography, its long association with the physical sciences has been complemented in recent decades by linkages with the social sciences. Important outcomes of this have included an expansion and enrichment to the range of its investigative tools, and especially the augmentation of its capacities to interpret, explain and understand the intricacies of ‘landscape’ as a ‘text’ (see, for example, Aitken and Valentine, 2006; Bonnett, 2008; Castree, Rogers and Sherman, 2005; Holloway, Rice, and Valentine, 2003; Hubbard, Kitchen, Bartley and Fuller, 2002; Phillimore and Goodson, 2004). This is an important issue for this study.
Although there continue to be shades of opinion and an extensive body of scholarly literature which wrestles with this definitional problem, the commentary of Shurmer-Smith (2002) –

that geography is "the field of study which concentrates upon ways in which space, place and the environment participate in an unfolding dialogue of meaning ... [including] ways in which place, space and environment are perceived and represented, and how they are depicted in the arts, folklore ..." (p.3)

– is at least inclusive of actions aimed at understanding the social and physical processes which give rise to the distinctiveness of places, cultures, political systems, economies, landscapes and environments.

The process of 'thinking geographically' is a bridge which links the observable world of empirical evidence with the abstract world of theories, ideas and propositions (Hubbard, et al, 2002). Whilst the art and science of 'thinking geographically' is being called upon to address a seemingly increasing diversity of situations, its core issues remain relatively constant, and include, (Butler, 2004); for example:

- location (absolute, relative, site and situation);
- the nature and sense of 'place' (place content, scape, 'meaning');
- the content of functional regions;
- the significance of distance decay and friction;
- spatial patterns (agglomeration, concentration, dispersion and diffusion, hierarchical arrangements, integration);
- space and place perceptions and emotional responses;

In response to the various challenges which are raised even among these core issues, the nature and process of 'thinking geographically' is not static; rather, there are ongoing changes to the ways in which information is collected, analyzed and interpreted. These changes continue to lead, for example, to the emergence of forms of 'applied geography', to new conceptualizations of the 'sense of place' from materials, symbols and the spatial arrangement of them, to the use of maps as 'ways of seeing', to the association of emotional attachments to places and what is presented there, and to the interpretation of 'landscape' as a 'text'.

An outcome of experimentation with the process of 'thinking geographically' has been the segmentation into special niches of research and practice, and one of those outcomes has been the emergence of 'tourism geography' (see, Butler, 2004; Hall and Page, 2009).

Tourism Geography

In recent years there has been considerable growth of a body of literature which examines the geography-tourism nexus. This increasingly diverse intellectual effort is an outcome of the belief, especially amongst geographers, that

- "there is scarcely an aspect of tourism which does not have some geographical implications and there are few branches of geography which do not have some contribution to make to the study of the phenomenon of tourism" (Matley, 1976, cited in Hall and Page, 2002, p.18);
BASIC DISCIPLINARY APPROACH, PERSPECTIVES and sources of METHODS (2)

- **'Thinking Geographically', Tourism Geography** (Section 2.5)
  - 'Thinking geographically'
    - an exploration of the 'ways in which space, place, and the environment participate in an unfolding dialogue of meaning'
    - 'landscape' interpreted as a 'text'
    - maps used as 'a way of seeing'
    - conceptualizing 'sense of place'
  - **Tourism geography**
    - 'scarcely an aspect of tourism which does not have some geographical implications';
    - investigates 'physical and material reality';
    - unravels 'wicked and messy problems'
    - material components = place, space, objects ('things'), structures
    - focus on locations, distributions, patterns, linkages, associations

- **Semiotics**
  - 'an intellectual curiosity' interpreting things/'texts', places, events, people, representations, patterns, structures, hierarchies, relationships, layers of meaning
  - **'The Gaze'**
    - principal focus = visual
    - focus on distinctiveness, identity, 'physical and material reality' – material components of space, place, objects, structures
    - 'gaze' on 'real thing', facsimile, replica, sign, symbol
    - 'gaze' not restricted to accuracy, authenticity; may include creative invention, fantasy;
    - 'gaze' may acknowledge harmony, discord and dissonance
  - **Principal investigative steps**
    - Identification
    - Segregation into suite of categories – direct evidence, evidence by association (signs, symbols)
    - Collection of evidence
    - Interpretation of revealed 'story'

- **Heuristic inquiry** (Section 2.7)
  - **Characteristics**
    - open-ended, iterative process of discovery through direct observation – a style of 'groping' for information
    - confront unfamiliar circumstances by 'standing back and letting things speak for themselves'
    - involves both empirical and reflexive methods
    - no pre-set template
    - mix-and-match of explicit (observable, describable) and implicit knowledge

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**Figure 2.5 INVESTIGATIVE APPROACH:**
2: 'Thinking Geographically', 'The Gaze', Heuristic Inquiry
• "tourism ... is essentially a geographical phenomenon" (Williams, 1998, p.16 – revised in the 2nd edition as "tourism is an intensely geographical phenomenon", Williams, 2009, p.3);
• "Geography ... [contributes to tourism studies] spatial analysis of where tourism develops and why" (Page, et al, 2001, p.9 [Table 1.2]);
• " ... the geographical dimensions of tourism ... [and] a geographical perspective can contribute to its [i.e., tourism] planning, development and management" (Pearce, 1987, p. 1,2)

The gestation and development of 'tourism geography' have not been easy; most of the early studies of geography and tourism were coupled with, for example, international travel movements, leisure and recreation, regional tourism patterns and resorts. Recent commentaries continue to question whether it has a separate and coherent identity (see, for example, Butler, 2004; Coles, 2004; Coles and Hall, 2006; Franklin and Crang, 2001; Gibson, 2008; Hanna, 2008; Lew, 2001a, 2001b; Pearce, 1999; and Squire, 1994), and in one of their most recent commentaries, Hall and Page (2009) have described the protracted and meandering progression as follows:

"... while the field has some long established theoretical and applied interests a number of substantial new developments and research foci have emerged in recent years, leading to the notion of tourism geographies, i.e., that there is more than one paradigmatic approach towards the geography of tourism and tourism management" (2009, p.3)

The research recorded in this thesis sits comfortably within the broad scope of 'tourism geography' in its current state; for example:

• it addresses issues which cross the three principal components of 'tourism geography' – tourism space, tourism place, tourism environments (see Editorials of the journal Tourism Geographies, since the first issue in 1999; Gibson, 2008)
• it weds the systematic enquiry process of geography to other social science disciplines in order to facilitate an improved level of understanding of the processes and mechanisms which give rise to place and space identity (Squire, 1994);
• it brings the 'place' perspective to some of the issues being addressed in the emerging field of 'emotional geographies' (see, the editorials of the new journal Emotion, Space and Society ; Davidson, Bondi and Smith, 2005; Rodaway, 1994);
• it offers explanations of tourism-related patterns ('spatialities') and the nature of tourism places, (Hall and Page, 2009);
• and, it examines the landscape as 'text' in order to expose 'meanings', especially of the material evidence of social, political and economic activity (including tourism) (Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988; Wylie, 2007).

In addition, the research recorded here, because of its adoption of processes of geographic profiling, may be considered as a contribution to what is referred to as 'applied geography' (see, for example, Alison and Caner, 1999; Hall and Page, 2006; Hart, 1989; Janiskee and Mitchell, 1989; Manski, 2006; O'Connor, 2010; Pacione, 1999).

2.6 Semiotic Approach (see Figure 2.5)

With one important disciplinary factor in place – ‘thinking geographically’ – it became necessary to add another which would complement it, and provide another means of disciplining the gathering of evidentiary inputs for the ‘teasing out’ process for the
specially-constructed analytical framework (to be developed in Chapters 5 and 6). From a review of investigative and cognitive options, in part influenced by an observation from Urry that in many cases tourists seek "something distinctive to be gazed upon" (1992, p.173), it was decided to twin the geographical perspective with the semiotic perspective of 'the gaze'. Two other commentaries were particularly persuasive:

- Pearson and Warburton: “One of the beauties of using semiotics to underpin a research methodology is its versatility and durability ... because semiotics posits an approach to meaning ... [which is] social and cognitive in character rather than absolute or theological” (2005, p.166);

- and, Sless: "semiotics is above all an intellectual curiosity about the ways we represent our world to ourselves and each other ... a point of view, a vantage point from which to survey our world" (1986, p.1).

A case favouring a semiotics-based approach (even if not 'the gaze') for studying tourism activity can be found in, for example, Echtner (1999), Gaines (2006), Metro-Roland (2009), Riberio (2009), and, of course, Urry (1990, 1992, 2002, 2005).

In addition to the general persuasiveness of the various arguments, the decision for this study was influenced by five factors:

- firstly, this study is driven principally by supply-side and resource issues, and these are eminently suited to the investigatory perspective of 'the gaze' because, as Urry suggests, "it is the distinctiveness of the visual that gives to all sorts of activities a special or unique character" (1992, p.172; emphasis added);

- secondly, as will be apparent in the presentation of the empirical evidence in Chapter 7, many of the sources of information – the ‘texts’ – which feed the proposition that ‘dead men do tell tales’ are visual, in that they are places, buildings, ‘things’, documents and records, or they become visually represented in the forms of re-enactments, ceremonies, festivals, paintings, monuments and so on;

- thirdly, this study, whilst being located within the niche of tourism geography, has its own heritage in cultural geography, and it is in that area of study where there is clear evidence that the investigative methods used in the practices of landscape assessment and interpretation have been underpinned by a semiotics-type approach, most often with an emphasis on visual assessment (see, for example, Appleton, 1990; Cotter, Boyd and Gardiner, 2001; Lewis, 1979; ; Meinig, 1979; Ryden, 1993);

- fourthly, even in acknowledging that ‘the gaze’ is but one of the human senses which is engaged in seeking for and the gathering of tourism-linked experiences (see, for example, Anderson and Smith; 2001; Davidson, Bondi and Smith, 2005; Davidson and Milligan, 2004), there is a strong investigative strand which continues to link the search for signs, symbols and other visual signals to matters which are examined by the process of 'thinking geographically' (Driver, 2003; Macpherson, 2005);

- and, fifthly, there continue to be inter- and cross-disciplinary studies using semiotics-linked investigative approaches and processes to unravel the mysteries and meanings of touristed landscapes, whether or not it is the visual focus evident in the early advocacy of Urry (1990), or the more liberal multi-sense approaches evident in Edensor (2001), MacCannell (1999), MacNaughten and Urry (2001), or even the more recent advocacies of Urry (2002; 2005).
This study, therefore, has been committed to twinning 'the gaze' as its primary semiotic focus with the spatial focus of 'thinking geographically'. The consequences of this self-imposed constraint and the possible opportunities arising from other twinning strategies are addressed in the final Chapter (8).

Use of a semiotic approach – 'the gaze' – in this study

Peim (2005), in his commentary, has usefully pointed out that "One of the effects of semiotics has been to restore the idea of myth into history ... For the historian, then, semiotics would seem to be central to the business of reconstructing past social realities" (p.9). This observation has particular relevance to the stories of dead men – the folk heroes.

The 'bare bones' of the general semiotic approach to observation, analysis and interpretation – from its origins in literary criticism and communication theory to its more recent contributions (to studies in, for example, anthropology, cultural studies, marketing and advertising, natural sciences, psychology, and sociology) and to the recent emergence of niche specializations such as biosemiotics, cognitive semiotics, computational semiotics, design semiotics, music semiology, theatre semiotics, and urban semiotics – are reviewed in, for example, Chandler (2000), Hervey (1982), Lidov (1999), Meadows (2006), Noth (1990) and Stess (1986). Manning (1987) has contributed useful observations on the use of a semiotic approach for fieldwork (see also the three-volume Encyclopedic Dictionary of Semiotics – third edition edited by Seboek and Danesi, 2010).

Important outcomes of applying semiotics-linked observations include the discovery of patterns, structures and hierarchies of relationships, and the revelation of layers of meaning.

Urry's underlying intention was to expose the proposition that it was the experience of a distinctive visual environment which was important to tourists: "to demonstrate ... that there has to be something distinctive to be gazed upon, that the signs collected by tourists have to be visually extraordinary" (1992, p.173; emphasis added). The study here adopts this narrow interpretation of 'the gaze' with the following characteristics:

- the investigative and analytical position of 'vision and an all-seeing eye' (1992, p.184), predominantly an exercise of visualization (2000, p.112) of 'texts', including places, buildings, documents, replicas, re-enactments;
- a focus on matters which are not commonplace (1992, p.3; p.12); for the purposes of this study the focus is on places, events and people which have an identity in history, in a period of social, political and geographical circumstances which are no longer current;
- a story which is fuelled by day-dreams and fantasies (1992, p.3, even creatively invented (p.12);
- a focus on the "collection of signs" (1992, p.3), which may be relics of the events in the folk hero's story, or reconstructions in the forms of re-enactments, in museum exhibits, in readily-accessible documentation, in some art forms (paintings) and as monuments (including gravesites);
- a (tourist's) response which is influenced more by what was expected and sought than by its intrinsic and contextual accuracy (1992, p.112), and the level of supporting information and appropriate markers (signs) (p.12);
- a contribution to a sense of stability and identity, cultural nationalism (1990, p.109);
- a substitute – through historical novels, film and television documentaries – for more intensive intellectual effort (to understand the events of history) (1990, p.112).
Reviews of the published literature suggest that there is no orthodoxy or prescription of methods for semiotic investigation, no obvious 'magic formula' for collecting and analyzing information. For the purpose of this study the intention has been to use a semiotics approach as a means of targeting visual evidence which attracts the 'tourist gaze' because of its distinctiveness (see Figure 2.6). The key influences on this exercise have been Saukko (2003), van Leeuwen (2005) and Vannini (2007), because their collective insistence is that semiotics is more an interpretive strategy than merely a method of data collection, and that the information gathered can be used to generate structures and systems of signs which may contribute to improved levels of understanding of – for this study – the context of history and its adaptation for the purposes of tourism attraction.

2.7 Heuristic Inquiry (see Figure 2.5).

The two previously-considered approaches – 'thinking geographically' and 'the gaze' – have been fitted into a heuristic process of inquiry for this study. Rather than adopt a standardized process with its established structure – see the cautions about using study templates and choreographed approaches and methods in, for example, Franklin and Crang, 2001; Janesick, 1998 – the nature of this research and its experimentalism nudged the inquiry process towards one which could readily accommodate exploration and discovery, and which could engage with the informational needs of a target which is more often vague and imprecise than clear and certain, not least because of the contradictions between some sources, and the embellishments in others.

A process of heuristic inquiry has been adopted (and adapted) for use across a diverse range of research studies, and there are cases of its adaptation for research in tourism subjects as diverse as, for example, examining tourism policy, evaluating the distribution of tourism benefits through the community, interpreting experiential outcomes of tourism visits and activities, assessing the implications of urban conversion to tourism-related land uses, estimating the ways in which tourists gather and act on information, and formulating consumer-relevant strategies in hospitality and transport (see, for example, Caton and Santos, 2007; Deitch and Ladany, 2000; Pforr, 2005; van Middelkoop, 2003; Wober, 2001).

As there is no generally-accepted 'model' or template of heuristic inquiry (Flick, 2006; Gergen and Gergen, 2000; Saukko, 2003; Silverman, 1993), this study has forged a heuristic-type process which has been fine-tuned as it has proceeded, and as it has encountered particular substantive or methodological problems. Moustakas has referred to this as a self-propelling 'way of being informed' (1990, p.10) which only becomes evidently systematic at the conclusion of the study.

For this study it has been necessary to have an open investigative style, responding to opportunities for iteration, recapitulation, and even a change of direction, so that

- in the case of the substantive evidence of the selected folk hero's story (in particular for Chapter 7) the richness of the information base has been extended as the search for core, complementary, supplementary, and confirmatory (and even contradictory) sources of information has progressed in what Moustakas has referred to as a 'groping fashion', including encounters with previously unexpected information and sources (pp. 15-38); this approach both facilitates and encourages using even unlikely sources (such as, in this study, children's books, posters, postcards, captions and notes at museum displays) to enrich the information base;

- in the case of the inputs to the construction of the analytical framework (see especially Chapters 5 and 6) the 'groping fashion' has extended the scope of sources drawn upon beyond the parameters of tourism-focused research to
include, for example, sources which focus on administration, heritage, organization and policy development.

The potential in a heuristic process for looseness in information-gathering, analysis and interpretation has been mitigated in this study by the imposition of the two filters (or referents is the term used in Chapters 5 and 6) - ‘thinking geographically’ and ‘the gaze’ - and these have provided boundaries to the inputs, conversion and outputs of what has been a systems-based investigative approach.

2.8 Methods of Inquiry

Whilst not straying from the conventional yardsticks of scientific research, this study has responded to commentaries which suggest that research design in the social sciences can have an ‘elastic quality’ so that the investigative methods can be “adapted, changed, and redesigned as the study proceeds” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, p.395) resulting in a portfolio of methods which can be drawn on as the need arises and as the study progresses (see also, Berg, 2001; Erlandson et al, 1993; Saukko, 2003; Seale, 1999, 2004; Silverman, 1993, 2009).

A simplified version of the generalized sequence of the investigative steps taken for the empirical study is shown as Figure 2.6. As this study progressed it became apparent that not all sources of information accessed were ‘heritage-rich’, some were not particularly suited to the peculiarities of tourism, and others were of limited use as inputs to the process of constructing the analytical framework. It became necessary to make judgments about the usefulness of the sources for each and all of the targets – heritage (and folk heroes), tourism, and analytical frameworks – and those judgments were made by relying on an adaptation of Saukko’s (2003) ‘tests of validity’, and some of the approaches and tools used in ethnographic studies (see, for example, Adler and Adler, 1998; Cole, 2005; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995; Palmer, 2005, 2009).

Conventionally, the most often-used investigative methods are of two types - desk-based and fieldwork-based – and although they have clear linkages to backgrounding studies, to exploratory and experimental studies and to empirical studies, there will be occasions in the conduct of research when a cross-over of the two types with the three purposes will be appropriate for the task being undertaken. The mix-and-match of types with purposes is likely to occur in situations where a case study is used to present evidence of the complexity of a general matter so as to unravel its intricacies and lead to an enlightened understanding of its potential. For example, in this study the conventional desk-based document analysis of the general circumstances of the folk hero (recorded in Chapter 3) is elaborated for presentation later in Chapter 7 as an empirical study after a more specifically-focused and desk-based document analysis is twinned with fieldwork-based observations framed by the selected geographical and semiotic approaches to information-gathering, analysis and interpretation; and the ‘scape’-based descriptive and structural frameworks derived from conventional desk-based analysis (in Chapter 4) are synthesized through experimentation to create an analytical framework (Chapters 5 and 6) which is then refined and ‘tested’ by fieldwork-based observations (in Chapter 7).

The implication of this is that although the discussions in the following paragraphs focus separately on desk-based and fieldwork based investigative methods in order to reveal what and how the investigations were conducted, this study has engaged in a mix-and-match of the two types according to the particular need and purpose of the research exercise; in summary, this study demonstrates the substance of the observations crafted by Moustakas (1990) and Garden (2009) and which are set out at the head of this Chapter.
Note: Generalized sequence of the steps taken in the investigation to provide inputs to the empirical case study

- Compilation of a preliminary schedule of places, objects ('things'), and indicators (signs and symbols) relevant to the story of the selected folk hero case study.

Note: emphasis on
- 'physical and material reality',
- geographical and 'gaze' perspectives,
- contribution to the folk hero story

- Development of a suite of categories from this preliminary schedule:
  - places
  - spatial arrangements of these places
  - 'texts' or 'things' (1): artifacts, tools, arms, transport,
  - 'texts' or 'things' (2): documents, 'official' records, correspondence, diaries,
  - government and social structures, public agencies and organizations, and the means of control and regulation used by them
  - forms of (re)presentation
  - touristic materials
  - events

- Analysis and interpretation of the accumulated and filtered information
- Application to derived textual and figure presentation

Notes:
1. It is indicative rather than comprehensive
2. See Section 2.8

Figure 2.6
BASIC INVESTIGATIVE STRATEGY [for the EMPIRICAL CASE STUDY]
Figure 2.7 tabulates the principal desk-based and fieldwork-based investigative methods used in this study. That tabulation sets the framework for the brief commentary here on what investigations were conducted, how they were conducted, and on some of the influences which impacted on the choices made and the outcomes of those choices.

Investigative methods used in this study: desk-based methods

The most commonly-used investigative approach used in the desk-based phase was document analysis (in one or more of its various forms). From the various sources consulted, two were particularly influential on this study; one was Bowen's (2009) general revelations about the mysteries and intricacies of document analysis as a qualitative research method, and the second was Carley's (1993) comparison of map and literary sources of the same geographical territory. The first of these (Bowen) extended the expectations of document analysis, and the second (Carley) provided some guidance about comparing maps and narratives of the same geographical circumstance and this had a particular relevance to the case study.

What proved to be of special significance was the 'groping' process described by Moustakas, especially in the search for patterns of confirmation between the various documentary sources, and the isolation of those matters which were critical to the unfolding 'story' — whether of a background issue (as for Chapters 3 and 4), or for the construction of the analytical framework (5 and 6), and especially for the empirical study reported in Chapter 7. For each of these three tasks the documentary analysis passed through three phases:

- firstly, a superficial scanning of accumulating sources so as to identify themes;
  - from a scan of the sources a range of subjects or 'patterns' were identified, and these became the building blocks around which a prospectus of items of different levels of contribution to the three tasks was formed (this process of pattern recognition is usually referred to as coding and category construction);
- secondly, a more thorough reading of those sources which had previously been most constructive and informative;
  - from this second phase a number of 'patterns' were subjected to greater analytical scrutiny, with an outcome that the relevance of some issues and the sources about them gained in significance, while others decreased in significance, and some were merged and consolidated;
  - for the empirical study, it was not possible to resolve some of the information discrepancies and imbalances (and incompleteness), so those differences were noted and a qualitative judgment made according to the frequency of the apparently critical facts and the likelihood of accuracy and authenticity;
- thirdly, the task of interpretation and evaluation of the evidence, and the merging of that evidence with that derived from fieldwork-based sources.

For the construction of the analytical framework (Chapters 5 and 6) the document analysis was frustrated only by many of the sources having been composed for purposes which were not focused on heritage issues or tourism issues. However, at the third phase (as listed in the previous paragraph) it was possible firstly, to over-ride that discrepancy and then, secondly, to draw out compatible elements from the various sources and compose a structure which was influenced significantly by the two 'scape' frameworks which were linked to either heritage or tourism research.

For the empirical case study a potential difficulty occurred where there were obvious discrepancies between the documentary records and the fieldwork evidence. These differences or discrepancies were due in part to 'missing' corroborating physical evidence, to changes to the landscape and to building use since the recorded events,
METHODS OF INQUIRY

 chụp DESK-BASED

• Document analysis
• Transcription, Analysis, and interpretation of fieldwork-based observations, collections, recordings

FIELDWORK-BASED

• Observation
• Surveying
• Collection
• Recording

• Public agency and institutional records, reports
• Scholarly sources with a similar focus--theses, published and conference academic papers
• Bibliographies
• Interpretational sources (1) non-fiction: media documentary scripts and summaries, films, photographs, media commentaries and reports, tourism brochures, scholarly and derived accounts
• Interpretational sources (2) fiction: stories, novels, poetry, ballads, films,
• Art forms — paintings, tapestries, sketches,
• Internet
• Facsimile sources of letters, diaries
• Maps

Places
Sites
Settings
Landscape
Buildings
Structures
'things', objects
Souvenirs

Spatial positioning and arrangements
Spatial linkages
Non-spatially contiguous linkages (associations)

Performance — re-enactments, drama, lectures, debates
Displays, exhibitions
Tourism brochures, publications

Principal library searches — State Library of Victoria, Universities of La Trobe, Melbourne, Queensland
Principal museum and gallery collections — Beechworth, Benalla, Canberra (National Gallery), Euroa, Jerilderie, Melbourne (National Gallery of Victoria), Old Gaol, Victorian Police, State Library of Victoria
Principal Kelly-linked places visited — Avenal, Beechworth, Benalla, Beveridge, Euroa, Glenrowan, Greta, Jerilderie, Mansfield, Melbourne, Power's Lookout, Stringybark Creek. (see Figure series in Chapter 7 for these and other locations)

See Section 2.8

Figure 2.7
INVESTIGATIVE METHODS
and to difficulties of confirming that particular sites, places, and 'things' conformed to the documentary sources. Another difficulty was caused by the different purposes for which the documentary sources were intended — including public education, entertainment, legal proceedings, and so on. As the substance of the 'story' was always assumed to be important, in this study the determining factor has been that what has been extracted from the documentary sources should meet the information need of the 'fully-fledged history buff' rather than the 'history greenhorn' (as defined by Kerstetter, Confer and Graef, 2001, p.267; see also the discussion about this in Section 3.4; Jewel and Crotts, 2009; Prentice, Witt and Hamer, 1998).

Investigative methods used in this study: fieldwork-based methods

The principal fieldwork-based methods used in this investigation have direct links to the circumstances of the case study and the story it tells — observation, surveying, recording, collecting, summarizing and transcribing; all have been based on first-hand gathering of information about 'things', places, settings, events, and circumstances for the purpose of informing and illuminating that story of the folk hero (see Figure 2.7).

A preliminary or pilot round of observations was undertaken very early in the research process to at least develop some understanding of where to go and what to see, and what could in fact be seen; this was another form of the 'groping' exercise referred to by Moustakas (1990). From that pilot study a tentative itinerary was formulated (and which was under continuous review and change) to focus attention on the geographical and visual circumstances of the places, sites and settings where information sources relevant to the 'story' could be found, and where events linked to that story had taken place or in the cases of re-enactments and celebrations would take place. Fortuitously, the Ned Kelly 'story' unfolds in an exceptionally tidy geographical framework, both in terms of the sequence of events and the principal region of the Kelly activities; less fortunately, not all of the sites important to the Kelly story are easily accessible and some have undergone radical transformation.

In few cases did this researcher (whether as observer or surveyor or recorder, and so on) have much control over the circumstances — the sites, the settings, the choice of 'things' on display and the manner of the display, accessibility to the sites or 'things', the availability and quality of the information. There were some restrictions on access to some sites, settings and 'things' and on the timing and duration of the observation (and so on); there were few restrictions on the mode of surveying (recording, collecting, transcribing), and the subsequent analysis and interpretation. The selection of where to go and what to see was influenced by previous and ongoing study of documentation of many different forms (see previously, and Figure 2.7), by becoming a participant in commercially-organized tours, by attending exhibitions and publicized re-enactments, in souvenir shopping visits, and by following any evidence of the 'story'-trail which became available; on some occasions the decisions about what to see and where to go were serendipitous, arising out of incidental conversations with tourists, tour and museum/display/exhibition guides, and even listening-in on conversations and discussions, commentary at public lectures, and with following-up on clues offered by inscriptions on monuments and memorials.

Finalizing which methods to use and how they should be engaged so as to achieve an 'uncluttered' record of the 'real world' proved to be problematic. It was not difficult to sustain the twin methodological points of 'thinking geographically' and concentrating on only those matters which were discoverable using the semiotic lens — 'groping' by 'gazing'. Encounters with tourists, tour operators and guides were largely unavoidable; however, the fieldwork was essentially an engagement with what has been described as 'quiet observation' or 'unobtrusive observation' (see, for example, Kelleheear, 1993; Lee, 2000) in which the 'observation' was little more than watching and listening in...
• public places (including, for example, museums, art galleries, heritage buildings and sites, tourism places, expanses of countryside viewed from public vantage points, and public events such as re-enactments and public lectures),

• and loose aggregations of tourists at heritage-specific sites, with no-one isolated for particular scrutiny, and no-one engaged in a scripted dialogue or confronted with a pre-set list of questions.

The principal recording processes were mapping, sketching, photographing, making annotated field notes, often supported by a personal audio commentary made to a recorder (as a substitute for copious notes).

The information gathered through the fieldwork exercise was correlated as far as possible with the desk-based documentary analysis (see previously), especially to expose what McKercher and du Cros (2002) referred as ‘destinations with a story’ where the potential intrinsic interest in and value of the heritage assets (resources) would be enhanced by being associated with and set in their appropriate historic cultural, economic, political and social context (on this, see also Appleton, 1990; Schlereth, 1990).

Despite the effort given in this study process to both the observation and the interpretation of ‘texts’ in the landscape, Meinig’s observation that “any landscape is so dense with evidence and so complex and cryptic that we can never be assured we have read it all or read it aright” (1979, p.6) is the continuous provocation for the further exploration of the ‘many layers of meaning’ which Whelan (2005) believes are embodied in what has been referred to as the ‘reluctant witnesses to the past’ – the landscape, the artifacts and other ‘things’ (on this, see also Caple, 2006). No-matter how intense and extensive the investigation of the ‘tales’ told by the ‘dead men’ and the interpretations of the enveloping ‘texts’ there is a lingering suspicion that there is more to discover. This matter is addressed in the concluding Chapter (8).

2.9 Case Study

Three matters about using one or more case studies had to be considered for this investigation; the first was establishing the most appropriate form or forms for a study of the kind being conducted here; the second was a response to the realization that the experimental framework being developed for the analytical framework was itself a form of case study in that it was being presented as one possible way of ‘teasing out’ the evidence needed for the purposes of establishing the contribution of the folk hero to heritage-based tourism; and the third was engagement with the selected empirical example.

On the general matter of the case study there is a considerable body of literature on the theoretical underpinnings of and expectations from this form of research, and on the practicalities of conducting case studies for a single purpose (i.e., as an example) or as part of a theory-building exercise (see, for example, Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Gomm, Hammersley, and Foster, 2000; Mitchell, 2006; Platt, 2006; Punch, 2005; Sarantakos, 2005; Silverman, 2009; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003). Despite the high level of popularity and use, the case study method has been subjected to criticism because the purpose for which it is being used is often not clear. The use of the case study approach in the special fields of tourism studies and heritage studies has not escaped the general criticisms (see, for example, on tourism Beeton, 2005: Finn, Elliott-White and Walton, 2000; Jennings, 2001; Kraus and Allen, 1997; Smith, 2010; Xiao and Smith, 2006b; and on heritage, see the various uses of the case study approach in Sorensen and Carman, 2009, and especially the commentary on comparative studies using the case study approach by Filippucci, pp. 322-324).
For this study, the case study form has been adapted for two purposes – as a means of constructing an experimental analytical framework, and as a ‘sample’ of what information might be available to sustain the use of the folk hero as a component of heritage-based tourism. These two cases are inextricably linked in this study, with the framework of one being used to regulate and give form to the collection of evidence for the second. This is commented on in the final Chapter (8). The approach adopted here has been influenced by, for example, the cautions, challenges and even opportunities from using this form (see earlier) and especially the encouragement of Mitchell (2006) and Yin (2003) to use the case study form as a means of explanation and as a means of experimentation, whether or not more than one case is involved in the investigation (see Yin, 2003, pp. 39-44).

The two experimental cases – the analytical framework and the Ned Kelly story – have been designed to address the general proposition and the three research questions set out in Chapter 1; the usefulness of either or both beyond the confines of this study is addressed in Chapter 8.

OUTCOME and CONCLUSION

A general claim which can be made for this investigation is that it exposes for consideration many of the important issues which are embedded in the proposition that ‘dead men do tell tales’ and especially the contribution those tales may make to heritage-based tourism.

It is a forensic study in that it uses two particular tools – ‘thinking geographically’, and ‘the gaze’ – to engage in what may be referred to as selected geographical and semiotic profiling in order to examine the credibility of the proposition by ‘teasing out’ evidence which establishes the strength of the link between the heritage and folkloric circumstances of the folk hero and the potential contribution to heritage-based tourism.

It is also an experimental study, not only because of its use of a single case to explore that link, but also because it ‘invents’ a framework which has the elasticity to meet the previously-mentioned challenge of Jamal and Kim (2005) for a structure which is well-supported by theory, and has the capacity (in terms of its ‘complexity, dynamism, scale and scope’) to lead to a better understanding of both heritage and heritage-based tourism.

Both the forensic and the experimental nature of this study are evident in each of the following three Parts of this study:

- in Part A (Chapters 3 and 4) the emphasis lies on a forensic-type search for backgrounding evidence;
- in Part B (Chapters 5 and 6) the emphasis lies on the construction of an experimental framework;
- and, in Part C (Chapter 7) these two strands are merged in a demonstration through an empirical study (the Ned Kelly story) of the potential contribution of a folk hero to the treasure trove of heritage-based tourism resources, and of a framework to help make that judgment.
'Dead Men Do Tell Tales'
'Teasing out' the contribution of the folk hero to heritage-based tourism

PART A:
BACKGROUND ISSUES and LITERATURE REVIEW

The two chapters in this Part examine the principal backgrounding issues which underpin this study: firstly, the inter-connected matters of heritage, folklore, folk stories and folk heroes are considered in Chapter 3, and secondly, the nature of 'touristed landscapes' and the potential of 'themescapes' are reviewed in Chapter 4.

In Chapter 3 – Issues related to Heritage – the focus is progressively refines the contextual knowledge base for this study by engaging sequentially with heritage, folklore, forms of folk 'stories', and finally with folk icons and folk heroes. This stepwise progression sets out the material and conceptual linkages across the spectrum of heritage resources, and provides a justification for the proposition that 'dead men do tell tales', not least because it exposes the potential contextual issues which are associated with such tales. Further explanation of this point emerges in the later discussions and analysis of the Case Study in Part C.

To conclude this Part, Chapter 4 draws attention to two matters which become important to the construction of the analytical framework which takes place in Part B. Of the two matters, one – 'touristed landscapes' (Cartier, 2005) – is descriptive of the operational context in which Lowenthal's 'spoils of history' become commodified as tourism products. The significance of this lies in the second matter – the conceptualization of these 'landscapes' as identifiable 'themescapes' (see Rodaway, 1994). These have been described by Smith (2006) as settings "wherein a range of histories, chronologies, events and meanings may be viewed and displayed" (p.168), and, whilst some of these forms are little more than descriptions of heritage resources in use, some have the potential to contribute to the construction of a properly theorized integrated framework suited to the analysis of heritage-associated matters – which is the challenge set by Jamal and Kim (2005), and of Knudsen and his colleagues (2008).
CHAPTER 3:
ISSUES RELATED TO HERITAGE, FOLKLORE, FOLK ‘STORIES’ and FOLK HEROES

• “All at once heritage is everywhere ... the chief focus of patriotism and a prime lure of tourism. One can barely move without bumping into a heritage site ...”
Lowenthal, 1996, p.xi

• “folklore is all around us all the time ... it is informally generated and transmitted through and across time and space”.

• “The first thing to say about folk heroes is that the world has a great number of them ... [however] it is not the historical personage who is the folk hero, but the image or representation of that person in folklore”
Seal, 2001, pp. xi and xix

INTRODUCTION

This is the first of the two chapters in this Part which are intended to set the backgrounding circumstances for this study. The focus in this Chapter is on heritage, folklore, and folk ‘stories, with a progression to the principal issue for this study – the folk hero.

Responding in part to the challenge of Pearce, Morrison and Moscardo (2003) – that the contribution which the circumstances of the stories about famous people can make to developing and marketing tourism destinations has been neglected in tourism literature (2003, p.63, and again at p.83) – this study is focused on exploring and explaining the underlying circumstances of the proposition that ‘dead men do tell tales', and on exposing through the analytical framework constructed in Chapters 5 and 6 how those ‘dead men' and the ‘tales’ can make a contribution to heritage-based tourism. The backgrounding issues are considered in a series of four sections which progressively refine the discussion from the broadest level – heritage – before proceeding to the components of folklore and folkloric stories, and then to the principal matter of interest, the folk hero. The structure of this Chapter is set out in Figure 3.1

There are three preliminary steps in this Chapter. The first of these gives attention to the broadest level of considerations – heritage and heritage resources – and to the
PART A: BACKGROUND ISSUES and LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter 3:
ISSUES RELATED TO HERITAGE, FOLKLORE, FOLK 'STORIES' AND FOLK HEROES

INTRODUCTION

3.1 Heritage: Meaning, Nature and Scope

3.2 Heritage Resources: appropriation, adaptation and commodification

3.3 History and heritage

3.4 Tourist interest in Heritage resources

3.5 Folklore: meaning, and scope

3.6 Folklore: inventories of the 'raw materials'

3.7 Folklore: functions, uses

3.8 Folklore as history

3.9 Folk 'story forms: their basic characteristics
   - Genres of folk literature

3.10 Myths; Legends; Folktales; other forms
   - Myth
   - Folk tale
   - Legend
   - Other forms
   - These forms and tourism

3.11 The credibility as history of stories from any of these forms

3.12 Folk icons and folk heroes

3.13 Sources on folk heroes

3.14 Folk Heroes: characteristics and types
   - Folk heroes: the 'real thing'; heroes with historical credibility
   - Folk heroes in myths, legends, folktales and similar forms

3.15 Folk heroes: outlaws, highwaymen, and similar forms

Chapter 4:
ISSUES RELATED TO 'TOURISTED LANDSCAPES'

CONCLUSION

Figure 3.1
STRUCTURE OF CHAPTER 3

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matter which is closely identified with history and historical circumstances. Lowenthal (1996), Prentice (1993) and others have referred to the ubiquity of heritage and its resources, with Lowenthal declaring that “all at once heritage is everywhere” (1996, p. xi); however, as this section will reveal, there is some contention about the meaning, nature and scope of both heritage and its resources, its linkage with history, and the reasons which might encourage tourists to be interested in gaining access to those resources. Seal’s comment that “folklore is all around us all the time” (1998, p.13) is a similarly expansive claim about folklore and folkloric resources, and is the focus of the second step in the progression of refinement in this Chapter. His comment recognizes that folklore is a distinctive area of study with its own literature and body of observations, even though it is not uncommon for many commentaries on heritage and culture to overlook or even ignore its separate identity. The third preliminary step considers the story-telling function of folklore; there is a brief differentiation between various story-telling forms (myths, legends, folktales and other, mainly narrative, forms), and commentary on the principal function of them – to tell stories about a person, or an event, or a ‘thing’, or a place, or any combination of these. It is suggested that it is the leveraging of any particular story which heightens its attractiveness as a tourism resource.

It is the fourth section of the Chapter which establishes the principal substantive focus for this study – the folk hero as an icon and celebrity. One of the factors which could contribute to the circumstances of neglect reported by Pearce, Morrison and Moscardo (2003 and also by Sorensen and Carman (2009) in the special case of heritage studies), has been exposed by Seal with his observation that “it is not the historical personage who is the folk hero, but the image or representation of that person in folklore” (2001, p. xix); Hughes-Hallett is similarly convinced that popular interest in the folk hero lies less in the factual story and more in the symbolism of the hero and the events in which the hero is engaged. Whatever the reasons for the alleged neglect, the sometimes mysterious circumstances of the folk hero, if they are to make a serious contribution to heritage-based tourism need to be ‘teased out’; in this Chapter, it is the general circumstances of the folk hero which are ‘teased out’ with the more detailed circumstances encountered in the case study and the analysis of them in Chapter 7.

HERITAGE and HERITAGE RESOURCES

It is the purpose of this section to present a summary exposition on the meaning, nature and scope of heritage, to review briefly the scope of heritage resources, and to examine the linkages of heritage with history. Most of this study is supply-side focused; however, added to this section is a brief discussion about some of the factors which case studies have revealed as influencing touristic interest in heritage, folklore and their resources.

3.1 Heritage: meaning, nature and scope

Questions about the meaning, nature, scope and use of heritage and its resources have generated an extensive volume of literature, even though, as David Harvey has claimed, the pursuit of unequivocal and universally-agreed answers is likely to be frustrated because “there seem to be as many definitions of the heritage concept as there are heritage practitioners” (2001, p.319; on this, see also, Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000; Graham and Howard, 2008; Herbert, 1995; Howard, 2003; Timothy and Boyd, 2003).

While some commentaries and explanations use a functional approach to generating answers to the questions (see, for example, Larkham, 1995; Loulanski, 2006;
Lowenthal, 1996), others are content to rely on the simple linkage of the present with past periods; for example, Johnson and Thomas interpret 'heritage' as "virtually anything by which some kind of link, however tenuous or false, may be forged with the past" (1995, p.170). Other commentators seem wedded to complex transcendental interpretations. Merriman (1996) is one such example; in his book reviews of Patrick Wright's The village that died for England (1995), and Raphael Samuel's Theatres of Memory (1995), he speculated that there are two major categories of definition and interpretation; one of these gives emphasis to the physical, tangible and empirical features of history (such as places, sites and buildings), while the second reflects the transcendental and less tangible aspects including memories, folktales, legends and myths. This second interpretation is based on the belief that 'heritage' has at least as much to do with process as with substance, and it is a view which is shared by Harvey (2001), Howard and Leathlean (1995), Loulanski (2006) and Moscardo (2000). It is the matters of both substance and process which have influenced the study being considered here. Another group of commentators has indulged in investigations of statutory, legal and operational sources in their attempts to find usable answers to the questions. Some of these investigations have referred to the intrusion of ideological perspectives, or to the imposition of particular value positions (to suit ambitions for economic development or redevelopment, or nationalism), or to a lack of clarity about which heritage resources could be subject to particular statutory instruments (see, for example, Ahmad, 2006; Blake, 2000; Lumley, 2005; Turpenny, 2004). Although some of these sources present acceptable interpretations, it is likely that they are probably useful only within their defined legislative framework.

A reasonable summary interpretation would be that there is no universally-accepted and applicable definition of 'heritage' and the resources which flow from it, a situation which has been characterized by Howard and Leathlean (1995) as a process of 'groping very slowly towards an understanding' across a wide canvas of topics within the scope of 'heritage'. One outcome of the looseness and imprecision of interpretation has been the obfuscation of folklore and, as a consequence, its absorption as 'just another' heritage and cultural resource; this has contributed (as later sections of this Chapter will explain) to the special meaning, significance and contribution of folklore to cultural, economic (including tourism), historical, political and social development being overlooked by generalizations and simplifications (Lowenthal, 1996).

3.2 Heritage Resources: appropriation, adaptation and commodification.

Lowenthal's premise is that "all at once heritage is everywhere ... a prime lure of tourism. One can barely move without bumping into a heritage site" (1996, p. ix). This generalization has been expressed similarly by others such as Hewison (1987; 1992) and Prentice (1993) with their references to the heterogeneity and ubiquity of the heritage 'product', to the long history of public interest in heritage issues, and to the diversity of 'publics' for which heritage holds interest and fascination.

Despite the expansive interest in heritage, there is not much congruity and consistency in the interpretations of 'what' should be included in an inventory of heritage resources; Millar's (1999) reference to overlapping categorizations, and McKercher and du Cros's (2002) references to product categories "enmeshed in layers of complexity" (2002, p.135) are typical commentaries on the process of categorization. Figure 3.2 presents a summary of the range of heritage-linked resources derived from a number of sources, and Figure 3.3 re-interprets and transposes that range across three levels, differentiated according to their type of significance, their tangibility and intangibility, and a summary of reasons for commodifying those resources (see later, in Chapter 4, a discussion about commodification and tourismification).

It is important to be aware of both the scope and the nature of the basic resources and the commodification to which they are subjected (for whatever purpose), so that their
contribution to the construction of tourism attractions is understood, and so that the story as presented as a tourism attraction can be as complete and appropriate as possible. This becomes an important issue in the special case considered in Part C. Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000) have addressed this matter; their commentary is that an outcome of the commodification of “pasts into heritage products and experiences for sale” (p.1), may be a degree of trivialization that could contribute to the “the destruction of the heritage resource which is its [the tourism attraction’s] raison d’être” (p.20). King’s (2000) concern about this has led him to advocate that the potential impact of commodification should be included as part of the environmental impact assessment process. The ongoing problem seems to be an almost insatiable public appetite for access to and experience of ‘things’ from the past (see, for example, Lowenthal, 1996; Prentice, 1993; see also Section 3.4).

3.3 History and Heritage

Any discussion about historical accuracy and veracity has relevance, not only in the general matter of heritage, but also in the later considerations of folklore, folk stories, and even the circumstances of folk heroes. For this reason, in later Sections of this Chapter, there will be references back to this brief consideration here.

Questions about the authenticity, credibility, historical accuracy and intrinsic value of resources which feature in heritage-based tourism are seldom far from the surface of analysis and interpretation. Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000, pp. 1-7) considered it necessary to distinguish between

- ‘the past’ – which provides the chronological context;
- ‘history’ – which is what historians regard as worth recording and interpreting, and which is largely verifiable;
- and ‘heritage’ – which is a mediated product communicating selected facts and fantasies.

Even with differentiations of this kind, some commentators are implacably disturbed by any process which commodifies history and mediates it so that the ‘facts’ become diluted to the point of having seriously disputable veracity. For example, Laurajane Smith (2006 – see especially her discussion in Uses of Heritage, Part II) expresses concern that, in the process of commodification, there are often-seized opportunities for manipulation, obfuscation, distortion, selection, and other deliberate communication strategies which could lead to the transmission of mixed messages, or to the avoidance of some unpleasant and critical aspects of the story, or to the transmission of misinformation, or even to the obstruction of the transmission. Hewison (1987) has referred to the outcome of commodification as “bogus history” (p.144), and a similar view has been expressed by other commentators who have referred to the process of ‘massaging’ history for quick and easy consumable delivery for entertainment, in which the mediated products – heritage – become little more than “products of a creative imagination” (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, p.6), with the historic ‘facts’ being isolated from their contexts and susceptible to distortion and manipulation. Although Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998b), Lowenthal (1996, see especially pp. 122-125), Samuel (1995) and Schouten (1995) have expressed concern that ‘the historic truth’ may be compromised, they adopt a more liberal approach to the application of ‘creative imagination’ if the outcome is that the story being told raises ‘dead history’ to ‘vital heritage’; their condition, however, is that the commodification is not detrimental to ‘the facts’.

The challenge for heritage-based tourism is not necessarily the protection of the historic ‘facts’, but the selection of the ‘facts’, the presentation of them, the claims made about them, and the degree of manipulation and sanitization imposed so as to endow them with heightened consumer appeal (and palatability – a matter of concern...
HERITAGE RESOURCES

General categories of resources

- sites, spaces, places,
- buildings and structures
- artifacts, objects
- jewelry, art forms, costumes
- art works
- documents,
- physical remnants,
- armaments,
- memorials, statue

Appropriated, adapted, adopted and commodified resources

- Archeological remnants – sites, buildings, structures, walls, burial grounds, bones, artifacts and tools;
- Exhibition centres, galleries, libraries, museums – artworks and music, artifacts, crafts, tools, books, costume, public records, military 'hardware';
- Performance centres – for drama, music, dance;
- Buildings, places associated with 'famous' people, events – places of birth, work, death, discovery, invention, social and political action, military activity;
- Places for pageants, anniversaries, festivals, ceremonies, parades;
- Monuments, memorials, including burials grounds and cemeteries
- Places or, or associated with science, industry, discovery and invention, transport;
- Military sites, including battlefields, airfields, dockyards, military 'hardware' (ships, tanks, guns, etc);
- Public buildings – government buildings, town halls, schools, colleges, prisons;
- Religious buildings, sites – churches, cathedrals, abbeys, priories, mosques, shrines, holy sites;
- Settlements – townscape, enclaves, districts;
- Communities with actions, activities, behaviour, styles, organization, occupations linked to past periods;
- Natural sites with historic and cultural associations, including links with indigenous peoples, and where events and activities linked to ‘famous’ people

**HERITAGE RESOURCES: Differentiation by:**

- **Types of significance**
  - **Intrinsic significance**, relevance, originality, rarity or uniqueness, authenticity, realism
  - **Symbolic significance** of event or happening, occasion, performance, identity,
  - **Personal significance** – memories, education, participation, performance,
  - **Economic significance** – income generation, employment, conservation, development, reconstruction,
  - **Social, political significance** – impacts on social and political organization and development

- **Tangible resources, and Intangible resources**
  - **Constructions** – examples include:
    - **Buildings** - for the purposes of commerce, entertainment, exhibition, government, industry, performance religion, residence
    - **Facilities** - for the purposes of transport – canals, dockyards, harbours, piers, ports, stations, harbours,
    - **Structures** – bridges, viaducts, monuments,
  - **Places, spaces** – examples include:
    - archeological sites, remains sites and structures;
    - districts, enclaves, places;
    - routes, tracks, trails;
    - sites – including battlefields, military installations; cemeteries; spaces, arenas, courtyards, plazas
  - **Artefacts** – examples include:
    - tools;
    - craft items – costume, furniture, jewellery;
    - artistic items – literature, music, painting, sculpture,

- **Folklore** – tradition-based and linked expressions of particular culture:
  - **Oral traditions** - language, stories (myths, legends, folktales),
    songs, ballads,
  - **Performing traditions** – literature, music, dance, drama,
    games, pageants, festivities, parades,
  - **Social practices** – public records, customs, styles, belief systems, worship, rituals, work practices,
  - **Knowledge and crafts** – (especially indigenous) practices,
    skills, knowledge, beliefs, legacies,

- **Purpose of commodification**
  - Education
  - Entertainment
  - Information
  - Creation of ‘emblematic landscape’
  - Promotion of regional difference
  - Creating national identity
  - Raising consciousness of local history
  - Creating jobs
  - Stimulating arts, crafts
  - Advertising

**Notes:**
1. heritage and historic value and significance may be due more to subsequent interpretation than to original intention
2. scale of significance spreads across a spectrum – international, national, regional, local
3. Sources include: Ashworth and Tunbridge (1996); Millar (1995); Prentice (1993; 1994; 2003); Swarbrooke, (1995); UNESCO (1989; 2003);

**Figure 3.3**
HERITAGE RESOURCES: types of interpretation

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sometimes encountered in what is referred to as ‘dark tourism’). What eventuates in heritage-based tourism is a mediated (hi)story, transformed into a commodity which is marketed and ‘sold’ to visitors as tourism products and attractions (see, for example, Hall and McArthur, 1993, 1996; Harvey, 2001; Merriman, 1996; Moscardo, 2000; and Timothy and Boyd, 2003). Seal (2001), and others who endeavour to unravel the fact from fiction in the stories about folk heroes inevitably refer to the mediation and commodification of those stories (see, for example, the quotation from Seal which is listed at the head of this Chapter), and that is a matter which needs careful consideration in the construction of the framework (see Chapter 5).

3.4 Tourist interest in heritage resources

There is one further issue to be considered in this brief commentary about heritage. Most of the attention in the research recorded here focuses on the ‘supply-side’ of tourism, and the selection, presentation and interpretation of heritage-based resources for the purposes of tourism. It is necessary, however, to engage briefly with comments about the ‘demand-side’ of tourism, so that later interpretations of the translation of resources into tourism products can be seen to be a response to the experience-seeking motivations of tourists.

The general body of literature which addresses tourist consumer behaviour, decision-making and motivation processes has been described as “an extremely complex area of research” (Hall and Page, 1999, p.52) which has not yet been consolidated into a body of coherent and credible theory (see, for example, Poria, Reichel and Biran, 2006; Sirakaya and Woodside, 2005; Swarbrooke and Horner, 2007; Uriely, 2005). Drawing on the sources listed here, and from case studies of the motivation for tourist visits to particular heritage sites and attractions it is possible to differentiate between visits which are based on genuine heritage-specific reasons, and those which are not necessarily tightly-linked to those reasons. Figure 3.4 lists examples of both categories, of typical sites and attractions visited, and some of the case studies on which this assessment has been based.

Other issues arise in considering this matter of tourist interest in heritage resources:

- one of these is the differentiation of visitors to heritage sites according to the depth of their prior knowledge or their search for a knowledge-based experience;
  - an example of this is Kerstetter, Confer and Graefe’s (2001) disaggregation of heritage visitors along a spectrum which extends from the ‘history greenhorn’ to the ‘full-fledged history buff’ (2001, p. 267);
- a second is Jewel and Crotts’ (2009) commentary on the unique motives and needs of heritage visitors, and the degree to which heritage-based tourism is a discrete specialization or niche, or whether it is little more than a component of mass tourism which can be an easily identified because of its focus on particular resources;
- and a third is Prentice, Witt and Hamer’s (1998) proposition that not all visitors will engage with the same tourism product in the same way; some of these differences in engagement and response have been considered, for example:
  - by O’Dell (2005) and Mossberg (2007) with their interpretations of ‘experiencescapes’ and the touristic ‘experience environment’;
  - in Rodaway’s (1994) focus on ‘sensusuous geography’ and ‘themescapes’ (see later, in Chapter 4) by attention to ‘emotional geographies’ (see
Specific heritage-linked reasons:

- To gather knowledge, information, insights;
- To meet challenges posed by the mystery of antiquity;
- To engage in religious acts, activities (reverence for sacred symbols);
- To capture and cultivate a sense of national, regional identity with links to history;
- To capture and cultivate a sense of place identity;
- To capture and cultivate a sense of belonging (personal past);
- To participate in the support of local and regional history;
- To meet social expectations (that the site should be visited at some time);

Linked reasons:

- To visit somewhere/something historically 'famous';
- To share in experiences with family members and friends;
- To be entertained (costumed presentations, guided tours);
- To gain access to history-linked arts and crafts;
- To contribute to upkeep of monuments

Notes:
1. These studies focus on visits to such heritage attractions as: archeological sites; historic homesteads and castles; the birthplaces of famous novelists, artists, or composers; battlefields; sites where historic treaties were signed; major religious buildings (cathedral, mosque) and shrines; museums of antiquities; districts of architecturally-distinct building styles.
2. Based on the following case studies: Biran, 2005; Biran, Poria and Reichel, 2006; Cameron and Gatewood, 2000, 2003; Goulding, 2001; Jewll and Crotts, 2001, 2009; Poria, Butler and Airey, 2004a, 2004b; Poria, Reichel and Biran, 2006a, 2006b; Prentice, Davies and Beeho, 1997; Prentice, Witt and Hamer, 1998;
Some of these matters are revisited in Chapter 4 as contributions to ‘touristed landscapes’ and ‘themescapes’, and the implications of them are carried forward as inputs to and influences on the construction of the analytical framework in Chapter 5.

FOLKLORE and FOLKLORIC RESOURCES

Many of the general matters considered in the previous Section about heritage and heritage resources have parallels in this Section about the special circumstances of folklore and folkloric resources. Although there is a distinctive area of study of folklore, with its own literature and observations (see, for example, Ben-Amos, 1971; Dorson, 1972, 1973, 1976, 1983; Dundes, 1965; Green, T, 1997; Kirschblatt-Gimblett, 1988, 1998a, 1998b; Klein, 1997; Oring, 1986, 2006; Seal, 1998; Toelken, 1996; Wannan, 1987, and Wilson, 1988), many of the published sources which address heritage-based and culture-based tourism tend to use the terms ‘heritage’ or ‘culture’ as umbrella terms with expectations that they embrace most if not all components – including folklore.

Lowenthal has given separate recognition to folklore, declaring it to be one of the "icons of collective identity" and an important component of "a checklist of essentials" of national identity (1996, p.63). In his view, folkloric resources have contributed significantly, sometimes without due attribution, to the creation of artistic, economic, political and social development, and although some interpretations of both the substance and the contribution have been contentious, folkloric issues and items have come to be considered as important, especially when they attract attention for commodification, and particularly as tourism resources and attractions. That is an underlying expectation of this study in general, and particularly for the case study considered in Chapter 7.

As with all of the Sections of this Chapter, there is a brief interpretation of the meaning and scope of the terms used, and this is followed by a brief review of the ‘raw materials’ (resources) and the uses which are made of them, and a commentary on historic credibility.

3.5 Folklore: meaning and scope

It is no easier to achieve a consensus interpretation of ‘folklore’ than for ‘heritage’ (as reported in Section 3.1). Even The American Folklore Society is reluctant to provide an ‘official’ definition, in part because, as the Ohio State University Center for Folklore Studies web page suggests, "Folklore is a slippery term to define ... [and] is imprecise and problematic" (cfs.osu.edu/aboutus/default.cfm, accessed 28/01/10; 05/11/10). References to its centrality in the studies of national culture contribute little to sharpening the definition, and even the scholarly literature referenced in an earlier paragraph tends to obfuscate rather than clarify the meaning, nature and scope of folklore, while commentaries in many ‘official’ documents (including, for example, UNESCO, 1989, 2003; UNESCO-WIPO 1997) reveal little more than interpretations composed to fit particular national circumstances.
In a previous section (3.1) reference was made to the observation of Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000, pp. 1-7) that heritage is a mediated product used to communicate selected facts and fantasies. Folklore lies within that mediated product, but it has a distinctiveness which transcends the context of history. Drawing from a diversity of sources in the folklore-specific literature it is possible to derive the following characteristics:

- firstly, folklore is not necessarily, and certainly not exclusively tied to historical events or aspects of traditional culture; it is also an expression of contemporary and modern culture;
- secondly, it is a reflection of the social and cultural identity of a 'community', no matter whether the scale of that community is local or regional or national because it embodies a range of codes of behaviour, values, beliefs, and practices which can become identified with and through the associations of social/cultural groups;
- thirdly, it is inclusive of 'things', events, happenings, places, associations and so on, and these become part of the portfolio of heritage resources as the present becomes the past;
- fourthly, whether material and tangible or non-material and intangible, many folkloric resources can be appropriated and commodified for purposes such as tourism;
- fifthly, although there is some consistency between the prospectus of heritage resources and of folkloric resources, the principal expressions of folklore have a distinctiveness which is not limited to any particular time period; one implication of this is that a folkloric resource is not necessarily of historic significance, although it might be;
- and, finally, folkloric items can have an intrinsic value, interest and usefulness because of their associations with people, places, events, happenings; they will also have an attraction because of being embedded in a particular aesthetic, cultural, economic, geographical, historical, political or social context.

These characteristics both tie folklore to, and free it, from heritage; folklore does not have to be of historic significance, although, in the opinion of Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge, heritage is clearly a dimension of history. Seal (1998) refers to folklore as 'the hidden culture', which is not limited by any particular time specification, and which is continuing and flexible. Its very attractiveness, however, is also its most serious problem; some of the folkloric record is embedded in literary forms which are fictional accounts and embellishments, and it is this characteristic which leads to some claims to disenfranchise that record from serious historical study (see 3.8).

3.6 Folklore: inventories of the 'raw materials' (resources)

Just as folklore and heritage can be linked – even if only because both are expressions of and contribute to the record of history – there is some similarity in the inventories of their 'raw materials' (or resources). It is useful, therefore, to re-engage with the inventories of heritage resources considered previously in 3.2, and in Figures 3.2 and 3.3.

There are three common approaches to the construction of inventories of folkloric resources; for example:

- Seal (1998), using a form of content analysis, has composed an inventory by aggregating items from folkloric stories (see his tabulation, p.10, and the discussion in pp. 9-12);
- Bonner’s (1986a, 1986b) approach was to focus on the characteristics of only the tangible items;
• and Oring (1986, with later revisions) interpreted each folkloric object as a 'text' which has one of three forms of significance – intrinsic, associational and communication – with linkages between particular contexts, experiences, actions, events and participants.

For the purposes of this study, and drawing on the scattered literature about folkloric resources, an inventory of the resources has been configured which reflects especially the approaches of Bonner, Oring and Seal (see Figure 3.5). Three categories have been drawn as follows:

• 'texts' – comprising, for example:
  • tangible items such as artifacts, tools, buildings, forms of transport, costume, dress;
  • places, sites, settings;
  • documents, records;
  • output of belief systems including medical remedies, religious observance, festivals, events;
  • social organizations including government;
  • narrative, art and performance forms [Note: these three are also listed as communication modes];

• 'associations' – comprising people (as individuals and as communities), places, events and happenings, which have links to/with one or more forms of the 'texts';

• communication modes – comprising, for example,
  • various narrative forms, including the tangible forms of books, and the intangible forms such as folktales, legends, myths,
  • art forms, including music, dance, drama, painting and others,
  • performance forms, including for example ceremonies, pageants, rituals and customs.

Lying beyond these three categories, but in some ways pervasive of all three, are the intangible influences which form part of Seal's (1998) 'hidden culture' – although not specifically listed by him in his inventory (1998, pp. 9-12); these are the influences which rely on 'thought, feeling and intuition', emotions and engagement with multiple senses as they contribute to the 'meaning' of places, events, people, and 'things, especially in their presentation through, for example, narrative, art and performance forms (see, for example, Davidson and Milligan, 2004; Porteous, 1996; Schofield, 2009; UNESCO, 1989). These intangibilities are important contributors to the 'artful construction' of tourist sites, and present particular 'teasing out' challenges to the aims of Knudsen et al (2008); these are important, if difficult to determine components of the analytical framework (see Chapter 5). A recent example of extending investigations beyond the conventional focus on the tangible resources of the built environment is Walton and Wood's (2009) study of the resort town of Blackpool (UK); their study engaged with multiple senses to reveal an interpretation of what they defined as the resort's 'distinctive holiday atmosphere of entertainment'.

3.7 Folklore: functions, uses

As with many of the other issues considered in this Chapter, there is diffusion rather than concentration of the nature and scope of the functions and uses of folkloric resources. The most commonplace practice is to differentiate according to uses such as, for example:

• conservation and resource protection (Oring, 2006; Wells, 2006);
• social improvement, social justice and education (Oring, 2006; Seal, 1998);
• construction of image and identity (Seal, 1998; Palmer, 1999; 2005);
• entertainment and amusement (Seal, 1998).
FOLKLORIC
‘RAW
MATERIALS’

Intrinsic significance, as a single item or as a series or sequence of items
• tangible items – artifacts (domestic, occupational, recreational), tools,
• forms of transport,
• costume, dress
• places, sites, settings, buildings
• output of belief system – medical remedies, religious observance, festivals, events
• social organization, including government and government agencies, public interest groups, commercial organizations
• documents, records
• communication forms – narrative, art, performance

Associational significance
• folkloric significance because of associations of the ‘text’ with people as communities or in groups, with individual people, with places, with settings, with events, happenings, outcomes, consequences

Communication significance – how the folkloric ‘story’ is communicated:
• art and graphic art forms - painting, sculpture, drawings, carvings, monuments, statuary, costume;
• narrative forms - folktales, legends, myths, rhymes, proverbs, jokes, riddles, chants, poetry, tales, parodies, prayers, toasts, songs, ballads
• performance forms - ceremonies, pageants, parades, rituals, customs, games, music, dance, drama

see Section 3.6

Notes:
• Basic inventory is a sub-set of heritage resources ('raw materials')
• Distinctiveness will be influenced by socio-cultural circumstances
• This Figure contributes important component to the analytical framework (see Chapter 6)
There are few commentaries which especially link folkloric resources to tourism, although the references in each of the previously-listed sources are often 'hidden' within the more transparent recognition given to heritage and cultural resources.

The appropriation of folkloric resources, and the commodification of them for commercial purposes of any kind, is frequently considered as compromising their intrinsic value and meaning. For example, some critical commentaries suggest that any exercise which transforms the folkloric resource from its original status to any other, and especially commodification for a commercial purpose, can only be detrimental (see, for example, Hewison, 1987; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998a; Lowenthal, 1996; Pocius, 2001; Samuel, 1995; Schouten, 1995; Seal, 1998; Smith, 2006; Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996; Wells, 2006; see also the general discussion of this issue at 3.3). Even so, while some of these commentators are prepared to offer support for a limited degree of transformation, others have attempted to disaggregate the various forms of transformation; for example, Denby (1971) has addressed this by differentiating between what he has described as:

- "true folklore", where the resource has a significant degree of credibility and the capacity to generate interest in its communication of historic and social circumstances;
- "folklure", in which the resource is transformed into a product and used to attract attention to, for example, a particular place, or person, or event or 'story' as part of a commercial strategy;
- and what he refers to as "folklure as an aside", in which the function of the resource is to add value to a tourism experience which is focussed principally on some other resource, and which will certainly not be the principal motivation for the tourist visit.

To this prospectus of interpretations should be added Dorson's (1959) reference to 'fakelore'. Each of these categories can be linked back to the differentiation of the purposes which motivate tourists to visit heritage and folklore-linked sites, and to their respective expectations of folklore as history.

3.8 Folklore as history

This commentary is a companion to a previous section which examined the credibility of heritage is history (see Section 3.3)

The credibility of folklore as a record of history is under constant attack from historians; the principal challenges refer to, for example, the circumstances which folklorists claim were responsible for the episodes recorded in folk history, the facts of those episodes, the outcome and legacies of those episodes, and even the veracity of the people, places, events, and 'things' involved in those episodes.

The underlying problem for folklore is that while some of these episodes, actions, people and materials are substantially underpinned by factual circumstances and have been recorded with some degree of accuracy, others have had their credibility compromised by being wrapped in stories, myths, legends and folktales, or transformed by depictions in various art forms, or commodified as symbols into souvenirs. Typical of the skepticism of historians is Levine's (1983) comment that "there are grave problems involved in utilizing the materials of folklore for the purposes of history ... the historian quickly learns that things are not always what they seem" (p.338). The principal concern is that the folkloric story is 'phoney lore' in which real history is embellished by 'folksy' stories, by "smudging the distinction" between fact and fiction (Lowenthal, 1985, p.229), by creating a 'fakelore' through various processes of "invention, selection, fabrication
and similar refining processes" (Dorson, 1959, p.4), and by the perpetuation of inconsistencies, incongruities and discrepancies and errors of fact. Of course, the folkloric research community does not react well to such allegations (see, for example, Anderson, 2006; Burke, 2004; Davidson's presidential address to the American Folklore Society, 1974; de Bres, 1996; Saltzman, 1997; Seal, 1998), and their general proposition that folklore, whilst not being a record that is invariably credible, can be a valuable resource by adding an interpretive dimension to verifiable fact.

Some latitude has been given to the folkloric record in the observations of MacCannell (1976) and Sullenburger (1974) who suggest that any 'smudging' of the 'real history' may be less an act of deliberate falsification, and more a response to the need to simplify the story by selecting 'highlights' in the process of creating a product which has commercial potential, especially for the purposes of tourism. One outcome of this process of selection, simplification and commodification has been the creation of symbolic heroes, places, buildings, documents and even events. [Note: this is the inference in the quotation from Seal (2001) at the head of this Chapter; and it is consistent with some of the concessions made by the folklore research community that its purpose should not to be constrained by the need to achieve historical accuracy, validity and veracity - this, they claim, is the responsibility of historians - but should be given the freedom to expose the associations between places, periods, events, happenings, and people which 'enliven' the historic record (see, for example, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998a; Lowenthal, 1996, Samuel, 1995; Schouten, 1995)]. In his commentary on the folkloric presentation of the 'last stand' of General George Custer, Toelken (1996) has suggested that for the purposes of tourism, and perhaps even generally, the important issue with heritage-linked folk stories is not the historical accuracy of the presented story, but the degree of believability, the accuracy of the context and the interpretation which is communicated and received (see pp. 400-413; see also Merriman, 1996). His comment is that "Custer is as much a construct of folklore as an item of history; without the perspective of both fields his position would be impossible to understand" (p.410).

This is a situation which has a close parallel in the story of the Australian folk hero Ned Kelly which is used as the case study in Chapter 7. For the purposes of the case study recorded here an operational 'safety net' of understanding has been formulated. This 'safety net' is an acknowledgement that

- most folkloric stories are seldom a completely accurate and verifiable record of 'history' - in part, because they are most likely based on deliberate positions taken on the 'story' to support particular ends;
- as a consequence of this, most folkloric resources have been subjected to embellishment, selective presentation, 'refinement', and even creative invention so as to generate a rich store of raw materials which are attractive for the purposes of re-presentation, and especially for entertainment and tourism;
- and, the 'captured' folkloric story is seldom expected, or even intended to be complete and accurate; what are 'captured' are selected episodes, and 'reconstructions of an imagined past'.

In the construction of the case study used in Chapter 7 there are inputs from both credible and 'compromised' sources. One of the inputs which might be considered to be a compromised source is derived from the story-telling function of folklore, and is reflective of the proposition that 'dead men do tell tales'.

THE STORY-TELLING FUNCTION OF FOLKLORE
This Section explores issues related to the story-telling function of folklore, and considers some of the means used to communicate those stories. It is an important section for backgrounding the proposition that ‘dead men do tell tales’ even though its focus is principally on literary forms.

3.9 Folk ‘story’ forms: their basic characteristics.

Although there is a diversity of story-telling forms, each with its own characteristics and independence, there is a common commitment to communicating a story or tale about a place, a ‘thing’, a person or an event, or a combination of any of them. For the purposes of this study, the categories of story-telling forms (or communication modes) can be differentiated as follows:

- art and graphic art forms – carvings, drawings, paintings, sculptures, statues, tapestries;
- craft items – material culture – including, jewellery, tools, artefacts, costume and dress which tell tales about the stage of development of the community and society;
- memorials and monuments;
- narrative, literature forms – ballads, chants, doggerels, fables, folktales, jokes, legends, myths, parables, poems, proverbs, riddles, sagas, songs, and various forms of tale (such as etiological tale, fairy tale, romantic tale);
- ‘official records’ – principally factual records (note: it is the selection and interpretation of the items which tells the stories from particular viewpoints and ideological positions);
- oral forms, which may be the foundation for any of the preceding categories or free interpretations and embellishments of them;
- performance forms – ceremonies, customs, dances, drama, festivals, games, music, pageants, parades, re-enactments, rituals.

For any one story there may be a simple consistency across the range of forms; more likely, however, would be differences in degree of fantasy, fiction or fact, with the telling of the whole story less likely than the communication of particular episodes, or with a special alignment of the full story. As Utley (1961) has observed about collections of folk materials and stories many “show more enthusiasm than clarity or accuracy ... [with] artistic rather than scholarly honesty” (p.203). In order to sustain a ‘reasonable’ degree of coherence, clarity, accuracy and scholarly honesty, this brief commentary on the story-telling function of folklore has selected a single focus – folk literature.

Genres of folk literature

Descriptions, examinations and interpretations of the nature and scope of folk literature review an extensive range of forms and types, and there is a special niche in folkloric research which focuses on this matter (see, for example, Bascom, 1965; Bell, 2003; Ben-Amos, 1976; Lenoir and Ross, 1996; Littleton, 1965; Palmer, 1999; Pretes, 2003; Stewart, 1991; Utley, 1958, 1961). One of the many difficulties encountered in the study of folk literature is that the same ‘story’ can be expressed through different literary forms, and whilst there might be a consistent core to that story, the emphasis given to episodes and to content is likely to be determined by such matters as (a) the storyteller, (b) the audience for the story, (c) the setting for the communication of the story (i.e. whether a public presentation or a private reading), and (d) the expectations of the particular story form.

Vaughan (2008) has commented on the potential for a story to ‘float’ between different forms, and for the same story to communicate a different message in response to the demands being placed upon it, and especially on the nature and status of the story-
FICTION

Fiction, fantasy

Fiction, fantasy; primarily for entertainment; may include animal, plant, magical characters and settings

some 'message'; largely supernatural references

Kernel of truth

some embellishment to suit particular audience

Believable, even if not factually accurate

'message' principally moral, behavioural

Believable, with factual basis

evidence of real actions, events, people, places

Factual, verifiable

evidence recorded, observed

FACT

Note: Interpretation and reconfiguration of Ben-Amos (in Green, 1997)

Figure 3.6

STORY-TELLING MODES
teller (i.e., whether the story-teller is a person, or a published book or scholarly paper, or an institutionalized report, or a media report).

In order to impose structure across the various possible story-telling forms of literature, Ben-Amos (in Green, 1997, p.412) has constructed a tabulation; that has been amended for this study, and has been reconfigured as a continuum across which a range of fantasy, fictional and factual stories can be disbursed (see Figure 3.6). A simple explanation of this continuum would be that:

- at one extremity there are stories of fantasy and fiction, and these have the primary role of entertainment; some may include characterizations of animals and plants, magical characters, and mysterious settings; a little less extreme would be 'stories' which would embody a 'message', some with supernatural or moral or religious references;
- progressing away from the pole of fantasy and fiction is a range of story types which are based on what may be referred to as a 'kernel of truth', with some verifiable fact; some of these stories may be embellished to suit particular audiences and occasions;
- continuing the progression towards the pole of fact, other story forms would have an embedded 'kernel of truth', with some stories communicating cultural, moral or religious, or even a simple political message which may be used as a symbol around which to build popular support;
- further towards the pole of believability are stories which embody references to actions, events, people, and places which can be verified; some embellishment or manipulation may have been applied to these stories so that they communicate a preferred message;
- at the extremity of verifiable fact, the story is most likely to be based on first-hand accounts of witnesses, with corroborating sources.

Although reference is made here to extremities, there is no determinable final point at either end of the continuum; additionally, there is no specific 'line' which differentiates one form from another, and this makes Vaughan's (2008) expectations of stories floating along the continuum hard to resist. Further difficulties are confronted by attempts to fit any stories to a structure such as the tabulation of Ben-Amos or the continuum devised here; these difficulties include, for example, the possibility that any one story is derived from another (see later), and that the historic credibility of any story can be challenged (see 3.11).

3.10 Myths; legends; folktales; other forms.

Many of the commentaries on folkloric literature give most attention to three forms – myth, folktale, legend; each is subjected to a summary review here. It is important to be aware that elements of each of these forms can be found in the story which underpins the case study (in Chapter 7), and that provision for this is made in the construction of the analytical framework in Chapters 5 and 6.

Myth.

'Myth' is more a collective term than a single focus term. There are different kinds of 'myth' to meet a range of purposes which may be literal, or symbolic, or even behavioural (Segal, 1999 – see pp. 1-5). The symbol, or focus of any myth is unlikely to be factual; it is more likely to be symbolic of behaviour, a place, a person, a ritual, or a cult. The presentation of the myth is usually as though it (the myth) is authoritative, even factual, whereas the reality is that it is most unlikely to be provable and is most likely to be false (see Rutherford's discussion of Celtic mythology, 1995). Most myths have an underlying 'meaning', usually incorporating a comparison of, for example, war and peace, or life and death, or truth and falsehood, or good and evil. Recent discussions
about myths and mythology (for example, Armstrong, 2005; Doty, 2004; Midgley, 2003) confirm there is not (and never has been) a single, orthodox version of a myth, and that, as circumstances change, so the need to appropriately communicate the story and the inner meaning of that story changes (see also, Segal, 2004; West, 1989). The credibility of the myth lies more in what it has to say and teach – i.e., the 'inner meaning of the story – rather than in any pretensions towards fact and verifiable history (Armstrong, 2005), and the fascination of the stories often lies in the exploits and adventures of the heroes, some of which have the advantages of super-human and super-natural powers, and of cosmic or natural events.

Of relevance to this particular study is the suggestion of Barczewski (2000) and Stoeltje (1987) that the myth form offers an insight into the historical development of a national consciousness and its sets of beliefs, ideas, priorities and values, and that this is achieved in part by personalizing the story so that a named person (who may be factual or fictional) becomes the embodiment of an idealized message which can become a rallying point for the community. The common case is for the 'hero' to confront a powerful cosmic, environmental, political, or religious force; for example, Barczewski's heroes are King Arthur and Robin Hood, while Stoeltje’s heroes are the many pioneers who faced the trials of the westward expansion of the embryonic United States.

Folktale.

The ‘landscape’ of the folktale form is littered with conjecture, especially about the specific nature and purpose of the many different types of tale. They are generally considered to be largely metaphorical, and Ashliman has described them as being "self-consciously fictitious" (2004, p.34). This form has been the subject of more intensive investigation and rigorous analysis than the other two principal forms; the evidence for this is clear, but the reason is seldom explained. The most commonly referenced investigations are those of:

- Antii Aarne, whose motif-based classification, derived from his study of Scandinavian folktales, was published as the Index of Types of Folktale (1910);
- Stith Thompson, who translated, modified and augmented the scope of Aarne's index, publishing it first in 1928, with a revision in 1961;
- Vladimir Propp, whose classification as based on analysis of both the motif of the tale and the actions reported in it; it was derived from his study of Slavic folktales – published first in 1928, Theory and History of Folklore or Morphology of the Folktale, with an English language version in 1958;
- and Hans-Jorg Uther, who remodelled the Aarne-Thompson system and published it in 2004 as The Types of International Folktales: a classification and bibliography based on the system of Antii Aarne and Stith Thompson.

From these various classification systems can be derived some 'typical' folktale structural elements and motifs, which are often considered to represent the foundations of traditions and culture; this is the claim made of the four-volume set of The Greenwood Library of World Folktales, edited by Thomas Green, 2008. There is scarcely any knowledge of the authors of the tales, not least because of the antiquity of many of them, the dispersed origins across several continents, and because the likelihood of changes introduced to the stories as they have been passed through generations by oral communication. It was not the concern of the storyteller to conform to structures and types of tale; their responsibility was to 'tell a good tale', and the organic nature of the tales has contributed to their longevity, even if some of the substance and detail has changed through time and place.

Legend.
There is commonly an almost indiscriminate use of the terms myths and legends, treating them as synonyms – which they are not (see Degh, 2001). Despite this, and especially in the formal study of folklore, the standard approach is to consider a legend to be more historically verifiable, and the actions, people, places and period of history to be more likely to be credible, even if the on-telling of the story has caused embellishment, elaboration, expansion and transformation (such as the replacement of the ‘real’ person, place, action and so on with what can be presented as a more attractive, and locally-known alternative). In addition, whereas the myth may be almost time, place, person and action unspecific – because it is the ‘meaning’ of the message which is of most importance – the story in the legend will usually refer to matters which will have multiple components most of which can be appropriately assigned to a ‘real’ time, place, activity and a person.

In the study of folklore, it is not uncommon to find that stories which have become legends are based around a number of core elements, such as, for example, personal encounters (meetings), material and/or hereditary possessions, special places, unusual circumstances, conflicts (especially with authorities), belief systems and customs. A characteristic of the legend which attracts popular appeal (and, thereby, creates a distinct attractiveness for the purposes of tourism) is its particular dependence on the actions of a hero; it is often the mystery, the evidence of an unequal struggle, the confluence of tangible and intangible or emotional aspects of the story – whether or not it (the story) is complete or wholly factually accurate – which creates the basis for a consumer product in the form of an educational resource, or entertainment, or as a contribution to local identity and image (Brunvand, 1998). That the actions of these ‘heroes’ are often localized is of particular benefit in the processes of ‘tourismification’.

Although there is some historical veracity to legends, a characteristic which distinguishes them from, say, chronicles, is that they may be structured deliberately so as to impart a moral or ethical or judgmental interpretation to the story; this is achieved by linking the story to a particular social context so as to highlight its anthropological, cultural, political, psychological and social aspects. This has provided opportunities for the legends to be used by academic folklorists as commentaries on the cultures in which the legends are set. Few legends are constant; the original storyline can be influenced by, for example, the addition of elements from other (similar) stories so as to heighten the level of general interest, to impress targeted groups in the community, to increase the attractiveness of the hero by discarding some of his less attractive personal characteristics, to expand the scope of the story, and to reconfigure the story so as to increase its consumer appeal.

Other forms.

Many of the comments made about myths, folktales and legends are at least as relevant, and possibly even more relevant to the circumstances of other forms of storytelling. In summary, these other forms include, for example, anecdotes, ballads, chants, epics, fables, etiological tales, fairy tales, folk songs, jingles, jokes, laments, lullabies, parables, prayers, proverbs, rhymes, riddles, and sagas. (see, for example, the commentaries of Bascom, 1965; Ben-Amos, 1976; Green, 1997, 2008; Haase, 2008; Hansen, 1997; Luthi (translated by Niles) 1986; Shoemaker, 1990).

These forms and tourism

All of these forms of folkloric story are essentially narrative forms, and they provide a treasure trove of stories which can be appropriated for and adapted to the needs of tourism attractions. It is the level of mystery and challenge which is the initial attraction; the core of the story or tale may be manipulated to increase the potential scope of commodification, while the peripheral elements may become adjusted to heighten the attractiveness and opportunities for different approaches to the delivery of the story as a
tourism attraction, or they may be omitted from the story altogether – these are the fears expressed by Smith (2006) and Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996).

Of the three major forms, initial judgment would suggest that it is the legend which is likely to make the most significant contribution to the story being considered in this study, not least because of the scale of its ‘kernel of truth’. However, what is important for the purposes of commodification and transformation into a tourism attraction is the quality of the story being told, and although credibility of the story is important, most stories will be subjected to some level of mediation so that their communication is enhanced. Whether derived from myths, legends or folktales or some other forms, it is important for tourism to acknowledge that ‘dead men do tell tales’.

3.11 The credibility as history of stories from any of these forms.

Recent research attributes symbolism, explication and interpretation of ‘meaning’ as the primary concerns of these various forms; historical accuracy is seldom considered as a primary purpose (Saltzman, 1997). It is becoming increasingly evident that the importance of any of these forms of story-telling is based on its capacity (a) to tell a story, (b) to provide some insight into the ongoing changes of culture and society, (c) to raise awareness about particular issues, or events, or places, or people, and (d) to use the mysteries in any story to entertain. For example, Pretes (2003) has suggested that the narrative forms collectively provide “a kind of ‘archeological’ site in which lies buried layers of meaning” (p.140). Bell (2003) considers them to be a “discursive realm ... in which the [stories] of the nation are forged, transmitted, reconstructed and negotiated constantly ... framing national identity” (p.75). Folklorists use folk tales as a ‘treasure trove’ from which to unlock the mysteries of what happened, where it happened, why it happened, who was involved and what was the outcome, and although the strict purpose being sought has changed through time, Armstrong (2005), Brunvand (1998) and West (1989) continue to argue that folk stories have a useful role in interpreting the passage of history. It is important to be aware that few folklorists claim that any of the forms of story-telling are fully credible as records of history, and Toelken (1996) has seized on this to draw attention to the impossibility of historical accuracy (in part because of the time dislocation between the alleged occurrence of events and the transference of them into a story form) and to the advocacy that credibility of the circumstances should be left to the historians, and for the stories to be given latitude to be more entertainment than education (see especially pp. 400-413).

It is important to realize that the folkloric stories may be derived from many different sources, and not only from narrative forms. All the modes of communication significance (see Figure 3.6) may contribute to story-telling; Figure 3.7 draws attention to this potential in the special case of the folk hero.

FOLK ICONS and FOLK HEROES

This is the final step in the refinement process being undertaken in this Chapter, with attention focused at the most detailed level being considered here – the folk hero.

The two linchpins for this consideration of folk icons and folk heroes lie in

- firstly, the commentary from Pearce, Morrison and Moscardo (2003) and their references
  - to “the role of individuals as tourist icons” (p.83),
to the appropriation of them “as the basis for developing and marketing tourism destinations” (p.63),
and to their concern ‘the role of individuals as tourist icons’ had been neglected, despite the potential of many them as a potential core attraction;
• and secondly, in the proposition that ‘dead men do tell tales’, and the potential that has for the contribution of the folk hero to history-linked story-telling and, by transformation and commodification, to revelation as a tourism attraction.

For the folk heroes and icons to be sufficiently ‘famous’ to be transformed through commodification into one (or more) forms of commercialized attraction, including for tourism, Pearce, Morrison and Moscardo and others (see, for example, Couldry and Markham, 2007; Epstein, 2005; Ferris, 2007; Henderson, 1992; Rojek, 2001; Turner, 2004, 2006; Turner, et al, 2000) nominate a range of criteria which need to be met; these criteria include, for example:

• a high recognition and familiarity factor;
• a significant degree of uniqueness;
• a level of appeal which is capable of extending beyond the local community;
• a capacity for appeal to different groups of tourists and tourist ‘gazers’;
• a demonstrable impact on local and/or regional and/or national affairs;
• an influence on any combination of economic, environmental, political and social circumstances;
• an identifiable relationship with a particular geographical area;
• a legacy expressed through readily identifiable symbols and signs, and both tangible and intangible evidence;
• a commitment (by public and commercial agencies) to tell the story of the icon/hero;
• ongoing remembrances – such as anniversary celebrations, re-enactments;
• and, linkages to other significant icons and hero-types.

The general conclusion from these various sources is that although some of these ‘individuals’ can be commoditized as ‘living legends’, the majority attract attention and even an increased level of attention after they have died, an observation which resonates with the proposition that ‘dead men do tell tales’.

This study focuses attention on only one of the types of icon-cum-hero considered by the previously-listed sources. In the first section (3.12) consideration is given to some of the literature about icons, and the association of icons with heroes, with the focus sharpened by using Sternberg’s (1999) reference to an icon as “an object or person that leaves a powerful impression … transformed from an object of ordinary significance into … a thematized commodity: an object, person, or experience that has acquired added value through the commercial heightening of meaning” (p.4).

This introductory section is followed by brief reviews of the principal sources of information about folk heroes (3.13), and the characteristics and types of folk hero (3.14); a concluding section (3.15) is focused on the hero type of which Ned Kelly and the empirical chapter can be considered typical – the outlaw (see Seal, 1996, 2001)

3.12 Folk Icons and Folk Heroes

Throughout most of the background considerations presented in this Chapter it is clear that the research community – and probably the practitioners too – find it difficult to settle on a consensus definition of the terms being used. ‘Folk icon’ and ‘folk hero’ are
two more to add to the list of difficult terms. The exception might lie in marketing and branding where, according to Grayson and Martinec (2004), the description of 'icon'—whether human or material—is linked to the consciousness of observers and consumers, and to their previously-held (or induced) economic, ideological or sociological positions. This, of course, has simplicity; however, as observers and consumers can interpret the circumstances of the icon from different economic, political and sociological perspectives, any advantage of simplicity is eroded because of the feasibility that, for the human icon, one man's hero is another man's outlaw; this is certainly the position for the contested case of Ned Kelly considered later in Chapter 7 (see also Pearce, Morrison and Moscardo's reference to Ned Kelly as an 'anti-hero' 2003, p.70). Although there are differences of opinion amongst commentators about the status of any folk hero, there is a measure of congruence with a view that any folk hero should be closely identified with "a field of human achievement" (Pearce, et al, 2003, p.64), and "regarded as a representative symbol" (Weidenfeld, 2010, p.852)

For the purposes of this study the term 'icon' is interpreted as a person-symbol, and particularly as a folk hero, with clear linkages to a determinable period of history, a range of activities and locations, a prevailing set of economic, political and social circumstances, and conduct which has generated sufficient interest for it to be appropriated and adapted for a commercial purpose such as tourism.

Even with these 'guidelines' (and those listed in an earlier paragraph), any effort to clarify the nature of the folk icon/hero is faced with a range of complications and frustrations which includes, for example, the nature and reliability of the sources on which the 'stories' are based (see later), the exceptional volume of stories about some heroes (see Seal, 2001), the verifiability of the existence and status of any named folk hero, the discrepancies between ascertainable facts and the legends which grow up around a hero (see Hughes-Hallett, 2004), and the possibility that any folk hero may be an illusion rather than a champion of a laudable cause (see Boorstin, 1992).

It is necessary to be aware of these difficulties at this early point in the discussion about folk icons and folk heroes because most of the stories emphasize such qualities as courage, gallantry, glamour, 'good and noble deeds', inspiration, loyalty (especially to their families and communities), personal sacrifice, political struggles (especially against prevailing governments and their administrations), sensual seductiveness, spirit, and strength; and whilst at least some of these qualities may be applicable to some heroes, Seal has cautioned that there is considerable evidence that "many folk heroes walk a thin and fuzzy line between the admirable and the reprehensible" (2001, p.xiii) (see also, Seal, 1996; and see later in 3.14 and 3.15).

3.13 Sources on Folk Heroes

Stories and information about folk icons and folk heroes are embedded in many forms (see Figure 3.7); for example,

- some have been embedded in one or more narrative and literature forms, including, for example, ballads, jokes, tales, proverbs, rhymes, songs and verses;
- others have been fused and transformed into ceremonies, customs, dances, rituals, and other forms of performance, including drama and music;
- some are sustained through periodic re-enactments;
- and others have been used as focal points in historical novels, artworks of various forms (painting, sculpture, tapestry), or feature in commercial and documentary films, in dramatizations (such as debates, discussions, mock or speculative court cases), or form the basis of musical dramas and operas.
SOURCES from which information about Folk Heroes can be drawn

- Basic embodying sources
  - Literature
  - Artworks
  - Artefacts

- Transformed sources
  - Literature
  - Artworks
  - Artefacts

- Scholarly investigations
  - Literature
  - Artworks
  - Artefacts

- Other communication forms
  - Literature
  - Artworks
  - Artefacts

Note: There is some overlap and duplication within these categories

Figure 3.7
SOURCES on FOLK HEROES
Across this diversity of sources (Figure 3.7) there are differences in the credibility and historical accuracy of the story; this is especially so where the subject is essentially intangible (more associated with myths and folktales than legends), or where there is disruption in the storyline because of problems with verification, or where the story of the folk hero has been romanticized and embellished through ‘creative imagination’. In the face of these and similar challenges some of the folk hero stories have been the subject of ongoing ‘serious’ investigation, including, for example, excavations, materials-testing, forensic tests, document searches, discovery and restoration, discovery of artefacts and documents which were once in the possession of particular folk heroes, family members, friends, and public agencies. The many ongoing searches for more and credible information to verify aspects of the story, and especially the occasional discoveries, sustain the public exposure of the story and its potential usefulness as a tourism resource. All of these sources are important inputs to the analytical framework constructed in Chapter 5.

Folkloric commentators claim that the presence of the folk hero in so many different 'story' forms is evidence of the contribution such iconic figures make to the construction of national or regional or even local identity and tradition (see, for example, Davey and Seal, 1993; Seal, 2001). Despite the reluctance of some ‘traditional’ and conventional historians to accept the position – see earlier sections in this Chapter about historical credibility – folkloric narratives have assumed useful roles as complementary components of the record of history. Coffin and Cohen (1978) have suggested that many heroes are ‘semi-historical people’, and that it is the constructed ‘image’ rather than the ‘real thing’ which lingers across periods of history; this is a view which is shared by, for example, Palmer (1999), Prentice (2003) and Seal (2001 – see the third quotation which heads this Chapter), and it is their inclination to suggest that it is the image, mystery and dissonance rather than the historical or factual accuracy which determines the touristic appeal of any folk hero.

3.14 Folk heroes: characteristics and types

Although there is a considerable literature about the folk hero, there is no clear and apparently universally acceptable definition and categorization of folk hero types. The problems which beset this exercise include, for example, uncertainty about the hero’s status, disputes about the accuracy of the accounts which refer to them and to their contribution to their local community, mystery about their character, and especially about the intermixture of fiction with fact in the various stories and records (Coffin and Cohen, 1978; Klapp, 1948; Seal, 2001). Figure 3.8 is a tabulation of the most commonly listed characteristics.

The conventional approach to listing and cataloguing folk hero types is to concentrate the focus on legendary, historical and magical heroes. Using their principal attributes and characteristics, Seal (2001) generated 36 hero types (see Figure 3.9A), although some of his nominated heroes feature on more than one of his hero types. Other commentators have included educators, explorers, frontiersmen, inventors, military leaders, philanthropists, politicians, prophets, saints, and scientists in their lists, with the principal distinguishing characteristic being that each ‘hero’ is from a past historic period. The modern or current expressions of ‘heroes’ – sometimes styled as ‘legends’ – are embedded in the ‘cult of celebrity’; the most common expressions of these are, for example, current politicians, sports stars, entertainment and media personalities [Note: on the matter of ‘celebrity’ see references previously listed early in this Section]. Recent research by Bernstein and McConnell from the Ayn Rand Institute (ARI - see www.aynrand.org) has extended the scope of ‘heroism’ to embrace efforts to meet challenges which are economic, educational, environmental, medical, physical, political, religious, scientific, social and technological.
A synthesis of these various approaches has been ‘translated’ into a simple three-part categorization as follows (see Figure 3.9B):

- ‘the real thing’ – real life, verifiable historic characters, documented folk heroes;
  - an example would be William Wallace who led the Scottish rebellion against English-based royalty in the 14th century (although this story has been embellished by legends);
- folk heroes known to be fictional – imaginary, fictional and invented: this is the hero type ‘created’ to suit a particular story being told (often, but not exclusively with antiquarian origins);
  - an example of this type would be Siegfried, the legendary German hero portrayed, for example in the music dramas of the Ring Cycle (Der Ring des Nibelungen) by Richard Wagner;
- hybridized folk heroes, some of which might even be apocryphal – the ‘historically-confused’ folk heroes, many with an embellished record of action:
  - an example of this type would be Robin Hood, the English outlaw, whose exploits seem to be located at various times across the 12th to 14th centuries, and attributed to many characters resembling the story-based Robin Hood.

For the purposes of this study the categories of hero types considered in previous paragraphs have been merged into two:

- firstly, a category of folk heroes with a significant measure of historical credibility;
- secondly, a category in which the heroes have been hybridized in the process of transmission through exposure to and communication in myths, legends and folktale.

From these general considerations, this section leads into 3.15 which focuses attention on the folk hero types which have been described by Seal as ‘heroic criminals’ (1996, p. xii, some of which – and Ned Kelly is one – have become national folk heroes).

Folk heroes: ‘the real thing'; heroes with historical credibility (see Figure 3.10)

From the various categorizations considered earlier it is possible to derive seven types of historically-credible heroes; these are:

- explorers, frontier and pioneer heroes;
- heroes of political struggles;
- occupational heroes;
- outlaw heroes;
- religious heroes;
- sages;
- warrior heroes.

Even with this configuration there are differences which reflect, for example, the conventional and stereotypical hero who exhibits bravery and courage in the face of conflict; a second type of hero who faces challenges created by confrontations between sections of the community with the agencies of government – this is a close ‘fit’ to the case study hero of Ned Kelly (see Chapter 7); and a third type in which the folk hero confronts particular economic, environmental, medical, political, religious, scientific and technological challenges.
FOLK HERO: Characteristics

"it is not what he was but what people need him to be and make him that is important" (Coffin and Cohen, 1978, p.xxxiv)

Common characteristics across the genre include the following:

- Lives out self-fulfilling prophecy
- Seldom from privileged section of community
- Family-focused
- Forged by circumstances; scarcely spontaneous
- May be disruptive; maverick
- Become adopted, sheltered by the community
- Local community, political, social rallying point
- Inspirational, not necessarily a role model

- Character (and attraction) may be illusory – may be determined as an outcome of competition
- Character, deeds, influence may be illusory
- Often ambiguous (even surprising)
- Not necessarily involved in great deeds;
- Agenda may not be consistent nor widely supported
- Dramatic rather than commonplace

- May stimulate copy-cat characters
- Stories about them are not always factual

Notes:
1. The characteristics usually associated with folk heroes will vary according to the type of folk hero (see Figure 2.9)
2. Tabulation based on Boorstin (1992); Campbell (1949); Carlyle (1985); Coffin and Cohen (1978); Hughes-Hallett (2004); Klapp (1949); Seal (1996; 2001)
**Figure 3.9A**

**FOLK HERO: TYPES and CATEGORIES, from Seal, 2001**

- Animals and animal-related
- Arabian Nights characters
- Archers
- Beauties
- Children and Children's heroes
- Culture heroes
- Diminutive beings
- Dragon-slayers
- Fairies and Fairy Tales
- Frontier heroes
- Giant-killers/Healers
- Helpers
- Heroes of struggle
- Liars
- Local heroes
- Lovers
- Magicians
- Military heroes
- National heroes
- Nautical heroes
- Nonhuman lovers
- Numbskulls and noodles
- Occupational heroes
- Outlaws
- Religious heroes
- Shape-shifters
- Sleepers
- Thieves
- Tricksters
- Under/otherworld visitors
- Unpromising heroes
- Villains
- Victims
- Warriors
- Wise men and women
- Women dressed as men

**Figure 3.9B**

**FOLK HERO TYPES and CATEGORIES: synthesis of sources (see Notes below)**

- 'The real thing': real life, verifiable historic characters
  - Explorers
  - Frontiersmen, pioneers
  - Heroes of political struggles
  - Occupational heroes
  - Outlaw heroes:
    - Religious heroes, saints, prophets, martyrs
    - Sages
    - Warriors, military heroes

- Fictional folk heroes: imaginary invented, often in legends, myths
  - Aliens;
  - Arabian Nights characters;
  - Boasters, tricksters, 'numbskulls'
  - Culture heroes
  - Dwarfs, Giants
  - Fairies, and other children's story heroes
  - Fantasy, supernatural heroes
  - Mythical warriors
  - Outlaw heroes - highwaymen

- 'Hybrid' categories: some basis in fact; some embellishment
  - Anti-hero
  - Frontier heroes (embellished stories)
  - Helpers, healers
  - Local, national heroes (mainly civic)
  - Romantics
  - Magicians
  - Occupational heroes
  - Outlaws, highwaymen
  - Smugglers, pirates

**Notes:**
- Based on Boorstin, 1992; Campbell, 1949; Carlyle, 1985; Coffin and Cohen, 1978; Hughes-Hallett, 2004; Klopp, 1949; Seale, 1996; 2001;
- excluding celebrities – see Boorstin, 2001; Couldry and Markham, 2007; Epstein, 2005; Feris, 2007; Henderson, 1992; Rojek, 2001; Turner, 2004, 2006; Turner et al., 2000;
- excluding Bernstein and McConnell (Ayn Rand Institute)
Categories of historically-credible Folk Heroes:

- Explorers, Pioneers and Frontier Heroes
- Heroes of political struggles
- Occupational Heroes
- Outlaw Heroes
- Religious Heroes
- Sages
- Warrior Heroes

Tests of credibility: the 'real thing'
- bravery and courage in the face of danger, conflict – the stereotypical folk hero
- challenging circumstances in the face of confrontational situations with government and law and order agencies – also the stereotypical folk hero
- challenging circumstances linked to economic, environmental, medical, religious, scientific, technological issues – may include invention and exploration, and may result in any outcome for the 'hero' including martyrdom, celebrity status, international approbation

Sources of credibility
- Autobiographies
- Biographies
- Print media items
- Electronic media items
- Photographic record
- Personal testimonies – diaries, letters,
- Memorials, monuments, statues
- Public records, transcripts, records of interviews

from verifiable items linked with
- Celebrations, ceremonies, pageants, festivals, re-enactments linked to confirmed anniversaries
- artworks, especially drawings, sketches, prints
- personal effects
- places of association – birth, residence, 'work', events, death

Even for the most structured ‘story’ the historical record is seldom complete, and it is has often become embellished (for any number of reasons). Examples of the incomplete and embellished record can be found in the stories of the fraternity of explorers, frontiersmen and pioneers in the former colonial frontier territories of Australia, Canada, South Africa, and USA; included in such a ‘parade of heroes’ would be:


Heroes of these types are not limited to particular centuries, to particular cultural groups, nor even to particular geographical regions; there is a remarkably consistent ‘message’ or lesson to be learned from stories from these types. Klapp (1949) devised a tabulation cross-referencing heroes (and villains) according to their role and geographical region. In many cases, it may not be the singular hero who becomes recognized, but a ‘collective’ of similar heroes; for example, both scholarly and popular media sources engage with the stories of the collectives of bandits, bushrangers, explorers, frontiersmen, highwaymen, outlaws and pioneers, with separate and more detailed commentaries on some of the folk heroic icons (see Seal, 1996; 2001; and Section 3.15).

A further point about heroes needs to be made here; not all so-called heroes are intentionally heroic. This is recognized by Campbell in his examination of ‘The Hero with a Thousand Faces’ (1968); he refers to the ‘reluctant hero’ as someone who has no initial desire to become the focus of actions which eventually lead to their identification in their community as being heroic – see examples of this type in Segal, R, (2000). Hero myths: A Reader.

The difficulties of adjudicating on the historical credibility of folk hero stories attract ongoing speculation; but, in a recent commentary, Jones (2007) has nominated the sources which could leverage claims for credibility, including in his list the following:

- biographies, autobiographies – no-matter their form, completeness, nor the nomination of the audience to which the story or account is directed;
- media representations – electronic, film (of various kinds), photographs, prints (of various kinds);
- personal testimonies – including diaries, letters, records of interviews;
- memorials – both fixed monuments and statues, and memorial services/pageants and funds.

He also includes commercial productions in his list – postcards, music, songs, artworks of various kinds; but such extensive advocacy is strenuously challenged by other commentators. The key issue for Jones is not what stories from the various sources tell about the individual hero, but what they contribute to revelations about the social and other circumstances prevailing at the time of the hero’s actions (on this point see also, Levine, 1983). Although some commentators have devised a tight structural framework with which to communicate and interpret the ‘story’ of a folk hero, and especially to limit the intrusion and embellishment from unsubstantiated ‘facts’ (or, at least, to draw attention to them) – for example, see Coffin and Cohen, 1978 – it may be that it is these embellishments (and the contested elements) which heighten the attractiveness of the ‘story’ for purposes such as tourism. Even Coffin and Cohen concede in their introductory comments that “It doesn’t matter ... that their lives are beclouded with legend ... it is not what he was but what people need him to be and make him that is important” (1978, p. xxxiv)
The 'hero' of this study – the Bushranger Ned Kelly – has a substantial factual basis; however, there are also elements of the Ned Kelly 'story' which are derived from various embellishments and re-interpretations, and it is the ever-changing mix of these sources which influences the public regard for this dead man's tales.

Folk heroes in Myths, Legends, Folktales and similar forms

Whereas, in the previous paragraphs, there were references to heroes who actually existed, in the brief discussion here there are references to heroes who might or might not have existed, with the doubt ranging from whether there could have been such a person, to whether the hero in the 'story' is a composite character 'invented' to give the 'story' at least a measure of credibility and believability. The implication of this is that there is an underlying current of doubt about the veracity of these hero stories, partly because of the degree of embellishment which accompanies many of them, and also because for some there is little more substance than the simplistic appeal of the 'once upon a time' stories – see, for example, Green's (2007) commentary on the linkage of Tom Thumb and Jack the Giant-killer stories with Arthurian legends. Similar commentaries linking alleged events and heroes with myths, legends and folktales include, for example, de Oliver's (1996) interpretation of the confrontations at the Alamo, Harvey's (2007) re-creations and re-imaginations of the 'Underground Railroad' of Black Heritage in New Jersey, Hemme's (2005) attempts to link the tales of the Brothers Grimm to specific geographic locations, Mitchell's (2003) account of the westward progression of the American frontier, and even Ziolkowski's (1992) efforts to link the Little Red Riding Hood story to particular ideologies.

Ziolkowski's account is a useful indicator of what he refers to as 'an ongoing skirmish' between two folklorist factions – the literary folklorists, for whom it is the story which is important, and the anthropological folklorists whose purpose it is to probe for the 'message' being conveyed by the story and especially to link that with ongoing economic, political and social changes, and to fit it into the 'real world'. There is an element of this 'skirmish' in the commentaries on the story of the Piltdown Man, where, although not a hero of the kind being considered in this study, it has been alleged that the story is "an example both of making use of history and making it up" (Crawley, 1998, p.3); evidence from most commentaries about the use of myths, legends and folktales as history generally corroborates this view (see, for example, Arnold, Davies and Ditchfield, 1998; Lierbersohn, 2007; Tunbridge, Jones and Shaw, 1996).

'Making use of history and making it up' is a process of hybridization, and there are many stories which provide evidence of this; for example, the stories of (King) Arthur, Dracula, William Tell and William Wallace each exhibit some of the inputs to and the outcomes of hybridization. In each case there is some historical credibility fused with invention; a summary of each of these is set out here, with a concluding comment on the power of the 'good story' – a matter which is very important to the case of Ned Kelly considered later.

The Arthurian legend. The historical basis of the King Arthur story (even stories) is regularly contested; "one can only say that there may well have been an historical Arthur [but] ... the historian can as yet say nothing of value about him" (Charles-Edwards, 1991, p.29). Some commentators even recognize the existence of two almost distinctive identities, with Green (2008) referring to these as the historical and the mythical prototypes; Wood's (2005) assessment is inclined to support a proposition that the life and times of the 'real Arthur' had already been fictionalized as legend by at least the ninth century, by which time "Arthur was already a folk hero" (p.217). Wood (2005) has also claimed that the Arthurian tales are the "core myths of the Celts" (p.210), and although these refer to real places, and probably to real battles, little can be irrefutably claimed as factual. The prevalence of Green's mythical prototype in the character Arthur is evident in the additions to the stories of, for example, the wizard Merlin, the sword
Excalibur, the quest for the Holy Grail and the Knights of the Round Table, Sir Lancelot and Queen Guinevere. Despite the many heroic acts and qualities attributed to him Arthur persists as more of a mythical and legendary character than one around whom a body of substantiated history can be formed. The reasons for this include the largely anecdotal and ideologically-driven sources which are used in the stories, the problems faced in verifying the events referred to and interpreted in medieval manuscripts, and the apparent discrepancies in the life-span of the king. Arthurian scholars continue to resist reaching a consensus, although some concede that there is a pendulum which swings between confirmation of the historical figure and the insistence that Arthur is a little more than a folkloric and mythological figure which has become historicized over time (see also, for example, Green, 2007; Higham, 2002; Wiseman, 2007; and Thomas Green’s Internet site – www.arthuriana.co.uk).

The Dracula myth. Although more realistically a place-based than a person-based myth, the stories of Transylvania and Count Dracula have a kernel of truth. The stories are based on elaborations of the tales of Vlad Tepes – Vlad the Impaler – who ruled the territory of Walachia (part of Romania) in the mid-15th Century with a ruthless regime which included impaling law-breakers and Ottoman invaders. Whilst the stories have some basis in fact, the embellishments and elaborations have “spawned an extraordinary vampire culture” (Light, 2007, p.750), of more than 1,000 novels, 200 feature and documentary films, many artworks and a tourism industry which has caused some embarrassment to Romanian government agencies. The ‘real’ Vlad Tepes has a positive place in Romanian history largely because of his strategies to defend Walachia’s independence from the Ottoman Empire and for imposing a strict regime of law and order – for these actions he has been described as a folk hero (see, also, Dumitrescu, 2007; Shandley, Jamal and Tanase, 2006; Tanasescu, 2006).

William Tell. Revered as a patriot, especially for confronting the tyranny of an Austrian governor of his ‘province’ and agitating for independence, William Tell has become a Swiss national hero, even though there is no credible record of his existence, of the governor he challenged nor of the episode with Tell’s son – involving the apple and the crossbow. Most historians refer to the stories about Tell as fiction, with their purpose being to generate popular support for the creation of a separate confederated Swiss state (first phase completed in 1291), and to construct an iconic symbol for independence and nationalism. The first notable record of the Tell legend was in a 15th Century Swiss chronicle, and a ballad composed in the 1470s. In those and in other chronicles, the story is presented as a reference to the early struggles for independence and national identity; some commentators on European legends have compared the Tell story with others, particularly in Norse mythology and folktales in Finland and Denmark, considering them to be examples of what have been described as ‘liberation myths’ (see, for example, Dettwiler, 1991; Wernick, 2004).

William Wallace: This resistance leader is unlike the previous three ‘heroes’ in that there is reputable evidence that he existed and was involved in patriotic activities leading the Scots against attempts to impose English rule on Scotland by Edward 1; however, he shares with the other three embellishments to his story which have been incorporated from various folkloric sources. In Wallace’s case, the principal source which has come to dominate the public perceptions of him is a poem by a 15th century blind minstrel, Blind Harry, written about 170 years after the events took place. Composed almost exclusively from oral tradition, Blind Harry’s account has scarcely any contemporary corroborating evidence, but it gives emphasis to the heroic deeds of Wallace, and it formed the basis of the 1995 film Braveheart. His heroic efforts were not fully acknowledged, even by the Scots; he was declared an outlaw under Scottish law in March 1304, and the emerging power of Robert Bruce and the Stewarts contributed to the ‘deconstruction’ of the Wallace story and legacy (Fisher, 2005). In addition to Blind Harry’s account, Watson has referred to an accumulation of “700 years of story-telling and myth-making” (1999, p.1) which has sustained interest in the Wallace story, with
particular contributions from Burns, Hamilton and Wordsworth (see, for example, the
interpretation and commentaries of Cowan, 2007; Fisher, 2002; Morton, 2001; Watson,
2007)

These selected cases are evidence of the cross-over of fact and fiction; however, cases
such as these provide evidence of the sustaining power of the 'good story' no-matter its
provenance and credibility.

3.15 Folk Heroes: outlaws, highwaymen, and similar forms

Seal's (1996) benchmark study, The Outlaw Legend, examines the folkloric evidence of
"highwaymen, badmen and bushrangers who have become folk heroes" (p. xi). It is his
contention that the stories about them are embedded in three categories (he refers to
them as 'levels') of sources:

- firstly, a category of 'unofficial' sources which is characterized by informality and
  which is associated especially with story-transference by a largely oral tradition,
  and wrapped in myths, legends, folktales, ballads, songs, and so on;
- secondly, a category of 'official' level composed mainly of historic documents,
  research studies and reports, most of which are based on considerable credible
evidence;
- and, thirdly, a category of 'popular' sources in which the stories engage with
  both of the previous categories and become transformed into commercial and
  literary products (including films) designed to meet the aspirations for
  information and entertainment from a broad public base composed of niches of
  special interest – one of which is tourism.

These categories of Seal bear comparison with those derived from other sources, and
considered in Figure 3.9 and Section 3.14

The already considerable literature about folk heroes includes a store of scholarly
literature on the nature, scope and activities of what Cashman (2000) has referred to as
the 'heroic outlaw' (see, for example, Evans and Evans, 1977; Hobsbawm, 1969;
Kooistra, 1989; Seal, 1996; Spraggs, 2001). In these and similar sources the principal
focus varies between bandits, bushrangers, desperados, fugitives, highwaymen,
outlaws and rebels and other types, but one of the more appropriate and enduring
descriptions is Hobsbawm's reference to 'social bandits'. The difference in terminology
has cultural, geographic, historical and in some cases legal reference points. For
example, the descriptive term 'outlaw' (as a noun) is appropriate in the case of Ned
Kelly (considered later, in Chapter 7) because he and the other gang members were
legally declared to be offenders under the provisions of the Victorian Felons
Apprehension Act (1878) because of their bushranging and other criminal activities. The
general and widespread interpretation of the term 'outlaw' (and many of the alternatives
and synonyms referred to previously) has been a matter for contention across many
studies of the cultural, economic, political and social circumstances prevailing in various
countries, particularly (but not exclusively) in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,
and in the developing regions of Europe, North America and such colonial territories as
Australia (see Seal, 1996). The targeting of Cashman's 'heroic outlaw' and Hobsbawm's
'social bandit' by governments and especially by law and order agencies has not always
been interpreted by the home communities of these people as being the fair and
reasonable exercise of legitimate power. This popular (but not necessarily general
antipathy) created at the time a level of public interest in and support for what might be
described as 'the practitioner outlaw', and this has become a core element in the growth
of the 'outlaw' story in various forms.
More recently, with the application of modern commodifying processes to the treasure trove of stories about and evidence of these historic characters, one of the principal beneficiaries has been tourism, with the popular interest in the stories fuelled by the contentious episodes, the reporting and interpretation of them, and the mysteries which seem common features.

The proposition that 'dead men do tell tales' is particularly appropriate to the cases of the outlaw fraternity, or at least the generality of the fraternity and some high profile members of it. In their study of highwaymen, bandits and bushrangers, Evans and Evans (1977) have commented that "there is probably no nation which does not number, among its pantheon of popular heroes, some outlaw who defied the establishment of his day ... to enduring fame" (p.1) ... "When looking for heroes, we choose sinners more often than saints" (p.5). They consider the opportunities for outlaw-type activities to be most evident where community support for the agencies of government and law and order were constrained and begrudging, and conversely, where the support and sympathy would lie with those who were challenging those agencies. In their study Evans and Evans were concerned to identify one or more factors which could elevate the conspicuousness of any one outlaw, and contribute to heightened levels of public recognition; their conclusion was that "it was the horse that supplied the essential ingredient of magic" (1977, p.10). Spraggs (2001), with her examination of the English highwaymen refers to 'the cult of the robber', and, in the particular case of the legendary Dick Turpin, offers confirmation of the importance of the horse with her opinion that "the highwayman and his horse form a potent emblem of escape and freedom" (p.257); her interpretation is that it might not matter that there probably was no historical Turpin and that the Black Bess story is completely fictional, because the story has a type and level of appeal that can transcend any inaccuracies in the public stories as it is converted into a range of entertainment opportunities, including tourism.

Cashman's (2000) review of what he has described as 'outlaw lore' ascribes to many of the Irish outlaws a symbolic position in which their lawlessness in a context of political subjugation (to the English) identifies them as heroes rather than criminals, and gives them a favoured status as they contribute some successes against the occupying forces. Using three case studies he comments on the degree to which the outlaws are often betrayed by close associates, and that such events reflect badly on those who are seduced by promises of wealth and protection. His is a moral judgment, placing the actions of betrayal and neglect of loyalty above the criminal acts of the outlaws.

In contrast to the Irish situation, the stories about the 'badmen' of the American West are set in contexts of tension and conflict between vested interests on the advancing frontier – competition between crop-farmers, cattlemen, sheep-farmers, the railway companies, the reconstructing agencies in the aftermath of the Civil War, and the emergence of new political organizations. Seal's (1996) commentary is that it is perception rather than historical accuracy which underpins the notoriety of such outlaws as William Clarke Quantrill, Jesse Woodson James, and William ('Billy the Kid') Bonney; his contention is that, from the many who confronted the apparent lawlessness in the frontier regions, it was only a few who were physically distinctive, or who were treacherously betrayed, or who were particularly skilled as vigilantes, or who were especially daring that attracted popular approbation and support. Although referring specifically to the legacy of Jesse James, Seal's observation is that, for purposes which contribute to the ongoing sustainability of local economies (including tourism) "the outlaw and his legend cannot be allowed to die" (1996, p.103).

There has been, and continues to be, both scholarly and public fascination with the fraternity of the Australian bushrangers, and especially with some of the distinctive members of that fraternity. The continuous, if divergent, interest is based in part on the various responses of the bushranging fraternity to the 'brutal cradle' of cultural,
economic, environmental, political and social circumstances in the early decades of the Australian penal colonies (Seal, 1996, p.119). In its original use, the term 'bushranger' referred simply to those with the skills to survive in the harsh conditions of the Australian bush, but as circumstances evolved it became a term synonymous with people who, as individuals and as groups (families, communities, gangs; McQuilton (1979) also refers to clans) engaged in activities which were confrontational with other individuals and groups especially with the agencies of government and law and order. At least three 'waves' of bushranging activity can be identified:

- in the first, during early years of the nineteenth century and formative development of the penal colonies, the activities were typically responses to economic, political and social disadvantage, and they were directed especially at the more advantaged members of the community (the landowners), the government administrators and the police;
- in the second (approximating to the 1850s), the targets for the bushranging activities were the shipments from the gold fields and the properties of the wealthy squatters living near the gold mining towns, with the activities focused more on wealth accumulation than mere survival;
- in the third, whilst perpetuating the typical bushranging activities of ambush, robbery and murder, the underpinning purpose re-adopted the need for survival which was the principal cause of the first wave; this time, however, there was an added incentive as the bushranging rural communities felt they were being increasingly disenfranchised by the actions of government, leading to both hostility towards and contempt for government agencies which, in turn, fostered a perspective and response of sympathy to (and empathy with) the bushranging fraternity by the rural communities.

The outlaw tradition, as it is expressed by Seal (1996), and as it relates to the circumstances of nineteenth century Australia, has characteristics which distinguish it from the conventional framework of the hero tradition, and from the dictation of credible history. For example, most of the outlaw-hero's characteristics are conjectural for several reasons:

- the actions attributed to the hero might or might not have taken place, either at all, or as the various forms of record suggest;
- the sympathy for the actions depends upon the point of view of the interpreter – for example, in the case of Ned Kelly and his gang, the actions which led to the death of the three policemen at Stringybark Creek might have general sympathy, but certainly no sympathy amongst the law and order agencies and the community of Mansfield where they had lived (see the discussion about this 'flashpoint' episode in Chapter 7);
- many of these outlaw-heroes may have been predisposed to their actions because of their cultural background, socio-economic status, and their subjection to political oppression;
- their political protest (even at an embryo stage), and their declared nationalism was often interpreted as a criminal act by government agencies and the police;
- they interpreted many of their actions as being justifiable corrections to an economic, political and social system (of government and business) which failed to take the interests of their communities seriously;
- many of their responses are to injustices imposed on them, their families, and their communities, whereas those responsible for the alleged injustices would interpret the circumstances differently;
- their activities were calculated to take advantage of weaknesses in the operations of the government agencies and the businesses they targeted;
with few exceptions, the outlaw-heroes operated within the parameters of a self-imposed moral code – Seal has observed that “it is vital for the hero to act heroically” (1996, p.9);

their activities were invariably an irritation to government, law enforcement agencies and to some businesses, so these three forces combined to secure legislative constraints on those activities;

in many cases, the end to their activities was hastened by an act of betrayal, resulting in a pitched ‘battle’, or imprisonment, or execution (and sometimes, all three).

Separately, and in various combinations, these characteristics of the outlaw-hero contribute to a distinctive form of hero (compare with the characteristics in Figure 3.9 and the early paragraphs in Section 3.15); Seal has captured the distinctiveness in the following observations:

outlaw-heroes “walk a thin and fuzzy lie between the admirable and the reprehensible” (2001, p. xiii), such that the “hero of one social group is often the villain of another” (2001, p. xx)

and, outlaw-heroes “are liminal figures ... caught between competing and usually conflicting aspects of culture ... inhabiting anomalous and ambiguous cultural spaces in which the 'normal' rules of behaviour are suspended” (2001, p. xix).

CONCLUSION

This Chapter has succumbed to the provocation of Jamal and Kim (2005, p.56) which has been used throughout this study — to reveal ‘the complexity, dynamism, scale and scope of doing a research study related to heritage and tourism’. As this investigation progresses and becomes refined in its focus towards a study of the folk hero as a contribution to the treasure trove of heritage-based tourism resources it exposes in this Chapter the backgrounding circumstances of, firstly, heritage, secondly, folklore, and thirdly folkloric stories. An almost inescapable conclusion to be drawn from this exposure is that the proposition that ‘dead men do tell tales’ has a complicated range of associations with the past events with which the heroes (the ‘dead men’) and the tales have some connection.

Stories about folk heroes are enmeshed in a diversity of sources and in a complicated web of fact and fiction, with each telling of the story of any particular hero often recorded to suit a particular purpose, and embellished or reconstructed or altered (usually in a deliberate fashion) so that a preferred version of it is communicated to a target audience. In this Chapter the concerns about this from Levine (1983), Laurajane Smith (2006) and others have been added to the exposure.

As this study has been shaped deliberately to engage with geographical and semiotic (‘gaze’) expressions of the folk hero’s story it has given more weight to the factual and alleged factual components of the story; influencing this decision has been the ‘fact’ that the events in the story have unfolded at a time when relatively modern communication modes have been available to record some of the critical inputs to and aspects of the story. In the final chapter (8) there are comments about the embellishment of the story from other sources which may re-construct the nature of its contribution to the heritage treasure trove.
It is the very complexity of the folk hero's story, arising from both the general social and political context and the peculiarities of the folk hero, which needs to be interrogated if both the story and the hero are to make a substantial contribution to the treasure trove of heritage-based tourism resources, and if the impact of both can be suitably interpreted as 'themed' attractions and expressed as 'touristed landscapes'. This is the next step in the assessment of the background for the eventual empirical case study.
CHAPTER 4: ISSUES RELATED TO 'TOURISTED LANDSCAPES'

- "The desire to tell tourists a positive story and thus not engage in a critical examination of the past plagues most heritage sites. ... Recently ... it has been argued that heritage sites are not simply spaces where history is preserved, but spaces where emotive relationships are generated between the individual and the history being presented"

Diana Harvey, 2007, p.65

INTRODUCTION

Whereas the focus in the previous chapter was on the 'treasure trove' of heritage and folkloric resources, this Chapter concentrates attention on the physical transposition of them into 'touristed landscapes' – tourist attractions, tourist places, and tourist destinations – and then the 'theming' of them into 'thematics'. This is an important chapter because it opens up for consideration many of the components which are significant as contributions to the construction later (in Chapters 5 and 6) of the analytical framework.

The term 'touristed landscape' is preferred because it accommodates all geographical forms and levels from sites through to districts and even to regions, and it engages with the interpretational literature of cultural geography which has for many decades focused on what tales the landscape can tell (see later). It – the 'touristed landscape' – is also a foundational element for ‘thematics’ and ‘themed environments’; although ‘thematics’ are interpretations of a set of circumstances (that is, they do not necessarily exist naturally before interpretation, or before being marshaled into a contrived entity the existence of which is dependent upon the co-existence of a number of compatible elements which fit a prescribing framework or 'vision') they form a useful referencing point for the study of tourism activity.

It is one of the purposes of this Chapter to be a companion to the previous one, so that the stories and tales told about folk heroes – the dead men – can be interpreted within a context which is touristic. Without the explanations offered in this Chapter the preceding discussions might well hold interest as heritage studies, but they would have little operational relevance for tourism studies and especially for those studies which are concerned to ‘tease out’ and incorporate the opportunities from heritage (and folklore) which can be formalized as tourism attractions.

A second purpose is to introduce some of the elements of the analytical framework which is constructed in Chapters 5 and 6; the implication of this is that this Chapter is a bridging point, providing the necessary link between the 'treasure trove' of heritage and folkloric resources in Chapter 3 and the range of inputs and influences which are drawn
upon in Chapters 5 and 6 for the framework which is subsequently ‘tested’ with the empirical study in Chapter 7.

In pursuit of both of these purposes this study leans heavily on the advocacies of Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000), David Harvey (2001) and Cartier and Lew (2005, especially pp. 301-306) to use tourism as a ‘central vehicle’ through which to develop an understanding of the events and circumstances of past historic periods.

There are two linked parts to this Chapter (see Figure 4.1):

- in the first of these there is an introductory statement about the nature of ‘touristed landscapes’, the legacy which is drawn from the ‘landscape’ school of cultural geography, and the transforming process of ‘tourismification’; this leads to a consideration of tourism places and tourism attractions of various types and configurations (see 4.1 to 4.3);
- in the second part there is a brief exposition on ‘landscape’ as a foundational component of various forms of ‘themescape’; then, attention is given to the ways in which the ‘themescape’ approach to description, analysis and interpretation has been used in tourism studies in general and then in heritage and folklore-based studies in particular (see 4.4 to 4.8).

As an important link to the construction of the analytical framework, this Chapter is quasi-experimental, in that it engages with matters and deals with them in such a way that some content and some uses of it may not be fully persuasive, and may even be contentious. However, engagement with both the content and the use of it is an extension of recent revisions to what has been referred to as landscape iconography (Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988) and which has become one of the principal underpinnings of the challenge of Knudsen and his colleagues (2008) to “tease out ... the ways in which tourist sites are artfully constructed” (p.1) – which is one of the principal challenges driving this study (see Chapter 1). One additional justification for the attention given in this Chapter to ‘touristed landscapes’ and the conceptualizations of them in various forms of ‘themescape’ lies in the reference of Smith (2006) to ‘landscape’ as “a vista wherein a range of histories, chronologies, events and meanings may be viewed and displayed” (p.168) – and one way of examining that vista is to adapt the semiotic perspective of ‘the tourist gaze’ (Urry, 1990; 2002; and see the explanation for the use of his approach in Chapter 2).

‘TOURISTED LANDSCAPES’

4.1 ‘Touristed Landscapes’; ‘seductive encounters’

The idea of the ‘touristed landscape’ (Cartier, 2005) (see Figure 4.2), for which there are few significant published assessments, has a rich legacy upon which to draw, including, for example:

- Appleton’s (1990) discussions about the ‘symbolism of habitat’;
- Cosgrove and Daniel’s (1988) commentary on the iconography of landscape;
- Cotter, Boyd and Gardiner’s (2001) examinations of heritage landscapes;
- Lewis’ advocacy of axioms for reading the landscape, Meinig’s ten dimensions of interpreting the landscape, and his interpretations of symbolic landscapes, and Samuels’ approach to interpreting the ‘biography of landscape’ – all of these are contributions to Meinig’s (1979) edited collection of papers which address the interpretation of ordinary landscapes;
Creation of Touristed Landscapes

Resources with tourism potential

Impacts of:

Tourist interest; tourist demand

Influential ideas

- Axioms of reading the landscape (Lewis, 1979)
- Biography of landscape (Samuel, 1979)
- Deciphering identity (Knudsen, 2008)
- Heritage landscapes (Cotter, Boyd, Gardiner, 2001)
- Iconography of landscape (Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988)
- Mapping the invisible landscape (Ryden, 1993)
- Symbolic landscapes (Meinig, 1979)
- 'symbolism of habitat' (Appleton, 1990)

Influences on and marshalling of the resources

- Public agency interest
- Entrepreneurial interest
- Commodification
- 'tourismification' see Figure 4.3

Creation of

'Touristed Landscapes'
(Cartier, 2005)

- 'landscapes which are significantly patronized by tourists' (p.3)

- 'Themescapes' (see Figure 4.5)
- 'Scape' forms
- Tourism places
- 'Critical mass' - morphology, forms, structures
- 'sense of place'
- 'seduction of place'
- 'spaces of prescription'
- Tourism attractions

Figure 4.2
'TOURISTER LANDSCAPES'

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• and Ryden's (1993) discussion of mapping the invisible landscape and his references to folklore.

Cartier (2005) has configured some of these earlier interpretations so that they merge into a consolidated framework of the 'touristed landscape'. Her emphasis is clearly on the visual qualities of landscape and ways in which those are accommodated and expressed through the design and experience of tourism areas. With Lew, she comments on the 'seduction of place' (2005, see pp. 1-19), which is used here as one of the important components used in the construction of the analytical framework (see Chapter 5).

In her case study of 'touristed landscapes' in San Francisco (Chapter 6 of Cartier and Lew, 2005) Cartier works to the premise that there is more than one form of 'touristed landscape'. She explains that each of the 'touristed landscapes' is framed by separately-generated 'imaginaries' and each responds to a diversity of sought-for and created experiences; her claim is that 'after the pictorial seduction, people flock to places not because of their beauty but because of their promise' (citing Lippard, 1999, p.52), and they engage in a seductive encounter with landscapes which are natural or which have been altered, or which are contrived, with the second and third of these being the outcomes of commodification and/or tourismification (see 4.2). There is a link here of Cartier's 'touristed landscape' with the emerging research areas of emotional and sensual geography (refer back to Chapter 2 for more on this). Cartier's focus is on landscapes and places with 'meaning', with mythic images, with spectacle, with symbolism, and with social/community/institutional associations, and it is these characteristics which have drawn this idea of the 'touristed landscape' into the framework which is developed in Chapter 5 as one of the important components of the process of "deciphering identity from clues in the landscape of place" (Knudsen et al, 2008, p.1).

4.2 Commodification; 'Tourismification'

'Touristed landscapes', other than in their natural state, are conceptualized by Cartier (2005) and Cartier and Lew (2005) as being the outcomes of two linked processes - commodification for purposes which include tourism, and 'tourismification' which is only tourism-focused.

Although the commercialization of heritage resources for purposes such as tourism is almost inevitable (see, for example, Hewison, 1987; Palmer, 1999; Samuel, 1995; and even Lowenthal, 1996), resulting in historical environments which have been described by Cartier as being "encrusted with commercialized attractions" (2005, p 156), there are approaches to the commodification process which can be respectful of both the intrinsic value of the resources and of the communication of the 'meaning' of them; Jansen-Verbeke (1998), in her many studies of heritage-based tourism in European cities has referred to this as a process of 'tourismification'.

Commodification (See Figure 4.3)

Shepherd's (2002) interpretation of the process of commodification of cultural resources acknowledges that there are two basic and polarized positions about the purpose and outcomes; one position favors the process because of its capacity to maximize the intrinsic or contrived economic potential of the resource, and the other considers the process will inevitably weaken the intrinsic value of the resource. Each position, and any somewhere along the spectrum between the two poles, may be based on sincerely-held cultural, economic, ideological, philosophical, political or social criteria. In a previous Chapter (see Sections 3.2 and 3.3; see also Graham, Ashworth and
Commodification

- **Purposes:**
  - to maximize the economic potential of a resource
  - **examples:** education, entertainment, identity formation, information, promotion, raising consciousness, stimulating crafts and employment,
- **Outcomes:** maximize economic potential or weaken intrinsic value
- See Shepherd (2002)
- **In the special case of heritage:**
  - Commodification is a process of converting a heritage resource into a product
  - Popularizing heritage "sacrifice[es] scholarly credibility by presenting only those images of history that have broad market appeal" (Goulding, 2000, p.836)
  - Commodification as a process of 'remythologizing', 'religitimating' and 'fabricating' the past (Hollinshead, 1999, p.271)

'Tourismification' as a special case of commodification

'Tourismification'
(Jansen-Verbeke, 1998)

Commodification of resources, especially for heritage-linked tourism

Expressions  Outcomes

Tourism-related uses of resources subjected to 'tourismification' process
- Amusement, entertainment
- Commemoration
- Economic development
- Education, information
- Identity formation
- Promotion
- Stimulation of arts, crafts
- Symbolism - emblematic landscape

Leverage capacity of the 'tourismification' process:
- to 'metamorphose' urban landscapes
- to add identity, establish uniqueness
- to contribute to tourism place configurations
- to contribute diversification
- to influence and respond to hardware, software, orgware and shareware 'frameworks'

See Section 4.2 - 'tourismification'
See the influence of these on the analytical framework (Chapter 5)

Figure 4.3
COMMODIFICATION; 'TOURISMIFICATION'
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reference was made to some of the critical commentaries about the appropriation through commodification of heritage resources for touristic purposes; in addition to those it is worth noting that, for example,

- Hollinshead (1999) alleges that commodification is a process of 'remythologizing', 'relegitimating' and 'refabricating' the past (p.271);
- in his commentary on the redevelopment of Sydney Cove Waitt (2000) challenges the deliberate selection of versions of history, and the stereotyping of heritage objects in the commodified forms of replicas and copies;
- Halewood and Hannam (2001) have referred to the commercial preference for audience-friendly reconstructions and re-enactments in the festivals and centres which focus attention on the history and heritage of the Vikings;
- and Goulding suggests that the popularizing of heritage "sacrifices scholarly credibility by presenting only those images of history that have broad market appeal" (2000, p.836).

Despite these and similar reservations, there are other commentaries on commodification which acknowledge that the process is both demand and supply-side driven and that without transformation from an original to a commoditized state there might not be much touristic interest in the heritage resource (Jewel and Crotts, 2009; MacLeod, 2006; Meethen, 2001; Prentice, Witt and Hamer, 1998).

'Tourismification'

This leads to a consideration of 'tourismification' as a special form of commodification in which a heritage resource (and even an entire urban district) becomes transformed for a tourism purpose. Jansen-Verbeke (1998), who is credited with coining the term 'tourismification', suggests that 'tourism-induced change' (2009, p.7) can generate new economic and heritage perspectives for historical towns.

Her particular interest in the process of 'tourismification' is in how it can influence the form, morphology and function of historic town centres, and she has used it extensively in her many studies of selected historic places in Europe. The principal research aim has been to examine how the process of commodification can be used to engineer the best fit of place and product combinations in the marketing of heritage-based tourism places (1998, p.740; see also 2009).

Her basic premise is multi-dimensional (see Figure 4.3), and it is composed of assertions that cultural/heritage resources

- have a leverage function (2008);
- are territorial (2008, 2009);
- can be used to 'metamorphose' urban landscapes into 'tourismscapes' (2008, p.126);
- can be aggregated into clusters to form tourist attractions (1998, 2008; see also Russo and van der Borg, 2008, pp. 206-209);
- can be catalytic, integrative and diversifying (especially in cases of urban regeneration), contributing to urban multi-functionality (1999);
- can be identity-forming, and can contribute to the uniqueness of place (1999);
- are influenced by decisions made in four 'environments' — economic, political, social, and technical (2009);
- and, are influenced by four 'frameworks':
  - 'hardware' (including tangible heritage);
  - 'software' (including intangible heritage, images, traditions);
  - 'orgware' (including the power and organizational structures); and
o ‘shareware’ (including interactions between people and places, geography and history, users and producers, conservation and consumption) (2007; 2008, pp. 4-11; 2009)

In carrying forward the underlying ideas of Jansen-Verbeke into the analytical framework developed later in Chapter 5, it is the implications and content of the four frameworks which make the most marked contribution.

4.3 Tourism Places and attractions

Although ‘tourism’ is an experiential exercise there is almost an inevitability that it involves places where ‘something’ happens, or has happened, and where an experience of some kind can be gained. The claim of Dredge and Jenkins that “tourism is essentially a place-based phenomenon” (2003, p.383) sets the context for the exploration here of ‘touristed landscapes’ in terms of

- being tourism places;
- having particular morphologies, forms and structures;
- and being tourism attractions.

(See Figure 4.4)

It is this focus on places and attractions which suits the approach being taken with this research, in which attention is given to the supply-side of heritage resources – what they are, where they are, how they are arranged, and so on. These are the matters considered in this section; they are also important inputs to and influences on the structure and content of the analytical framework developed in the next chapter (see especially parts of Section 5.6 – Configurations).

Tourism places

Tourism places are the catalysts for tourism activity and experience-gathering, because they

- provide important anchor points and targets for both production, servicing and consumption (see, for example, Kotler et al (1993) used by Hall (2000) to explain the processes of place marketing);
- may be “artfully constructed ... and filled with intended and unintended meaning for the tourist” (Knudsen, et al, 2008, p.1);
- may be used to transmit values (see Wolff’s study of what he refers to as ‘layers of tourism’ in Munich, and Metro-Roland’s study of Budapest, both in Knudsen et al, 2008);
- confer and convey characteristics of identity, distinctiveness, uniqueness, and meaning (see Motloch’s 2001 commentary on landscape design; see also Meinig, 1979);
- are integral to the functioning of tourism systems (Hall, 2000; van der Duim, 2005, 2007a, 2007b);
- and, provide the spatial reference for the experiences of tourists (Cartier, 2005; O’Dell, 2005; van der Duim, 2005).

These places are essentially aggregations of resources, products, services and social behaviours which contribute substantially to the satisfaction of the tourists’ sought-for experience(s). The aggregation of these factors forms a ‘critical mass’ and catalyst, with that mass taking many spatial forms – such as clusters, districts, precincts, single attractions, linear corridors, networks – each with particular morphologies and structures.
Tourism is "essentially a place-based phenomenon" (Dredge and Jenkins, 2003, p.383)

**TOURISM PLACES:**

- as catalysts for tourism-related activity and experience-gathering
  - morphology
  - form
  - structure
  - geometrical patterns – points, lines, areas
  - districts, precincts
    - RBD
    - CTD
    - TBD
    - TSV
    - Specialized precincts
- as a 'critical mass'
- as 'themescapes'
- as attractions – "the lifeblood of tourism everywhere" (Gunn, 1997, p.43)
  - push and pull factors
  - subsystem of tourism system
  - as a product
  - tangible object, place
  - three elements – tourist, site/object, identifier
  - mosaic of symbols, images

**Figure 4.4**
TOURISM PLACES
‘Critical mass’; the morphology, form and structure of tourism places

In their study on fractal cities, Batty and Longley (1994) referred to the inscription reputed to be set over the doors of Plato’s Academy in Athens – ‘let no one ignorant of geometry enter here’; although there are various translations of that inscription, the statement is often used to argue that the pursuit of understanding and order in spatial arrangements is a key issue in the art and science of planning.

This advocacy of what may be referred to as spatial orthodoxy has underpinned planning and design in general, and particularly the special case of tourism, through recent decades. For example, Gunn – in the original and basic editions of Tourism Planning (1979), and of Vacationscape (1972), and in subsequent editions of both – has argued for the creation of spatial morphologies, forms and structures which can be formalized into critical masses of attractions and services to appeal to, and to sustain the interest of tourists. His clear geometrical preference is for clustering, although some of his design strategies include an isolated tourism attraction. For him, clustering can be at points (tourism places), or along lines or development corridors of touristic interest, or can even take the form of loose aggregations throughout an area which has a general level of touristic interest. This propensity of imposing order is evident in the original and later editions of Baud-Bovy and Lawson’s handbook of planning and design for tourism and recreation (1977, 1998), and in Kaiser and Helber’s (1978) Tourism Planning and Development; it is also evident in the commentaries of, for example, Drege (1999), Pearce (1981, 1987, 1989, 1995), and Wall (1997). Aspects of this spatial orthodoxy, even if not always acknowledged as such, have been included in assessments of tourism micro-clusters (Michael, 2003, 2007), clusters in regional tourism in Australia (Jackson and Murphy, 2002, 2006), and heritage in European cities (Jansen-Verbeke, 1998; Jansen-Verbeke and Lievois, 1999). This orthodoxy – based on the principles of Euclidean geometry – is particularly evident in some European and North American historic cities (see many of the case studies of European cities by Jansen-Verbeke).

Pearce (1989, 1995) has provided a useful critique of the geographical patterning of tourist development areas and regions. He refers to the tidy prescription in tourism planning of zonal structures, with the principal zones being associated closely with dominant land use types; in addition to the Baud-Bovy, Gunn and Kaiser and Helber sources listed previously, confirmation of the attraction of the point-line-area derived structures can be detected in Andriotis (2008), Inskeep (1991, 1994), Inskeep and Kallenberger (1992), McDonnell and Darcy (1998), Smith (2007), and Smith and Henderson (2008).

Within the confines of general touristic areas, some commentators have recognized (and in some cases, advocated) the adoption of dedicated districts or precincts to tourism activity. Terms such as ‘recreational business district’ (RBD – first used by Stansfield and Rickert, 1970), ‘central tourist district’ (CTD) and ‘tourism business district’ (TBD – see Getz, 1993) have become identifiable components of the conventional ‘central business district’ (CBD). For other descriptions and case studies of various district forms see also Frost (2006), Getz, Joncas, and Kelly (1994), Hsieh and Chang (2006), Murphy, Moscardo et al. (2008), and Pearce (1998). Additionally, the ‘business district’ phenomenon has been segmented into precincts (see, for example, Hayllar and Griffin. 2005), each of which can be associated with a particular activity; for example, in CTDs or TBDs, the precincts may focus on theatre, or museums and galleries, or antiques and other collectibles, or travel retailers, or duty free and discount retail outlets, and in some large urban centres, there can be concentrations of sports venues. All of these elements can be embraced within Gunn’s conceptualization of the ‘vacationscape’ which refers to places which are planned, developed and managed for the purposes of tourism.
Although there are cases of heritage and folklore-linked tourism which are ‘nicely’ concentrated and clustered in historic cities (as is the case with many of Jansen-Verbeke’s examples), there are other cases where the geographical circumstances do not conform to such tidy spatial arrangements so that the tourism attraction is diffused throughout a region (see the commentary on this in the summary of the empirical evidence and the analysis in Chapter 7).

Tourism Attractions

There is a complicated literature on tourism attractions, with only a modicum of congruence in approach and interpretation. To set the context of this, Pearce (1991) has commented that tourism scholars are faced with “definitional and taxonomic nightmares” (p.46), even though the task might seem to be “deceptively self-evident” (p.47). A brief review of a number of approaches to interpreting the nature, scope and content of tourism attractions is considered here.

Some commentators adopt the perspective that ‘an attraction’ is a symbol or indicator. For example, the approach of Pearce (1991) is to consider attractions as “symbols and images for the presentation of destinations to the public” with “the image of any tourism region ... dependent on its mosaic of attractions” (p.47). Lew confirms that attractions are ‘encountered’ through observation, participation and experience, and must have a fixed location at a place, or in a region (1987; see, especially his comment on this at p.554). Other commentators – among them Gunn (1997), Leiper (1990) and Richards (2002) – pursue personalized interpretations of systems thinking to explain their perspective on the nature of tourism attractions. Gunn (1997), for example, gives primacy to attractions in his systems configurations with his claim that “attractions are the lifeblood of tourism everywhere” (p.43).

Smith has adopted another systems-based perspective (1994; see especially pp. 586-592) in which he differentiates between a single site, a single product, and a single focal interest, so that any attraction can be formed from any combination of these three elements; additionally, the combination may vary between types and motivations of tourists. [Note: this becomes an important point in the analysis of the empirical evidence, and especially the matching of it to the analytical framework – see Chapter 7].

Many of these matters – critical mass, morphology, form and structure, tourism places, tourism attractions – are important contributions to the construction of the analytical framework; they are re-introduced into the discussion and examination in Section 5.6.

A general conclusion to be drawn from this preceding brief discussion would be that although (perhaps) the term ‘touristed landscapes’ has not yet achieved widespread currency, it is a useful umbrella under which to gather a range of geographical, material, and organizational matters which, in various combinations, contribute to improved levels of understanding of the landscape of tourism. Although there have been references to heritage-based tourism en passant, the next Section – Themescapes – moves the discussion closer to the underlying context for the interpretation of the evidence that ‘dead men do tell tales’, and the contribution which that makes to heritage-based tourism. At the same time, this next Section lays more of the groundwork for the construction of the analytical framework in Chapter 5.
In this Section the principal task is to examine ways and means of deconstructing and unraveling the 'touristed landscape', and especially to consider those approaches which could be expected to have a particular relevance to heritage and folklore.

'landscape' is an important contributory element to heritage and to folkloric stories, not only because of its intrinsic characteristics – place, site, setting (see Garden, 2009) – but also because of its association with events, and with social and cultural circumstances which have become embedded with its history. Smith (2006), in her exploration of the uses of heritage and heritage resources has suggested that the importance of 'landscape' lies in offering both "a vista wherein a range of histories, chronologies, events and meanings may be viewed and displayed" (p.168), and in its symbolism "of the social and political ideologies ... which are embodied within the landscape through human action" (p.78).

This matter is treated here in such a way that it can contribute to an understanding of the nature and scope of landscape-related themes – referred to here as 'themescapes' (see later, and Rodaway, 1994).

[Note: There will be repeated references throughout this Section to the use made of 'themescape' for the purposes of description, analysis and interpretation; the essential reason for this is that these considerations are to be carried forward to Chapter 5 and the construction of the analytical framework].

4.4 'landscape': the principal underlying factor.

A useful starting point for this discussion has been provided by Rodaway (1994) with his examination of what he has described as 'sensuous geography' (see further references to this in Chapter 2 in the discussion of 'thinking geographically) and with the Davidson, Bondi and Smith (2005) explanation of 'emotional geographies'. These sources extend the conceptualizations of 'themescape' beyond the conventional 'staged' landscapes to engage with touristed environments which impact on a broader range of cognitive and emotional senses; they also contribute to an extension of the awareness of the 'touristed landscape' beyond the previously-set boundaries of Urry's 'tourist gaze'. The two quotations from Smith (2006) used in an earlier paragraph in the introduction to this Section are relevant basic positions on the inter-mixture of economic, geographical, historical, political and social issues in the study of 'landscape'.

It has been the integration of distinguishable tangible features of the cultural 'landscape' (such as buildings, 'bounded settings', sites, structures) with the intangible features (such as economic, historical, political and social events and happenings) that has been the conspicuous focus of a diversity of studies which have sought to reveal different layers of 'meaning' (or heritage motifs) in which places, events and people are entangled. Some marquee sources were listed in the introductory paragraph to Section 4.1. For example, Meinig (1979) and Lewis (1979) used their inclination to use the 'landscape as text' to probe and unravel the stories and 'meanings' embedded in the landscape. Lewis, whilst claiming that "all human landscape has cultural meaning" (1979, p.12), had to concede that "the landscape does not speak to us very clearly"
It is the symbolism of landscapes and habitats which has been the principal focus of the research of Appleton (1990), Cosgrove (1984), and Cosgrove and Daniels (1988); Appleton's comment is that the interpretation of landscape is a "way of seeing ... that can be understood only as part of a wider history of economy and society" (1990, p.11). John Rennie Short's (1991) interpretation of what he described as 'imagined country' both embodied and exposed myths and ideologically-driven identity, and this perspective has been confirmed recently by Egoz (2008) who has claimed that material evidence of past periods is 'littered across the landscape'. To focus this point more squarely within the action parameters of tourism Scarles (2004) has referred to the mediating influence of tourist brochures, and Minca (2007) has claimed that searching for the meaning of particular landscapes leads to "the construction of tourist imaginaries" (p.433) – with the idea of 'imaginaries' being used by Cartier (see earlier).

Some of these commentators present what have been referred to as 'tidy arguments' with a dependence on elements of semiotics (see previously, in Chapter 2); but their approach has not escaped criticism. For example, Janssen and Knippenberg (2008) and also Nash (2002) have commented on the neglect of "the stuff of everyday social practices, relations and struggles" (Nash, p.219), and the "messy material of social relations" (Nash, p.227). The effort to circumvent such neglect in this study has pushed the envelope of the 'scape'-linked issues which are bound-in to the eventual analytical framework in Chapter 5.

In addition to the considerable volume of literature within the scope of cultural geography which addresses the significance of 'landscape' and the 'stories' which can be extracted from it, there are other disciplinary areas which have focused their attention on what the 'landscape' has to tell. Of these other areas, the most commonly encountered are cultural anthropology, environmental psychology, landscape design, and social anthropology. From within the scope of investigations in these areas, Appleton (1975a, 1996) has focused his attention on 'experiencing' the landscape, while Bourassa (1990, 1991) and Nohl (2001) have developed notional paradigms of landscape aesthetics. Daniel (2001) has turned his attention to ways of visually assessing landscape, while Tress and Tress (2001) have approached the matter more broadly by considering different approaches to landscape research. Porteus (1996), in addressing the matter of environmental aesthetics, provides a bridge which straddles many of these other contributions, and is an indicator of the semiotic approach to landscape interpretation. These, and similar sources provide confirmation of the significance of the experiential element of landscape interpretation.

4.5 ‘Themescapes’

There has been – and there continues to be – a tendency for the suffix 'scape' to be applied to a wide range of activity and/or emotion-related circumstances. Such free-wheeling license is not always helpful to any attempt to clarify what is meant by terms ending in 'scape'. So, before engaging with an examination of the use of 'scape'-linked terms in tourism studies it is appropriate to offer some clarification of what it might mean, and how it might be used; that is attempted here.

Gold (2002) has addressed the special case of the use of the suffix 'scape'; he presents an annotated commentary on more than 130 words which have added that particular suffix to a root word. His examples have been drawn from both fiction (in which the terms are deliberately descriptive and even fanciful) and non-fiction (in which they are formulations with a technical purpose). For the purposes of the discussion being conducted here, each of the '-scape' words used are closely linked to conceptualizations of 'themescapes'.

Although there had been a few preliminary attempts to generate descriptive and analytical structures and frameworks for themed development which pre-date Rodaway's (1994) expositions about 'themed environments' and 'themescapes' – such
as Gunn's approach to tourism planning with *Vacationscape: designing tourist regions* (first edition in 1972), and Appadurai's (1990) use of the 'scape' idea with his speculations about the impacts of globalization on cultural, economic and social processes - most commentaries which have used the 'scape' idea in the heritage and tourism studies have a more recent genesis.

Figure 4.5 reveals examples of the use of the 'scape' suffix in circumstances of relevance to this study. These have been grouped here into major sets or families of 'scape'-linked terms:

- the five types composed for his special purpose by Appadurai;
- themes linked with sensory encounters;
- themes which are can be associated with tourism, recreation and entertainment;
- themes linked to hospitality and servicing;
- terms which have a particular reference to heritage;
- and, terms which are especially wedded to organization and associated structures.

There is some overlap and repetition of the terms between these various sets.

**The basic idea of 'themescape'**

Rodaway's (1994) study of sensuous geographies – the adoption and application of geographical methods of study to 'everyday experiences of space and place' – provides a simple interpretation of 'themescape':

a 'themescape' is "a themed environment, and specifically a space or place which is identified by a single coherent theme or idea" (p.165).

For his purposes,

- a 'themescape' is most often expressed geographically by an enclosed and thematically controlled space (p.164);
- commonplace examples include, for example, shopping malls, leisure parks and heritage districts;
- and despite his liberal use of the term in his commentaries, he concedes that "definitions for a 'themescape' are as yet still quite elusive and when a coherent (stylistically) space becomes a themed one is far from definitive" (p.166)
- the hallmarks include presenting a resemblance rather than a copy, and having an image which is adapted to the practical demands of the current environment (p.166);
- although other senses are involved, the 'themescape' is essentially visually-determined, and can be interpreted as a 'visual abstraction'.

A general point to be made about the 'scape' phenomenon would be that the use of any form of the term has been influenced by the particularity of the circumstances; for example, Appadurai (1990; 2006) used the 'scape' device to tell his 'story' of the future of globalization. There is little consistency in the use of it, even within tourism studies; some uses are to describe the materials (such as hotelscape), or activities (such as sportsscape), or organizational matters (such as powerscape), or emotions and senses (such as smellsscape). General and even specific recreation and tourism activity has been described as, for example, travellerscape, and heritage-linked circumstances have been described as heritagescapes. In the following paragraphs, attention is given to the basic issues encompassed by the use of the 'scape' phenomenon; the intricacies of some of these issues are considered again as they are incorporated into the analytical framework (Chapter 5).
‘Themescape’ = “a themed environment ... a space or place which is identified by a single coherent theme or idea”
Rodaway (1994, p.165)

NOTES:
1. Some ‘scape’ types are listed in more than one category
2. See Sections 4.5, 4.6, 4.7 and 4.8
3. Not all of the sources listed use ‘scape’ in the same way, and not all explain how their particular form has been created.
4. Not all of the sources listed are included in the bibliography.

Figure 4.5.
‘THEMESCAPE’ TYPES – examples of the use of the suffix ‘scape’
To narrow the focus of the use of the ‘themescape’ approach in tourism studies it is useful to reconfigure the previous sets into three groups: (see Figures 4.6 to 4.8)

- firstly, those which are essentially descriptive (Section 4.6);
- secondly, those which are essentially structural and ordering devices (Section 4.7);
- and, thirdly, those which are especially relevant to the circumstances of heritage and folklore (Section 4.8)

Each of these is considered here briefly; further commentary is reserved to Chapter 5.

4.6 Uses of the ‘themescape’ approach in tourism studies: 1: principally as a description (Figure 4.6)

The ‘scape’ form has been used widely as a descriptor of particular types of tourism activity.

Recent contributions to The Sage Handbook of Tourism Studies (edited by Jamal and Robinson, 2009) have addressed the impact of the ‘scape’ phenomenon in some types of tourism activity. For example, using a quotation from Urry (2000) to support their general case, Mavric and Urry (2009) describe ‘scapes’ as being “complex, enduring and predictable networks of machines, technologies, organizations, texts and actors that constitute various interconnected nodes along which the flows can be enjoyed” (p.648); and, in her edited collection of essays – Landscapes: ways of imagining the world – Winchester (2003) has referred to various ‘scapes’ as expressions of culture and representations of identity (although she makes no specific reference to the term ‘scape’, nor to tourism).

Some commentaries on the adoption and adaptation of the ‘scape’ form consider that, especially in terms of ‘thinking geographically’, the principal rationale for its use is to generate an improved level of understanding of space, what happens in that space, and what forces (including ‘actors’) bring about the changes to and in that space (see, for example, Cutter, Golledge and Graf, 2002; Janiskee and Mitchell, 1989).

More than twenty descriptive ‘scape’ forms can be found in tourism and heritage-related literature; these have been collected into three groups for consideration here.

‘Scape’ types: sensory encounters

Commentaries on and analyses of the experiential dimension of tourism have increased significantly in recent years. Franklin (2009) has referred to this as part of the ‘new wave’ of sociology which has swept over tourism studies; his claim is that, to a significant degree, this ‘new wave’ has extended the previously dominant conceptualizations about the ‘tourist gaze’. O’Dell’s (2005) commentary on ‘experiencescape’, and the strand in cultural geography which focuses attention on sensory encounters and emotions (see, for example, Anderson and Smith, 2001; Bondi, Davidson and Smith, 2005; Davidson and Milligan, 2004; Edensor, 1998), are sometimes credited with being the cornerstones of the recent attempts to interpret ‘experience’ – sought, delivered and consumed – as a factor of generating cultural, economic and social change inclusive of but not limited to tourism. For O’Dell, his conceptualizations are of experiences ‘anchored in space’ (p.15) and taking place in ‘stylized landscapes’ (p.16).

Some interpretations of experiential encounters have given emphasis to emotional responses to places visited including, but not exclusively linked to tourism – such as awe, care, distress, dread, inspiration, loss, love and worry (see, for example, Hitchins, 2001; Jacobs, 2006; Slusser and Rabkin, 1989; Trott, 2001; Zerubavel, 1997); the outcomes have been referred to as ‘emotionscapes’ or ‘mindscapes’. 

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'Themescape'  

"a themed environment ... a space or place which is identified by a single coherent theme or idea"  
Rodaway (1994, p.165)

Use of the 'THEMESCAPE' approach in Tourism Studies: 1:

Principally as a DESCRIPTION

- Experiencescape, Emotionscape, Mindscape;
- Experiences (including awe, care, distress, dread, inspiration, love, loss, worry);
- Embodied practices, performance;
- Environments of memory, social memorialization;
- Smellscape, Soundscape, Tastescape

- Commodified adventure tourism, (including adventurescape, playescape, thrillscape, travellerscape);
- Tourismscape, Vacationscape
- Entertainmentscape (including casinos, cinemas, galleries, museums, performing arts centres, sports arenas) see Dobni, 2006; Raento and Flusty, 2006)
- Specialized 'scapes' – 'infotainment', 'edutainment', 'shoppertainment' (see Dobni, 2006);
- Musicscapes, foodscapes, filmscapes

- 'Holy trinity of hospitality-linked 'scapes' (see Bell, 2009) – drinkscape, foodscape, hotelscape, restscape
- Urban nightscape (see Chatterton and Holland, 2003)

See Section 4.6
Other examples of specifically-targeted sensory-bound scapes have referred to:

- 'embodied practices' and 'performance' (Bondi, Davidson and Smith, 2005; Edensor, 2001, 2009; Veijola and Jokinen, 1994);
- 'environments of memory' and 'social memorialization' (Charlesworth, 1994; Johnson, 1994, 1999; Quan and Wang, 2004);
- and experiential scapes such as 'smellscape' (Dann and Jacobsen, 2003), 'soundscape' (Porteous and Mastin, 1985; Zhang and Kang, 2007) and 'tastescape' (Cohen and Avieli, 2004; Quan and Wang, 2004).

'Scape' types: tourism, recreation and entertainment activity

Frohlick (2003) has referred to a group of recreation-linked 'scapes' as 'commodified adventure tourism'. This particular group of 'scapes' includes, for example, 'adventurescape', 'playscape', 'sportscape' and 'thrillscape', with a more general recreation-type described as 'travellerscape' (see, for example, Binder, 2004; Gibson, 2005; Gyimothy, 2009; Horton, 1996; Shipway, 2007; Weed and Bull, 2004; Wheaton, 2004).

A general entertainment-focused group has been described as 'entertainmentscape' by Dobni, 2006 (see also Raento and Flusty, 2006); it includes such distinctive 'landscapes' as casinos, cinemas, galleries, museums, performing arts centres, sports arenas and so on. Dobni has speculated also that there might in the future be specialized 'scapes' which focus on, for example, 'infotainment', 'edutainment', and 'shoppertainment' (p.6). Winchester (2003) has suggested that some 'musicscapes' and 'foodscapes' may become acknowledged as 'landscape' types which have the potential to be expressions of national identity.

'Scape' types: hospitality and servicing

Recently, Bell (2009) has referred to a 'holy trinity' of hospitality-linked 'scapes' – 'drinkscape', 'foodscape' and 'restscape', which may function independently or in various combinations. (pp. 24-30). Some corroboration is lent to this interpretation by Chatterton and Holland's (2003) description of what they refer to as the 'urban nightscape'. Some tourist destinations may capitalize on the special qualities (real, constructed or imagined) of these hospitality-linked 'scapes' by presenting them as cultural products and identifiers of place distinctiveness, linking them with local architectural styles (such as iconic hotels), local cuisine, cosmopolitan populations and so on (see, for example, Cohen and Avieli, 2004; Hall and Mitchell, 2001; and the collection of papers on tourism and gastronomy in Hjalager and Richards, 2002).

4.7 Uses of the 'themescape' approach in tourism studies: 2: as structural and organizational devices (Figure 4.7)(see also Section 5.6)

In addition to the use of the 'themescape' approach in the three broad bands of description, there are five readily identifiable structural and organizational forms; these are:

- 'matterscape', 'powerscape', 'tourismscape', 'vacationscape' and 'heritagescape'.

The first of these – 'matterscape' – refers to the raw materials and resources (both tangible and intangible) which are drawn into the scope of touristed landscapes; it is an ordering device which can be used to expose and categorize those resources. 'Powerscape' is essentially a management and organizational device which includes the rules and regulations, procedures and processes, resources and institutions which give shape to the emergent tourism product (see, especially Jacobs, 2006). Van der
'Themescape'  "a themed environment ... a space or place which is identified by a single coherent theme or idea"
Rodaway (1994, p.165)

Use of the 'THEMESCAPE' approach in Tourism Studies: 2:

Principally as STRUCTURAL and ORGANIZATIONAL DEVICES

- Heritagescape (Garden, 2006) – heritage site
- Matterscape – raw materials, resources
- Powerscape (Jacobs, 2006) – management, organization
- Tourismscape (van der Duin, 2005) – actors, places, products
- Vacationscape (Gunn, 1988) – "the art and practice of integrated design and development for travel" (p.195)
- See 4.7

See also the use of these devices in the construction of the analytical framework in Chapter 5 (especially, but not exclusively in Section 5.6)
Duim (2005) constructed his network approach in ‘tourismscape’ to help unravel the interaction of three components of the tourism system – the people who wish to engage in tourism activity (the actors), the places where tourism activity takes place, and the products and services which are encountered at those places. His actor-network driven approach offers scope to theorize the relationship between activities of tourism, the materials used in tourism, and the spaces those activities use. Gunn (1988) formalized an approach to the planning and design of tourism and recreation spaces using ‘vacationscape’ as the target for “the art and practice of integrated design and development for travel” (p.195). Finally, with her conceptualization of ‘heritagescape’, Garden (2006) developed an analytical tool with which to examine the minutiae of heritage-relevant circumstances.

Of these five ‘scape’ forms, two are especially complementary – ‘tourismscape’ and ‘heritagescape’ – and some of the critical aspects of them are examined here, not only to explain their structural and organizational contributions to ‘themescape’ development, but also to review some of the conceptualization and theory-underpinning which will be drawn upon in the construction of the analytical framework in Chapter 5.

‘Tourismscape’

The first of these two important forms – ‘Tourismscape’ (van der Duim, 2005, 2007a, 2007b) – was designed as a conceptual and organizational structure with which to study and interpret the spatial inter-relationships of people, places and activities (at those places by those people). Van der Duim’s principal aim was to construct “a scientific mode of ordering the bits and pieces that make up what we label tourism” (2005, p.238). In his model ‘scape’ all three of the inter-relating components have to be present for tourism activity to be acknowledged; that is, there have to be people engaged in activities at places, with one or more (or preferably all three) having a distinctive relationship to tourism. His commentary argues this by explaining that the mere existence of a spectacular landscape and vista, or even a heritage-linked building only has tourism potential; no resource, even with tourism potential can be considered to have achieved the status of a tourism place or tourism attraction unless it can become sufficiently attractive to people and it becomes adopted, or perhaps adapted for tourism purposes, and visitors engage with it in some way. At that point, these resources can be woven into the tourism production-consumption process – that is they become both ‘commodified’ and part of Jansen-Verbeke’s ‘tourismification’ process (see Section 4.2). Van der Duim’s approach to the construction of ‘tourismscape’ is based on his interpretation and application of actor-network theory (ANT). He has used this device (i.e., ANT) to unravel the complexities of tourism – the meaning of places, the purposes for which places are accessed and used, and the tangible outcomes of the inter-actions between people, places and objects (at those places).

The ‘tourismscape’ formulation of van der Duim is useful for at least the following reasons:

- it is a deliberately ‘ordered’ structure, melding the independent ‘actions’ of three ‘actors’ (people, places, objects) in such a way that both the independent ‘actions’ and the inter-actions of the three ‘actors’ can be identified (and, later, influenced by policies, plans, and so on); van der Duim’s expression for this is “following the trail of actors as they stitch networks together” (2007b, p.962);
- it is an inclusive structure, in that (a) it is not distorted by application at different scales (such as global or local, macro or micro, regions or particular places or buildings), (b) its investigative and interpretive capacity is not limited to any particular coupling of people, places, objects, and (c) it is not time-bound;
- it is a structure which can readily accommodate the infusion of semiotic elements; for example, van der Duim’s interpretation of ‘actor’ extends to “anything that acts or received activity from others” (2007b, p.963), because
what is important is the 'materiality' of tourism – the participants, the objects, the places – and the influence each has on the others, whether directly or by signs and symbols; (p.964)

- it is network-driven, in that what emerges as the 'touristed landscape' is an outcome rather than a cause or input; in his systems-driven assessment, van der Duim is careful to indicate that what is important is the end-product – the tourism activity, the satisfactory tourism experience, the balanced relationships between the three elements.

Van der Duim's viewpoint is that the interaction of the three principal components is dynamic, so that any detected relationship can be easily influenced by a change in any one or more of those components; his comments are that "tourism is created and emerges as it happens" (2005, p.238), and "tourismscapes are like sentences. Every element (like a word in a sentence) is connected to other elements (like other words in a sentence) in a syntax that unites people, artifacts and environments" (2005, p.97).

The 'tourismscape' formulation has a relevance for this study, not only because of its commitment to and exemplification of an ordered approach to unraveling the intricacies of tourism (which makes it a useful source to meet the 'teasing out' challenge of Knudsen and his colleagues) but also because of its overarching focus on the 'stuff' of tourism (see 2007a, pp. 152-155).

'Heritagescape'

This 'scape' form – 'heritagescape' – may be considered to be an almost ideal companion to van der Duim’s ‘tourismscape’ framework. Garden (2004, 2006, and 2009) 'invented' her 'scape' form to address two challenges:

- firstly, to provide an investigative tool with which to describe accurately the physical and cultural circumstances of any heritage site;
- and secondly to be “a coherent, overarching methodology by which a vast array of different heritage sites may be analysed" (2006, p.395).

Both of these motivations have a relevance to this study, and they provide a useful micro-scale balance to the holistic framework of ‘tourismscape’. The principal motivation for Garden was to create an investigative tool with the potential to contribute to a comprehensive understanding of heritage sites. Her claim was that “to date, there is neither a recognized method nor a commonly understood set of terms used to characterize these unique social spaces” (2006, p.395); her concern was that in the absence of standardization the potential for misinterpretation (whether accidental or deliberate) would be high, and that although for the term ‘heritage site’ there might be some intuitive congruence, the “sense of what these places ‘do’” (p.395) had been a neglected area of investigation.

For Garden, the important issue was to construct a coherent, ‘flexible, replicable and transparent means of analyzing heritage sites’ so that it was both the intrinsic characteristics and the ‘meaning’ of the sites (as individual sites and in aggregations of related sites) that could be revealed and understood. The method of heritage site analysis was structured to operate within pre-determined parameters:

- the sites would be 'marked out' – that is, they could be readily identified and recognized; in addition to sites which had special associations with history because of events and happenings, the sites to which Garden's investigative method could be applied included battlefields, heritage buildings (such as cathedrals) and conventionally-enclosed spaces such as museums;
- the sites would be considered as unique social spaces, embodying heritage 'meanings' and a relevance to happenings in history;
• the sites would have a range of tangible components, or site criteria (see 2006, pp. 397-400; and 2009, pp. 274-278):
  o boundaries – for example, site configuration and dimensions, access points, fence-lines, and a range of matters which is likely to vary according to the peculiarities of any site and might include, for example, ambience, ‘envisioned limits of the site’ (p.399), and any indicators which circumscribe the limits of action that took place at the site;
  o cohesion – ‘how the site holds together’ (p.399); this contributes to the ‘sense of place’ (see later this Section), and is an indication of the physical relationship of the various physical characteristics of the site and the known or expected association of the site with particular events and happenings in history;
  o visibility – both physical and cultural visibility, being the physical evidence and the cultural and heritage associations of the site; this is a difficult issue, not least because (a) subsequent events may have damaged or even obliterated the evidence of the original happening or event, (b) the associations may be problematic (ambiguous, contentious, dubious, unproven), and (c) the evidence ‘on site’ may have been imported by relocation either to the site where action took place, or to another site so that some aspects of the evidence could be displayed;
• and the sites would most likely have
  o on-site verifiable and credible physical evidence of heritage associations,
  o re-located evidence (from other sites),
  o on-site reconstructions of credible physical evidence,
  o partial association with heritage events,
  o on-site incompleteness (i.e., they may be ruins).

It is important for the ‘heritagescape’ framework that the template of tangible components (which, however, are not all ‘tangible per se) is used consistently and coherently; what is really being addressed is the site and setting, focusing on “a place ‘apart’” with a sense of the past (2006, p.408), and this requires some latitude in site interpretation and assessment – a matter which is acknowledged by Garden with her statement that “What the heritagescape does not do is provide a single and/or all-encompassing answer, description or list” (2006, p.409).

By focusing on heritage sites, ‘heritagescape’ becomes a useful companion method to the ‘tourismscape’ framework considered previously. For this study, the holistic frame of reference of one and the site-limited frame of reference are mutually supportive. Used in tandem, these two frameworks contribute both order and content to the structure being developed in Chapter 5; some aspects of them are re-visited in Section 5.6.

4.8 Uses of the ‘themescape’ approach in tourism studies: 3: the special circumstances of heritage and folklore-based tourism (Figure 4.8)

The ‘scape’ approach has been used across many aspects and forms of tourism development, but it has attracted particular application to the circumstances of heritage-linked tourism. For example, in a recent synoptic review of heritage-based tourism Williams (2009) marshaled his list of 25 heritage attractions into the following groups:

• ‘landscapes’ (natural environment);
• ‘builtscapes’ (heritage buildings and environment);
• ‘workscapes’ and ‘technoscapes’ (premises and environments associated with past periods of industrial, mining and agricultural production, and of invention); and
• 'peoplescapes' (buildings, places, events and so on which are expressions of social, cultural and political systems).

Other commentaries have focused more on interpretation than direct reference to the substantive phenomena. From these other commentaries nine interpretational scapes have been segregated here into three groups:

- five which have little more than a descriptive function – memoryscape, mythscape, nostalgiascape, storyscape, traumascape;
- one that has both a descriptive and an analytical function – heritagescape;
- and three that are both descriptive and interpretational, although none incorporate the term or suffix 'scape' – 'sense of place', 'seduction of place', 'spaces or places of negotiation and prescription'.

Descriptive functions

Perhaps the most conspicuous descriptive references to heritage and folklore 'touristed landscapes' in published accounts are to 'mythscape', 'nostalgiascape' and 'storyscape'. Recently-published research, especially about Dark Tourism, has added 'thanatourism', memorialization, 'traumascape' and 'memoryscape' to the lexicon. Although not directly applied in published accounts to the circumstances of heritage and folkloric places, the intrinsic characteristics of these 'scape' forms lend themselves, at least in part, to the situations and circumstances of the life and times of folk heroes.

'Mythscape'. This term has been used by Bell to describe a "discursive realm in which the myths of the nation are forged, transmitted, negotiated, and reconstructed constantly" (2003, p.63). The term has more descriptive than analytical use, although, as Bell has commented, 'mythscape' might well be the more accurate term to use when considering environments and events of past periods where there are no verifiable accounts available; one important characteristic of the 'mythscape' is its embroilment with contested interpretations and presentations. In the few recorded uses of the term, it has not been restricted only to the narrative form of myths; rather, it is a loose conceptualization of circumstances where there are 'stories' but not all of them, and certainly not all parts of them are indisputably credible. 'Mythscape' is conceptualized by Bell as being a mediated 'story', the construction of which passes through the influences of simplification, dramatization and selection en route to becoming the generally accepted (hi)story of a nation. He refers to this as being an outcome of collective memory, albeit almost certainly manipulated in part by 'works of literature and art'. Although his case study is the fusion of memory and mythology to create the story of Britain and the First World War, his basic premise about mediated public history (including memorialization) is of particular relevance to the mysteries of stories about folk heroes, and especially of those for which the description 'hero' is challengeable – as is the case for Ned Kelly.

'Nostalgiascape'. Gyimothy (2005) used this term to describe the 'touristed landscape' composed of Danish countryside inns (the 'Kro'), a resource which was considered to have the potential to be strongly indicative of national identity. She constructed her categorization and interpretation of nostalgia drawing on the conceptualizations of 'romancing the past' by Goulding (2001) and Turner (1987), in which the sense of nostalgia could be created by, for example,

- the use of authentic inns as the tourism resource,
- the physical restoration and even remodelling of buildings which were in a poor state of repair and not fulfilling any tourist-attraction function
- or the re-introduction of the previously jealously-guarded range and standards of hospitality and service.
‘Themescape’  “a themed environment ... a space or place which is identified by a single coherent theme or idea”
Rodaway (1994, p.165)

Use of the ‘THEMESCAPE’ approach in Tourism Studies: 2:

The Special Circumstances of HERITAGE and FOLKORE-BASED TOURISM

- landscapes – natural environment
- builtscapes – heritage buildings and environment
- workscapes, technoscapes – premises and environments associated with past periods of industrial, mining and agricultural production; invention
- peoplescapes – buildings, places, events which are expressions of cultural, political and social systems
- See Williams (2009, pp 248f)
- See Section 4.8

Williams (2009)  

Descriptive functions
- Mythscape (Bell, 2002)
- Nostalgiascape (Gyimothy, 2005)
- Storyscape (Chronis, 2005)
- See Section 4.8

Descriptive and analytical functions
- ‘Heritagescape (Garden, 2004)
- See Section 4.8

Descriptive and interpretational functions
- ‘sense of place’ (many sources – see text)
- ‘seduction of place’ (Cartier and Lew, 2005; and others)
- ‘places, spaces of negotiation and prescription’ (Murdoch, various; and others)
- See Section 4.8

Figure 4.8. Use of the ‘THEMESCAPE’ approach in Tourism Studies: 3: the special circumstances of heritage and folklore-based tourism
Her underlying premise was a lament that Danish countryside hospitality and accommodation was in danger of being overwhelmed by standardization, with the possible consequential loss of evidence of the inn as a symbol of ‘Danishness’. Gyimothy’s advocacy was for the use of carefully selected sensory cues and material props to create a robust symbol of ‘Danishness’, a form of patriotic nostalgia (pp. 114-117).

‘Storyscape’. Chronis (2005 and others) has used this term widely in a suite of papers which address the general matter of the engagement of history and heritage-linked activity with tourism, and with a special focus on selected stories from the period of the American Civil War. His focus has been on attempts to construct authentic heritage on the battlefields of the Civil War period, and especially with the battlefield of Gettysburg. Described simply, ‘storyscape’ is a form of interactive story-telling through re-enactment and community participation, often with a commitment to ensure that events in history are not overlooked or ignored. Chronis has referred to this as ‘collective remembering’ and ‘collective reflection and articulation of group identities’ (2006, p.267), especially through participation.

Other descriptive ‘scape’ forms. Butler’s (2007) ‘scape’ conceptualization is linked to using oral history recordings to support history walking trails, to create a ‘memoryscape’. His particular example is based on interactive engagement with the history of the River Thames. For both ‘storyscapes’ and ‘memoryscapes’ the tourist or public encounter is with “commercialized environments where narratives are negotiated, shaped and transformed through the interaction of producers and consumers” (Chronis, 2005, p. 389). This encounter has been referred to as an ‘embodied connection’, contributing both knowledge and confirmation of that knowledge to those (tourists, and others) engaged in seeking out ‘the story’. In the case of ‘dead men do tell tales’ this ‘embodied connection’ is often achieved through dramatic staged re-enactments of events, with memorials, and with collections of artifacts and tangible evidence (including death masks) in museums. A special form of these is ‘traumascape’, a term coined by Tumarkin (2005) to refer to places associated with violence, death, disaster and depravity, where atrocities took place, and which are distinctive because they have been “transformed physically and psychically by suffering” (p.13), and they have become both haunted and haunting; de Jong (2007), in a contribution to a textbook on cultural psychiatry, describes Tumarkin’s ‘traumascape’ as being not only sites of tragedies and traumas, but also as ‘mediators between the living and the dead’. (p.26)

Descriptive and analytical functions

Garden’s (2004, 2006, 2009) ‘scape’ form and framework – ‘heritagescape’ – was considered previously in Section 4.7. Its significance lies in its attempt to meet two purposes:

- firstly, to describe accurately the physical and cultural circumstances of heritage sites (places, spaces and settings);
- and secondly, to provide “a coherent, overarching methodology by which a vast array of different heritage sites may be analysed” (Garden, 2006, p.395).

Her aim was to develop a method of isolating the components of heritage sites and to examine their contribution to the image and ‘meaning’ of the sites – that is, how any heritage site ‘operates and portrays the past’.

Interpretational functions: place identity
Although none of the three approaches to the background study of ‘touristed landscapes’ which are considered here explicitly used the term ‘scape’ to reveal their interpretational function, each has a significant part to play in creating, describing or unraveling the characteristics of those landscapes. A case could be made that there is significant similarity and complementarity across the three approaches.

Ashworth and Graham have referred to senses of place as being "products of the creative imagination" (2005, p3); in their judgment, the sense, 'meaning' and identity of a place are not the reflection of intrinsic quality and character, but rather the outcomes of responses to circumstances, some of which will be induced and others ascribed. Their commentary is that “place images do not simply come into existence" (p.4), and they are not necessarily consistent through time, or across different cultures – “we create the heritage we require and manage it for a range of purposes defined by the needs and demands of our present societies” (p.5). With this in mind the exploration of ideas in this sub-section concentrate on

- the nature and expression of 'sense of place',
- the seductiveness of place,
- and the negotiation by users and the prescriptions by providers of the heritage-linked places,

all of which contribute to forming the identity of a place.

'Sense of place'. The expression and concept ‘sense of place’ (or ‘spirit of place’, or ‘genius loci’) is used to describe the attachment of people to the image and identity of places (at no particular scale – but on the matter of scale, see Shamai, 1991). It is the vagueness, arbitrariness and abstractness of ‘sense of place’ which has caused some commentators to suggest that its very looseness renders it incapable of consistent measurement and assessment, or even application. Despite an extensive body of literature which uses the idea of ‘sense of place’, especially in its application to the planning and design of tourism places and in environmental conservation, the measure of agreement on what it communicates is limited to three matters:

- firstly, that there are ‘places’;
- secondly that these ‘places’ embody and communicate a ‘meaning’ or ‘message’ and have intrinsic characteristics;
- and, thirdly, that the ‘message’ or ‘meaning’ has an appeal for and is received by someone.

These three matters have been referred to by Peterson as “a symbiotic relationship between person and place” (1988, p.451), and they have underpinned Cullen’s (1961), Jiven and Larkham’s (2003) and Jakle’s (1987) conceptualization of ‘places’ as ‘dramatic events’. The general body of literature on ‘sense of place’ raises issues which are important for the later creation of the analytical framework (in Chapter 5); these issues include, for example,

- the nature of the ‘place’ (what it is, and whether it has contributory parts);
- whether the experience of the ‘place’ is limited to particular sensory perceptions (sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch);
- whether the experience of the ‘place’ can be partial or has to be complete;
- whether the ‘meaning’ and ‘message’ communicated should be authentic and complete;
- whether the ‘place’ has to be unique, or whether it can be merely typical or symbolic to attract attention;
- whether the substance of the ‘sense of the place’ is triggered by tangible or intangible resources;
• and whether the 'place' has attracted institutional attention, especially for strategic purposes.

Such matters as these can be woven into a template of characteristics of place identity (see, for example, Huigen and Meijering, 2005; see also Ashworth, 1998; Azaryahu and Foote, 2008; Durie, Yeoman, and McMahon-Beattie, 2005; Jamal and Hill, 2004; Muzaini and Yeoh, 2005; Scarles, 2004; Stedman, 2003; Sullivan, 2003; Wang, Huang and Yu, 2009). This matter of 'sense of place' is re-visited in Section 5.6.

**Seduction of place.** Although not in every case using the terms 'seduction of place', there has been an ongoing and underlying fascination with seduction as an aspect of tourism attraction across a broad scope of commentaries (see, for example, Baudrillard, 1990; Crouch, 1999, 2000; Dann, 1996; MacCanney, 1999; Rojek, 1995; Selwyn, 1996; Swain, 2005). The precise expression is closely identified with Cartier and Lew (2005), and especially with Cartier's study of what she describes as the 'multiple legibilities' of place seduction in San Francisco, in which the seductions are clustered according to the experiences being sought by the visitors. Those seductions are not necessarily complete, unfettered (that is, they may be contradictory), and consistent (they may be fleeting in time, and vary between those experiencing the seduction) because they are part of the beguilement (or 'bewitchment' to use Dann's interpretation — 1996, p.56) of tourism attraction.

Most commentators maintain that the seduction of place has cultural, economic, emotional, environmental, locational, social, and spatial dimensions, and these may be especially acute in those places which have undergone (and might be still undergoing) transformative cultural, economic, physical, political and social change. In fact, Cartier and Lew refer to tourism as 'a process of seductive encounter' (2005, p.9 — derived from Crouch, 2005, p.24). Lippard (1999) has observed that "people flock to places not because of their beauty but because of their promise" (p.52), with an implication that what is important (to the visitor) is what the place has to communicate as a message' or 'meaning', with Crouch taking this point further by suggesting that the tourist 'engages' with the touristed landscape (that is, deepens their familiarity with it) after having been first enticed by sights, sounds and pre-publicity. He further suggests that the tourist attempts to 'make sense' of the place being visited through processes of mental engagement, involvement (hands-on, participation), interaction with other visitors, and with what he refers to as 'poetic encounters' or imaginative responses. This matter is re-visited in Section 5.6, not least because of its importance as a contribution to tourism place 'critical mass'.

**Places, spaces of negotiation and prescription.** This, the third of the interpretational and descriptive functions of themed places and spaces, is as loose as the other two. Murdoch (1997) has referred to this as 'a geography of heterogeneous associations' in which "actions are embedded in materials and then extended through time and space" (p.321). In his commentaries on the application of actor-network theory to 'thinking geographically' Murdoch (see, for example, 1997; 1998) has suggested that "even in spaces framed by formal modes of calculation there is some scope for negotiation, that is, actors can carve out for themselves a degree of autonomy from the network prescriptions" (1998, p.363). Transposing that general point into the specific matters being considered here – of heritage-based tourism – the degree of negotiation (or freedom of action) by tourists visiting heritage sites may be circumscribed by deliberately imposed strategies of, for example, standardized modes of presentation, carefully controlled circulation and route systems, limited site (or event) interpretation, restricted times of operating, theme-dependent created environments, and so on. Kuipers (2005) in addressing the prescriptiveness associated with even the selection of the heritage resources to which the public is given access claims that "the extent to which a place is able to become heritage … depends on the extent to which it is valued as historic by both the experts and the users … the experts will prescribe and the users
will ascribe" (2005, pp. 210-211). The implication of this is that prescription is an important aspect of the delivery of the heritage product, and its significance can be acute if the material objects of heritage interest or the manner, place and timing of their public presentation (or both) are controlled so as to limit public access, appreciation and knowledge. This matter is considered again later because it has implications for the construction of the analytical framework, and for the planning and design of heritage places. (see Section 5.6)

Prescribed places – referred to by Edensor (2001) as ‘enclavic spaces’ – are physical entities which can both create and limit a heritage-based experience. Some commentators prefer to make reference to ‘places of negotiation’ in which there are blurred boundaries between the tourism-focused and the other place amenities, and across which visitors have the flexibility to determine their own paths of movement (see, for example, Mol and Law, 1994; Murdoch, 1998).

CONCLUSION

Having previously considered (in Chapter 3) some of the raw materials and resources of heritage and heritage-based tourism, it was appropriate to make progress towards interpreting them in a physical context particularly as it is the intention of the unfolding study to focus on the geographical and semiotic evidence that ‘dead men do tell tales’. This Chapter is evidence of that step, with consideration being given firstly to the nature of ‘touristed landscapes’ (Cartier, 2005), and secondly to the conceptualization of those landscapes as ‘themescapes’ (Rodaway, 1994). Of the many ‘scape’ forms considered in this Chapter, three – ‘heritagescape’ (Garden), ‘powerscape’ (Jacobs) and ‘tourismscape’ (van der Duim) – have been taken forward into Part B of this study to underpin the construction of the analytical framework. The importance of these three lies especially in (a) their capacity to contribute conceptually and organizationally to that framework, and (b) their easy accommodation of the geographical and semiotic approaches which are so important to the gathering, recording and reporting of the ‘physical and material reality’ (Jacobs) of the empirical evidence to support the proposition that ‘dead men do tell tales’. Before the evidence can be considered in a structured way it is necessary to construct the experimental framework; that is the task of the two chapters (5 and 6) in Part B.
PART B: CONSTRUCTION OF THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

This Part is composed of two chapters, and together they 'tell the story' of the construction of the analytical framework which has been purpose-designed as a response to two of the research questions, which when paraphrased ask firstly, 'what is the evidence that 'dead men do tell tales'? and secondly, 'how can that evidence be 'teased out'? As both chapters will reveal, the approach taken to the construction of the framework has been influenced by some of the considerations given in Chapter 4 to 'themed landscapes' and especially to a number of 'scape'-based frameworks each of which was devised to meet particular conceptual, investigative, or organizational challenges.

It has been considered necessary to construct an analytical framework to help respond to the two research questions because a search of published sources failed to find an existing framework which had the capacity to cope with the special needs of folklore-linked subjects. Conventional social science-based qualitative methods of inquiry provide useful starting and general positions, but it is the special nature of heritage and folkloric study – and of the study of folk heroes in particular – which needs a framework which is fine-tuned to address the peculiarities of the study. This matter has been raised in a number of the contributions to Sorensen and Carman's (2009) edited collection of papers which address approaches to and methods for the study of heritage, and the need for a 'well-theorized integrated framework' was one of the principal challenges of Jamal and Kim (2005).

The expansive nature of this task is addressed here in three phases, extending through two linked chapters:

- the first phase is an engagement with a significant grounding of inputs and influences on the design of the framework; this occupies all of Chapter 5;
- the second phase (in Chapter 6) sets out to reconfigure and refine those inputs and influences, and to re-align them as they respond to the investigative approaches of 'thinking geographically' and of 'the gaze'; from this position, those inputs and influences become synthesized as progress is made towards constructing the analytical framework which becomes dominated by the perspective of 'distinctiveness' (see Urry, 1992, p.173 – "there has to be something distinctive to be gazed upon ... the signs collected by tourists have to be visually extraordinary");
- and the third phase (also in Chapter 6) involves a further degree of refinement so that the resultant framework is focused squarely on 'teasing out' the contributions to the stories of folk heroes.

Van der Duim's (2005) advocacy for a 'scientific mode of ordering the bits and pieces we label tourism' underpins the approach taken here. It is the structure which emerges from the third phase which is used to examine the case study of the Ned Kelly story in Chapter 7.
The emergence of this form of framework has been an outcome of both desk-based investigations and field-based investigations and tentative trials. It was found that although there were several 'scape'-based frameworks which had the capacity to support the examination of some aspects of the matters embedded in the translation of the implications of the stories and activities of folk heroes, not one of the frameworks on its own had the capacity to encompass more than a limited range of the inputs to and the influences on those stories. What has emerged is an experimental framework, capable of meeting the specific challenge of the case of the folk hero; in Chapter 8 there is some speculation about the broader use of the framework for other heritage-linked studies.

In Section 5.1 there is an explanation of the choice of 'framework' over theories and models for this study. The clue for the choice made here lies in the work of the Economic Sciences Nobel Laureate for 2009, Elinor Ostrom, who considers the three (i.e., frameworks, theories and models) to be "nested concepts ... at three levels of specificity ... [each with its own] diagnostic, analytical and prescriptive capabilities" (2011, pp. 7, 8, 9), with the 'framework' being useful particularly for "providing a common set of potentially relevant variables and their subcomponents to use in the design of data collection instruments, the conduct of fieldwork, and the analysis of findings" (2009, p.420). This has been the guiding design principle for the experimental framework developed here.
CHAPTER 5:  
ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK: 1

- In the context of a rapidly changing landscape of tourism research "we argue for a well-theorized 'integrated framework' showing the complexity, dynamism, scale and scope of doing a research study related to heritage and tourism"

Jamal and Kim (2005, p.56)

- "A framework is ... useful in providing a common set of potentially relevant variables and their subcomponents to use in the design of data collection instruments, the conduct of fieldwork, and the analysis of findings".

Ostrom (2009, p.420)

INTRODUCTION

This is the first of two chapters in Part B which are focused on explaining the inputs to and influences on the process of eventually constructing an analytical framework with which to meet the twin challenges of Jamal and Kim (2005) to develop a 'well-theorized integrated framework' for studying heritage-based tourism, and of Knudsen et al (2008) to provide a suitable means of 'teasing out' the intricacies of the artful construction of tourist sites, and to respond to the second of the research questions. Rather than incorporate the detailed examination and explanation of the various inputs and influences with the eventual proposition and exposure of the constructed analytical framework in one compendious chapter, it has been judged that it will be more helpful to divide the tasks between this Chapter and the next; because of this,

- Chapter 5 focuses attention especially on the challenge of Jamal and Kim – to develop "a well-theorized 'integrated framework' showing the complexity, dynamism, scale and scope of doing a research study related to heritage and tourism" (2005, p.56);

- Chapter 6 then focuses on synthesizing the various inputs and influences and presents a consolidated and abbreviated analytical framework which rests on the theoretical insights revealed in the previous chapter, and this leads to a reconfigured framework which has been drawn to focus specifically on the case of the folk hero with a response to the proposition that 'dead men do tell tales'

Figure 5.1 presents a diagrammatic synopsis of this arrangement as it passes through three phases.

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PHASES in the CONSTRUCTION of the ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Chapter 5
(Phase 1)

Analytical Framework:
Phase 1: Inputs and influences
- 'Scientific mode of ordering'
- Resources as inputs to 'touristed landscapes'
- Influences on the raw materials, resources
- Conversion of the raw materials to 'touristed landscapes'
- Configurations and expressions of 'touristed landscapes'

Chapter 6
(Phases 2, 3)

Analytical Framework:
Phase 2: Synthesis (Preliminary Framework)

Resources: 'Physical and material reality'
- Places
- Things: 'texts'
- 'Powerscape' influences
  - Historical records
  - Public agencies
  - Entrepreneurial interests:
    Conversion
    - Systems, operations
      of government
    - Non-government
      agency activities
- Configurations
  - Scale
  - Configuration
  - 'Themed'

To 'tease out' heritage and folkloric DISTINCTIVENESS
- focus on 'physical and material reality'
- use of geographical and 'gaze' referents

[See: Pearce, Morrison and Moscardo, 2003, pp. 74ff; Urry, 1992 p.173]

Analytical Framework:
Phase 3: 'Dead men do tell tales'

FOLK HERO

SYNTHESIS

FRAMEWORK
'a common set of potentially relevant variables' (Ostrom, 2009, p.420)
- CONTEXT
- PLACES
- 'TEXTS', THINGS
- EVENTS
- FORMS OF
  (RE)PRESENTATION
- PEOPLE

Configured so as to be suitable for the selected heritage, folkloric subject

Figure 5.1
STRUCTURE of the THREE PHASES
This particular and experimental form has been taken because, in the course of scanning the published literature for investigative means which had the potential to achieve not only these purposes but also the unraveling of the special case that 'dead men do tell tales', it was found that already-existing analytical structures were not fully suited to the special task of this study. It cannot be claimed that any of the already-existing structures were generally inadequate, but rather that as they had been developed to meet the requirements of their own peculiar purposes it could not be expected that they would be suited to the combination of circumstances being addressed here. However, many of these previously-existing structures embody components and even investigative strategies which could be adapted (rather than adopted) for the special challenges of this study, and the experimentalism here has been directed at merging the compatible components into a suitably composite analytical framework – an exercise in synthesis.

A key methodological outcome of the attempt to meet the special challenges of this study was foreshadowed in Section 2.1 where it was explained that this study, through the processes of progressive refinement and positioning, was in fact composed of two mutually-supporting strands, one of which addressed the substantive matter of the folk hero, and a second which engaged in a search to construct a suitable analytical framework (see Figure 2.2). This Chapter is focused solely on the second of these strands, with the two strands being brought together later in Part C and Chapter 7 in the application of the constructed framework to the empirical evidence of the folkloric story of the selected case study, Ned Kelly.

This action has inevitably drawn this study into the far from clear waters of ‘theory’ related to tourism studies (see commentaries on this challenge in, for example, Dann, 1997, 2005; Franklin and Crang, 2001; and more recently by Ren, Pritchard and Morgan, 2010; and Smith and Lee, 2010). The particular methodological challenges have focused on addressing a series of ‘how’ questions:

• how the folk hero contribution could be identified and exposed;
• how the inputs and influences on the resources on which the contribution would be based could be brought to bear on it;
• and, how those inputs and influences would become expressed as ‘touristed landscapes’.

To borrow an expression from Ren, Pritchard and Morgan, this study has engaged with substantive and methodological strands which are ‘entangled’. It has become the principal purpose of this Chapter (5) to engage in a process of constructing an investigative framework which could untangle the ‘what’ (substantive – the folk hero) component so that its contribution to heritage-based tourism could better identified and understood. Previous commentaries, particularly in Chapter 4, have foreshadowed how this ‘teasing out’ process might be approached, using ‘scape’-type conceptualizations and formulations. In this Chapter some of those issues are carried forward as contributions to the construction of the analytical framework. The decisions about which components of the previously-considered frameworks could be synthesized into a suitable framework for the purposes of this study were made after a number of impromptu and improvised ‘tests’ to evaluate the capacity of each to meet the challenges of Jamal and Kim, and of Knudsen and his colleagues. It is the purpose of this Chapter (5) to expose the potential contributions to a ‘well-theorized integrated framework’ (see Figure 5.2 for the structure of this Chapter), and it is the purpose of the next Chapter (6) to orient that framework so that it can efficiently address the special circumstances of the folk hero’s contribution to heritage-based tourism.

[Notes:
1. The implication of the adoption of this twin-Chapter approach is that only the foundation is considered here in Chapter 5, and it is not until Chapters 5 and 6]
are considered as a unit that the full situation can be fully understood, and the potential of the framework fully appreciated.

2. As Chapter 5 is conspicuously a backgrounding account, it would be possible to by-pass it and consider Chapter 6 as the sole principal and brief explanation of the construction of the analytical framework. What that would do, however, is exclude the reasoning, justification and explanation of the eventual framework; so, although the exclusion of backgrounding theory is not uncommon practice in published research papers, it is not being advocated here, and even though the text of Chapter 5 may at times be convoluted and detailed it has been included particularly to address the challenge of Jamal and Kim for an explanation of the theory and concepts which expose "the complexity, dynamism, scale and scope of doing a research study related to heritage and tourism" (2005, p.56)

3. Throughout this Chapter there is some recapitulation of matters considered previously, with components drawn down from Chapters 3 and 4. This has been necessary so that the text is sufficiently explanatory; however, in most cases, the inclusion of previously-presented argument and information has been abbreviated, often by back-referencing to those sections in earlier Chapters where the matter was first considered.

5.1 'A well-theorized integrated framework' (Jamal and Kim)

Progress towards the construction of 'a well-theorized integrated framework' was pursued broadly within the scope of the critical social sciences, and with clues from some of the recent commentaries about the critical turn in tourism studies (see, for example, Ateljevic et al 2007; Tribe, 2007) and in heritage studies (Sorensen and Carman, 2009), and from commentaries about approaches to organizations, planning and policy-making (see, for example, Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones, 2002; Hillier and Healey, 2010; Ostrom, 2009).

This scoping exercise was frustrated on some occasions where, for example, the original structural propositions seem to have escaped critical scrutiny in published sources; this was certainly the case with most of the 'scape'-based structures considered in Chapter 4, the one exception being van der Duim's conceptualization of 'tourismscape'. Another source of frustration was the tendency for many published sources to omit a carefully-argued case for the structure which was being used; the outcome of this has been that any theory underpinnings of many of the structures have remained largely hidden, often overwhelmed by the discourse about the empirical evidence in the case studies. It has been to overcome such frustrations that the framework being developed here has engaged with a number of examples (Garden, 2004 – 'heritagescape'; Jacobs, 2006 – 'powerscape'; Van der Duim, 2005 – 'tourismscape') which have then been synthesized and reconfigured to fit with the framework advocacies of Ostrom (2009 and others; see later in this Section) to provide a structure – 'a scientific mode of ordering' – which, whilst being convoluted, is suitably explicit for judgments to be made about its capacity to meet the challenges of Jamal and Kim, Knudsen and his colleagues, and the second of the research questions posed for this study, and for tentative conclusions to be drawn about its usefulness for other study areas in heritage-based tourism (see Chapter 8).

Towards a 'scientific mode of ordering'

In responding to the challenge which van der Duim imposed on his own research – to develop "a scientific mode of ordering the bits and pieces that make up what we label tourism" (2005, p.238) – this study has also responded to Jennings' (2009) advocacy for 'novel' ways of knowing and ordering tourism-specific information, and Franklin's (2007) challenge to find different epistemological and ontological routes to discovering and revealing that information, all of which provide direction for this study to contribute positively to the quest of Jamal and Kim.
PART A: BACKGROUND ISSUES and LITERATURE REVIEW

PART B: CONSTRUCTION OF THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

5.1 'A well-theorized integrated framework'
- Towards a 'scientific mode of ordering'
- Framework or model or theory?

5.2 'Scientific mode of ordering the bits and pieces'

5.3 Resources as inputs to 'touristed landscapes'
- Physical and material reality
- Re-presentations, re-locations

5.4 Influences on those raw materials
- The four forces
- Disaggregation of the four forces

5.5 Conversion of the raw materials to 'touristed landscapes'

5.6 Configurations and expressions of 'touristed landscapes'
- Scale of influence and expression: 'tourismscape'; 'heritagescape'
- Configurations
- 'Themed Landscapes'

PART C: EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE, ANALYSIS and INTERPRETATION

Figure 5.2
STRUCTURE OF CHAPTER 5

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The exercise being conducted here reflects the 'plasticity' and malleability of 'theory' to be fitted to many purposes and situations (Smith and Lee, 2010, p.28). Here, advantage has been taken of the 'plasticity' of a number of 'scape'-type formulations, drawing on some of the inputs to their frameworks in the construction of a 'scientific mode of ordering', whilst attempting to avoid the research trap which agitated Franklin and Crang (2001) with their criticism of any move towards a process of adopting a 'one size fits all' theory and methodology.

Engagement in the scoping exercise, firstly to find ‘scape'-type formulations which had some relevance to heritage-based tourism, and secondly to identify either whole 'scapes' or even components of 'scapes' which had some chance of compatibility with others (wholes or parts) was a daunting task which was alleviated by the introduction and application of a set of key performance indicators. For this study the key performance indicators were:

- a declared or interpretable disciplinary basis - a unifying 'idea';
- a nominated approach to the inquiry;
- a declared principal investigative perspective;
- the breadth and/or depth of empirical evidence;
- the purpose of the analysis.

Of these five indicators, the first three were particularly important for this study, especially as indicators of potential building blocks for the construction of the analytical framework. Taking these indicators and reconfiguring them to fit the circumstances of this study, the important determinants of the framework for this study are as follows:

- a simple, unifying idea with an internal logic and explicit boundary conditions;
  - this focuses attention to, and draws a line around the subject matter, perspectives, concepts, and related matters;
  - for this study, this unifying idea is encapsulated in ‘thinking geographically’, with issues related to space and place relationships being of paramount importance;
- a nominated investigative method for 'interrogating' the various information sources;
  - this sharpens the focus on how the subject matter is to be engaged, eliminating even companion methods because they could confuse or diminish the quality of the informational inputs and the interpretation of them;
  - for this study, the nominated investigative method is semiotics-based, and concentrates on ‘the gaze’;
- an acknowledged problem, or potential problem and a means of ‘solving’ it;
  - this sharpens the focus and eliminates extraneous, even derived or associated problems which might hinder the investigative process and the search for solutions, and it identifies a matter which has not been able to be satisfactorily addressed using already-available theories and methods;
  - for this study attention is focused on the special case of the folk hero as part of both folklore and heritage.

This might not be an ideal process for constructing a 'scientific mode of ordering', but it has the capacity of bringing to the foreground those matters which have a strong potential for contributing to an explanation of the inputs to and influences on the stories about folk heroes. That it is the outcome of a 'groping process' (see the reference to this in Chapter 2) does not significantly reduce its credibility as a means of heuristic discovery, gathering and synthesis; it is, after all, an acknowledged qualitative method.
in the social sciences, it fits within the scope of re-engineering through amalgamation and adaptation (see Dann, 2005), it is experimental, and the end-product is a framework rather than a model or theory.

**Framework, or model or theory?**

One of the important advocacies in Pearce and Butler’s (2010) recent review of the ways forward for tourism research is to engage with “a greater use of explicit integrative frameworks” (p.233), because ‘integrative frameworks’

- “can ... reveal where the gaps lie, suggest questions for future research in a more directed fashion, and show how particular studies contribute to our understanding”;
- may be used “to bring together conceptual and methodological dimensions”;
- and may be used “as building blocks to draw together more effectively the diverse studies in tourism” (all quotations from p.233).

They caution, however, that integrative frameworks “are not, of course, a panacea for all of the issues ... [and] they are not substitutes for theory” (p.233).

It is necessary, before launching into the presentation about the analytical framework, to clarify what is being done here, and to explain the preference for the ‘framework’ over ‘model’ or even ‘theory’. The distinction is much more than semantic.

The differentiation – framework, model, theory – has been one of the central elements in ongoing examinations of suitable ways of conducting research, and of constructing operational institutions. Ostrom, in one of her many contributions to debates about the nature, content, scope and intent of the three has commented that

“A continuing puzzle for many scholars is determining the difference between frameworks, theories and models. The three terms are used almost interchangeably by scholars coming from different theoretical backgrounds. Basically, frameworks, theories and models are nested concepts ... at three levels of specificity ... [each with their own] diagnostic, analytical and prescriptive capabilities ... [and capacity to lead to an] accumulation of knowledge” (2011, p7, 8, 9)

In recent decades there has been a proliferation of reports, commentaries and recommendations on the use of the framework approach to investigate matters of, for example, sustainability, knowledge transfer, resource allocation systems, and social-ecological systems (see, for example, Anderies, Janssen and Ostrom, 2004; Koontz, 2003; Ostrom, 2009; 2011; Ward, House and Hamer, 2009), while Smyth (2004), in the special context of education research, has shown how a framework can be used as a research tool, not only to impose shape and order to the research task but also to provide a means firstly of forging a common language with which to investigate, describe, analyze and report, and secondly of contributing a set of guiding principles and reference points capable of supporting a qualitative meta-analytic tool useable in other contexts which draw on similar strands of informational inputs. To summarize from an extensive and disparate literature on the matter frameworks is usually considered to be the most basic of the three forms, with the capacity to:

- organize (even prescribe) the inquiry,
- generate the basic issues to be addressed and the questions to be asked,
- identify and reveal the components of the issue(s) being examined,
- expose the constants and the variables,
Ostrom (2009) has commented that "a framework is thus useful in providing a common set of potentially relevant variables and their subcomponents to use in the design of data collection instruments, the conduct of fieldwork, and the analysis of findings" (p.420). This comment becomes an important guideline for the eventual design of the framework used in this study (see the discussion about Phase 3 in Chapter 6). The important issue for Ostrom is that the framework (or theory or model) should be "well-tailored to the particular problem at hand" (2011, p.9), to maximize its effectiveness in investigative organization, information-gathering, diagnosis, analysis and prescription.

In confronting the challenges of Jamal and Kim, Knudsen and others the focus has been more on creating a credible means of supporting the study of the heritage-tourism link than on developing new theories and models; progression to those later phases (or levels) is considered in the final Chapter (8). For this chapter (5) the emphasis lies in examining the inputs to and influences on heritage and folkloric resources and their conversion to 'touristed landscapes' as a step towards creating a 'scientific mode of ordering' with which to 'test' the proposition that 'dead men do tell tales'.

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK: THE COMPONENTS

This is the section of the Chapter in which there is the most commitment to experimentation; having decided to commit to the construction of a framework to help unravel the potential of the proposition that 'dead men do tell tales', the next challenge was to bring together disparate investigative, descriptive and structural sources and to mold them into a composite analytical framework. As has been commented on in the previous Section, not all of the sources used in this exercise have been subjected to more than superficial scrutiny in published commentaries, and many of them refer to only one particular case study. Herein lies a problem: what is being attempted may be frustrated because the 'bits and pieces' might not fit together, either easily or even at all. Only some of the literature about the construction of frameworks is helpful on this point; for this study resort has been made to the heuristic 'groping process' which has become a commonly referred to research strategy feature in many stages of this investigation.

Presented here, at this early stage in the process of framework development is the gradual accumulation of output from the 'groping process. The basic discussion is presented in Sections 5.2 to 5.6 (See Figure 5.3). In practice, the process has been iterative, with interaction and cross-referencing between the internal components, but for the purposes and ease of explanation here the construction of the framework is presented in five contributory components as follows:

• a component which considers the systems-driven forces in 'tourismscape', 'powerscape' and 'heritagescape' -- the 'scientific mode of ordering the bits and pieces (5.2 and Figure 5.4);
• a component which examines the raw materials and the resources which are the substantive inputs to the 'touristed landscapes' (5.3 and Figure 5.5);
• a component which exposes the influences which are brought to bear on the potential use of those resources as tourism attractions in 'touristed landscapes (5.4 and Figure 5.6);
• 'Scientific mode of ordering'

• Resources as inputs to 'touristed landscapes'

• Influences on the raw materials, resources

• Conversion of the raw materials to 'touristed landscapes'

• Configurations and expressions of 'touristed landscapes'

PHASE 2: SYNTHESIS

PHASE 3: 'DEAD MEN DO TELL TALES'

Figure 5.3 SUMMARY of the COMPONENTS of the ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK (Phase 1)
• a component which considers the conversion process in which the raw materials and resources become ‘touristed landscapes’ (5.5 and Figure 5.7);

• and a component which considers the configurations and expressions of ‘touristed landscapes’ which are the creative end-products of the transformation of the raw materials (5.6 and Figure 5.8).

Each of these components is considered here.

[Notes:

1. Each of the five components is discussed here, but the text should be read with the relevant Figure because, in some cases, the information and content and the various linkages may be more easily understood from the graphic presentation.

2. It is not claimed that each exposure here is complete; rather, each is indicative of the possible content of each component. Many of the reference points are capable of being expanded, or even telescoped to fit particular circumstances, or even general circumstances if the interpretation is being made from perspectives which are different from those being used in this study. This will be evident in Chapter 7 where the effort concentrates on fitting the empirical evidence to the final (third) phase of the framework.

3. What has to be remembered throughout this exercise is that, although the general reference is to heritage, and to a more refined degree to folklore, the tests being applied to this study are fine-tuned to address the proposition that ‘some men do tell tales’ – that is, the stories about folk heroes and the ‘touristed landscapes’ which are the outcome or manifestation of those tales. This means that some of the explanatory points made in the next few sections may appear, for other contexts and subjects, to be incomplete or to have omissions. The ‘wriggle room’ in the constructed analytical framework to cope with the circumstances of other contexts and subjects is addressed in the final chapter (8)].

5.2 ‘Scientific mode of ordering the bits and pieces’ (See Figure 5.4)

Used here as building blocks rather than as templates, the three most-developed of the ‘scape’ structures – ‘heritagescape’, ‘powerscape’ and ‘tourismscape’ (reviewed previously in Chapter 4, especially at Section 4.7) – have been adapted to give substance to the structuring of the analytical framework; in particular, use has been made of their indicative logic systems.

In the case of:

• ‘tourismscape’ (van der Duim, 2005), the conceptualization was as a holistic framework, an open system, within which resources, activities and participants can be examined and interpreted both separately and in their various relationships;

• ‘powerscape’ (Jacobs, 2006), one of the purposes was to reveal the regulatory context in which cultural, economic, political, social and technological development takes place;

• ‘heritagescape’ (Garden, 2004), the framework was developed as a means of exposing the intricacies of heritage and heritage sites and their contribution to social history.

The general clue to the usefulness of these ‘scape’ forms for the purposes of this study lies in a statement from van der Duim that what he was attempting to achieve with the design of his ‘tourismscape’ was “a scientific mode of ordering the bits and pieces that make up what we label tourism” (2005, p.238). Despite the differences in focus across the three frameworks there are similarities; for example, each

• is systems-driven;
"Scientific mode of ordering"
See Section 5.2

- "a scientific mode of ordering the bits and pieces that make up what we label tourism" (van der Duim, 2005, p.238)
- tools "to sharpen problem perception in complicated situations" (Jacobs, 2004, p.37)
- Principal characteristics:
  - Systems-driven
  - Responsive to dynamics of changing circumstances
  - Unravelling and structuring Inter-relationships
  - Particularized perspectives

Three basic structural devices:

'Tourismscape'
- Scale = holistic
- Structural device for analysis of convergence of three components:
  - people, 'things', places
  - Actor-network theory: 'what', 'how', where', 'who'?  
  - Semiotics-linked - objects, spaces, hierarchies, scales, spatial forms
  - Analytical rather than concrete form

'Heritagescape'
- Scale = site, place, setting
- Structural device - heritage focus
  - Focus on 'marked out spaces or sites'- semiotic characteristics of boundaries, 'sense of place'
    (cohesion) visibility
  - Focus on site and 'envisioned site'
  - information, physical and interpreted characteristics
  - To understand contribution of space, places, site to social history

'Powerscape'
- Scale = holistic and specific; enveloping environment of public decision-making
- Regulatory and policy context - operational guidelines
- Focus includes intangible factors (such as folklore)
- Information base may be contested

Figure 5.4
'Scientific mode of ordering'
has been designed to be responsive to the dynamics of changing circumstances;
has been formulated with an awareness of the inter-relationships of people, things and places (actor network theory);
has been constructed with the intention of unravelling those relationships;
has, as one of its principal responsibilities, the capacity to expose the physical materiality of private and personal, public agency and entrepreneurial decisions impacting on people, things and places.

Of the three ‘scape’ forms, van der Duim’s ‘tourismscape’ is perhaps the most holistic, especially in so far as its principal driving force is the creation of a scientifically-credible analytical tool with which to expose for examination and interpretation the various possible interactive permutations of three principal components:

- people (in the 2005 version) – ‘actors’ (in the 2007 version);
- artifacts (2005) – ‘entities’ (2007);

His intention was to emphasize that all three components had to be present in any given potential tourism situation if tourism activity was to take place, although the requisite symmetry of the components could not (and should not) be expected to be consistent and equally-balanced. For each potential tourism situation it would be likely that one or more of the components (or a sub-component of any one component) could become dominant. The explanation for this comes from Garden’s ‘heritagescape’ where she confirms that any failure to understand the nature and purpose of any heritage site would put at risk the capability of recognizing its role in telling the story of social history.

In the case of both van der Duim and Garden the underlying intention has been to construct an investigative tool with the capacity to be used anywhere, at any time, and in any circumstances to achieve both an accumulation of knowledge and an improved level of understanding. Jacob’s contribution lies in his focus on the enveloping ‘environment’ of public and entrepreneurial decision-making which impacts on the maneuverability space of the broad scope of tourism and the narrower scope of heritage. For example, his ‘powerscape’ configuration has been designed to expose the structural and operational parameters which influence the conduct of tourism and heritage-linked development, including for example, conservation codes, place and building refurbishment and redevelopment strategies, support strategies for history-linked pageants and parades, and the custodianship of public records.

Van der Duim used an adaptation of actor-network theory to point out the need for his particular ‘scape’ study to clarify (see 2007b, pp. 962-972)

- ‘what’ is being studied,
- ‘how’ the ‘what’ interacts to form structured and ordered relationships,
- ‘where’ the consequential interactions take place, and the spatial configurations of them – this approach could be used for both existing activity and potential activity,
- and ‘who’ is involved, and their particular needs, expectations and requirements.

It is a conspicuously semiotics-linked approach with the interactions being spatially-evident in the forms of, for example, objects, spaces, information in material and inscribed forms, all associated through hierarchies, orders and scales (neither necessarily nor only spatial), with the various spatial forms and structures responding to changes in the balance between the three components and therefore having a dynamic which is generated internally. Van der Duim has been careful to describe his ‘scape’ as
having the characteristics of an open system, so that the dynamic can be influenced by external forces; once those influences take affect, they are then internalized as part of Jacob’s ‘powerscape’.

Of the three ‘scape’ forms, ‘tourismscape’ and ‘heritagescape’ are the most obviously space-conscious; for example, with van der Duim there is reference to tourism activity being ‘grounded’ at particular locations, or forming distinctive districts, precincts or enclaves, while the principal thrust of Garden’s investigations are aimed at what she describes as ‘marked out spaces or sites’ (including, for example, battlefields, cathedrals, castles, conventional enclosed museums and open-air museums).

In the case of all three of these ‘scape’ forms the motivation has been to develop a structured investigative tool which can facilitate comparison and replication, can reveal both generalities and special nuisances, and which can overcome the tendency towards ad hoc and idiosyncratic investigations which, on their own, and without subsequent critical commentary and comparison, are not likely to contribute much to the accumulation of knowledge and understanding, nor to lead to the development of theories and models. Garden, in particular, has insisted that the creation of her ‘heritagescape’ form has been motivated by the need she perceives to move past the easy recognition of heritage sites and to progress towards the much more difficult task of understanding their contribution as a cultural phenomenon to social history (2006, see especially p.396).

Elements of each of these three forms are incorporated into later components in the series of commentaries being considered here. For the purposes of this brief commentary, each of the three ‘scape’ forms are abstract, and for none of them is the claim made that they are more than conceptual aids; borrowing from Jacob’s concluding comments about his trilogy (‘matterscape’, ‘mindscape’ and ‘powerscape’) it can be claimed that they are useful tools “to sharpen problem perception in complicated situations” (2004, p.37).

Within the ‘scientific mode of ordering’ lie the four building blocks of inputs and influences; the first is considered here.

5.3 Resources as inputs to ‘touristed landscapes’ (See Figure 5.5)

Drawing a line under (or around) a definitive inventory of the raw materials and resources which contribute to heritage-linked ‘touristed landscapes’ is difficult, not least if the inventory is to be inclusive of both tangible and intangible resources (see Chapter 3, Sections 3.2 and 3.6 for brief commentaries on heritage and folkloric resources).

For this study, the emphasis has been placed squarely on the elements of ‘matterscape’ as interpreted by Jacobs (2004) – material and physical reality (p.28) – and the perspectives of ‘thinking geographically’ and ‘the gaze’. Both of these perspectives are selected, and by no means cover the territory of all possibilities. In his re-statement of ‘the tourist gaze’, and especially its involvement in ‘gazing on history’ (Chapter 6 in both the 1990 and 2002 versions), Urry concedes that heritage-based tourism can include important economic, political and social issues which have a substance and significance which are beyond the capacity of engagement with mere visual properties (2002, p.102); however, he recognizes the importance of the visual and tangible characteristics of the resources with his references to particular ‘gazes’ – spectatorial, reverential, anthropological, environmental and mediatized (2002, pp. 150, 151). The common characteristic of the items considered in this Section is that the inclusion of each in the inventory of raw materials is because of its capacity to capitalize on the visual perspective even if other senses are also drawn into the experience.
Resources as inputs to 'touristed landscapes'
See Section 5.3

'Physical and material reality' (Jacobs, 2006) in situ
- Places, spaces, sites
- Tracks, trails, routes
- Natural settings with historic and cultural associations
- Structures, including archaeological remnants
- Archaeological remnants
- Buildings
- Public buildings
- Settlements

Re-presentations, re-locations
- 'physical and material reality' relocated to Exhibition centres, galleries, libraries, museums
- Facsimiles - usually relocated
- Symbols, markers - monuments, memorials
- Re-enactments
- Memorabilia

Figure 5.5 RESOURCES as INPUTS to 'TOURISTED LANDSCAPES'
In an earlier Chapter (3) reference was made to Lowenthal’s claim that ‘heritage is everywhere’ (1996, p. ix), and to the propositions of Hewison (1987; 1992) and Prentice (1993) that the resources of heritage are heterogeneous and ubiquitous. Additionally, reference was made in that same chapter to the comment of McKercher and du Cros that attempts to compose universally-acceptable inventories and categorizations of heritage resources and the uses of them in heritage-based tourism are “enmeshed in layers of complexity” (2002, p.135). Any pursuit of a definitive list of folkloric resources is equally bedeviled by multiple interpretations, particularly as some inventories are composed exclusively of tangible resources (see Bronner, 1986), while others lean towards categorizations of ‘texts’ which enable both tangible and intangible items to be included, and some to the inclusion of resources which are little more than ‘of interest through association’ (see Oring, 1986, 2006; Seal, 1998). Forming integral parts of the text in Chapter 3 are Figures, 3.3 and 3.4 (heritage), 3.6 (folklore), 3.7 (folk stories) and 3.10 (folk heroes) which, in aggregate, draw attention to a considerable range of raw materials and resources capable of being incorporated into heritage-related landscapes, and which through processes of commodification and ‘tourismification’ become integral to ‘touristed landscapes’.

The previous paragraphs have set out the parameters for this study within which the scope of raw materials and resources act as inputs to ‘touristed landscapes’; in summary, (a) they must contribute in some way to tales associated with folk heroes, (b) they must have credible geographical reference points – they must be associated with a place or site or setting – and, (c) they must be evident and experienced through the semiotic lens of ‘the gaze’.

In Figure 5.5 the resources considered in this Section have been set out in two major groupings:

- those resources which meet the description of Jacobs as being in situ and as ‘physical and material reality’;
- and, those which are principally re-presentations and/or re-Iocations.

‘Physical and material reality’

This Section engages with a summary commentary about the resources of ‘physical and material reality’; a more complete description and discussion was presented previously in Chapter 3. The particular significance of this group of resources is that they contribute to heritage and folklore where they are – in situ.

These principal categories are:

- places, spaces, sites:
  - these may be precise locations, or attributions in ‘the general area’ – the common features are that they are not buildings or structures, and they are not natural settings (see later); examples include battlefields, archaeological sites (see later), look-out and camp sites, and some places (such as town squares, forecourts of public buildings, parks) which are significant in some settlements (see later);
  - these are important because they indicate, for example, where action took place, where some of the resources of other categories make important contributions to the stories, where some of those other resources can be (or have been) found, which independently or in aggregate contribute to a ‘setting’ which by its ambience and association tells at least part of the story;
  - they are also important because they fix the happenings to particular locations, and in doing so contribute to the creation of a place or regional identity associated with the story;
and they are the foundation elements for the creation of 'sense of place' or 'seduction of place' for various strategic planning frameworks (see later);

- **tracks, trails, routes:**
  - these are important components of the stories because they set the linkages and networks along and within which the action of the story unfolds – examples include, highways (not of the modern type), cross-country routes, river courses, hill tracks;
  - in addition they contribute to the formalization of an image or identity for the story, by identifying a corridor along which the principal action has taken place (see the case study for a particular example of this);

- **natural settings:**
  - these are natural sites and settings which are important because of their association with the story – where the *Dramatis personæ* act out the story by being involved in the events and happenings; they are different from places, spaces and sites by being geographically more expansive and less locationally specific;
  - their contribution may be only as an environmental backdrop to the story;

- **structures (other than buildings), and archaeological remnants:**
  - typical in this category would be structures such as bridges, monuments (see later);
  - artifacts and tools which have contributed to an historically-relevant lifestyle and to a particular folkloric story – examples include domestic tools, furniture and household items, occupational tools (including machinery), recreational and craft tools;
  - anthropological remains – bones;
  - craft items – costume, furniture, jewellery.

- **buildings:**
  - these are often significant to the story because they fix the location of particular events, such as the birth and/or death of the folk hero, the discovery of inventions, a point of informal public assembly, places of entertainment;
  - the category includes dwelling-houses;
  - they are also significant because, irrespective of their principal (pre-story) purpose they become linked to particular events – such as pubs and hotels (as points of assembly), banks (robberies), or popular spectacles (such as sports halls);

- **public buildings:**
  - this category includes, for example, town halls, court houses, prisons, schools, government buildings, police stations, railway stations, museums, galleries, places for religious assembly, libraries, post offices;
  - the significance of any public building is determined by its involvement in the unfolding folkloric story;

- **settlements:**
  - settlements are formed from a collection of the previous items;
  - their significance lies less in the independent items and more in the spatial aggregations of them into, for example, districts, precincts, enclaves, and the relationships between those various parts within the settlement (of whatever scale) as a whole;
  - their semiotic importance lies with their townscapes;
  - some settlements have public spaces which attract special significance in folklure because of the events which take place there – examples include forecourts of public buildings such as the town hall;

For the purposes of this study, the significance of any item within any of these categories is that
• it is a tangible contribution to the story being told,
• it is visible,
• and, that it can be geographically-referenced.

However, in some cases, the physical and material integrity of any of these items may be jeopardized and compromised by subsequent events and developments; and it is often that the credibility of either the story or its contributory elements (or both) will be challenged. For example, sites may be cleared and used for different purposes, buildings may be redeveloped for 'new' purposes, artifacts may be relocated for public display, and facsimiles of items critical to the story may be created. The outcome of changes of this kind may remove some (if not all) of the traces of the historic events from the locations in which they occurred, with some being restored and relocated to publicly-accessible sites and others being re-formed as exhibits.

Re-presentation, re-locations

The second of these groups is composed principally of resources which are re-presentations and/or re-locations; the contribution of any item to the folkloric story may be:

• as an original and authentic item which has been re-located to an exhibition centre or museum – examples include artifacts, tools, guns, armour, clothing, personal items, diaries, letters, household items (such as beds, chairs, kitchenware);
• a variation of this is where the original and authentic item is held in a display of some kind at the precise location of its involvement in the story;
• facsimiles or replicas of such an item, which has been re-located to an exhibition centre or museum – examples include any or all of those items previously listed, but including reconstructions of entire buildings or rooms;
• a symbolic marker of an event or happening, such as a memorial or monument, at the point at which the activity took place, or at a convenient alternative location (this is not really a re-location) – examples include plaques of various kinds which nominate the location of an event at a site or a building which now is used for a non-heritage purpose, or which no longer exists in the form it did at the time of the event;
• a staged re-enactment of an event or happening which forms part of the folkloric story; these re-enactments do not always occur at the exact geographical location of the original action (but that might not reduce the significance of the 'message' being conveyed).

The nature of re-presentation and relocation is considered again later (see Sections 5.5 and 5.6).

5.4 Influences on those raw materials (See Figure 5.6)

Whilst it is the raw materials and resources which are of interest to the tourist, there are three sets of influences which impact on them. One set is considered here, and others are considered in Sections 5.5 and 5.6.

The four forces

There are four forces at work; these are:

• the contribution which it is alleged (or might even be able to be proved) that the resources and raw materials make to the record of history; in the special case
Influences on the raw materials, resources
See Section 5.4

- "every building and object is a document about its past" (Caple, 2006, p.11)
- raw materials, resources - places, sites, 'things', events, people, stories
- see Figure 5.5 for reference to resources of 'physical and material reality' (Jacobs, 2006)

Influence of the Four Forces:

- **Record of History** - 'official', interpreted, mediatised, transposed records; influenced by where, how they are held; influenced by accessibility
- **Influence of visitor interest** - source of visitor interest; spectrum of interest; influence of presentation;
- **Influence of public agencies** - commitment of public agencies to conservation, memorialization, safeguarding resources; engagement through events
- **Influence of entrepreneurial interest** - commodification, 'tourismification'; sponsorship; construction, management
being considered in this study the categories of ‘raw materials’ need to be expanded to include people – the folk heroes;

• the published evidence of what motivates tourists to visit heritage and history-linked sites and places; for the purposes of this study it is assumed that the scope of motivations are generally applicable, and that the special case of the folk hero might not be so different - this, of course, is a matter which needs its own focused study, and a comment is made about this in Chapter 8;

• the policies, programs and actions of public agencies which, being aware of the tourism-attracting resources within their jurisdiction, may take steps to optimize the potential interest, whilst also taking steps to maintain some control over any development so as to protect the long term sustainability of the resource;

• and, the awareness and enthusiasm from commercial and entrepreneurial agencies to engage in some aspects of the developmental process to convert an otherwise inert resource into a commercial product — that is, engage in commodification, and become engaged in the process of tourismification.

Each of these matters was considered to some degree in the backgrounding Chapters 3 and 4; they are considered in more detail here.

Caple’s commentary that “every building and object is a document about its past” (2006, p.11) is a useful reference point for the discussion here. His concern was with the ways in which remnant places, sites, ‘things’ and events, in various permutations, could contribute to both the general record of history and to the specific history of any of the categories – places, sites, ‘things’ and events. Caple’s concern can be readily transferred into the case here that ‘dead men do tell tales’, especially to examine the differential influences on the resources or inputs to the stories. None of the four forces listed in the first paragraph of this Section can be considered as being a constant; for example:

• the record of history (as it is adopted and adapted for the purposes of heritage-based tourism) oscillates along a spectrum from being credible and verifiable to being more fantasy than fact (see Section 3.11);

• the personal and private reasons for visiting heritage sites or accessing heritage ‘things’ are influenced significantly by what experience is being sought, and fluctuate along a spectrum from a fundamental interest in authenticity and completeness to a superficial interest in the entertainment of the story. (see 3.4);

• public agencies pursue variously-configured agendas in facilitating or in restricting public access to heritage sites and resources (see 4.2);

• and, entrepreneurial agencies pursue different agendas of commodification and tourismification (see also, 4.2)

Disaggregation of the four forces

For the purposes of the construction of the analytical framework in this Chapter the principal components of these four forces are:

• the record of history:
  o there are at least four ‘records’ of history which impose an influence on the raw materials – the ‘official’ record, the interpreted record, the mediatised record, and the record as transposed into myths, legends, folktales and similar forms;
  o some of these records will be held in a central depository (such as a library, records office, archives, museum), others may be accessible as interpreted versions, or as facsimiles of original records and documents,
and some mediatised versions will be held in newspaper archives, film archives;

- **the influence of visitor interest:**
  o visitor interest may be the outcome of, for example, (a) seeking knowledge, information, insights, (b) interest in mysteries of antiquities, (c) seeking indicators of identity (personal, group), belonging, (d) support for local history, conservation, (e) support for local crafts, arts, (f) witnessing ceremonies, re-enactments, (g) memorialisation, (h) seeking entertainment, (i) meeting social expectations;
  o evidence of visitor interest is commonly the exhibition of ‘things’, places and events which are in some way associated with the heritage story, and with access to those points of exhibition;
  o the points of exhibition may be where events in the story took place, or in other locations where ‘things’ and other evidence has been centralized and (re)presented;
  o the presentation and (re)presentation of the evidence may be
    - generalized (and only indicative of some aspects of the story),
    - ‘themed’ (representing parts of the story by location, by people involved, by type of event, by outcomes),
    - or regionalized (to tell the regional story);
  o the presentation and (re)presentation of the evidence may be credible, accurate, authentic, comprehensive, or it may be superficial, generic, narrowly-focused, and of appeal as entertainment rather than information, or positioned somewhere along that spectrum (see Kerstetter, Confer and Graefe, 2001);

- **the influence of public agencies:**
  o this is a component of Jacob’s (2006) ‘powerscape’ and includes such matters as the commitment of public agencies to heritage exhibition and presentation, and to heritage conservation, memorialization;
  o ‘powerscape’ in this context refers to the regulatory framework (statutes, rules, planning systems, policies) which engages with the challenges of heritage presentation and heritage conservation;
  o it includes commitment to safeguarding the record of history, and the making of it available for public consumption, and a contribution to economic development and job creation;
  o it also includes engagement with measures to sustain the story through exhibitions, festivals, re-enactments, and to the support of activities which seek to expand the range of materials associated with the story and the (re)presentation of them.

- **the influence of entrepreneurial interest:**
  o this is also a component of Jacob’s ‘powerscape’, but in this case it refers to the influence of entrepreneurial activities which, for example, engage in the commodification and tourismification of the heritage-related resources;
  o the influence will be manifest in, for example, the support of exhibitions and displays, the sponsorship of narrative, art and performance forms which tell the story, and the conservation of threatened heritage resources;
  o in addition to the construction and management of heritage tourism attractions, the entrepreneurial influence will be evident in the range, type and location of the attractions (and the ‘things’ which are supported and made available to various publics), the range and type of souvenirs and memorabilia which tell the story, and the support of film and other mediatised versions of the story.

From this stage of the discussion of the building blocks of ‘touristed landscapes’ as evidence that ‘dead men do tell tales’, progress is to instruments and mechanisms of
conversion (5.5) and then to the configurations and expressions of those 'touristed landscapes' (5.6).

5.5 Conversion of the raw materials into 'touristed landscapes' (See Figure 5.7)

This is a critical phase in the forging of 'touristed landscapes', as it involves the conversion of the heritage-linked raw materials and resources into tourist attractions. Among the principal impacting processes and agencies are the following:

- the systems and operations of government, including rules, regulations, laws, policies, and plans;
- the agendas and activities of public and interest groups;
- the commitments to safeguarding and telling the stories of public history, including commitments to customs, traditions, and the 'stories' in myths, legends and folktales;
- the policies, directives and recommendations in heritage-linked protocols across a government spectrum from local, through national to international levels;
- the inclinations of the entrepreneurial community;
- technical issues of planning and design (some of which are considered in Section 5.6).

As Jacobs (2006) has inferred, the influences in the conversion process are not always explicit and transparent; neither are they everywhere and at all times consistent. At the simplest level, what is being considered here is the second phase of the basic model of a system, sometimes referred to as the conversion phase, sometimes as throughput, and at other times as the transformation phase.

Most commonly linked to the conversion process are four sets of actions and activities, each of which focuses on a commitment to safeguarding and telling the stories of public history, customs and traditions, even where the 'safeguarding' and the 'telling' of the stories might not engage each of the sets equally. The four sets of actions and activities are:

- **the systems and operations of government:**
  - this is an important component because it largely sets the operational parameters including, for example, the commitment to action on heritage-linked resources (whether development or conservation, preservation), and the codes of regulations which influence the use of those resources;
  - impact will flow from general government policies, strategies and plans, including those focused on general issues such as infrastructure development, and those focused more specifically on heritage, tourism, planning and design issues (see later – technical issues);
  - the conversion process will be influenced by cultural, economic, environmental, heritage, political and social considerations, and the interactions between them;
  - an important influence will be the interaction between and across levels of government, both generally and particularly with heritage-linked issues;
  - the required, expected and actual inter-governmental compliance with policies, plans, strategies, rules, regulations, protocols and other government-related instruments which focus on cultural and heritage matters, emanating from any level across the spectrum from local to national government, and the international agencies (including, but not limited to, for example, UNESCO, EU, OECD);
  - support, maintenance of exhibitions
Conversion of the raw materials, resources to 'Touristed Landscapes'
See Section 5.5

- 'Powerscape' influences (see Jacobs, 2006) - rules, protocols, regulations, laws, policies, plans, undertakings and negotiated agreements (including international conventions), business opportunities;
- 'mediating points' (Jacobs, 2006)

Four sets of actions, activities:
- Systems and operations of government - operational parameters, commitment, codes, regulations, policies, plans, strategies; influence and respond to various considerations; inter, cross-government interactions; influence of international instruments;
- Agendas, activities of interest groups - formal, informal, general, specific; local, regional, national, multi-national; interest in access, conservation, preservation, reconstruction, re-enactment, remembrance, identity, informing
- Impacts of business community - competing stakeholders; sponsorship of exploration, museumization, exhibition, conservation; commodification;
- Technical issues - see elaboration in Section 5.6 and Figure 5.8; "the art and practice of integrated design and development" (Gunn, 1988, p.15);

Figure 5.7 CONVERSION of the RAW MATERIALS, RESOURCES to 'TOURISTED LANDSCAPES'
• agendas, activities of interest groups:
  o formal and informal international, national and local groups;
  o groups supportive of general heritage and culture-related policies, proposals, plans, activities;
  o groups supportive of particular heritage and culture-related policies, proposals, projects, activities, focused on, for example (a) conservation, preservation, (b) reconstruction, refurbishment, restoration, (c) re-location, (d) remembrance (monument-building), (e) identity construction
  o actions may include, for example, (a) re-enactment, performance and presentation, remembrance, (b) projects related to conservation, preservation, reconstruction, refurbishment, restoration, (c) guiding, information-preparation and servicing;
• impacts of the business community
  o contributory role in ‘cross-cutting societal, economic and political arenas’ (Baxter, 2009, p.85)
  o business community composed of competing stakeholders, product ranges, service deliveries, impacts on environment and communities;
  o role spectrum - independence (self-interest) to co-operation and collaboration (public and self-interest);
  o business community may be directly, indirectly, co-operatively, tangentially involved in heritage support and development;
  o business community sponsorship of heritage (principally, but not exclusively, projects) – exploration, museumization, conservation, exhibition,
  o principal (but not the only) focus is investment value, value-adding;
• technical issues (see elaboration of matters listed here in Section 5.6)
  o overarching contribution to the technical planning issues is Gunn’s interpretation of ‘vacationscape’, which is essentially an approach to arranging the resources and raw materials (of heritage) into designed and planned spaces – “the art and practice of integrated design and development for travel” (Gunn, 1988, p.15) – a planning and design conversion process;
  o ‘vacationscape’ planning and design so as to expose the ‘meaning’ of the place;
  o ‘vacationscape’ approach is to expose rather than transform and hide;
  o principal focus is on tourism attractions, places, spaces, regions, routes, contexts, hinterlands;
  o heritage places as sites, or in combinations, or networks.
  o forms or expressions of the raw materials and resources may be, for example, (a) newly created, (b) re-constructions, rehabilitations, redevelopments, (c) re-locations, (d) substitutions, fabrications

These four groups of components contribute to what Jacobs (2006) has referred to as ‘mediating points’, although they are less likely to be points than to be a complex set of interactions, which convert the raw materials and resources from their original (or even matured) state to a conspicuous tourism attraction. This is the process of ‘tourismification’ (see 4.2) converting resources into ‘touristed landscapes’.

There is one final component which exposes the outcomes of the conversion process, the creative end-products of the transformation from raw material and resource to ‘touristed landscapes’ in their various expressions and configurations.

5.6 Configurations and expressions of ‘touristed landscapes’; forms of (re)presentation (See Figure 5.8)
It is with this component of the basic framework that the essential matters for consideration reflect the importance of the issues considered in Chapter 4 — 'touristed landscapes' and 'thematics'; it is here that Lippard's comment that "history, created and recreated, is the mother-lode of tourism" (1999, p.154) is considered, not in terms of the resources per se, but in terms of how those resources are arranged as 'touristed landscapes', and how the meanings of them are exposed.

A number of important preliminary points need to be made here, before considering the configurations and expressions of 'touristed landscapes'.

Firstly, this component revisits Laurajane Smith's commentary on the 'landscape' of heritage, in which she refers to it as "a vista wherein a range of histories, chronologies, events and meanings may be viewed and displayed" (2006, p.78), and in so doing it focuses attention on the ways in which distinguishable features of the landscape (largely tangible, and certainly visual) can be combined with intangible features (largely unspoken, seldom evidently visible other than through processes of re-presentation, and derived from economic, historical, political and social events and happenings) to form identifiable 'touristed landscapes'. Secondly, given the heterogeneity and ubiquity of heritage-linked resources (see Chapter 3), and Lippard's observation that "everything is grist to heritage's greedy mill" (1999, p.79), the task of this component is to present evidence of the technical issues of creating 'touristed landscapes', drawing attention to what those technical issues might be, how they are addressed, and the impact that action has on the creation of particular heritage-based tourism-linked landscapes and attractions. It will be apparent, thirdly, that there is some overlap of the considerations here with some of those previously considered in Section 5.5; in that Section attention was given to how some of these issues were engaged in the conversion process, whereas here, the focus is on how the output of that conversion process is manifest in a number of different spatial configurations and expressions. Finally, it is in this Section that engagement with the theory-underpinning of the issues is taken to a more conspicuous level.

Four major groups of issues are considered here:

- the scale and nature of the influence, configuration and expression, with a focus particularly on 'tourismscape' and 'heritagescape';
- the spatial (and other) forms of configuration;
- 'themed landscapes';
- and, 'sense of place'.

**Scale of influence and expression: 'tourismscape', 'heritagescape' (Figure 5.8)**

Of the two 'scape'-types considered here, van der Duim (2005) aimed 'tourismscape' at a general or unspecific level, while Garden (2004) aimed her conceptualization of 'heritagescape' at a site-specific level. This is an important differentiation because the theoretical underpinnings of each become complementary in the contribution each makes to the framework being constructed in this Chapter. [Note: This discussion builds on the previous consideration of 'tourismscape' and 'heritagescape' in Sections 4.7 and 5.2]

As was reported in Chapter 4, van der Duim's 'tourismscape' (2005, 2007a, 2007b) was designed as a conceptual and organizational structure with which to study and interpret the spatial inter-relationships of people, places and activities. It has considerable potential for use in this study because of

- its exposure of the theorized relationship between the three components of people, places and 'things' (whether activities, entities, artifacts);
**Configuration and expressions of 'touristed landscapes'**

See Section 5.6

**Scale of influence and expression:**
- 'Tourismscape' - broadest scale of interaction of people, places and 'things' using Actor-Network-Theory
- 'Heritagescape' - scale of specific site, space, place, building; over-arching method to analyse heritage sites
- See also Sections 4.7 and 5.2

**Configurations**
- Spatial arrangements - using Euclidean geometry (points, lines, areas)
- Regional planning framework
- See also Section 4.3 (Tourism places, morphology, spatial form and structure)

**'Themed' landscapes**
- "commercialized environments" (Chronis, 2005, p.389)
- 'Memoryscape'
- 'Mythscape'
- 'Nostalgiасscape'
- 'Storyscape'
- 'Traumascape'

**Place Identity**
- Sense of place - "symbolic relationship" (Peterson, 1988, p.451)
- Seduction of place (Cartier, 2005)
- Spaces, places of negotiation, prescription - "experts will prescribe and the users will ascribe" (Kuiper, 2005, p.211)
its insistence that the inter-relationships of the three components are “always ground(ed) at particular spaces and places” (2007a, 158),
its commitment to the deliberate spatial organization of tourism activities (see later in this Section for references to spatial configurations);
its overarching focus on (a) tangible objects and places, and (b) experiences and encounters in and of tourism.

Van der Duim acknowledges that ‘tourismscape’ cannot be ‘seen’; rather, it is a process of generating ‘touristed landscapes’ (2005, p.99) through an orderly approach. In terms of the ‘theory’ styles considered previously in Section 5.1, ‘tourismscape’ is principally process-driven, although its capacity to also focus on substantive issues (people, places, things/activities) adds to its attraction for this study.

The companion framework – ‘heritagescape’ – was created by Garden (2004, 2006, 2009) to be an investigative tool and to provide an ‘overarching methodology’ with which to analyze heritage sites (see Section 4.7), with the express intention of having the capacity to expose both the special in situ characteristics of those sites, and the association of them with events in history (2006, p.408). Despite the investigative potential of Garden’s method she acknowledges that it may not provide an ‘all-encompassing answer’. However, by focusing on heritage sites, ‘heritagescape’ becomes a useful companion method to the ‘tourismscape’ framework.

For the purposes of this study, the usefulness of the ‘heritagescape’ framework lies in

its capacity “to explore both the individual characteristics of a site and also the nuances of the relationship between a site and the landscape in which it is located” (2009, p.288),
its set of three guiding principles (boundaries, cohesions, visibility) which are transferable between sites and yet provide a consistency with site evaluation,
and the visibility component of the guiding principles which “encompasses the idea of a view or a gaze” (2009, p.277).

Used in tandem, these ‘tourismscape’ and ‘heritagescape’ frameworks contribute both order and content to the structure being developed in this Chapter.

Configurations

The discussion in this Section reconsiders two previous sets of issues, those relating
to tourism places and their morphology form and structure (Section 4.3),
and to the physical and material reality of resources used as inputs to ‘touristed landscapes’ (Section 5.3).

What are being considered here are some of the principal underpinnings of theory to “the art and practice of integrated design” (Gunn, 1988, p.15) for ‘touristed landscapes’. These are essentially technical issues which are concerned with the spatial arrangements of tourism attractions, tourism places and spaces, tourism regions, and tourism routes.

As it was claimed in the introduction to Section 4.3, although tourism is an experiential exercise there is almost an inevitability that it involves places where ‘something’ happens, has happened and where an experience can be gained; these are the tourism places and spaces, but they may embrace one or more tourism attractions, they may be dispersed across regions of touristic interest, they may be dispersed along routes which can be tied together and integrated by their association with a touristic
theme, and they may be considered as a tourism network. The discussion here about
the configurations of tourism places within networks is an expansion of Jansen-
Verbeke's (1998) interpretation of the 'tourismification' of selected historical cities in
Europe (see Section 4.2).

Tourism places are the catalysts for tourism activity; they are important anchor points
for the gathering of tourism experiences, and for tourism attractions. They have
conspicuous configurations, concentrating into a 'critical mass' of touristic interest. The
spatial orthodoxy which is often the outcome of this has underpinned the theory and
practice of planning and design for tourism places for many decades (for corroborating
sources see Sections 4.3 and 4.4)

Basic configurations. The basic configurations of tourism activities in networks or
small concentrations or extended across regions or along routes may be described
simply in terms of Euclidean geometry (see Wall, 1997):

- as points - nuclear concentrations, in which the spatial forms could be heritage-
  linked individual sites, or clusters of sites in the form of precincts, districts or
even historic villages;
- as lines - linear concentrations or dispersions of sites and places of heritage
  interest, which may be linked through trails;
- as areas - dispersions of individual sites, or landscape vistas (now most likely
  not too similar to that existing at the time of the heritage-linked events), or even
  regions which are aggregations of linked heritage events.

Key elements in a regional tourism planning framework. Singly and in various
combinations these basic elements of Euclidean geometry have been used in both the
analysis of areas committed to tourism activity, and in the planning and preparation for
tourism development. Gunn and Baud-Bovy and Lawson in particular, can be credited
for exposing the potential theory support for the configuration of tourism areas. In
Gunn's case, five key elements are highlighted in his regional planning framework;
these are:

- a definable region of tourism activity and interest;
- access ways, or 'gateways' to the tourism region;
- internal circulation corridors;
- 'community attraction complexes';
- and, a non-attraction hinterland.

Each one of these is important in the construction of the spatial planning framework,
and each contributes to the identity and functioning of the tourism place (and places).
The contribution of each of these is considered briefly here. In the case of a definable
region and its boundaries, the 'conventional wisdom' would be that the precise
determination and delimitation of a region of touristic interest would be problematic
(except, perhaps for a small island); whether determined by travel patterns, activity
patterns or degrees of commonality of tourist-attraction characteristics, the most likely
outcome is a number of overlapping sub-regions. Access points, or 'gateways' into the
tourism region are not necessarily declaratory, but they may be marked by significant
physical structures; the idea of the 'gateway' or the making of a physical and symbolic
statement at the points of entry into a region has been adopted from the urban planning
and design conceptualizations of the 'image of the city' (see, for example, Lynch, 1960;
Spreiregen, 1981). The internal circulation route system is of importance because it
facilitates movement between the attractions, whether or not they are nucleated, and
whether they are for all or selected modes of transport and movement. Dredge (1999)
refers to the importance of the markers of these routes (p.786). It is likely that it will be
the 'community-attraction-complex', as a nucleus of tourism attractions, that will be one

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of the most significant and defining components in the tourism regional framework; these 'nodes' of tourism attraction and activity may be composed of single attractions, or clusters of similar attractions (such as antique stores, casinos, souvenir shops), and may be defined by 'markers' which, whilst drawing attention to their location, may also function to marshal tourist movements around the tourist district (see Dredge, 1999; Leiper, 1990; MacCannell, 1976); it may be that the tourist district (the 'community-attraction-complex') will harbour either a hierarchical differentiation of attractions (based on conformity with a touristic theme), or a spatial differentiation of sub-districts, precincts, enclaves, 'quarters' each with their own touristic theme – or, of course, both; (see Section 4.5). Baud-Bovy and Lawson have suggested that "even within a tourist region only certain areas are absolutely necessary for tourist development" (1977, p.181); the implication of this is that in any tourism region there is likely to be an inviolate belt (or zone – Gunn) which may not have tangible or visual evidence of the 'theme' which binds individual tourism places together. For tourism purposes it has been described by Gunn as the 'non-attraction hinterland'.

These various components contribute to spatial arrangements which address the special circumstances of (a) the raw materials and the resources of the region, and (b) the story which that region (or places within it) can tell. The outcomes are most commonly variants on the forms of a general region-wide structure of tourism attraction nodes, a twinned-framework in which there is a core servicing centre providing 'base camp' services for visits to a range of local tourist sites, and 'themed' districts, precincts or enclaves.

'Themed Landscapes'

In Chapter 4 there was an extensive discussion of evidence of the application of the 'themescape' description to 'touristed landscapes', and it was explained there (in Sections 4.6 and 4.7 in particular) that there are different ways in which the 'themescape' approach can be used. There is a brief recapitulation of that discussion here.

Among the most conspicuous descriptive references to the 'touristed landscapes' of heritage and folklore are 'mythscape', 'nostalgiascape' and 'storyscape'. Recently published research about so-called 'dark tourism', thanatourism and public history and memorialisation, have made reference to 'traumascape' and 'memoryscape', and because all five of these descriptive terms have the potential to be relevant to the configuration of heritage and folkloric places, they are considered here.

'Mythscape' (see Bell, 2003) is descriptive of a situation in which the circumstances of the 'story' cannot be fully verified, and in which the whole story or components of it may be "forged, transmitted, negotiated, and reconstructed constantly" (p.75); Bell has referred to the 'mythscape' as a mediated story. 'Nostalgiascape' (see Gyimothy, 2005) is itself a re-interpretation of Goulding's (2001) and Turner's (1987) conceptualization of 'romancing the past' in order to create at least a physical environment which has the potential to generate a place identity of patriotism. 'Storyscape' (see Chronis, 2005) is descriptive of a situation in which stories are told through community participation in re-enactments of the circumstances of past historic events (such as battles). 'Memoryscape' (see Butler, 2007) is another participatory-derived approach, in this case using audio-supported history trails, to communicate stories of past periods. Finally, in this group, 'Traumascape' (see Tumarkin, 2005) is a special form of any or all of the others, but with a tightly-drawn focus on places associated in some way with violence, death, disaster, depravity, and with places where atrocities took place.

In all of these 'scape' forms there is a unifying characteristic – the encounter is with "commercialized environments where narratives are negotiated, shaped and
transformed through the interaction of producers and consumers" (Chronis, 2005, p.389); and in addition to the obvious visual connection (the 'gaze') there is an 'embodied connection', contributing both knowledge and confirmation of that knowledge and both a general and a personal experience to those (tourists, and others) engaged in seeking out 'the story'.

Although these five 'scape' forms are essentially descriptive of circumstances from the viewpoints of their authors, and uses made of them, each has a potentially useful contribution to make to the construction of the analytical framework in this study; for example, in (a) addressing the verifiability/mediation of the story, (b) the re-telling of the story through (re)presentation in works of art and literature and memorialization, (c) the adoption and adaptation of some (or all) of the remnants of the story through maintenance/restoration, and (d) the sustaining of the story through re-enactments and collections of artifacts.

In the case of each of these five 'scape'-types there is little evidence in published sources that the intention had been to do anything more than describe a situation, and although the accounts include references to tourism, that was not necessarily the principal purpose of the study. Each acknowledges the mediation of the story being told, and the differences of inflection which are the outcomes of the preferences of the storyteller. Of particular relevance to this study is the common association of each 'scape'-form with geographically-referenced places and 'things', with a focus which is essentially visual, with the substitutability of signs and symbols (including art forms, performance forms) for 'the real thing', and with the marking of public history events with memorials. If only for these reasons, each of the themed landscapes considered here provide useful indicators with which to interpret and assess the contribution of landscapes to heritage-linked stories.

Place Identity.

This final selection of 'scape' types -- although none of them use the term 'scape' -- is concerned with what may be described as 'atmospheric' or 'ethereal' issues.

Ashworth and Graham have referred to such issues as "products of the creative imagination" (2005, p3); in their judgment, the sense, 'meaning' and identity of a place are not the reflection of intrinsic quality and character, but rather the outcomes of responses to circumstances, some of which will be induced and others ascribed. Their commentary is that "place images do not simply come into existence" (p.4), and the images may not be consistent through time, or across different cultures, or even across different groups encountering the places -- "we create the heritage we require and manage it for a range of purposes defined by the needs and demands of our present societies" (p.5). With this in mind the exploration of ideas in this sub-section concentrate on three issues which contribute to forming the identity of a place; these three are:

- 'sense of place';
- 'seduction of place';
- prescription, negotiation of place.

'Sense of place' has proved to be a far from easy conceptualization to transfer into practice, and to analyze; Peterson refers to this as "a symbolic relationship between person and place" (1988, p.451). The lack of consistency about the production, communication, reception and understanding of it has been expressed by Ashworth and Graham as follows:

"individuals create place identities, then obviously different people, at different times, for different reasons, create different narratives ... Place
images are thus user determined ... and unstable through time" (2005, p.3).

Some attempt to treat the matter of ‘sense of place’ has been made by composing a template of six characteristics (Huigen and Meijering, 2005) designed to assist with the differentiating of the circumstances of Place A from those at Place B (see Section 4.8). ‘Seduction of place’ is a useful companion concept to ‘sense of place’, especially with its emphasis on the drawing power (the seduction) of the place to be visited, with the seduction being derived from its cultural, economic, emotional, environmental, locational, social and spatial attraction, and its ongoing transformative changes because of those attractive elements (see especially Cartier, 2005; but see also Crouch, 2005). Kuiper (2005) has described the circumstances of ‘prescription’ as “the extent to which a place is able to become heritage ... depends on the extent to which it is valued as historic by both the experts and the users ... the experts will prescribe and the users will ascribe” (pp. 210-211). In separate assessments Murdoch (1998) and van der Duim (2005) have commented on the mutually-supportive circumstance of prescription (principally by public agencies) and negotiation (by the potential consumer-users of the resource).

It is in the processes of conversion (5.5) and configuration (here) that the heritage and folklore-linked resources can become distinctive for the purposes of tourism. This matter becomes important in Phases 2 and 3 of the construction of the analytical framework.

CONCLUSION

This Chapter has taken the first step towards the construction of the experimental analytical framework designed to be used to expose and then examine the substance of any evidence that ‘dead men do tell tales’. In order to respond suitably to the challenge of Jamal and Kim for a ‘well-theorized integrated framework’ (2005, p.56), it was considered appropriate in this Chapter to provide substance to the explanation of the construction of the ‘scientific mode of ordering’ (in 5.2), and of the four framework components (resources, influences, conversion and configuration – in Sections 5.3 to 5.6). The various inputs of this first phase are aggregated in Figure 5.9.

From this point Chapter 6 takes the construction of the framework forward by

- in Phase 2, synthesizing the components from this Chapter and subjecting them to assessment using the geographical and ‘gaze’ filters (referents is the term used in Chapter 6) so as to draw out the distinctiveness of the ‘physical and material reality’,
- and in Phase 3 by reconfiguring the framework so that it is particularly suited to the circumstances of exposing, analysing and interpreting the proposition that ‘dead men do tell tales’.
'scientific mode of ordering' Section 5.2, Figure 5.4

- "a scientific mode of ordering the bits and pieces that make up what we label tourism" (van der Duim, 2005, p.238)
- tools "to sharpen problem perception in complicated situations" (Jacobs, 2004, p.37)
- Systems-driven; responsive to dynamics of changing circumstances; to unravel and structure Inter-relationships; particularized perspectives
- 'Tourismscape'; 'Heritagescape'; 'Powerscape'

Resources as inputs Section 5.3, Figure 5.5

- Physical and material reality (Jacobs, 2006) in situ
  - Places, spaces, sites
  - Tracks, trails, routes
  - Natural settings with historic and cultural associations
  - Structures, including archaeological remnants
  - Archaeological remnants
  - Buildings
  - Public buildings
  - Settlements
  - Re-presentations, re-locations
    - 'physical and material reality' relocated to Exhibition centres, galleries, libraries, museums
    - Facsimiles - usually relocated
    - Symbols, markers - monuments, memorials
    - Re-enactments
    - Memorabilia

Influences Section 5.4, Figure 5.6

- "every building and object is a document about its past" (Caple, 2006, p.11)
- raw materials, resources - places, sites, 'things'; events, people, stories
- 'physical and material reality' (Jacobs, 2006)

Influence of the Four Forces:
- Record of history
- Influence of visitor interest
- Influence of public agencies
- Influence of entrepreneurial interest

Conversion Section 5.5, Figure 5.7

- 'Powerscape' influences
- 'mediating points'

Four sets of actions, activities:
- Systems and operations of government
- Agendas, activities of interest
- Impacts of business community
- Technical issues

Scale of influence and expression:
- 'Tourismscape' - broadest scale
- 'Heritagescape' - scale of specific site,

Configurations
- Spatial arrangements
- Regional planning framework
- Tourism places, morphology, spatial form and structure

Themed landscapes
- 'commercialized environments'
- 'Memoryscape'; 'Mythscape'; 'Nostalgiascape'; 'Storyscape'; 'Traumascape'

Place identity
- Sense of place - "symbolic relationship"
- Seduction of place
- Spaces, places of negotiation, prescription - "experts will prescribe and the users will ascribe"

Figure 5.9
AGGREGATE OF INPUTS AND INFLUENCES of PHASE 1
'Dead Men Do Tell Tales'
'Teasing out' the contribution of the folk hero to heritage-based tourism

CHAPTER 6: ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK: 2

INTRODUCTION

This, the second of the two chapters in Part B, is focused on synthesizing the various inputs and influences revealed in the previous chapter (5), and then proceeds to reconfigure the emerging framework so that it engages with the challenge of the proposition that ‘dead men do tell tales’, and becomes a theoretically-based pathway to unraveling – or ‘teasing out’ – the artful construction of touristed landscapes which have a focus on folk heroes.

For the purpose of eventually constructing a suitable analytical framework, the theory-based matters of Chapter 5 were considered as the first phase of a three-phase process; the second and third phases are taken up in this Chapter (see Figure 6.1):

• in the second phase, and by using a process of synthesis, the theory-laden components previously-considered in Chapter 5 are reconfigured and transposed into four components – resources ('physical and material reality'), 'powerscape' influences, conversion, configurations – so that they can be more easily articulated with the special case of the folk hero;
• in the third phase, the overarching ‘scientific mode of ordering’ is re-introduced – it deliberately by-passed the second phase because it would not have materially changed the case being made – and it engages with a further step of reconfiguration so that the emerging framework, whilst retaining its linkage to both previous phases, becomes more conspicuously fine-tuned to cope with the challenges of the proposition about the dead men and the tales told by and about them, and it does this by undergoing one more phase of reconfiguration into six ‘categories of inputs’– people, places, ‘texts’ and things, context, events and forms of (re)presentation.

In Chapters 5 and 6 the process of the progressive refining of the matters discussed previously in Chapter 3 is used here to sharpen the focus from heritage to folk hero; in these chapters in Part B the intention has been to start from a broad context and progress to a framework derived from that context to one which has the capacity to suit the special circumstances of the folk hero. This approach has been taken so that the final version of the experimental framework developed here can meet the two challenges often cited throughout this thesis that it is capable (a) of exposing the 'complexity, dynamism, scale and scope' of research related to heritage and tourism (Jamal and Kim, 2005, p.56), and (b) of providing a means of 'teasing out' the intricacies of the artful construction of tourist sites (Knudsen et al, 2008, p.1). Additionally, the final configuration of the framework has been shaped by responses to the opportunities of adopting the geographical and semiotic ('gaze') perspectives.
The framework which emerges from phase three of this process is used to provide a 'scientific mode of ordering' for the search for, the gathering of and the analysis of the empirical information in the case study in Chapter 7.

The structure of this Chapter is shown in Figure 6.2.
PHASES in the CONSTRUCTION of the ANTICAL FRAMEWORK

Chapter 5 (Phase 1)

Analytical Framework: Phase 1:
Inputs and Influences

- "Scientific mode of ordering"
- Resources as inputs to "touristed landscapes"
- Influences on the raw materials, resources
- Conversion of the raw materials to "touristed landscapes"
- Configurations and expressions of "touristed landscapes"

Chapter 6 (Phases 2,3)

Analytical Framework: Phase 2:
Synthesis (Preliminary Framework)

Resources: "Physical and material reality"
- Places
- Things: "texts"
- 'Powerscape' influences
- Historical records
- Public agencies
- Entrepreneurial interests:
  Conversion
  - Systems, operations of government
  - Non-government agency activities -
  Configurations
  - Scale
  - Configuration
  - 'Themed'

To "tease out" heritage and folkloric DISTINCTIVENESS
- focus on "physical and material reality"
- use of geographical and "gaze" referents
  [See: Pearce, Morrison and Moscardo, 2003, pp. 74ff; Urry, 1992 p.173]

SYNTHESIS

FRAMEWORK
'a common set of potentially relevant variables' (Ostrom)
 Configured so as to be suitable for the selected heritage, folkloric subject

Analytical Framework: Phase 3:
'Dead men do tell tales' FOLK HERO

FRAMEWORK
- composed of 'a common set of potentially relevant variables' (Ostrom, 2009, p.420)
  - CONTEXT
  - PLACES
  - 'TEXTS', THINGS
  - EVENTS
  - FORMS OF (RE)PRESENTATION
  - PEOPLE

Figure 6.1
STRUCTURE of the THREE PHASES

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PART A: BACKGROUND ISSUES and LITERATURE REVIEW

PART B: CONSTRUCTION OF THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Chapter 5:
ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK
Phase 1:

INTRODUCTION

PHASE 2: ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK: SYNTHESIS

6.1 Synthesis: the two methodological parameters
- 'Thinking geographically'
- Semiotics: 'the gaze'

6.2 Synthesis: the application of the two methodological parameters to Resources, Influences, Conversions and Configurations
- Resources
- Influences
- Conversion into 'touristed landscapes'
- Configurations

6.3 Synthesis: an outcome
- Distinctiveness: the methodological referents
- Distinctiveness: 'physical and material reality' (Jacobs, 2006)

PHASE 3: ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK: 'Dead men do tell tales'

6.4 A framework to 'tease out' the contribution of the folk hero and related stories to heritage-based tourism
- The inputs
- A synthesis of the Inputs
- Outcome

CONCLUSION

PART C: EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE, ANALYSIS and INTERPRETATION

Figure 6.2
STRUCTURE OF CHAPTER 6
PHASE 2: ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK – SYNTHESIS

As was explained in Section 2.1 this study has been set within two methodological parameters – ‘thinking geographically’ and the semiotics-based perspective of ‘the gaze’. The introductory paragraphs here (6.1) present a summary reprise of the Sections 2.6 and 2.8 (which explained the content and reasons for the adoption of the two parameters) so that the unfolding explanation of the synthesis of matters previously-considered almost in vacuo in Chapter 5 can be marshaled in such a way that they can contribute to Phase 3 which takes the framework directly to the circumstances of the folk hero. In this second Phase, the two parameters are interpreted, treated and imposed as filters – or referents – and the intent and impact of this is to provide a structured approach to the sought-for synthesis.

6.1 Synthesis: the two methodological parameters (filters, referents)

Previous reference has been made to the comfortable nestling of this study within both tourism studies and heritage studies, and to its direction being influenced by perspectives, analytical approaches and methods from within the expansive social sciences (see Section 2.1). To continue in this comfort zone, and to continue to engage with the oft-repeated challenges of Jamal and Kim, and of Knudsen and his colleagues, this Section revisits briefly the two methodological perspectives of ‘thinking geographically’ and ‘the gaze’ so that progression through the synthesis in Sections 6.2 and 6.3 becomes even more tightly-focused to “explicate meanings and patterns” (Moustakas, 1990, p.44), and “to capture the sense of heritage sites as both tangible and intangible spaces” (Garden, 2009, p.270).

‘Thinking Geographically’

Recapitulating Shurmer-Smith’s explanation that geography is “the field of study which concentrates upon ways in which space, place, and the environment ... are perceived and represented, and how they are depicted” (2002, p.3; quotation used previously in Section 2.6) helps to explain how ‘thinking geographically’ can be used to ‘tease out’ the many mysteries associated with places and the activities linked to them. For the purpose of this study, this social science perspective has been applied in both the investigative and analytical phases to provide a means of revealing the distinctiveness of places, communities, cultures, economies, environments, histories, landscapes, and political systems, both in their raw state and in their various interactions and inter-relationships. The important issues are location (absolute and relative), ‘sense of place’, contribution to an identifiable functional region, and spatial patterns (at many different scales); the significance of these is that whilst they embrace the wide scope of heritage and folkloric resources the real importance for the purposes of heritage-based tourism (the process of ‘tourismification’ which leads to ‘touristed landscapes’) lies with the nature and scope of the influences, the processes of conversion and the resultant spatial configurations.

Adopting this methodological perspective takes this study in a particular direction; the implication of this is that other perspectives might take the investigation and analysis into a different direction concerned less with spatial issues and more with any of the other social science perspectives (see Section 2.5, and the commentary on this in Chapter 8). What emerges in this study is an investigation which contributes to ‘tourism geography’, and it is this viewpoint which is one of the two dominant filters applied to the previously-generated inputs and influences.

Semiotics: ‘the gaze’.
This is the second of the two dominant filters. It was explained in Section 2.8 that it was considered necessary to refine the investigative focus for this study, particularly to make a judgment about which approach would offer a suitable opportunity to expose the breadth and depth of evidence to support the proposition that 'dead men do tell tales'. In that earlier Section a number of points were made to justify the selection of a general semiotics approach, and especially the adoption of 'the gaze' as the primary focus. As Urry has claimed, "it is the distinctiveness of the visual that gives all sorts of activities a special or unique character" (1992, p.172; emphasis used here was not used in the original source), and it is this approach to identifying distinctiveness which makes 'the gaze' a useful companion to the general perspective of 'thinking geographically'. Especially important has been the evidence of empirical studies that the 'texts' – whether things, or places, or activities, or buildings, or documents, or even ceremonies and re-enactments – are essentially visual phenomena; Urry has claimed as much in a sequel to The Tourist Gaze, where he suggests that "there has to be something distinctive to be gazed upon, that the signs collected by tourists have to be visually extraordinary" (1992, p.173), and this is particularly apposite for this study which eventually focuses attention on the substance of the stories which engage with folk heroes (and with one in particular). The empirical evidence presented in Chapter 7 is confirmation of the potential distinctiveness and visual extraordinariness of some aspects of the Ned Kelly story, and it is likely to be these characteristics of the story which heighten its significance in heritage-based tourism (see Section 3.4 for the commentary on tourist interest in heritage resources).

In the Section which follows here (6.2), there are commentaries about

- resources,
- influences on those resources,
- the processes of conversion,
- and, the spatial configurations which emerge from the conversion process

as they emerge from (or through) the impacts of the geographical and semiotic filters, and as they are transferred from their previous un-attached (in vacuo) state (as in Chapter 5) towards the final step of manipulation to fit Phase 3 of the construction of the framework.

6.2 Synthesis: the application of the two methodological parameters (as filters, referents) to Resources, Influences, Conversions and Configurations.

This section draws on the various considerations given to heritage and folkloric resources, and to matters associated with 'touristed landscapes' and 'themescapes' in previous chapters (especially Sections 3.2, 3.4, 3.6, 4.2, 4.3 and parts of 4.7 and 4.8); in addition there are aspects of Chapter 5 which are re-visited here as they are reconfigured to fit refinement of the emerging analytical framework. The details of those sections are not repeated here; however, important aspects of the four principal components of the general framework are re-presented with a commentary on what is of particular significance when interpreted through the geographical and semiotic referents.

[Note: the basic diagram for all of the components of Phase 2 is Figure 6.3]

Resources: ‘physical and material reality’

Whereas the consideration of the resources in previous Chapters focused loosely on their general and intrinsic interest, as this Section unfolds it is their distinctiveness and their special association with an episode of history which becomes of most importance, so that by the time the case study of the Ned Kelly story is reached in Chapter 7 the
Analytical Framework: Phase 1: Inputs and Influences (Chapter 5)

Analytical Framework: Phase 2: Synthesis (Preliminary Framework)

[Note: for a full understanding of reconfigured Sections 6.1 and 6.2 it is necessary to be aware of the original sources at Sections 5.3, 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6]

Resources: ‘Physical and material reality’
- **Places** - Places, spaces, sites; Tracks, trails, routes;
- Natural settings (with historic and cultural associations);
- **Things**: *texts* - Structures, including archaeological remnants; Buildings; Public buildings; Settlements; Textual records; artifacts, tools, household items

‘Powerscape’ influences
- Historical records
- Public agencies: commitments, actions
- Entrepreneurial interests: commodification; ‘tourismification’; sponsorship;

Conversion
- Systems, operations of government – policies, plans, regulations, codes, responses; inter and intra-government action; international protocols
- Non-government agency activities – interest groups and activities; business community;

Configurations
- **Scale** – ‘tourismscape’ (holistic); ‘heritagescape’ (site)
- **Configuration** – points, lines, areas; ‘tourism places’ (precincts, enclaves, districts); regional networks;
- ‘Themed landscapes’ – including ‘scape’ forms; place identity (‘sense of place’)

Common set of potentially relevant variables

Evidence of **Distinctiveness** of any heritage, folkloric resource:
- Geographical referents, such as
  - Where it is
  - How it is arranged
  - What it is like
  - How many
  - How it is controlled
- ‘Gaze’ referents, such as
  - What it is
  - How accessible it is
  - How accurate it is
  - What its scope and scale are
  - How it communicates the story
- Physical and material reality, such as
  - Its physical elements
  - Its material elements
  - Its textual elements
  - Its performance-linked elements

Analytical Framework: Phase 3: ‘Dead men do tell tales’

**Figure 6.3**
**COMPONENTS of PHASE 2**
resources attract that special significance principally because of their association with aspects of that story.

Three brief examples may help explain this transforming situation:

- a derelict building on the margin of the dispersed township of Beveridge, north-east of Melbourne has been partially renovated, not because it is a particularly fine example of mid-nineteenth century house construction, but because it was one of the early residences of the Kelly family; without that association, it is possible that the building might not by now be still standing; it is a marker of the presence of the Kellys in the district;
- displayed almost reverentially in a community museum in Benalla is a green silk sash, exhibited not because it is a particularly fine example of nineteenth century fabric and costume, although it might well be that; its significance is that it was a gift to Ned Kelly for an act of his courage and bravery in rescuing the son of an Avenal resident whose son was in danger of drowning in a local river, and it was reported as being worn by Kelly during the siege and final gun battle at Glenrowan;
- the restored Court House at Beechworth is a fine example of nineteenth century public architecture, but its significance has been heightened because of its use for the preliminary hearing of the charges against Ned Kelly before his transportation to Melbourne to await trial and execution.

These three examples – and they will be referred to again in Chapter 7 – have a significance and importance as features of the potential ‘treasure trove’ of heritage-linked resources referred to by Palmer (1999), and they are contributory markers of the heterogeneous and ubiquitous nature of such resources referred to by, for example, Hewison (1992), Lowenthal (1996) and Prentice (1993). In addition, they are representative of the ‘layers of complexity’ attributed to heritage resources by McKercher and du Cros (2002) because of (a) their intrinsic value and interest, and (b) their special value and interest to a heritage story. That each of these examples has become a tourist attraction can, in part, be attributed to their distinctiveness by their location, their historical association, the ‘sense of place’ (or aura) which is created around them (see later in this Section), and their visibility – that is, their distinctiveness is both geographical and visual (‘gaze’).

Another matter raised in these three examples is whether what is being seen is ‘the real thing’ (whether or not it is complete, as in the case of the Beveridge house) or whether the vision is of an interpretation or even whether the interpretation comes from the tourist/observer/gazer after the initial encounter with the place or object. This is raised in a later part of this Section on ‘conversion’, where it is suggested that what the tourist/observer/gazer engages with has been pre-determined by an agency which has an interest in the matter – a public authority, an entrepreneurial agency, an interest group, and so on. In one of the examples – the sash – there is a geographical dislocation of the exhibited item and (a) where it was first given to the folk hero, and (b) where it was last worn, and its present location has been influenced by a generous benefaction. Issues such as these have been canvassed by Crouch and Lubben (2003) in the introduction to their edited collection of papers about visual culture and tourism (see, especially pp. 5-13); they suggest, for example, that “the gaze’s power in tourism geographies and sociologies relates to its engagement of the tourist as a detached observer, consuming – prioritizing – signs ... the producers of sites such as heritage or themed locations use visual culture, drawing upon motifs from diverse cultural material to construct the tourism sight” (p.8), and they refer to MacCannell’s (1999) observations about the ‘signification of tourist sites as locations of the authentic’ to construct an interpretation of tourism as ‘sight-seeing’.
These, similar and related matters are brought together here and subjected to the
disciplinary filters chosen for this study – ‘thinking geographically’ and ‘the gaze’ – with
their investigative and analytical positions being focused on distinctiveness, and
although this approach might not be consistent with the basic reservations about ‘the
gaze’ put forward by, for example, Crouch (2005), it provides an opportunity to take
forward the interpretation of the ‘physical and material reality’ (Jacobs, 2006) of the
heritage and folkloric stories towards a framework which can be applied especially to
the stories of folk heroes.

In terms of the ‘physical and material reality’ (see Section 5.3 for a full explanation of
these resources) the scope of resources is inclusive of:

- places, spaces, sites,
- tracks, trails, routes,
- natural settings,
- buildings, public buildings,
- structures (other than buildings),
- settlements,
- archaeological remnants,

and to these clearly tangible resources can be added others such as documents,
records, evidence of government institutions (other than buildings) and public
performances such as re-enactments and pageants which are clearly visible and have
geographical reference points (see also Figures 3.3, 3.4, 3.6 and 5.4).

Each of these various resources, and others like them, will exhibit a degree of
distinctiveness in terms of

- geographical referents:
  - where they are;
  - what they are;
  - how they are linked to other place-related circumstances such as
    communities and social groups (see, in Chapter 7 references to the
    squatters, diggers, farmers, selectors, clans in Kelly Country, and the
    impact they had on the emerging social unrest), economies,
    environments and landscapes, and the operating systems of government
    (and especially law and order);
  - absolute and relative location, and contribution to a regional pattern and
    identity;
  - ‘sense of place’, especially where that communicates degrees of
    authenticity, even staged authenticity;
  - spatial patterns, concentrations, dispersions, activity precincts;

- ‘gaze’ referents:
  - what they are – ‘texts’, things, structures, buildings, places, documents,
    presentations (including art works, art forms, performance forms);
  - their physical characteristics;
  - their associations;
  - their visibility.

In the investigative process it is convenient to start with the

(a) the general context of, for example, the bare bones of the heritage story,
(b) then to identify the ‘gaze’ referents which contribute to that story,
(c) and then to set them into their scope of geographical referents.
This is an iterative rather than a staged, sequential and static process, with steps (b) and (c) engaging in interactions with each prompting new enquiries in the other, causing revisions to previously-held positions of information, and creating new targets for investigation. The outcome is a story which has its own treasure trove of semiotic and geographical references; the capability of this interactive process servicing other referents is considered in Chapter 8.

However, this is not an independent component of the framework; the output of this first component is itself subjected to a range of influences, and these are considered briefly next.

Influences

This is one of the more difficult issues to address, and this was evident in the discussion in Section 5.4 in which an attempt was made to isolate for consideration a number of critical influences, described in that section as 'the four forces' – the record of history, the interest of visitors, the impact of public agencies and the influence of entrepreneurial interest – and to examine the composition of each of them.

Clearly, the historical record is an important influence on whether the resources being explored have sufficient intrinsic ‘quality’ to provoke and then sustain interest. As was mentioned in Section 5.4, there is a diversity of recorded forms, some of which are ‘official’, others of which are mediatised, and still others which have been transposed into narrative, art and performance forms. Whether or not historical accuracy and verifiability is an important issue to the consumers of the heritage product is likely to be dependent most on the purpose of ‘journey of discovery’ – whether for entertainment, information, identity construction. Certainly, heritage and folkloric ‘experts’ have expressed concern about the quality of the resources after they have been subjected to the processes of mediatisation and commodification; Smith (2006), for example, has expressed concern about the processes of deciding which resources are to be exposed for public consumption (especially, but not exclusively by the tourist) and how that exposure and presentation is effected, not least because of the opportunities for fabrication and exaggeration, for access and (mis)interpretation. In Jacob’s (2006) ‘powerscape’ there is an emphasis on the determining forces of public agency decision-making and the various altruistic and economic attractions of providing access to selected heritage and folkloric resources by entrepreneurial agencies. In combination these ‘four forces’ influence not only what will be presented for public consumption, but how and where, with the locational decision being not always consistent with the historic record.

For the purposes of this study, the application of the geographical and ‘gaze’ referents to the ‘four forces’ results in revelations about such matters as, for example:

- for the geographical referents:
  - the current governmental jurisdiction (local, regional, even national) in which the heritage story has taken place, and the approach taken by the public agencies at those levels towards, for example, (a) the telling of the story, (b) the conservation of critical physical and material components of the story, (c) the exposure to public access of aspects of the story, (d) facilitation to and interpretation of the story, (e) compliance with international protocols on heritage resources, (f) partnerships with entrepreneurial and special interest agencies to tell the story;
  - the governmental jurisdiction at the time of the heritage story, and the impact that had on economic, political and social activities in the communities which created the circumstances that led to the events of the heritage story;
of the proximity of the location of the story to tourist routes (actual and potential);

- the spatial concentration, dispersion and ‘critical mass’ of the physical and material components of the story;

- the propensity of the story to be told at one or a number of nodal tourist sites;

- for the ‘gaze’ referents:
  - access to, visibility of, and even tangibility of key heritage resources (although, (a) in the case of the deceased folk hero, the referents might include substituted replicas, effigies, or facsimiles, (b) in the case of valuable records and artifacts, the referents would be in the form of replicas, facsimiles, and (c) in the case of places and buildings, the referents could take the form of models, reconstructions, relocations);
  - access to, witnessing of, participation in performances and re-enactments of critical phases of the story;
  - art works, such as memorials, monuments, paintings, tapestries.

Further influences are derived from the conversion process.

Conversion into ‘touristed landscapes’

As was suggested in Section 5.5 this is a critical phase because without action taking place, the resources remain as ‘raw materials’ and the influences on those resources remain speculative, tentative, and little more than possible. There is a linkage between some of the just-considered influences and the processes and tools of conversion, especially in decision-making about which ‘raw materials’ to convert into resources, how that process of conversion can be managed, whose interests are to be served, and who is to undertake the conversion.

One of the principal controlling forces is the system of government; this has the responsibility for making decisions about the use of resources, and manages the uses according to (a) codes of regulations, (b) public policies, (c) plans for development, (d) various inter-governmental protocols, agreements, and (e) responsibilities under national and even international accords. Among these various responsibilities some public agencies within the systems of government take on the tasks of operating public depositories of heritage documents and artifacts, of organizing or at least supporting public exhibitions, and of in various ways supporting activities designed to sustain local communities, their customs and traditions. Some of these actions are undertaken in response to the propositions of particular interest groups (at local or regional or national or even international levels, with support directed at nominated targets, of which heritage-related matters might attract some priority) who might become partners with public agencies in action to conserve, preserve, reconstruct, refurbish, restore, relocate, or memorialize ‘things’, events and happenings, and people which have contributed to stories those groups consider worthy of retention in the public memory. Often as co-partners with government and/or interest groups, the business community may be involved directly, indirectly, co-operatively or even covertly in heritage support and development. In addition to any benefaction, the business community may be involved in heritage-related activities through entrepreneurial actions designed to add direct or investment value to projects. All of these conversion approaches need to respond to the requirements of a range of technical issues; these are considered later as contributions to ‘touristed place’ configuration.

The impact of the two filters as referents on these matters includes, for example:

- for geographical referents
  - where and how heritage-related development (of any kind) can be undertaken, including prescriptive codes, plans, policies, regulations;
how those developments can be linked to existing development, or even stimulate new development; 

- the emergence of (a) formal regional structures (of general public agency activity), (b) functional regional structures (such as specified tourism regions), (c) vernacular, ‘themed’ regional structures (such as the themed Kelly Country);

**Notes:**
- in addition to the regional scale, identifiable physical, place-related structures can be formed at sub-regional scales such as at settlements, at districts, or at precincts; on this see the later section on Configuration;
- the geographical referent may be applicable to a single local government authority, to an association of authorities which share common heritage interests, or to a loose or deliberately-structured combination of authorities across government scales which share common heritage interests;

- for ‘gaze’ referents
  - the visual distinctiveness, scope and scale of the heritage attraction;
  - the visual distinctiveness, scope and scale of the symbol, or marker created and the degree to which it communicates the heritage story;
  - the companion activities – such as exhibitions, re-enactments, ceremonies and pageants, style-consistent redevelopment/reconstruction/renovation, information and interpretation – which support the heritage story;

The geographical and ‘gaze’ referents become particularly significant in the final stage of this process, the presentation of the heritage story in ‘touristed landscapes’.

**Configurations**

This final step in the sequence imposes spatial order on Lippard’s claim that “everything is grist to heritage’s greedy mill” (1999, p.79) by explaining how various heritage-linked resources are adapted for the purposes of presentation as ‘touristed landscapes’, and it is the geographical component of the process of ‘tourismification’ (Jansen-Verbeke, 1998) with conspicuous ramifications for ‘the gaze’ which culminate with the construction of special themed landscapes and place identities. The backgrounding sections for the explanation of the configurations considered here are 4.3 (tourism places, morphology, form and structure), 4.5 (‘themescapes’), and 5.6 (configurations and expressions).

What is being considered here is the spatial nature of the critical mass where tourism activity takes place; in addition, it is a response to the enquiry of Knudsen and his colleagues (2008) which is raised often in this study about the mysteries of the artful construction of tourist sites.

Commentaries about the spatial structure of tourism attractions (and regions of attractions) often link the spatial arrangements to the basic elements of Euclidean geometry – points, lines, and areas – and it is the distinctive arrangements of these elements which become manifest as physical expressions of ‘themed landscapes’, and these then attract a distinctiveness because of (a) the heritage story which is being told, and (b) the way in which the ‘physical and material reality’ of the story is being presented.

This is the step in the sequence where the geographical and the ‘gaze’ referents become most closely aligned:

- **geographical referents:**
o spot attractions;
o precincts – sometimes ‘themed’;
o districts – either ‘themed’ or composed of specialized activities and attractions which may be consistent (such as districts of antique books, furniture, artifacts) or complementary (such as the trinity of tourism and hospitality referred to by Bell (2009) – drinkscape, foodscape and restscape);
o settlements – where most of any one township shares particular tourism-related characteristics (such as the township of Berrima in the New South Wales Southern Highlands which is credited as being an example of a largely undisturbed Australian town of the Georgian colonial period, with many of the original buildings from the mid-nineteenth century forming the core of its heritage-based tourism attraction);
o regions – with a distinguishable range of tourism interests and activities; these activities are dispersed in clusters;
o symbolic markers as portals or gateways to precincts, or districts, or settlements or regions, ‘announcing’ the existence of those particular configurations of tourism attractions;

• ‘gaze’ referents:
o ‘sense of place’ – a symbolic relationship, created imaginatively (Ashworth and Graham, 2005), to communicate the facts and the ‘message’ of the heritage story; this is not solely a visual referent;
o ‘seduction of place’ – a variant of the previous item which, again, may not be solely a visual referent;
o prescribed places, where some of the ‘four forces’ (see earlier) interact to impose on tourism places regulations, protocols and so on which prescribe which, where, how and when heritage features can be presented;
o negotiated places, where the presentation of the heritage features is negotiated between the public interest, the commercial interest, the consumer interest and the considered heritage value and significance of those features; Kuipers (2005) has argued that the negotiation is between the heritage experts and the potential consumers.

It is the mix and match of these geographical and ‘gaze’ referents which contribute

• to the distinctiveness of the story and its various associations (of places, of ‘texts’ and things, of events, and forms of (re)presentation),
• and to the singular or combinatorial attraction for the purposes of tourism.

To use part of the Knudsen et al statement, it is these referents which contribute to and explain the ‘artful construction’ of tourism sites, and it is these which can be synthesized and carried forward into the specific framework with which to analyse the functioning of the folk hero story.

6.3 Synthesis: an outcome

With the conclusion of this second Phase of the three-step process (which began in Chapter 5), and by continuing the commitment to engage with the construction of a ‘scientific mode of ordering’ (the challenge of van der Duim), progress is made towards refining the framework so that it can be readily applied to the circumstances of the proposition that ‘dead men do tell tales’. Progress is achieved here by concluding the synthesis begun in the two previous sections (6.1 and 6.2) by developing a ‘critical mass’ of structural elements to guide the investigation and assessment of the particularities of stories about folk heroes, taking the clue from the advocacy of Ostrom (2009) that a framework is "a common set of potentially relevant variables ... to use in
the design of data collection instruments, the conduct of fieldwork, and the analysis of findings (p. 420).

This step – of drawing out 'a common set of potentially relevant variables' – involves a further appraisal of the four inputs (resources, influences, conversion, and configurations), and the two methodological referents or filters ('thinking geographically' and the 'gaze').

For this next step, the previously-used sequence (in 6.2) is reconfigured so as to identify specifically what characteristics can be expected to deliver the distinctiveness of the folk hero's story. It is this particular characteristic – distinctiveness – which, in a general sense, has been the important underpinning advocacy drawn down from Shurmer-Smith's (2002) commentary about the special function of geographical enquiry and Urry's (1992) commentary about the special and unique character of tourism attractions and activities (see Section 6.1). The test of this experimental approach will be encountered in its application to the circumstances of the Ned Kelly case study in Chapter 7.

The sequence here is

- firstly, to derive aggregations of the geographical and the 'gaze' referents,
- and secondly, to reconfigure the four inputs as they are transposed into 'real' heritage and folkloric resources

so that, in each case, they can be more easily used in both fieldwork-based and desk-based data collection and subsequent analysis (i.e., in accordance with the advocacy of Ostrom, 2009). This is a helpful step in the 'teasing out' process.

### Distinctiveness: the methodological referents

From a review of the geographical referents in Section 6.2 those which prima facie are particularly influential in conferring distinctiveness are:

- where it is:
  - location, placement and positioning (both absolute and relative);
- how it is arranged:
  - spatial indicators, symbols, patterns;
- what it is like:
  - 'identity', 'genius loci', 'sense of place';
- how many:
  - quantitative expressions, critical mass;
- how it is controlled (and by whom):
  - influence, jurisdiction, prescription, mediation.

A review of the companion semiotic 'gaze' referents considered in Section 6.2 exposes the following characteristics of distinctiveness:

- what it is:
  - place, thing, object, document
- how accessible it is:
  - physical accessibility, tangibility, interpretability, participation
- how accurate it is:
  - authenticity, symbolism, replica, substitute
- what its scope and scale are:
  - isolated and independent, grouped, concentrated, associated
- how it communicates (helps, hinders, manipulates) the story:
o communicability, performance, presentation (and re-presentation), 'sense of place'

Distinctiveness: 'physical and material reality' (Jacobs, 2006); the heritage and folkloric resources

The distinctiveness of the resources (based on Sections 3.2, 3.6, 5.3 and 6.2) can be transposed into four categories of elements, as follows:

- **physical elements**
  - including places, sites and spaces; routes, tracks, and trails; natural and countryside settings; domestic and public buildings, community infrastructures such as bridges; communities and townships; archaeological remnant sites;
- **material elements**
  - artifacts and archaeological remnants (objects, rather than sites), craft and personal work tools, costume and furniture;
- **textual elements**
  - including public and personal records and documents, films and photographs, artistic items such as art works, memorials, paintings and tapestries;
- **performance-linked elements**
  - including dance, drama, games, music.

For this study, each of these elements has distinctive place/geographical and 'gaze'-related significance, either in their original state or in a re-presented state after being subjected to the impacts of conversion and configuration. The implication of this is that in the case of heritage and folkloric resources both the geographical and the 'gaze' perspectives concentrate on 'physical and material reality' (see Jacobs, 2006); this is an inevitable outcome of the twinned perspectives ('thinking geographically' and 'the gaze') which have dominated the focus pursued throughout this study. One implication of this is that the experimental framework being constructed here is developed to a partially-complete state in that non-physical and non-material resources are not incorporated directly, although those which are influential in the conversion and configuration phases are incorporated, if not by default, then by implication and because of the transformation they impose on the 'original' resources. This matter is addressed in the concluding chapter (8) where there is a brief commentary on how the 'scientific mode of ordering' developed in this study might need to be adjusted to cope with different dominant perspectives.

To this point, the analytical framework has been constructed to a stage which can be expected to cope with the basic raw materials of heritage and folklore. The three 'scape' frameworks used as the basis for this investigative process – 'heritagescape', 'powerscape' and 'tourismscape' (see Chapters 4 and 5) – were developed to a less comprehensive degree of refinement than that sought in this study, and it was for this reason, in part, that the pursuit of the 'scientific mode of ordering' here would be designed to engage with a more extensive range of issues. Having reached that stage of increased comprehensiveness, the final step, in Phase 3, is to identify and highlight the particularities of the study of the folk hero on which this increased investigative capacity can be 'tested'; this will at least expose the evidence, through the 'teasing out' process, of substantiation for the proposition that 'dead men do tell tales', and, in so doing, validate the substance of the contribution of the folk hero to heritage-based tourism.
PHASE 3: ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK: ‘Dead men do tell tales’ (See Figure 6.4)

This is the final phase in the progression from considering matters pitched generally in the domain of heritage- and folklore-based tourism, to the more specific focus on the circumstances of the folk hero.

It will have been apparent throughout this framework-building process that the underpinning conceptualizations and even practicalities of constructing this framework have themselves been influenced by the circumstances which led to the creation of various ‘scape’ formulations by Garden (2004), Jacobs (2006) and van der Duim (2005) – all considered in Chapters 4 and 5 – and the technicalities of framework construction by Ostrom (2009 and others). From these various sources the principal components have been extracted so as to engage with the proposition that ‘dead men do tell tales’. Following the trail from the previously-considered ‘scape’ forms of Garden, Jacobs and van der Duim and the two phases of presentation, synthesis and reconfigurations (Chapter 5 and Sections 6.1 to 6.3), the focus of this study sharpens to engage with the peculiarities of the folk hero. Although none of the four studies – i.e. of Garden, Jacobs, van der Duim and this one – follow an exactly parallel course, the previous two phases of this study have been based on a synthesis of compatible and complementary building blocks of the three ‘scape’-based studies, with the significant difference occurring with the principal purpose for the activation of the framework. It has been mentioned in previous chapters that the three ‘scape’ forms of Garden, Jacobs and van der Duim do not focus on a particular subject, although Garden comes closest with her focus on heritage-linked places, settings and structures. This study, therefore, forges a new direction, albeit experimentally, with its focus on the folk hero.

To highlight the significance of this re-direction it is useful to compare the circumstances of intrinsic interest with folk hero-linked interest in three selected potential tourism attractions in the Ned Kelly story:

- firstly, attractions which have an existence of their own – that is, they are of intrinsic interest whether or not they are associated in some way with the story of the folk hero; for example:
  - the buildings in Beechworth’s (Victoria) Historic and Cultural Precinct have an intrinsic heritage and heritage-based tourism attractiveness because of their structure, the materials used in their construction, and their role in the economic and political development of the former gold-mining region in which they are located;
  - the Sidney Nolan paintings, some of which are housed in the National Gallery in Canberra, have intrinsic interest because they are examples of one of Australia’s foremost twentieth century artists, and represent the artist’s personal interpretation of historical and legendary figures depicted in a particularly stylized form and their engagement with his personally-favoured themes of injustice, love and betrayal;
  - the Victoria Police Museum in Melbourne houses what it refers to as ‘the darker side of Victorian history’, with evidence accumulated from more than a century of crime, police investigations and the disposition of justice through the court system.

- and secondly, the same attractions are of interest perhaps because of their association with the story of the folk hero:
  - there are particular heritage buildings in Beechworth which have direct relevance to episodes of the Ned Kelly story, including, for example, the Court House, the former Beechworth Gaol, and the prisoner holding cells;
Analytical Framework:
Phase 1: Inputs and Influences [Chapter 5]

Analytical Framework:
Phase 2: Synthesis:
(Preliminary Framework)
(Sections 6.1, 6.2, 6.3)

Analytical Framework:
Phase 3: 'Dead Men do Tell Tales'
(Section 6.4)

FRAMEWORK:
"a common set of potentially relevant variables ... to use in the design of data collection instruments, the conduct of fieldwork, and the analysis of findings"
(Ostrom, 2009, p. 420)

Purposes
1. to 'tease out' DISTINCTIVENESS
2. to analyze performance
   of the selected folk hero by engaging with
   - the 'story'
   - the geographical circumstances
   - the 'gaze' characteristics
   - the physical and material reality

Preliminary Selection criteria:
- Recognition factor
- Familiarity
- Impact, significance
- Place association
- Tangible, visible evidence
- Legacy

Framework components:
- CONTEXT
- PLACES
- 'TEXTS', THINGS
- EVENTS
- FORMS OF (RE)PRESENTATION
- PEOPLE

association with the folk hero and his story

Figure 6.4
COMPONENTS of Phase 3
amongst the most significant of Sidney Nolan's paintings is the Ned Kelly Series (1946-1947) in which his use of a stylized Iron Mask (based on the mask used by Kelly at the Glenrowan siege) has become a readily-recognized Australian iconic symbol, not only of Ned Kelly, but also of the nineteenth century struggle of Victoria's rural population against the final years of the Colonial government;

one of the principal exhibits at the Victoria Police Museum is the display of two suits of armour used by members of the Kelly Gang at the Glenrowan siege, and that is supported by information panels and a video presentation about the battle of the Kelly Gang with Victorian police at Stringybark Creek which culminated in the death of three policemen (who are commemorated by a memorial in Mansfield).

In each of these cases – the buildings at Beechworth, the Sidney Nolan paintings, and the police exhibition – it may be that the intrinsic interest in them is heightened because of their association with the Ned Kelly story, but that has not been tested in this study. What the framework being developed in this study can be expected to do is to draw out from a complex and diverse range of interest factors those which focus attention on the folk hero. It is the purpose of this next Section to add to the general framework those structural factors which can be used to ‘tease out’ the special contribution of the folk hero.

6.4 A Framework to ‘tease out’ the contribution of the folk hero and related stories to heritage-based tourism.

This Section draws down previous commentaries in Chapter 3 about the story-telling function of folklore and especially about the role of folk heroes in that function; a brief reprise of those commentaries is presented here as a preface to the clarification of the folk hero-specific components for the final step of constructing the analytical framework.

The inputs

There are two principal sources of inputs – the folkloric stories, and the records about the folk hero.

The primary purposes of these sources are:

- to ‘tell a story’ – irrespective of its factual or fictional basis;
- to provide observations about and insights into the changes taking place in culture and society;
- to inform and raise public awareness about particular social and community issues, events, places, and people;
- and, to entertain.

These various sources form a treasure trove in which the stories of history are set – the mysteries of what happened, where it happened, why it happened, who was involved, and what was the outcome. Some commentators have argued similarly that the various forms of record and folkloric tales perform a useful function in presenting interpretations of the ebb and flow of history (see, for example, Armstrong, 2005; Bell, 2003; Brunvand, 1998; and West, 1989); Pretes in particular has referred to each source as “a kind of ‘archaeological site’ in which lies buried layers of meaning” (2003, p.140).

A synthesis of the inputs

For the ‘teasing out’ process there is a background and a foreground setting.
The background setting can be drawn down from Phases 1 and 2, and within these two phases it is likely that a formidable information base could be created which will refer especially to general circumstances; it is the foreground setting which will focus on the special circumstances of the folk hero.

A number of commentators (previously referenced in Chapter 3) have prescribed a range of criteria which the folk hero needs to meet if he (or she) is to be considered sufficiently ‘famous’ (‘notorious’ is Creswell’s (2008) term) to become transformed (commodified) into a commercialized attraction; in summary, these criteria - which may be used to establish the folk hero-specific foreground – include, for example:

- a high recognition and familiarity factor, a significant degree of uniqueness, and links to other heroes with similar exploits;
- a level of appeal which extends beyond the local community in which he lived and undertook his various exploits;
- a demonstrable impact on local or regional or national affairs (or any combination of these three);
- a clear link with a particular geographical area as the home base and the region of his principal activities;
- a legacy evident through tangible items, some of which become transformed into symbols and signs;
- and, a legacy which is perpetuated through anniversary celebrations, re-enactments, and presentation in one or more of the principal art and performance forms.

The special nature of the potential folk hero can be interpreted from Sternberg’s reference to an icon as “an object or person that leaves a powerful impression ... transformed from an object of ordinary significance into ... a thematized commodity” (1999, p.4); to repeat a term used by Urry and others to convey this level of significance, the ‘object or person’ has to exhibit ‘distinctiveness’ if it is to become a significant tourist attraction. This distinctiveness can be founded on, for example:

- firstly, the selected folk hero – his (her) life and activities;

and then, six story components

- the context of economic, governmental, political and social circumstances which influenced the hero and his (her) activities;
- places associated with the hero’s story
- ‘texts’ and things which can be linked to the hero, and his (her) life and activities;
- the principal events involving the folk hero;
- the forms which have been adopted and adapted to communicate the hero’s story.
- people associated with that hero.

A synoptic description of these framework-shaping components is presented here.

The Folk Hero is the anchoring component and it is taken care of in the initial selection process.

From that point, all the remaining components are influenced by the degree to which the folk hero is ‘the real thing’, or principally fictional (imaginary or invented, or fictionalized from a ‘real’ hero), or hybridized (sometimes referred to as being
heterogeneous” where exploits attributed to the hero might be apocryphal or even inaccurately-attributed by type, or historic period, or place, or even person).

**Context.** This component is a difficult one to address, not least because there are two complementary perspectives, differentiated by time; firstly, there is the context prevailing at the time of the story, and which influenced the events in that story; and secondly, there is the current (modern) context which influences, particularly, what, where, and how the story is presented at the present time.

The underlying contemporary context of the story includes, for example, the economic, governmental, political and social systems and conditions which prevailed at the time of the story and which generated the issues confronted by the folk hero and galvanized his response, and the operational strategies of those same systems which were designed to cope with the responses of the type engaged in by the hero. Some of the most significant of the prevailing conditions include, for example, the ethnic and/or nationality differentiation across the ‘homeland’ of the story, the degree of isolation of that ‘homeland’, the underlying legal position on land ownership and use, the empathy and continuity within (rural) communities, the systems of public organization and the impositions of control on communities and individuals, the responsiveness of the organs of government to public expressions, the changes in economic prosperity across and between communities, the systems of transport and communication (influencing the responsiveness of government to community problems), the community responses to iconic actions and actors. To elaborate briefly on these matters, some members of some communities adopt a confrontational attitude towards the organs of government in circumstances where they consider that their interests have not been appropriately recognized and responded to through the process of public regulations, orders, dispositions of land, and the activities of the judiciary and law enforcement. One outcome of the antagonism between those communities and government can be the emergence of, for example, the bushrangers, highwaymen and outlaws (see Section 3.15) who either conduct their lives and activities with disregard for the prevailing systems of law and order, or seek to bring about changes to them; as this becomes a competitive rather than a consultative situation, the almost inevitable outcome is that ‘the system’ prevails and the challenges to it are dealt with harshly (for explanations of the Australian case see, for example, Blainey, 2006; Coupe, 1998; Davison et al, 1998; Macintyre, 2004; McQuilton, 1979; Seal, 1996).

A second, and companion aspect is the treatment of hero’s story in the modern period; and there are two aspects to this situation. In one of these the story can be the target of ‘manipulation, obfuscation, distortion, selection’ (see Section 3.3 on this issue; see also Laurajane Smith, Part II, 2006) so that the communication is designed to satisfy only one particular socio-political agenda and viewpoint, and some aspects of the story are omitted or transmitted in such a way that a counter or less favoured interpretation is impeded. It is from situations such as this that the focus of the story can be a hero to one group and a villain to another group; this is almost ‘classic’ dissonant history. The second aspect concerns the way in which the presentation of the story is facilitated, and this has become of increasing public importance as the processes of commodification have the potential to distort or even obliterate the ‘facts’ of the story. International and national agencies with a remit to conserve heritage have formulated advisory guidelines to protect heritage and folkloric resources (see Section 3.6) and some of these have been taken into account by local agencies and jurisdictions in the construction of their planning and development strategies and codes of practice, and by other agencies in the marketing of the resource in its transformed state.

**Places.** Fundamental to the hero’s stories are the elements of ‘physical and material reality’ (see Section 6.3), in which all of the elements previously-listed as physical and material, and some of the textual elements assume considerable leverage in the telling of and conferring distinctiveness on the stories. For the purposes of this study, all of the
Component elements have both geographical and semiotic (‘gaze’) significance. One of the important geographical referents is the location where the activities of the hero took place or have been alleged to have taken place. This component includes, for example, where the hero was born and lived at various stages of his life and where his principal activities took place. The geographical references will include, for example, (a) particular sites and buildings, (b) general areas, (c) landscapes and settings, (d) trails, tracks and routes, (e) clusters of buildings and sites, or (f) specific townships or country districts. A common feature in many of the stories about and by folk heroes is geographic imprecision, even confusion; this is particularly so where the ‘original’ site or setting has been obliterated by subsequent changes such as, for example, buildings falling derelict, other buildings demolished, or converted for new/different uses, sites cleared, landscape re-contoured, or tracks re-aligned. Another distinctive geographical feature is the commemoration, memorialization and re-enactment of particular distinguishing events of the hero’s story; considerable effort is applied to finding ‘the right’ location to mark the event, but in some cases there is confusion about the accuracy of the location and in other cases concern about the sensitivity of marking that location, and in both cases the chosen substitution is often that which is most expedient.

‘Texts’. The significance of this component is conditioned by the degree of association with the hero’s story. The principal types of ‘texts’ linked generally to folkloric studies include, for example, such tangible items as domestic, occupational and recreational artifacts and tools, costume and dress, jewelry, documents and records (see Section 3.6 and Figure 3.6); these may be in their original state, or have deteriorated to become ‘archaeological remnants’. These items are useful for the study of folk heroes and for placing those heroes in their contemporary cultural and economic context because they are tangible and (for the purposes of this study) visible evidence of (a) the general (technological) status of society at the time of the hero’s activities and (b) the degree to which the hero (and his associates) participated in and could take advantage of that level of development. There will be a differentiation in levels of familiarity with and the use of contemporary ‘texts’ (as things) between urban and rural communities, and in the case of the rural communities, the ‘texts’ will extend to the availability of domestic and public infrastructure, to modes of transport, to wood and metal craft products (including, for the rural communities, equipment for farming, transport, boundary protection, and house construction and furnishing). A second aspect of this material component is the existence of documentary elements, which, for the purposes here, include ‘official’ public documents and records, personal documents and records (including letters). Other textual forms (such as novels and artistic items) are certainly relevant to any unfolding story about a folk hero, and these are considered in a later component which addresses the presentation and re-presentation of the story.

Events. This component focuses almost entirely on the activities of the folk hero and some of the people associated with him in the unfolding story, and extends from his birth to his death. It includes, for example, the circumstances preceding, and in some cases causing the events, and draws extensively on the context in which those events took place. For the bushranger, highwayman and outlaw fraternity (see Section 3.15) the principal chronological events are birth, early childhood and youth, adulthood, and early death; the highlight events are usually confined to a short period of activity in which some of the actions are repetitive, but the folk hero story can include both evidence of a conventional (rural) lifestyle, and of diversions which reveal some of less rebellious character traits. [Note: Figure 7.2 sets the story of the selected folk hero into the historical context of contemporary events taking place elsewhere in Australia at the time of the unfolding story].

Forms of (re)presentation. This is a major component of the framework because it references some of the principal forms which ‘tell’ the story of the folk hero, and which perpetuate and sustain that story. In the earlier sections on heritage and folkloric...
resources (including 3.6, and Figures 3.4, 3.6 and 3.8) there was a differentiation into a range of categories – art and graphic art forms, narrative forms, performance forms, monuments and memorials – and a commentary on the various in situ locations, relocations (to museums, libraries) and reconstructions.

The forms of presentation and representation available to tell the story are not static; they evolve, so that in addition to the conventional oral histories and various narrative forms (autobiographies, ballads, biographies, diaries, folktales, history novels, legends, letters, myths, and poems), presentations and re-presentations of the story take advantage of, for example, (a) technological changes in recording processes (photography, film, media reporting), (b) excavation and forensic testing, (c) document discovery and restoration, (d) dramatizations, re-enactments and festivals, (e) display and exhibition (interactive, 'hands-on', participation), and (f) entertainment and 'infotainment' (debates, documentary films, dramas, feature films, mock court cases, musicals, public lectures, travelling exhibitions).

People associated with the hero. In the case of this second component the range of 'associates' is likely to include, for example, members of the hero's family, his circle of friends and especially those who participated in the activities led by him, residents of the same community, government officials, members of the business community, other people engaged in similar exploits, supporters (even promoters) of his activities, adversaries, and even members of the community who become involved almost unwittingly in the activities of the hero.

As the story becomes commodified the inventory of forms of re-presentation expands to include, for example, iconic signs and symbols, pageants, replicas, and (tourist) souvenirs.

Outcome

In summary, the third Phase has added the special focus of the folk hero, in so doing shifting the attention away from the background components and to the foreground components. However, it is the backgrounding components which provide the basic inputs to the information base upon which the folk story is founded. The information-gathering process starts with the components of phase 1; that information base is reconfigured in phase 2, at which stage the geographical and semiotic ('gaze') referents are applied; and then, in the third phase the special components of the folk hero story are used to give a structure to the information base.

CONCLUSION

The construction of the two linked chapters in Part B has been predicated on the need to meet the standard of 'proof' expected by Jamal and Kim with their challenge that to improve knowledge about and understanding of heritage and heritage-based tourism it would be necessary to construct "a well-theorized integrated framework showing the complexity, dynamism, scale and scope of doing a research study related to heritage and tourism" (2005, p.56). This challenge has been an ongoing and underpinning element of this entire study. Similarly, the companion challenge of Knudsen et al (2008) to discover a means by which the artful construction of 'touristed landscapes' can be teased out has at least nudged this study into conceptualizations and investigative structures which have added substance to the eventual construction of the framework at Phase 3 of this process.
One by-product of responding to these challenges, and of delving into the conceptual and theoretical backgrounding of the various framework components, has been a protracted discussion which extends over three Phases across two Chapters. The short cut would be to progress from the conclusion of Part A (Background Issues and Literature Review) directly to Phase 3 in Chapter 6, and then to proceed directly to the use of the constructed framework in the empirical study in Chapter 7. To do this would be to take on trust the various inputs and influences which contribute to the 'complexity, dynamism, scale and scope' (Jamal and Kim) of research studies of the kind engaged in here.

Previously-referenced studies by Garden, Jacobs and van der Duim have influenced the deliberately sought for (and designed) coherence, investigative and interpretive capacities, and the substance of theory which has contributed to this study.

The framework which has emerged in Phase 3 (in this Chapter) has been used to impose structured enquiry on the empirical study in Chapter 7.
'Dead Men Do Tell Tales'  
'Teasing out' the contribution of the folk hero to heritage-based tourism

PART C:  EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

This Part is composed of only one chapter – **Chapter 7: Empirical Evidence, Analysis and Interpretation** – and it has three purposes.

One of these purposes is to draw down many of the principal matters from the previous chapters, and set them into the context of the history, heritage and folklore of Australia, and to provide a synopsis of the story of the selected folk hero Ned Kelly; the purpose here is to provide empirical evidence that 'dead men do tell tales'. The second purpose is to provide an opportunity for setting the story of the folk hero in the analytical framework constructed through the two chapters of Part B (5 and 6), so as to 'tease out' the intricacies of the story and to expose the various informational inputs which contribute to it. This purpose pits the empirical evidence against the experimental framework, in so doing revealing both strengths and weaknesses in (a) the story, and (b) the analytical framework; this matter is considered further in the final chapter (8). As the third purpose, this chapter draws particularly on Chapters 4, 5 and 6 to make a contribution to the niche study area of tourism geography, not least by relying heavily for gathering, analyzing and interpreting empirical information about resources, influences, conversion processes and spatial configurations on the processes of 'thinking geographically' and the semiotic perspective of 'the gaze'.

In early Sections of this Chapter (7.1 to 7.4) there is a brief explanation of the choice of Ned Kelly as the case study, of some of the background issues about history, heritage and folklore in Australia, and of the treasure troves of Australian folklore and Australian folk heroes. To lay the groundwork for the subsequent analysis and interpretation, there then follows a brief account of the Ned Kelly story (7.5). From that point, the Ned Kelly story and the analytical framework (from Part B) are joined in the analysis, interpretation and 'teasing out' of the evidence that 'dead men do tell tales' (7.6). At the commencement of that analysis there is an explanation of how the evidence will be presented. A concluding Section (7.7) offers a preliminary commentary on (a) the capacity of the analytical framework to expose or 'tease out' the evidence of stories about folk heroes, and (b) whether any difficulties encountered in gathering, analyzing and interpreting the evidence is a function of that evidence or of the analytical framework or of the nature of the stories about folk heroes. The matters raised in this final Section of this Chapter are taken further in the concluding stand-alone chapter (8).
CHAPTER 7:
EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE; ANALYSIS and INTERPRETATION

- "a research case study aims to examine research questions and issues by setting these in a contextual and often causal context ... a high quality case study is characterized by rigorous thinking, sufficient presentation of evidence to reach appropriate conclusions, and careful consideration of alternative explanations of the evidence"
  Hartley, 2004, p.324

- "Although far from being exclusively Australian, the narrative tradition of telling 'tall tales' ... have been developed into a unique folk art form that accurately mirrors the aspirations, (if not always the actuality) of the mythic Australian character ... the ethos of anti-authoritarianism and bloody-minded independence that is often said to be 'typically' Australian ...

- ... we have a traceable tradition involving the continued creation and recreation of Kelly lore ...

- [and] Since his death Ned Kelly has gradually become Anglo-Celtic Australia's only authentic national hero"

INTRODUCTION

These introductory quotations refer to the two principal and intertwined tasks of this Chapter (7) – to present and then to analyze empirical evidence embedded in a case study which has been designed to be both informative and to be the working material used to 'test' a previously-constructed analytical framework.

The first of the two tasks has been to present empirical evidence gathered through both desk and field studies of the story of Ned Kelly, the Australian bushranger, who has attracted attention in Australian history (a) for being a folk hero who has been "memorialized by painters, writers, musicians and filmmakers ... [with] ... More books, songs and websites ... written about Ned Kelly and the Kelly Gang than any other group of Australian historical figures" [extracted from the Australian Government's 'Culture and Recreation Portal, archived at www.cultureandrecreation.gov.au/articles/nedkelly - accessed 09/10/2010], and (b) for being a convicted and executed outlaw (according to provisions of The Felons Apprehension Act, 1878). This engagement with the substantive story of the folk hero is
PART A: BACKGROUND ISSUES and LITERATURE REVIEW
PART B: CONSTRUCTION OF THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

PART C: EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE, ANALYSIS and INTERPRETATION

INTRODUCTION

7.1 The use of the Ned Kelly Story

7.2 Some Background Issues
7.3 The Treasure Trove of Australian Folklore
   • Treasure trove of Australian folklore resources
7.4 Treasure Trove of Australian Folk Heroes
   • Bushrangers

7.5 The Core of the Ned Kelly Story
   • The Story Timeline
   • The early phase
   • 'The Fitzpatrick Incident'
   • 'The Kelly Outbreak'
   • Symbols of the Kelly Story

7.6 Approach to the Investigation
   • The information-gathering process
   • Structure of the Analysis and Interpretation
   • Presentation of the empirical evidence

7.7 General Contextual Issues
   • The historical context
   • The modern context

7.8 Locations
7.9 Sites, places and buildings
   • Kelly homesteads, and events linked to them
   • Sites of bank robberies
   • Courthouses, gaols
7.10 'Texts', events and (re)presentations
   • 'Texts'
   • Events and happenings
   • (Re)presentations
7.11 People

Figure 7.1
STRUCTURE OF CHAPTER 7

CHAPTER 8: INTERPRETATION, OUTCOMES and CONCLUSIONS
an exploration of the proposition that ‘dead men do tell tales’ and it addresses the observation of Pearce, Morrison and Moscardo (2003) that stories about folk icons and folk heroes have been a relatively neglected cause in research about heritage-based tourism (see, in particular, the reference to this in Chapter 1, and the commentary in Chapter 3). Secondly, that body of evidence, presented initially in summary form, is ‘tested’ on the analytical framework constructed through the three phase enquiry developed in the two preceding chapters; this addresses the methodological strand of the study nominated in Chapter 1, and developed through Chapters 5 and 6.

The case study (of Ned Kelly) is used here for two purposes – to provide evidence that ‘dead men do tell tales’ and to provide the working material with which to explore the usability of an experimental analytical framework. This matter of the strategic use of the case study method was addressed in Section 2.10; in that Section, reference was made to the sanctioning of this approach by Yin (2003, see especially pp. 39-46, and 67-77) and by Mitchell (2006) who commented on the explanatory power of the case study. Further support for this approach has been given by Eisenhardt (2006) with his advocacy that the case study should be a stepping-stone to a declared purpose rather than the centre piece of a research study, and the observation by Xiao and Smith (2006b) that the case study should be supportive of generating ‘novel’ theories and interpretational structures.

The structure of the Chapter is set out in Figure 7.1.

In order to achieve and maintain focus the presentation of evidence here proceeds through three incremental steps:

- in the first of these (Sections 7.2 to 7.4) there is a summary and synoptic commentary on the treasure trove of folkloric resources in Australia, (a) in general, and then (b) in the particular case of folk heroes; as far as the evidence will permit, the presentation is consistent with the folkloric matters raised in Chapter 3 (especially Sections 3.12 to 3.15);
- the second of these backgrounding steps (Section 7.5) sharpens the focus to a summary account of the life, times and activities of the Bushranger Ned Kelly as they are recorded in various genres and as they are physically and materially evident in that part of the Australian State of Victoria in which they took place in the closing decades of the nineteenth century;
- and from this background position, and with the bank of ‘raw materials’ from and associated with the Ned Kelly story, the presentation here moves to the third step (Section 7.6) and to the examination of those ‘raw materials’ against the major structural elements of the investigative framework developed in Chapter 6, in so doing, becoming a double-sided examination, engaging (a) with an assessment of the credibility of the Ned Kelly-associated empirical evidence (as an example of the folk hero) as a tourist resource, and (b) with a ‘testing’ of the feasibility of the analytical framework to ‘tease out’ the relevant inputs to and influences on the construction of the tourist sites.

7.1 The use of the Ned Kelly Story

The choice of the principal study focus – Ned Kelly – calls for some justification. Three justifications are offered here.

Firstly, the author of this work has a long-standing interest in the activities of the Bushranger phenomenon in the evolving history of Australia, and especially the contribution it can be shown to have made to the development of at least some of the
peculiarities which are attributed to Australian identity. [Note: there is a considerable body of published literature on this matter of Australian identity; for example, (a) for general sources, see, Day, 1998; Healey (J), 2006, 2010; Macgregor, 2004; Tranter and Donoghue, 2007b; (b) for specific sources on Bushrangers and Ned Kelly, see, Boxall, 1988 (first published 1899); Coupe, 1998; Dick, 1992; Duthie, 2002; Jones, 1991; Tranter and Donoghue, 2008; White, 1979].

The interest in Ned Kelly is not that he was a particularly skilled bushranger; in fact, assessments of his bush ranger prowess are not usually complementary. Despite this, as Dick’s *A Bushranging Bibliography* (1992) reveals within his schedule of more than 1,200 published sources about bushranging in Australia, more than one hundred focus on Ned Kelly, whilst only ten per cent of that number refer to the usually-acclaimed most successful and genuine bushranger, Ben Hall.

A second justification is linked closely with the first – the general public and scholarly interest in Ned Kelly and his story as an indicator of Australian history and social development (see, for example, Tranter and Donoghue, 2003, 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2010; West, 2001). The symbolism of the person and his story was considered sufficient for it to be included in the opening ceremony of the Sydney Olympic Games (in 2000), and for an exhibition – *Not Just Ned: a true history of the Irish in Australia* – at The National Museum of Australia (in Canberra, March to July, 2011) commemorating the contribution of the Irish to the economic, political and social development of Australia. Such general and scholarly interest is sustained by, for example, a diverse range of factual information and fiction in literary and art sources, in museum and library collections, in static and travelling exhibitions (see the permanent exhibitions in The State Library of Victoria, and the Victoria Police Museum, both in Melbourne), in Internet sites, and in various representational forms (including commercial and documentary films, dramas and dramatic re-enactments, paintings and tapestries, photographs).

Thirdly, the iconic and folk hero status afforded many Australian bushrangers has been challenged by ‘official’ or institutionalized interpretations of their actions. It is the contentiousness of the bushrangers’ activities which draws them into the scope of dissonance (as interpreted by Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996), and then into the frame of potential tourism attraction. Ned Kelly’s story is particularly appropriate here; it is not only his Irish ancestry and his family’s problems in coping with difficult land laws, but his conspicuous challenges to prevailing government and especially law enforcement agencies (particularly the police and the judiciary), and his personal bravery (such as saving a boy from drowning, protecting his family’s honour, and engaging in bare-knuckle boxing) which create an image with popular appeal (see earlier, Chapter 3 – Folk Icons and Folk Heroes). Although Gammage has described ‘bushranger’ as a term which ‘evokes bushcraft, daring, defiance and freedom from convention, rather than crime or evil’ (1998, p.362), it is the flexible mix of these characteristics, and especially those which are confrontational that heighten the attractiveness of the bushranger for the popular imagination. In the special case of Ned Kelly Gammage has suggested that “Ned’s legend came to life because he offered more than bushranging … his courage and strength spoke for the frontier … in his daring and fatalism he chose both a short and merry life, and martyrdom … resistance more than crime … protests at injustice and hints at a republic in north-east Victoria” (1998, p.362).

In aggregate, and in general, these matters have given to and have sustained a level of interest in the story which contributes significantly to its appeal and tourism attraction. Although the Ned Kelly story refers to only a short-lived episode (less than thirty years) in the social and political development of Australia in the late decades of the nineteenth century, (see Figure 7.2, which compares the timeline of the Kelly period with selected events in Australia in that period) the impetus given to it by the activities of the principal character and his associates, and especially the sometimes oppressive responses to those activities by the prevailing agencies of government have bestowed on it a level of
appeal which is indicative of what is sometimes considered to be emblematic of Australian character – larrikinism, mateship, support for the 'underdog', antipathy towards arrogant government and land owners, and some suspicion towards the dictates of 'authorities'. Macgregor has summarized the situation as follows: "We have our own rogish myths and heroes that, in their unique way, befit the nation, reflecting perhaps our self-deprecating sense of humour" (2004, p.9); he considers that this might be construed as a surrogate for a nation’s history which lacks, for example, (a) revolutionary or civil wars (and their heroes), (b) a distinctive and prolonged intellectual and artistic history (which is a characteristic of European and Asian civilizations), (c) a procession of resolute leaders of political and social organizations, and (d) a sometimes ambivalent response to the indigenous contributions to the artistic, environmental, intellectual and social development of Australia (see, also, Veracini, 2007).

This Chapter now addresses the first of the three incremental steps referred to in an earlier paragraph.

CONTEXT: THE AUSTRALIAN CASE

This Section presents a summary and synoptic commentary on the contextual evidence of the folkloric story of Australia (with a focus exclusively on the period of Europeanization, since the arrival of James Cook in 1770). Firstly, there is an explanation of a number of important backgrounding issues which impact on the study of folkloric issues in the Australian context (7.2); secondly, there is a brief commentary on the treasure trove of folkloric resources in the story of Australia (7.3); and, thirdly, there is a contextual section which reviews some of Australia’s folk heroes, with the selection restricted to those whose principal contribution to Australia’s folkloric story has been because of their close association with rural and regional Australia (rather than urbanized Australia, and cities such as Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney) – this, after all, is one of the hallmarks of the bushranger fraternity, of which Ned Kelly was one of its exceptional members (7.4)

7.2 Some Background Issues.

Although there is a considerable body of literature which addresses the scope and content of folklore in the special case of Australia – some from general and others from specific perspectives (see, for example, Committee of Inquiry into Folklife in Australia, 1987; Conway, 1985; Davey and Seal, 1993; Davison, Hirst and Macintyre, 1998; King, 2009; MacDougall, 2008; Scott, 1976; Seal, 1998; Wannan, 1987) — Seal has commented that “folklore scholarship in Australia has been sporadic and almost totally non-institutionalized” (1998, p.14) (see also, the comment on this in the Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Folklife in Australia, 1987). This is particularly the circumstance for what may be referred to as 'European Australia'; in contrast, there has been a considerable expenditure of research energy on matters of anthropological interest in Aboriginal cultures. [Note: it is re-iterated here that the historical context for this study is of 'European Australia' in the nineteenth century. There is an extremely rich history and heritage of Aboriginal Australia; this has been neither explored nor incorporated into this study].

Some commentaries (see previous references) refer to the romanticism of early settler lifestyles and their interaction with (a) the harshness of the Australian outback
environment, (b) the political and social struggles of the Colonial and post-colonial periods, (c) convictism, and with (d) the European inheritance, all of which singly and in various combinations have contributed to the emergence of 'an' Australian identity. Those same commentators consider that the various interactions have generated 'good' storylines which have been manipulated, commodified and packaged for popular consumption in narrative, art, photographic, filmic, dramatic, entertainment and touristic forms (see, for example, Duthie, 2002; Huggan, 2002; Marsh, 2002; Tranter and Donoghue, 2010). One interpretation of this situation, by Veracini (2007), is that what becomes available for public consumption in, for example tourist attractions, is 'an impossible history', influenced by prejudices and driven by mythologies which elevate the status of some events and some participants in those events above the level of their real contribution. More generous interpretations of the same circumstances by, for example, Davison (2000), King (2009) and MacDougall (2008), acknowledge that "Australia's folklife constitutes a national resource of substantial economic significance ... an essential element in Australia's tourist appeal" (Committee of Inquiry into Folklife in Australia, 1987, pp.78), and that the scope of the national resources includes 'larger-than-life characters' who, whilst becoming embroiled in 'quirks of fate' become participants in 'great moments in Australian history' and exemplify 'the Australian qualities of rebellious courage, physical stamina and laconic humour' (see, especially, MacDougall, 2008; Stone, 1980, 1984; Wannan, 1970). In particular, King (2009) has re-focused some of the attention of folklore on the heroic character of Australia in his commentaries about selected great moments in Australian history; he includes Ned Kelly in his pantheon of 'larger-than-life' characters (see pp. 92-95). To the conventional historic records, some commentators on folklore include the legacies of, for example, ballads, humour, legends, lore and popular allusions, myths, phrases, rhymes, sayings, (folk) tales, and especially the colonial and old bush songs which seem to be in constant danger of being lost from the historic record.

In addition to the differential focus in the collections of folkloric resources, there are two other matters which need to be exposed at this time. Firstly, and in part derived from the lack of a resolute folkloric information-gathering agency in Australia, there are conspicuous discrepancies in the scope, content and geographical coverage of the inventories of folkloric resources. Secondly, the degree of access to and visibility and availability of these resources is impeded because, for example:

- they have been secreted into private ownership (and are seldom made available for public gaze, unless they are loaned to exhibitions);
- they have been inadequately documented;
- they have suffered from neglect, poor or even no conservation action (see a later reference to Ned Kelly's birthplace, and even the site of the final gun battle at Glenrowan);
- the actual site of an alleged event is disputed (such as the precise location of the Stringybark Creek engagement of the Kelly Gang and the police);
- and, they are geographically dispersed.

These various matters have attracted comment from Davey and Seal in their brief commentary on the documentation of Australian folklore (2003, pp. 6-15), from Ryan (1998) in his comparison of the status of folklore studies in Australia with Scandinavia, Celtic regions and America (USA), and from Seal (1998).

For the purposes of 'fitting' the various folkloric resources to the analytical framework (see later), the selected categories are composed of matters which are linked to the folk hero story by their 'association' rather than because of their intrinsic characteristics and qualities.

7.3 The treasure trove of Australian Folklore
Seal (1998), in his synoptic treatment of folklore in general and the study of Australian folklore in particular, refers to both as 'hidden culture' (p.13), and comments specifically about "the death of knowledge about historical aspects of our [i.e., Australian] folklore" (p.15). Even so, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Folklore in Australia (1987), Davey and Seal (1993), Stone (1984) and Wannan (1987), and the more general Oxford Companion to Australian History (1998, edited by Davison, Hirst and Macintyre) have delved into the treasure trove of Australian history to expose a range of elements which are considered to be evidence of distinctive Australian folklore. A brief commentary is offered here about some of the distinguishing characteristics of folklore in the Australian context.

**Treasure trove of Australian folkloric resources**

Embedded in the spectrum of Australian folkloric resources are artifacts, behaviour and beliefs, building styles, ceremonies and customs, handicrafts, language, music styles, performance styles, stories and literary forms, tools, and traditions which have their origins in one or more European homelands. As the immigrants (some voluntary, others coerced) settled into various parts of Australia they had to adapt those various resources to the peculiarities of the Australian environment and its emerging economic, political and social circumstances. Blainey (1984; 2006), Ryan (2005) and others have referred to the inevitable adjustments of the settler and pioneering communities, and to the responses of the early generations of immigrants to the need to improvise, or to 'import' design or construction solutions from their countries of origin to the problems they encountered. Most commentaries suggest that (a) the material landscape of settlement, farming and mining, (b) the cultural landscape of art, language, literature and performance, (c) the socio-political agencies of government and administration, and (d) the economic expressions of industrial relations, entrepreneurship and business were crafted partly through the transposition of 'systems' which were remembered from origin countries and partly from ongoing experimentalism. The treasure trove of folkloric resources, in both tangible and intangible forms, has been reported as being not necessarily exclusively Australian, but most likely an amalgam and accumulation of the resource forms which reflect the experience of origin countries (especially, but not only from Anglo-Celtic regions), and the adjustments necessary to meet the challenges of detached colonial, frontier and pioneer communities (Seal, 1998).

The Committee of Inquiry into Folklore in Australia (1987) reported on what it referred to as "the unique cultural inheritance of the Australian people ... [and its expression] of our identity, and sense of community" (p.5), commenting that even if much of the treasure trove of what could be claimed as Australian folklore and folklife had been imported into Australia from overseas by waves of immigrants, it would be unlikely that the influence of the local cultural, physical and social environments would have been escaped. A few examples are considered here. For example, in the case of language, the Report of that Inquiry suggested that what has emerged since the eighteenth century has been "a unique variety of English, rich in idiom and vocabulary and possessing distinctive sounds and intonation" (1987, p.5), and The Macquarie Dictionary refers to this as 'Australian English'. In addition to the special inventions which have Australian origins, the treasure trove of Australian folklore includes what Seal (1998) has referred to as 'a unique folk art form' of folk narratives including 'folk poetry', 'broadside ballads', and 'bush ballads'; foremost amongst the practitioners of these art forms were Banjo Paterson, Henry Lawson and C J Dennis (see McKenry, in Davey and Seal, 1993, pp. 144-153). The Australian folkloric heritage includes various forms of artworks, including, for example, decorative fabric-making (quilts, tapestries), primitive furniture, shell-work, and conventional sketches, watercolours and pastel drawing for which the Heidelberg School of landscape impressionism (McCubbin, Roberts and Streeton) and Sidney Nolan were amongst the foremost artists. There is a *prima facie* case that Australia is responsible for a peculiar form of 'football' – Australian Rules football – 'invented' in the
late 1850s; it is similar in some ways to Gaelic (Irish) football. The ‘story’ of this football code has attracted an extensive volume of folk literature in many forms (see, for example, Blainey, 2010; Sandercock, and Turner 1981), and it is symptomatic of the Australian fascination with sports (see, Oxford Companion to Australian Sport, 1994).

Of particular relevance to this study, however, is the treasure trove of Australian folk heroes.

7.4 Treasure trove of Australian folk heroes.

Embedded in many of the interpretations of the Colonial and post-Colonial periods of the history of Australia is conspicuous ambivalence to even the notion of the folk hero (see Davey and Seal, 1993, p.130; see also Veracini’s commentary on the ‘problem’ of constructing a history of Australian heroes, 2007), and some commentators have suggested that the conventional warrior-hero was not part of Australian history until the new nation became involved heroically in some of the European and Asian theatres of war in the twentieth century (Davison, 1998, p.310). One temporary outcome of this was the resort of immigrants and settlers to adopt the military and explorer hero-icons of their European homelands as their ‘national’ heroes. As the Australian community began to identify some of its own as meeting the heroic ideal – courage, daring, nationalism (or regionalism), and confrontations with potentially prejudicial economic environmental, political and social circumstances – especially during the phases of Colonial administration, hero-types emerged from the ranks of the explorers and settler-pioneers, to be joined later in the pantheon of heroes by few statesmen but many who challenged the authority of government and its supporters (i.e., the bushrangers), and by sportspeople.

Despite the reservations of Veracini (2007), accounts of folk heroes, heroines, ‘legends’, ‘famous Australians’ and even ‘notorious Australians’ are not scarce (see, for example, Creswell, 2008; Davey and Seal, 1993; Davison, 2000; Simpkin, 2005; see also entries about particular heroes in, for example, Davison, Hirst and Macintyre, 1998; King, 2009; Stone, 1984; Wannan, 1987), but there is a distinct lack of consistency in the criteria used to select them, and the nature and scope of stories told about them. For example, the sub-title to Creswell’s anthology is ‘the mad, the bad and the dangerous’, and he has compiled brief stories (rather than biographies) about more than one hundred ‘notorious Australians’ with most of his characters being rebellious about and leading a struggle against ‘something’. He considers that many of Australia’s early heroes were bushrangers, “archetypes of early Australia” (2008, p.3).

"Explorers became the conventional heroes of colonial Australia" (Davison, Hirst and Macintyre, 1998, p.310), with the heroic journeys of some of the explorers (such as Burke and Wills, Hume and Howell, Leichhardt, Mitchell, Stuart, Sturt and others) attracting iconic status whether or not their expeditions were successful, in part because they were interpreted as examples of the colonizing spirit of an Empire (Cathcart, 1998). It was not until the exploits in the twentieth century associated with the ANZAC legend and the battle at Gallipoli (1915), that the stories of ‘home grown’ heroism absorbed public attention (with the actions of, for example, Monash, Simpson and his donkey in World War 1; ‘Weary’ Dunlop in World War 2). Although in some countries statesmen have been recognized as heroes because of their prosecution of policies for economic and social improvement, the Australian case is of politicians who have enjoyed mainly only a short term of hero-like status (such as Cairns, Curtin, Menzies, and Whitlam) with few sustaining that status after they have left political office. Blainey (1994) has suggested that Australia might have been the first nation to witness the rise of the sporting hero, with cricketers, footballers and jockeys at least attracting sustained public recognition and acclaim.
Davison’s observation is that one of the characteristics of Australians is their ‘healthy skepticism’ towards great men, and he cites the comment of the historian Fitzpatrick that “The Australian people made heroes of none, and raised no idols, except perhaps an outlaw, Ned Kelly, and Carbine, a horse” (1998, p.311).

Bushrangers.

There is an extensive literature on the phenomenon of bushranging in Australia (see, for example, Boxall, 1988; Coupe, 1998; Mendham, 1975; White, 1979; see also entries in Davey and Seal, 1993, pp. 58-61; Davison et al, 1998, pp.101-103; Seal, 1996, Chapter 5). Seal’s commentary is particularly informative:

“Bushranging, particularly the folklore associated with it, is important in Australian history, both because of the very real threat it often posed to social order and because one particular bushranger [Ned Kelly] has attained the status of a national hero. Only a select few of the thousands of bushrangers in Australia’s past have become folk heroes. Most were mere criminals, driven to their acts by hardship, cruelty or plain stupidity. Those who did become heroes, however, sometimes despite themselves, were usually seen by those who celebrated them as representatives of a legitimate grievance or grievances against the government, the police and the economic powers of the day ... [but, they were also] a very real threat to the forces of law and order in the very thin ‘civilization’ of nineteenth-century Australia” (1993, p.58).

Literally, a ‘bushranger’ was someone who ranged the bush or outback; some were escaped convicts, others were escaping from oppression and injustice by the police and judiciary, and others were the Australian version of highwaymen and social bandits. Coupe (1998) has suggested that it – Australian bushranging – was probably an inevitable outcome of (a) the continuous disputes between squatters and settlers, (b) the freedom to roam across sparsely-settled countryside to escape capture and prosecution from weak government agencies, (c) the opportunities to ‘bait’ the rural police force with daring robberies, (d) the ready access to stolen goods and horses (a by-product of thieving on the goldfields), and (e) the kinship bonding (especially amongst the Irish) which strained the interactions between government agencies and local communities (even though, as in the Ned Kelly case, many of the police involved in the various episodes had Irish ancestry).

Many of the bushranging fraternity have become so intertwined with folklore and folk stories that it was almost inevitable that their lives and activities would become such important components of Australian history, whether their stories have historical credibility or whether they have been mythologized in the process of popular transmission since their deaths (see the consideration of this matter in Chapter 3, Section 3.15), or whether they are featured in ‘official’ records or in ballads, songs, poems and other folk narrative forms which tell the stories of the cultural, economic, political and social struggles which dominated the growth of Australian individualism in the nineteenth century. Mendham’s Dictionary of Australian Bushrangers (1975) lists almost five hundred bushrangers whose activities have been ‘officially’ recorded, principally because of their confrontation with government agencies (including, for example, Donohue, Dan Morgan, Ben Hall, Ned Kelly, Harry Power, ‘Captain Melville’, ‘Captain Moonlight, and ‘Captain Thunderbolt’ – with most from New South Wales and Victoria).

The Ned Kelly story might not be typical of the fraternity of bushrangers, but it is generally presented as “a compelling example of the potency of the outlaw hero tradition ... [and Ned Kelly] is now the closest thing Australia has to a national hero” (Seal, 1996, p.145)
THE CASE STUDY: THE NED KELLY STORY

This Section focuses attention exclusively on the story of Ned Kelly and its (re)presentation as a heritage-based tourism resource.

In an introductory brief commentary (7.5) there is a summary statement about the life and times of Ned Kelly. It is not intended to be and neither should it be construed as anything more than setting the scene for the interpretations which follow in this Chapter and in two of the three interpretations set out in this Chapter. There is a vast resource of ‘texts’ (in many forms of (re)presentation, including film) on Ned Kelly, with degrees of interpretation which range across a spectrum from the fanciful and largely fictitious to the factual, credible and largely authentic (see McDonald’s (2004) annotated bibliography of almost 800 items); and, just as with the circumstances here – where Ned Kelly is used as a case study to match evidence against a purpose-designed analytical framework – this nineteenth century Australian has been used as a case study in many overviews of various aspects of the emergence of Australia as a nation.

The Ned Kelly story as reported here merely highlights some of the important issues which have an intrinsic importance for the unfolding story. Brief concluding paragraphs then identify some of the principal and supplementary symbols of the Kelly story; this, then, becomes the prelude to the Analysis and Interpretation sections.

7.5 The core of the Ned Kelly story

The ‘life and times’ of Ned Kelly have been

"memorialized by painters, writers, musicians and filmmakers ... More books, songs and websites have been written about Ned Kelly and the Kelly Gang than any other group of Australian historical figures”


Evidence of the ongoing attention to the Ned Kelly story includes, for example:

- a comprehensive conventional annotated bibliography by McDonald (2004 - What they said about Ned !);
- a series of papers by Tranter and Donohue (2003 and later) which tell the story of Ned Kelly and set it into the context of the operations of bushrangers, and also link interpretations of the actions of Kelly to the often-referenced identity of Australians;
- the various static and travelling exhibitions and displays of Kelly-linked items, such as:
  - the continuing exhibition in the State Library of Victoria, Melbourne;
  - the display of the Sidney Nolan Ned Kelly series of paintings – based at the National Gallery in Canberra, but with occasional presentations in major Australian cities;
- the continuing exhibition in the Victoria Police Museum, Melbourne;
- the recent display of all four suits of armour the Kelly Gang at a recent (2010) Ned Kelly celebratory week-end at Beechworth;
- the current (2011) exhibition in Canberra of the influence of the Irish on Australian cultural development;
- a succession of filmic interpretations (beginning in 1906, with the most recent in 2003);

[Note: Among the primary sources used for this Section were Brown (2005 version), Castles, A and J, (2005), Corfield (2003), Dunstan (1980), Jones (1995 and 2008 versions), McMenomy (2001 version), Molony (2001 version). There is an almost inevitable degree of repetition across these sources, and others; some later works use the earliest versions of these as ‘quarries’, not always with insightful and illuminating interpretations and commentaries].

The Story Timeline

The timeframe for the Ned Kelly story extends over the period 1854/1855 (there is continuing uncertainty about the exact birthdate) to his execution in November 1880. That period of 25 years was not consistently remarkable; it is the episodes which contribute to what is generally referred to as ‘the Kelly Outbreak’ (1878-1880), which gave rise to what has been described as “one of the richest and most controversial chapters of Australian history” (Jones’ introductory observation to Corfield, 2003, at p. xi) (see also Figure 7.2).

In his account of the Ned Kelly story, Jones (1995, 2008 – Ned Kelly: a short life) uses five chapters to discuss the period from birth to 1877, and then seventeen chapters to examine the circumstances of ‘the Kelly Outbreak’; Brown (1948 and later – Australian Son) spends the first eight chapters setting the scene and discussing the early years, and then 32 chapters commenting on the period 1878 to 1880; in contrast, McQuilton (1979) devotes his entire study to the period of the ‘Kelly Outbreak’, and the father and daughter writing team of Alex and Jennifer Castles (2005) focus on the final 137 days of Kelly’s life. Commonly, the brief commentaries differentiate

- the early phase comprising a number of episodes which are minor in the context of what was to follow (up to and including 1877);
- a phase of one major episode which sets in motion the ‘Kelly Outbreak’, usually referred to as the ‘Fitzpatrick Incident’ (April, 1878);
- the phase of peak action – ‘the Kelly Outbreak’ – which with a police party at Stringybark Creek, and culminating in the siege at Glenrowan, the trial of Ned Kelly, and his execution in Melbourne (and the Castles’ focus on the period after the Glenrowan siege).

The early phase.

In the earliest phases Ned Kelly’s parents (John and Ellen) married in 1850 and set up their home at Beveridge. John Kelly had been transported from Ireland to serve a seven-year sentence in Van Diemen’s Land in 1841; that was also the year that Ellen Kelly (nee Quinn) had moved with her family from Ireland to Melbourne. The first Kelly family home was at Beveridge, where Edward ‘Ned’ Kelly was born in December 1854 (although there is some uncertainty about the exact date of his birth). In 1860 the family moved from Beveridge to Avenal, and later, following the death of his father (in 1866) the family moved to Eleven Mile Creek near Greta to be near his mother’s relatives. It was during the decade of the 1860s that many of the Kelly family’s members and relatives became involved in what are generally considered to be the conventional activities of bushrangers and their families – cattle stealing, illegal possession, using abusive and threatening language, arson, robbery and assault, confrontations with the
1841, John Kelly (NK's father) convicted, sent to van Diemen's Land; arrived 1842; released 1845; granted freedom 1848; met and married Ellen Quinn, 1850; first child, Mary, born 1851; family settle at Beveridge; Anne born, 1853

| 1855 to 1860 | 1855 NK born, Beveridge 1860, Kelly family move to Avenal |
| 1861 to 1865 | 1866, NK saves boy from drowning, Avenal; NK father dies, buried at Avenal; 1867, family moves to Eleven Mile Creek, Greta; NK becomes 'apprenticed' to bushranger Harry Power; 1869, NK acquitted of assault, robbery; 1870, NK imprisoned for assault and lewd behaviour |
| 1866 to 1870 | 1871, NK released from gaol; sentenced to 3 years for horse stealing; 1874, released, wins bare-knuckle fight in Beechworth; works on railway track construction and at sawmill |
| 1871 to 1875 | 1877, NK fined for being drunk, disorderly in Benalla; 1878, arrest warrant for NK for horse stealing; Fitzpatrick episodes; NK and brother retreat to Wombat Ranges; police sent from Mansfield to track Kelly 'gang'; Stringy Bark Creek episode; reward placed on Kelly 'gang'; members declared 'outlaws'; police and military sent to protect banks in NE Victoria towns; Euroa bank raided; Cameron letter; 1879, arrest and gaoling of Kelly sympathisers; Jerilderie episode; Jerilderie letter; 1880; various sightings of Kelly 'gang'; memorial to police in Mansfield; siege at Glenrowan; NK captured, taken to Benalla, transferred to Melbourne, transferred to Beechworth for preliminary trial, transferred to Melbourne for Supreme Court trial; NK convicted, hanged November 11. |

Selected Australian events:

1851, Victoria secedes from New South Wales; 1853, University of Melbourne founded; Cobb and Co start operations; 1854, Eureka Stockade, Victorian Gold Rush; 1855, Victorian self-government; 1855, telegraph links Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney; first Victorian Rules game;

1860, Nicholson Land Act (Victoria); 1861, Burke and Wills expedition; National Gallery of Victoria founded; first Melbourne Cup; 1862, Stuart's cross-continental expedition; 1864, first rugby union game; 1868, end of transport of convicts to Australia; 1869, (land) Grant Act;

1872, Overland telegraph, Darwin to Adelaide; 1877, first cricket 'test' match Australia v England; 1878, Longmore Act (Victoria); Felons Apprehension Act; 1879, first Australian TUC; Royal National Park (Sydney) gazetted

1880, opening of Exhibition Bulding; 1883, first train service Melbourne-Sydney

**Figure 7.2**

**TIMELINE**
The frequent confrontations with the police and judiciary contributed to the ongoing distrust and dislike by the bushrangers of the police, and by the police for the bushrangers, and to the general contempt of many living in the rural areas towards the 'authorities' whose power base was in Melbourne. One episode from this period is marked in the Kelly story by a token of gratitude – a green silk sash – given to Ned Kelly by the Sheldon family for rescuing their son who had fallen into a creek in Avenal (assumed to be in August, 1865); this item, reportedly a treasured possession of Kelly, has become a significant trophy of 'Kellyana', not least because it was worn during the Glenrowan siege.

The later years of this phase have been reported as including the increasing involvement of Ned Kelly in activities which were the trademarks of the bushranging fraternity – robbery and assault, horse and cattle stealing. Historians record Ned Kelly as being apprenticed to the bushranger Harry Power from whom he learnt bush survival skills. A sequence of arrests for assault, for being a bushranger's accomplice in robberies, and for being in possession of stolen goods and animals extended through most of the decade of the 1860s, with some convictions and periods of imprisonment forging a combative reputation for Ned Kelly and especially of his confrontations with local police and judiciary; the Kelly family members believed that they were the victims of police persecution, and this sentiment was shared by other settlers in the region some of whom would be later identified by the police as 'Kelly sympathizers' (see, for example, Balcarek and Dean, 1995, Chapter 23; Corfield, 2003, p.464; Jones, 2008, Chapter 15 in passim). For most of the early years of the 1870s, and after his release from Pentridge (Melbourne) gaol, Ned Kelly worked on the construction of the Beechworth railway, and as a contractor for local timber mills; he was engaged in twenty-round fight in Beechworth, and was declared as the unofficial bare-knuckle heavy weight boxing champion. When the timber mill closed (in 1876) Kelly resorted to his previous bush ranging activities; he was fined for being disorderly and fighting with the police, and later charged with horse-stealing, and it was these confrontations with the police which led into the 'Fitzpatrick Incident' and on to 'the Kelly Outbreak'.

'The Fitzpatrick Incident'

This has been described as the pivotal event that turned Ned Kelly from a 'petty criminal' into a 'dangerous one' and by legal definition into an outlaw (The Felons Apprehension Act, 1878, Clause 3). There are some facts not in dispute, but it was the different interpretations placed upon the events which generated the antipathy between the Kelly family and the police in general and Constable Fitzpatrick in particular (see, especially Brown, 2005 version, Chapter 9; the brief note in Corfield, 2003, pp. 163-166; Jones, 2008, Chapter 7). Fitzpatrick’s call at the Kelly home to arrest Dan Kelly set in train a series of escalating events in which (a) the constable alleged that Ellen Kelly (Ned’s mother) had attempted to murder him with a spade and that she was aided by two neighbours, (b) that there was an altercation between the constable and Dan Kelly, (c) that a pistol was fired (with the Kellys claiming it was a warning shot, and Fitzpatrick claiming it was aimed at killing him), and (d) the constable left the Kelly home with an injured wrist. The outcome was that Ellen Kelly and the two neighbours were arrested for attempted murder, and were convicted (by Sir Redmond Barry who was later to preside at the trial of Ned Kelly) and imprisoned, and rewards were offered for the apprehension of Ned and Dan Kelly. The two brothers escaped into the Wombat Ranges, where they were later joined by Joe Byrne and Steve Hart – leading to the ‘birth’ of the Kelly Gang and the onset of ‘Kelly Outbreak’.

'The Kelly Outbreak'

Events escalated from this point, leading inexorably to a final confrontation between the Kelly Gang and the police, and to the creation of the most well-known episodes of the
Ned Kelly story. This final phase of the story, from October 1878 to November 1880, is composed of three readily distinguishable episodes:

- Firstly, the gunfight at Stringybark Creek (October 1878), involving the shooting deaths of three policemen by members of the Kelly Gang; and following that the proclamation of a government reward, and the declaration of the Kelly Gang members as ‘outlaws’ (November, 1878);

- Secondly, a four-phase episode – (1) the robbery of Euroa Bank (December, 1878), (2) the posting of the ‘Cameron’ letter (also December, 1878), (3) the arrest of Kelly friends and sympathisers (January 1879), and (4) the bank robbery at Jerilderie and the composition and sending of the Jerilderie Letter (February, 1879);

- And thirdly, the Glenrowan Siege – the death of Joe Byrne, Dan Kelly, Steve Hart in the gun battle, and the capture of Ned Kelly (June, 1880); then a sequence of steps including Kelly transferred to the Benalla lock-up, then transferred to Melbourne Gaol, then transported for a preliminary hearing at Beechworth Courthouse and then transfer back to Melbourne (August); the trial took place (October) at Melbourne Supreme Court; and the culminating event was the hanging of Kelly in Melbourne Gaol (November).

In the first of these three episodes, a party of constables who were sent from Mansfield to track and arrest Ned Kelly and his brother Dan for the attempted murder of Fitzpatrick, had set up camp at Stringybark Creek in the Wombat Ranges. A two phase gunfight took place on 26th October at the camp site during which three constables (Kennedy, Lonigan, and Scanlan) were shot dead, and one (McIntyre) escaped to Mansfield to report the incident. Later tracking groups failed to find Ned and Dan Kelly, Steve Hart and Joe Byrne. This group of four went further into the Wombat and Warby Ranges to evade capture; in the meantime, the Victorian Government proclaimed the four men to be murderers, declared them to be outlaws as defined in The Felons Apprehension Act, 1878, posted a reward for the capture of each of the men, and from that time referred to the four as the Kelly Gang (15th November) (see especially, Brown, 2005 version, Chapters 11 and 12; Corfield, 2003, pp. 460-462; Jones, 2008 Chapters 9 to 11).

Faced with the inevitable pursuit by the Victorian police force, the Kelly Gang used their bush skills and, with the help of sympathizers, evaded capture for eighteen months. In that period four episodes, which would prove to be important to the unfolding story, took place. The Kelly Gang ‘took possession’ of a sheep station at Faithfull’s Creek near Euroa, and it was from here that the foursome launched their successful raid on the Euroa Bank (10th December). At the time of this event Ned Kelly had prepared a letter – commonly referred to as the ‘Cameron Letter’, principally because it was sent to a Victorian parliamentarian Donald Cameron – to put on record his interpretation of recent incidents involving the police, and his claims of the injustice and unfair treatment meted out to him and his family members; he signed the letter ‘a forced outlaw’. (see a full transcript of the letter in Brown, 2005 version, pp. 272-278; Corfield, 2003, pp. 91-95). This became one of the two important documents which set out Kelly’s position on a number of issues about the police, the judiciary and the way in which Victoria was being governed. As part of the police strategy to trap Kelly and his gang, a process of arresting and detaining known and suspected Kelly sympathizers was pursued through January 1879 so as to limit the transfer of information to Kelly (by means of the ‘bush telegraph’) and to restrict the support base from which he and the other three members of the gang could draw necessary supplies. In the following month (February) the Kelly Gang robbed a bank at Jerilderie (across the border in southern New South Wales). At this time Kelly, assisted by Joe Byrne, composed what has come to be known as the ‘Jerilderie Letter’; sometimes described as Kelly’s ‘manifesto’, it offered a broad explanation of Kelly’s attitude to the circumstances prevailing in the north-east region of Victoria, especially for the Irish settlers, and included a suggestion about the formation

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of a separate state for that region. Kelly’s intention was to have the ‘letter’ published as a pamphlet for public consideration; however, that was not achieved and full disclosure of its content was selective and spasmodic in the period between when it was written and Ned Kelly’s trial. (A full transcript can be found in Brown, 2005 version, pp. 279-294; Corfield, 2003, pp. 237-246).

There are few records of engagements of members of the Kelly Gang with the police or even local communities and sympathizers for a period of almost eighteen months after the Jerilderie bank hold-up, even though the Victorian police recruited Aboriginal trackers and increased the reward for the capture of any members of the Gang. However, this period of relative calm was shattered and the momentum of the ‘Kelly Outbreak’ increased with the murder of Aaron Sherritt, a friend of Joe Byrne, who had become a police informer, and this ushered in a period of just four days in June 1880 (26th to 29th) which have become the principal catalyst for the profile of the Ned Kelly legend – the ‘last stand’ at the Glenrowan siege.

Having taken hostages in the Glenrowan Hotel it was the Kelly Gang’s intention to derail a train bringing police reinforcements before it reached Glenrowan. This plan was frustrated when one of the captured hostages left the hotel and warned the oncoming train. The police troopers left the train, surrounded and laid siege to the hotel. It was during this gun fight that the armour which has become symbolic of the ‘Kelly Outbreak’ was used by the four gang members. Of the four gang members, Joe Byrne, Steve Hart and Dan Kelly were fatally wounded during the siege, and to expedite closure to the siege, the police set a fire which led to the full destruction of the hotel. Ned Kelly engaged the police in a skirmish before succumbing to wounds which disabled him; he was captured, arrested and charged with the murder of one of the constables at Stringybark Creek. The whole episode at Glenrowan lasted little more than 24 hours, but it has attracted many interpretations and re-enactments. After his capture, Ned Kelly was taken to a temporary holding cell at Benalla before being transported to Melbourne for arraignment (July); he was returned to Beechworth Courthouse in August for a preliminary hearing, and then transported back to Melbourne for trial in the Supreme Court (October 28th and 29th) where he was found guilty of the murder of Constable Lonigan and sentenced to death by hanging. Despite a petition allegedly signed by more than 30,000 people, Kelly’s execution took place on 11th November, 1880.

Events in the immediate aftermath of the execution have added to the legacy of the ‘Kelly Outbreak’. The presiding judge, Sir Redmond Barry died (from natural causes) just twelve days after the hanging of Kelly (for commentaries on the life and times of Barry, see, for example, Cowen, 1980; Fricke, 2007; Galbally, 1995; Ryan, 1980). A Royal Commission of Inquiry was appointed in March 1881 to investigate the circumstances which contributed to the Kelly Outbreak, to the actions of the gang members, and to the conduct of the Victorian police throughout the episodes. Whilst not excusing or sanctioning the actions of the Gang, the Royal Commission conceded that the actions of the police were seriously flawed and recommended the reprimand, demotion and dismissal of some of the police involved, and as a consequence recommended changes to the police force in Victoria (see various accounts of the Royal Commission, its deliberations and recommendations in, for example, Brown, 2005 version, Chapter 41; Corfield, 2003, pp. 414-417; for the full transcript and the Second Progress Report, see Royal Commission, 1881).

Symbols of the Kelly Story

The symbols of the Ned Kelly story have been adopted and adapted to create the commodified product which has become the heritage-based focal point of the tourismification of the folk hero’s life and actions. Anecdotal evidence of touristic interest in the Ned Kelly story is of three principal types:
• firstly, interest in the 'real thing' gauged through, for example, the sale of non-fiction accounts of the events, attendances at exhibitions where particular artifacts (such as the suits of armour used at the Glenrowan siege) are displayed, and visits to sites of the Kelly actions (such as the Beveridge house, the Stringybark Creek site, and the site of the Glenrowan siege);
• secondly, attendances at public lectures where serious consideration is given to the details of the story and to re-enactments of some episodes of the story (such as the events which form parts of the annual Ned Kelly August week-end at Beechworth);
• and, thirdly, evidence of interpretations of the story through the commercial sale of souvenirs of diverse kinds (such as at the Melbourne Gaol, and at Glenrowan township), attendance at interpretive exhibitions (such as the Sidney Nolan Ned Kelly series of paintings), and the Ned Kelly films.

From these categories of evidence four principal symbols of the Kelly story can be isolated; these are:

- the symbolic armour, and especially the mask or helmet used by Ned Kelly at the Glenrowan siege;
- the Jerilderie and Cameron letters authored by Kelly;
- the sash awarded to Kelly by the father of the boy he saved from drowning at Avenal;
- the Kelly death mask.

To these primary items can be added such supplementary evidence as, for example:

- the derelict Beveridge house (undergoing occasional renovation);
- the Kelly tree at Stringybark Creek (even though the site of the original tree, and the site of the ambush are disputed);
- the site of the Glenrowan siege (now largely a cleared, undeveloped space);
- the temporary prison holding cells used for Kelly at Beechworth and Benalla;
- the courthouse at Beechworth;
- the sites of Kelly bank robberies (such as the redeveloped bank site at Euroa);
- and, the cells and execution place at Old Melbourne Gaol.

Whilst most of the tangible items – the 'things' – associated with the Kelly story have been conserved, the 'gaze' has not been so well-served with the conservation (and preservation) of the sites which are important to the integrity of the story. This matter is considered during the analysis and interpretation of the raw materials and resources in the next Section.

ANALYSIS and INTERPRETATION

Presented in this part of the Chapter will be evidence gathered from both desk and field research conducted intermittently and iteratively over the period 2008 to 2011. The empirical evidence, in its crude state – recorded to fit with the two basic methodological filters or referents of 'thinking geographically' and the 'gaze' – has been reconfigured here to meet the challenges presented in the analytical framework constructed progressively through Chapters 5 and 6.

7.6 Approach to the investigation
A detailed explanation of the approach taken to this study was given in Chapter 2 (especially in Sections 2.6, 2.8 and 2.9). An additional brief commentary here addresses the important influences on the transposition of the approach being taken to fit the circumstances created by the construction of the analytical framework.

The information-gathering process

Whilst basically systematic, the information-gathering process was extended and enriched by some sources and opportunities which were encountered almost serendipitously, and by the realization in the fieldwork exercises that information recorded in some of the published sources which were being relied upon was not always consistent with the on-site revelations.

In the preliminary phase, information-gathering was primarily a desk-based exercise with three purposes. One of these purposes was to isolate from the scope of heritage-based tourism resources a specific focus; eventually, the challenge from Pearce, Moscardo and Morrison (2003) to investigate the special nature of the folk hero was taken up. A second purpose was to sharpen the focus to a particular folk hero, and, for reasons explained at Section 7.1, Ned Kelly was selected for the case study. The third purpose was to find a suitable framework for investigating and analyzing the empirical data, and after marshaling two perspectives—‘thinking geographically’ and the ‘gaze’—and exploring a number of ‘scape’-based frameworks (Chapter 4), the challenge of van der Duim (2005) to construct a ‘scientific mode of ordering’ led to the adoption of the analytical framework form advocated by Ostrom (2009). Pursuing these three purposes underpinned a prolonged phase of desk-based research across various aspects of heritage and folklore, the history of Australia and eventually investigative frameworks.

Whereas the desk-based research continued throughout all the investigative phases, the field-based inspections were intermittent and influenced more by opportunity and seasonality than by a carefully constructed program of site visits; this was as true for visits to sites linked in some way with the activities of Ned Kelly as for visits to exhibitions, re-enactments and even to exhibitions and collections of commentaries about the Kelly story. As the information-gathering proceeded the information was most often coded by geography (by place and place/event association) and by its capacity to communicate meaning through a semiotic ‘gaze’.

As would be expected from site visits extending through a period of about three years, sites visited at an early phase sometimes were more revelatory in a later phase. For example, the Stringybark Creek site, which was so important to the chronological phase of the Kelly Outbreak, underwent significant remodeling in the period between site visits, with new interpretation panels and site reconstruction to recover from previous neglect and vandalism. Although the Kelly period (1855 to 1880) is not currently highlighted by a significant anniversary, there were occasions during the investigative phase when key materials were temporarily removed from their usual ‘home’ and relocated for a particular exhibition. An example of this was the bringing together of the separate suits of Kelly armour worn at the Glenrowan siege (usually held in three separate collections) for the Beechworth celebratory weekend (August 2010); this has been repeated for the 2011 exhibition in Canberra designed to celebrate the influence of the Irish on Australia.

Structure of the Analysis and Interpretation (Figure 7.3)

As a preamble to the analysis and interpretation of the empirical evidence, three matters need to be explained; these are:

- firstly, how the general and over-arching issues are to be covered;
GENERAL OVER-ARCHING ISSUES and CONTEXTS [Section 7.7]

1: Historical
2: Modern: Public policy and planning measures; Commodification; Public Interest

LOCATION [Section 7.8]

INFORMATION BASE [Sections 7.9, 7.10, 7.11]

Characteristics:
- Distinctiveness - "physical and material reality'';
- Components associated with the story and the folk hero

Sites, places and buildings [Section 7.9]
- where it is, how it is arranged, what it is like, quantity
- where the folk hero's activities took place - birthplace, residence, activities, court appearances, gaol, execution/death, monuments, memorials

'Texts', things [Section 7.10]
- what it is, how accurate, what scope and scale; communication of the story
- artifacts, tools; 'official' records, personal records

Events
- activities of the folk hero; linked events;

Presentation, (re)presentation
- narrative forms, art forms, performance forms; monuments, memorials; re-enactments; symbols, replicas

People [Section 7.11]
- members of the folk hero's family; anyone involved in any way with the folk hero's activities; other contemporary folk heroes

Figure 7.3
COMPONENTS of ANALYSIS and INTERPRETATION
• secondly, how the evidence of the geographical and ‘gaze’ interpretations is to be presented;
• and, thirdly, how this focused study can contribute more generally to realizing the contribution which folk hero studies can make to heritage-based tourism.

The structuring of the first two matters is the outcome of adapting and synthesizing the formats which underpin the three ‘scape’ formulations which have been influential throughout this study – van der Duim’s (2005) ‘tourismscape, in which he used actor-network theory to construct what he referred to as a ‘scientific mode of ordering’ the inputs to and analysis of the various interactions in the tourism system; Jacob’s (2006) ‘powerscape’, in which he drew attention to the influences on the conversion of ‘physical and material reality’ into ‘touristed landscapes’; and Garden’s (2004) ‘heritagescape’, in which she formulated a means of capturing the details of sites so as to reveal their heritage potential.

In the case of the third matter, a continuing element of this study has been working towards meeting the challenge of the proposition that ‘dead men do tell tales’, and, in so doing, to reveal how the story of a folk hero may contribute to an improved understanding of the history and heritage, and to the construction of heritage-based tourism attractions. This is addressed briefly in this Section and at various stages in Sections 7.7 and 7.8, and it forms an important element in the concluding assessment in Chapter 8 of the value of folk hero studies.

General and over-arching issues (Section 7.7) ‘Tourismscape’ is probably the most general of the three ‘scape’ forms, and it has been adapted here to provide the overarching framework within which attention can be directed subsequently to the more place-specific issues. Approaching the analysis in this way provides the rationale for separating the general and contextual issues from the other components of the structure of the analytical framework which emerged in the final phase of the synthesis in Chapter 6. The implication and impact of this – isolating the contextual issues – is that a separate Section (7.7) focuses attention on the broad scope of economic, environmental, political and social matters which underpinned the circumstances of the bush ranging activities in the State of Victoria during the second half of nineteenth century Australia, and especially those which influenced the actions of Ned Kelly. These were important at the time, not least because of their influence on (a) the physical landscape (the size and disposition of land holdings), (b) the actions of government and especially the judiciary and police towards the bush ranging fraternity, and (c) the creation of symbols to which popular attention became almost transfixed. Many of these contextual issues are readily interpretable within the portfolio of matters which underpin the rationalization of Jacob’s ‘powerscape’. It is because of the generality of these matters across the territory which provided the platform for the Kelly actions that they have been extracted from the ensuing site-by-site analyses of the principal places in the Kelly story which dominates the subsequent Section (7.8).

In addition to the contextual issues which were generally pervasive across the State of Victoria at the time of the Kelly activities, consideration is given in Section 7.7 to ‘powerscape’ issues which are prevalent in the modern (current) period. There is a general commentary about the influences of, for example, public policies, and state-wide and local planning and development codes, on the presentation of the Kelly story. Where appropriate, at the site assessment phase (reported in Section 7.8) the particular impact of any of these modern influences on the presentation of the Kelly story will be disclosed.

Site and place-specific issues (Section 7.8). Following the consideration of the general empirical contextual issues, the remainder of the analysis focuses on the more detailed site-specific matters, using the basic approach to heritage site assessment
advocated in the 'heritagescape' framework. Even that approach (Garden, 2004) has been adapted for the purposes of this study, so that it is inclusive of the site and place specificity of Garden’s original formulation, and adopts the remaining items from the final phase of the framework constructed in Chapter 6. Thus, this Section addresses all five of the site and place specific issues – people, places, ‘texts’ and things, events and forms of (re)presentation.

In every case, the empirical evidence which is considered here is defined by the contribution it makes to the telling of the Ned Kelly story, so that the people, places, ‘texts’, events and presentations are all associated in some way with the telling of that story.

A few examples may clarify this inseparable linkage. Among the people to be referenced will be members of the Kelly family and those who later became members of the Kelly Gang, other bushrangers, policemen who became integral elements of the story, the judge who presided at the Kelly trial (Sir Redmond Barry), and people on whom Kelly relied for cooperation during his various activities. Most attention is conventionally directed specifically to the sites and places of particular actions in the Kelly story, such as, Beechworth, Glenrowan and Jerilderie. However, there are other locations which have some importance in the story even though they are not always accorded attention commensurate with their contribution to the story; these places include, for example, Harry Power’s look-out, some of the rural sites used by the Kelly Gang in their escapes after bank robberies, the site of the intended train derailment at Glenrowan, and Sebastopol. In the Kelly story, the most readily recognized ‘texts’, things and objects are the armour, the guns, the Avenal sash, the personal diaries and letters, the ‘official’ records and documents, all of which in some way make a direct contribution to the story. Recent excavations (2008) have discovered physical evidence of materials used at the Glenrowan siege, including, for example, bullets and remnants of the hotel in which the Kelly Gang sheltered. Whereas the dates of the various principal actions in the Kelly drama (including the Stringybark ambush, the Glenrowan siege, the Beechworth court appearance, the execution) are well-documented, there are complementary actions involving members of the Kelly family, the enactment of legislation to facilitate the capture and trial of the Kelly Gang members, the conduct of inquiries into the Kelly Outbreak, and the funerals and memorialization of the policemen killed at Stringybark Creek. The annual Kelly week-end is celebrated in Beechworth in August, coincident in time with the preliminary Kelly trial presided over by Sir Redmond Barry. Finally, there are (re)presentations of the Kelly story, either in full or in selected episodes, in exhibitions in Benalla (the Avenal sash, and a Sidney Nolan interpretive tapestry), in re-enactments at the Beechworth Kelly week-end, in Nolan’s Kelly series of paintings at the Australian National Gallery (Canberra), and the Kelly death mask (in Beechworth).

Presentation of the empirical evidence

The empirical evidence has been recorded firstly as a suite of commentaries (Sections 7.7 to 7.10) and as a series of annotated diagrams (Figures 7.4 – see the Notes, at the end of this paragraph). Each of the Figures in the series has been structured as follows:

• by location – responding to the influence of the geographical referent;
• by visibility – ‘the physical and material reality’, responding to the influence of the ‘gaze’;
• by association with the Kelly story in terms of people, places, ‘texts’, events and (re)presentations, responding to the Phase 3 elements of the analytical framework (Chapter 6).

[Notes:}
1. The brief commentaries and the Figures have been designed to be complementary.
2. Both need to be read for the full impact of the empirical evidence to be appreciated and understood.
3. So that the text is not interrupted by this set of Figures, they are presented as an Appendix at the conclusion of this Chapter – and before the commencement of Chapter 8.

Before engagement with the detailed and site-specific evidence, the next Section (7.7) addresses the two levels of contextual evidence; the first ‘level’ focuses on considering the broad scope of economic, environmental, political and social matters which underpinned and influenced the circumstances of the bushranging activities in the State of Victoria during the second half of nineteenth century Australia, and the second ‘level’ concentrates attention on the ‘powerscape’ contextual issues (such as public polices, plans, conservation and development codes) which are prevalent in the modern (current) period.

7.7 General Contextual Issues

A previous comment (in 7.6) referred to two phases of context, one of which is contemporary with the actions of Ned Kelly, and the second which explains the current ‘powerscape’ and its influence on the telling of the Ned Kelly story. Both of these phases are considered briefly here, not only because of their intrinsic relevance to the unfolding story of Ned Kelly, but also because they are generally indicative of the broad context of history, heritage and folklore which can follow from the study of a folk hero, and which can become integral components of the stories exposed through heritage-based tourism. This matter is addressed further in Chapter 8.

The historical context

As the brief commentary on the Ned Kelly story has unfolded there have been passing references to some of the underlying issues which contributed to the general malaise and social unrest in the State of Victoria, and specifically to the circumstances which influenced the particular actions of Ned Kelly. These various issues have been addressed, sometimes at great length, in general overviews (including, for example, Blainey, 2006; Inglis, 1974; Macintyre, 2004), and in other sources which focused attention on the bushrangers, the convicts, the conflicts between the squatters and the settlers, the non-convict immigrants, and various agencies and organs of government (firstly in the period of Colonial administration, and then the emergence of the States including Victoria).

The State of Victoria has the distinction of being the only colony where permanent European settlement began without the sanction of British authority (Lack, in Davison, et al, 1998, p.662); the political struggles to gain its independence from New South Wales (proclaimed in July, 1851) were based largely around (a) the need to combat or at least regulate the almost uncontrolled southward drift (from New South Wales) and the incursion across Bass Strait from Van Diemen’s Land of graziers to territory inland from Port Phillip (Melbourne), and (b) resentment that Sydney and New South Wales were benefitting from the sale of pastoral leases. However, the newly-independent Victoria faced a new challenge in the decade of the 1850s as the gold rush started to dominate the economy, accompanied by massive population immigration; one outcome of the new economy was the political and social challenge to the emerging governing elite – referred to as ‘the squatter’s monopoly’ – with various forms of public and interest group agitation including the Eureka Stockade incident (1854) which led to a number of parliamentary reforms (secret ballot, 1856; male suffrage, 1857; fixed parliamentary terms, 1859). Even so, the merchant and squatter control of parliament, evident in the
sequence of Selection Acts, was sustained by the passage of self-interest legislation (see McQuilton, 1979, Appendix 1).

It was particularly the impact of the land acts which was to challenge families such as the Kellys. In the early phases of population and agricultural expansion land was 'acquired' by squatting on vacant Crown Land; there was no land title, and the extent and boundaries of landholdings were seldom clearly delimited. The impact of this was an indistinct pattern of ownership, which some early-nineteenth legislation tried to regulate through processes of consolidation and leasing. An important intention of a series of Selection Acts was to give families opportunities to undertake the development of smallholdings (they would become settlers) by selecting a parcel of land, paying a fee for that land often by instalments, residing on the parcel of land, and bringing about improvement to the land through a suitable farming practice. However, families such as the Kellys became naïve participants in a landownership conflict in which their ignorance of farming practices and lack of access to capital and suitable equipment caused them to default in payments and land improvement; families such as the Kellys were confronted by the shrewd economic and legal manoeuvring of the original squatters who were able to expand and consolidate their ownership by buying up the smallholdings at default auctions.

It was a combination of circumstances linked to the land acts which contributed significantly to the antipathy of families such as the Kellys to, for example, (a) the squatters and owners of large land holdings, (b) the government and parliament which enacted the legislation, (c) the banks which seemed to more interested in supporting the owners of large and prosperous land holdings than those of small and marginal land holdings, (d) the police which enforced the regulations, and (e) the courts (and court officials) which presided over the imposition of statutory sanctions. The Kellys, and families in similar predicaments, considered the effect of the land-related legislation was to advance the interests of some sectors of the community and to their detriment.

One other factor seems to have contributed substantially to the contextual problems encountered by families such as the Kellys – Irish ancestry – and this was seldom a constraint on action when shared by protagonists. For example, although Ned Kelly was born in Australia, both of his parents and many of their family members and friends were born in Ireland; some of the police and judiciary encountered by the Kellys were Irish (including Sir Redmond Barry who presided over the trials of several of the Eureka rebels in 1855 and the Ned Kelly trial in 1880). Some commentaries, however, suggest that the 'Irish peasant element in the Kelly Outbreak', whilst being obvious, has been exaggerated (McQuilton, 1979, p.188)

The recorded and interpreted history of the Kelly period was not concluded by the execution of November 11th, 1880. Rather, the popular and even official concern about the events which contributed to the activities of the Kelly Gang and especially the conduct of the police during those episodes has been responsible for generating not only speculative commentaries (novels, various art and performance forms, interpretive biographies – see McDonald, 2004 for an annotated bibliography of almost 800 items) but also for the establishment of a Royal Commission (1881-1883, chaired by Francis Longmore) to enquire into (a) the circumstances of the Kelly Outbreak, and (b) the state and organization of the police force.

There is a useful commentary on the historical context of the Kelly story in the introduction to McQuilton's study; he suggests that

"Australian folklore has long held a special place for the lives and deeds of its errant sons ... [with the literature recording] an uneasy amalgam of fact and folklore ... a choice between criminal propensity and police persecution ..."
[The Kelly outbreak] was a symptom of profound rural discontent …

[and] the principal targets for attack were the symbols of constituted authority, the police, and the symbols of the rich, the banks … [and the Kelly Gang’s actions were] a cry for vengeance on the rich and oppressors, a vague dream of some curb on them, a righting of individual wrongs” (1979, from pp. 1, 2, 4)

In his judgment, Ned Kelly and the operations of the Kelly Gang fit well with Hobsbawm’s description of the social bandit and social banditry (pp. 1-4).

The modern context

McQuilton’s (1979) observations about popular, academic and professional interest in the stories of bushrangers in general and with stories of Ned Kelly in particular extend across a spectrum along which there are views that the stories are (a) of ‘colourful social aberrations, interesting diversions not closely related to the mainstream of Australian history’ (based on Clune), or (b) of ‘victims of an unjust social system driven to lawlessness’ (based on Kenneally), or (c) of ‘criminal outbursts due, in part, to bad blood and inbreeding’ (based on Farwell). The influence of this informal trilogy of viewpoints can be detected in the presentation of the stories in the modern period, with each viewpoint being expressed in the modern ‘powerscape’.

Three aspects of the modern context are considered here:

- firstly, the public policy and planning measures which influence the ‘what’ and ‘how’ dimensions of heritage conservation;
- secondly, the active pursuit of the story as a commercial opportunity;
- and thirdly, the continuing public interest.

[Note: this commentary is set at a general level; specific localized examples are included in the series of Figures which present place-specific evidence].

Public policy and planning measures. These measures are influential in giving at least some direction to the public presentation of the Ned Kelly story. There are two principal groups of measures: in one group are the underpinning planning codes which are used by local authorities to encourage, facilitate and control development of many different kinds, including the presentation of evidence of history and heritage within the geographical boundaries of their jurisdiction; and in the other group are the heritage-specific guidelines, some of which are responses to international recommendations. [Note: commercial and marketing policies and strategies are considered separately].

A basic contextual influence lies with the Register of the National Estate (established by the Australian Heritage Commission Act, 1975) which, under the provisions of the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act, 1999 has been re-configured as the National Heritage List with the purpose of recognizing and protecting places of outstanding heritage; this List complements State heritage lists and local authority heritage registers. The underlying requirements to achieve listing on any of these registers is that the place or building has been assessed as making a special contribution to the nation’s, region’s or local community’s historical and cultural development, whether because of its uniqueness, representativeness, or ‘its special association with the life or works of a person, or group of persons, of importance in Australia’s natural or cultural history’ (Criterion H). Of particular concern to the region of the Ned Kelly story is the gazetting (in 2005) of the Glenrowan Heritage Precinct.

There is a state-wide policy for land-use planning and environmental assessment which incorporates powers delegated to local authorities to prepare planning schemes in order
to control land use and development, and to pursue strategies for the protection and conservation of land; there is a complementing regional framework for addressing issues which confront particular groups of local authorities. Most of the Kelly activities lie within the Hume region. Special provisions are directed at heritage resources (places, buildings) with a statutory requirement for local authorities to control action aimed to use or re-use those resources through, for example, preservation, restoration, redevelopment, development or even demolition. The planning tool used for this purpose is the Heritage Overlay. Guidelines for the introduction and use of this tool were prepared by Heritage Victoria and the Heritage Council of Victoria to complement those included in the statutory planning provisions (Clause 43.01); they are based on the Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance (commonly referred to as The Burra Charter). In summary, the Heritage Overlay is a planning device to prescribe individual buildings and places, and even groups (precincts) of items which have been determined as having cultural heritage significance. All Victorian planning schemes are required to include a nominated heritage objective; this becomes the overarching planning guideline which can be complemented by place-specific planning controls (see Review of Heritage Provisions in Planning Schemes, August 2007; and Eccles and Bryant, 2006).

Commodification; ‘tourismification’. Dunstan’s (1980) observations about ‘Mr. Kelly and the Cash Register’ provide insights into the commodification of aspects of the Ned Kelly story, and although the forms of commodification may have changed in recent decades, the substance of those observations remains consistent;

The symbols of the Kelly story have been absorbed into an extensive portfolio of what has been referred to as ‘Kellyana’ (McDonald, 2004), principally of tangible items but including sites and places connected in some way with the stories of Kelly’s activities. McFarlane has reported on the “formidable intertextuality which involves novels, plays, operas and ballet and paintings, even a large tapestry, as well as filmed interpretations of the Kelly gang’s exploits” (2005, p.26), and to these various forms of presentation could be added, for example, the imagery of the Ned Kelly armour used in the opening ceremony of the Sydney Olympic Games (2000), the stylized iconic helmet as the signature for Kelly Country on road signs and at some of the tourist attractions, the six metre tall effigy of Kelly at Glenrowan, the re-enactments of court proceedings at Beechworth Courthouse, the cell block at the Old Melbourne Gaol with its death masks and execution scaffolding, the direction signs in Benalla cemetery, and even the issue of postage stamps (such as the anniversary postage stamp issued by Australia Post in 1980, the Sidney Nolan Kelly image in 2003, and the Kelly ‘Rebel Spirit’ stamp issued to commemorate the Irish Heritage in Australia by An Post, the Irish postal service.)

Touristic commodification of the Ned Kelly story is evident in the diversity of Kelly-associated images, particularly in the forms of souvenirs, including, for example:

- aprons, beach towels, belts, blankets and throws, board game, bookmarks, buckles, caps, china, coasters, fans, glasses, key rings, knives, letter openers, magnets, mouse pads, mugs, notebooks, pens and pencils, picture frames, playing cards, rings, spoons, shirts, T-shirts, table cloths, table mats, tea towels, towels,
- books (biographies, children’s books, guidebooks, novels), maps, paintings, photographs, posters, sketches, tapestries,
- figurines and statuettes of Ned Kelly in various poses, at various scales and made from a diversity of hard and soft materials and fabrics, replica armour (at various scales), replica guns, jewellery;
- various products carrying a Ned Kelly symbol – jams and preserves, match boxes and lighters, perfumes, soaps, wines,
Regional and local tourism agencies have at various times, and in a diversity of ways used the Kelly stories to underpin the touristic attraction of most of the places linked to those stories. The particular local references are included in the place-specific Figures; here, reference is made to the use of the Kelly stories and symbols at the regional and State-wide level. The Victorian Government set out its vision for the development of State-wide tourism in 2006, complemented that with a business plan in 2008, and most recently with a Regional Tourism Action Plan (2009). In the most recent plan, the objectives set for the region which includes Kelly Country referenced historic townships and villages associated with gold mining and the activities of the bushrangers (although it omits references to the Strathbogie Ranges, Mansfield, Stringybark Creek and Power’s Lookout to the bushranging stories); a commercial publication more finely-focused on north east Victoria concentrates more specifically on the physical evidence of ‘The Legend of Ned Kelly’ in Beechworth, Benalla, Glenrowan, and Wangaratta.

Although ‘Mr. Kelly has been of assistance to the tourist trade’ – according to Dunstan’s account – there are many of the Kelly-linked places and buildings which are either not easily accessible by tourists, or have been re-developed, or have been so altered (some by demolition or site clearance) that their contribution to the story cannot be readily demonstrated and requires imagination. Examples of this situation include the Kelly homestead at Beveridge (which is undergoing occasional reconstruction), the later homestead at Eleven Mile Creek (which is an incomplete relic, protected on private property), the old Benalla Courthouse (partially refurbished and now operated by the Anglican Church), the cleared site of Ann Jones’ Glenrowan Hotel and the principal site of the siege, and the bank premises at Euroa and Jerilderie which have been greatly re-fashioned.

In summary, the ‘physical and material reality’ of some Kelly-linked sites has been significantly denuded by neglect, or by oversight (a lack of appreciation of the contribution to the history of Australia), or by succumbing to the pressure for redevelopment, or because of the lack of the necessary financial commitment to secure the sites or buildings as heritage resources.

Public interest. This study has not engaged directly with quantitative assessments of the public interest in the Ned Kelly story; the comments here are based on interpretations of the qualitative evidence from, for example, exhibitions of Kelly-linked items, anniversary celebrations, public and entrepreneurially promoted presentations of episodes of the story, documentary and feature films about Ned Kelly, plays about the Kelly Outbreak, and gallery presentations of paintings. McFarlane has commented that “The fact there is now an exhaustive ‘Encyclopedia’ devoted entirely to Ned Kelly and those whose paths he crossed … suggests the kind of hold he has exerted on the national imagination … That the Kelly exploits should occupy so prominent a place in this exhibition [i.e., at the State Library of Victoria] is yet another pointer to their centrality in Australian mythology” (2005, p.28).

Although there is not one museum which concentrates wholly on the Kelly story, there are museums in Victoria which use some of their exhibition space to tell some of the story and to present for public gaze selected Kelly-linked items; for example:

- there are largely permanent (but not exclusive) exhibitions at the Benalla Costume and Pioneer Museum and at The State Library of Victoria in Melbourne – ‘The Changing Face of Victoria’ exhibition;
- some exhibition space for particular episodes of the Kelly story is used at (a) the Victoria Police Museum in Melbourne where attention is focused on the bushranger and Ned Kelly confrontations with the State’s police force, (b) the Old Melbourne Gaol where there is public access to the cell block and gallows used at the time of the execution of Ned Kelly, and (c) the Robert O’Hara Burke memorial museum at Beechworth where one of the original Kelly death masks is displayed.

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Beechworth holds an annual Kelly week-end

"with a lively program of re-enactments, theatre, music, displays, competitions and talks by leading authorities on the subject of the life and times of Australia’s most notorious bushranger. Now in its seventh year, Australia’s most significant annual celebration of the Kelly legend commemorates the anniversary of the outlaw’s committal hearing held in the historic Beechworth Courthouse from 6 to 11 August 1880"


At the Beechworth Ned Kelly Week-end,

• the re-enactments typically include the search for the Kelly Gang at Sebastopol, Ned Kelly’s arrival (from Melbourne) at Beechworth Railway Station, his committal hearing in the Courthouse, and his departure for the return rail journey to Melbourne;
• the public lectures often include presentations about the women members of the Kelly family, the Jerilderie Letter, the life of Sir Redmond Barry, the advocacy for a North-eastern Victoria Republic, and stories about other bushrangers;
• and the complementing entertainment often includes guiding walking tours around the Historic Precinct, a bush music program, and a reunion dinner.

From time to time, other townships in the region of North East Victoria hold special events about the Kelly Story; for example, Wangaratta sponsored a residential symposium over the Easter long week-end in 1967 to re-assess the story so as to set Ned Kelly in a less prejudiced frame of reference. One outcome of this symposium was the publication of a collection of papers edited by Cave (1968) – *Ned Kelly; Man and Myth*; Glenrowan held a Centenary Dinner (June 2002); and Jerilderie conducts a biennial Jerilderie Letter Event (with the next in February, 2012) which includes a re-enactment of the Kelly Gang’s bank raid, and a Grand Parade.

The exploits of Ned Kelly and the Kelly Gang have been the subject of many drama and film presentations and television series. Frost (2004) has examined the influence of historic subjects on the interest of tourists in the destinations featured in those films, using as one of his examples the stories about Ned Kelly not least because those stories are ‘highly place-specific’ (p.6). Ten films (between 1906 and 2003), a television mini-series (1980), an ABC television drama (1977), and a large number of documentary films or episodes on particular topics within the Kelly story are listed in various sources (including Corfield, 2003; McFarlane, 2005). The first of these, the 1906 film *The Story of The Kelly Gang* is credited as being the world’s first feature-length production; it has been listed on the UN Heritage Register. Significant contributions to generally-available documentary films are Tony Robinson’s *Ned Kelly Uncovered, the Story of Ned Kelly, Besieged* (2003), and *Bail Up* (a 1996 video compilation of several pre-existing films)

To these films could be added a range of dramas from the earliest performed in 1889, including the staging of Stewart’s *Ned Kelly* (1942) by the Australian Elizabethan Trust in Sydney in 1956, *Ned Kelly the Musical* (1978) staged in Sydney and Adelaide, and most recently *The Jerilderie Letter* performed at the Melbourne Fringe Festival in 2007.

Finally, public interest in the Ned Kelly story has been addressed with art gallery presentations and artistic interpretations by, for example, Michael Jenkins (using a similar symbolism to Nolan), Roydon Johnson (abstracts, many using a Nolan-style symbolism of Kelly’s armour), Norman Lindsay, Patrick William Marony (landscapes),
Lynn Pickering (similar symbolism style to Nolan), Chris Wake (cartoon style), Brad Web (lithographs). Sidney Nolan’s Ned Kelly series (especially the first series of 27 items, 1946-1947), housed at the National Gallery in Canberra, but occasionally on tour to capital city and regional galleries remains the most famous portrayal of scenes from the Kelly story, not least because of the creation and use of the Kelly symbolic helmet. His later Kelly series (1955-1956 and 1978-1980) have not attracted the same degree of attention as his first. It has been claimed that “Nolan turned Kelly into a visual icon that all Australians understood” and the “imaging of Kelly was part of his greater plan to mythologize the Australian landscape so that it would resonate in the cultural imaginary” (Marsh, 2002, pp. 57, 58-59).

In drawing together the inputs to and influences on the framework both the historical and the modern contextual issues need to be incorporated; whilst the historical factors set the folkloric story into its active and factual background the modern contextual factors reveal how those historical issues are being processed at the present time, including how they are being presented for consumption as historic facts and how they are being commoditized and regulated for presentation as commercial products, including for the purposes of tourism.

7.8 Locations

Before discussing, analyzing and interpreting the empirical evidence of the Kelly Story it is necessary to provide a locational frame of reference – where the principal places mentioned in the story are, and how they are geographically related to each other. The brief mention here is extended in Sections 7.9 to 7.11 where the empirical evidence of the Ned Kelly Story is presented.

In summary, the significance of the principal places is as follows (listed from place of birth to place of execution):

- **Beveridge**: this is the birthplace of Ned Kelly;
- **Avenal**: the Kelly family moved here after failing to farm the Beveridge holding successfully; Ned Kelly’s father died here, and is buried in the Avenal cemetery; Ned Kelly rescued Richard Shelton from the creek and was rewarded with a silk sash
- **Euroa**: the location of the first bank robbed by the Kelly Gang; the Cameron Letter was drafted here
- **Mansfield**: the location of the monument to the three policemen killed at Stringybark Creek
- **Stringybark Creek**: the location of the ambush of the police by the Kelly Gang
- **Benalla**: Ned Kelly appeared in the Benalla Courthouse on a number of occasions; Ned Kelly was held in a prison cell after the
sites, places, and buildings

The commentary in this Section refers to many of the significant Kelly-linked sites, places and buildings, and it is complemented by the next Sections (7.10 – with its focus on ‘texts’, events and (re)presentations, and 7.11 with its focus on people). Each of these sections is complemented by, and complements, the information tabulated in the series of annotated Figures (7.4).

The focus here (in 7.9) is on what confers geographical and ‘gaze’ distinctiveness (see Section 6.2 and the synopsis and synthesis in Section 6.3) to sites, places and buildings. Some of the buildings and sites which have been impacted by the Kelly story are described briefly, and although not all of the buildings remain in use and many of the sites do not now present any evidence of the happenings of the Kelly events, each of them has made a contribution to the unfolding story.

A companion and complementing series of annotated Figures use a topological map base to present information which has been tabulated to accord with the basic components of the final phase of the analytical framework - people, places, ‘texts’, events and (re)presentations. [Note: the topological map base used for this presentation has been re-oriented from east-to-west through approximately 45 degrees; the distances between the named places and their geographical relativities (other than on the ‘pure’ north/south orientation) have been retained. In the ‘real world’ the most northern of the townships in the story, Albury – although it was directly involved in the story – is approximately 320 kms north-east of Melbourne. The precise distances between the various places are not as important as the positional relativities].

Glenrowan siege and before his transport to Melbourne

- Glenrowan
  - the site of the siege and final skirmish involving the Kelly Gang, with three Gang members killed and Ned Kelly captured

- Greta
  - the homestead for the Kelly family after the death of Ned Kelly’s father and the move from Avenal
  - the location of one of the principal altercations of the Kelly family and Constable Fitzpatrick

- Beechworth
  - the gaol which was used on a number of occasions for many members of the Kelly family and their sympathisers;
  - Ned Kelly’s preliminary hearing was conducted in the Beechworth Courthouse

- Jerilderie
  - the location of the second bank raid
  - the Jerilderie Letter was written here.

- Melbourne
  - the trial of Ned Kelly for his part in the murders at Stringybark Creek was conducted here;
  - Ned Kelly was held in (Old) Melbourne Gaol after his sentencing, and was executed here on 11th November 1880
The sites, places and buildings are considered in three groups:

- The Kelly homesteads, and events linked to them;
- Sites of bank robberies;
- Courthouses and gaols.

**Kelly homesteads, and events linked to them.**

The Ned Kelly story began with his birth in a small farmstead built by his father (John 'Red' Kelly) on a 62-acre property on the fringe of the township of Beveridge which is located off the main Melbourne-Sydney highway in what was then a largely pastoral district. In addition to the homestead (which was listed on the Victorian Register of Historic Buildings in 1992, and which is now in a ruined state although it is being occasionally renovated by volunteers from 'Hands on Heritage Conservation Volunteers') the principal tangible and visible legacy of the early Kelly years is the church building which was used as the local Catholic School.

After moving to Avenal, largely because of the family's unsuccessful farming adventure at Beveridge, the Kelly family rented a 40 acre farm on the fringe of the township. This proved to be another unsuccessful attempt at farming, and Ned Kelly's father aggravated the already difficult living conditions for his family by being caught and jailed for cattle stealing, and for being often drunk and disorderly. The Kelly children (Ned, Annie and Maggie) attended the Avenal Common (State) School; the site has been cleared of the original building. Hughes Creek, in Avenal, is the site of the rescue by Ned Kelly of a schoolmate, Richard Shelton who had fallen from a tree-footbridge into the stream. The Shelton family, as a gesture of gratitude gave to Ned Kelly a two metre long green silk cummerbund; the significance of this lies in the fact that it was worn by Kelly under his armour at the siege at Glenrowan fifteen years later. It was recovered from the Glenrowan siege site and later donated to the Benalla Historical Society where it is now one of the principal exhibits of 'Kellyana' in the Costume and Pioneer Museum in Benalla (see later). Ned Kelly's father died in Avenal after a short illness; he is buried in Avenal Cemetery.

Five months after the death of John 'Red' Kelly, the Kelly family moved (in May, 1867) to Greta, a dispersed township on a route between Benalla and Beechworth. Their first home in the township was a derelict hotel; that building, and others which the family lived in for short periods were burnt down. The school at Greta, attended by many of the Kelly children, was destroyed by fire, and the suspicion was that the Kelly boys were responsible. The homestead lived in by the Kellys, and allegedly built by Ned Kelly in 1867, has collapsed, in part through neglect and vandalism, and despite some efforts to have it restored the owners of the land have no interest in that occurring. In the Greta Cemetery there are gravesites of members of the Kelly family, and of Dan Kelly and Steve Hart who were involved in the Glenrowan siege; but none of them are marked.

On a parallel northeast/southwest alignment to the Melbourne-Sydney main route (now the Hume Highway) lie the **Wombat and Strathbogie Ranges**; these are the lower slopes of the Great Dividing Range and the foothills to the Alpine High Country. This was a region of refuge for the Kellys, and probably other bushrangers in North East Victoria, and there are what are considered to have been campsites in these Ranges to which the Kelly Gang retreated after some of their skirmishes with the police and after some bank robberies (such as at Euroa – see later). One of the bases was at Bullock Creek where Kelly and some of his associates had established a campsite when they were engaged in gold prospecting, and which they used as a refuge from police patrols. The hut they built was burned, and the site was later built over by a sawmill log yard, so there remains no tangible evidence of the Kelly occupation of it.
Sites of bank robberies

Two bank robberies in particular – at Euroa and at Jerilderie (NSW) – have left physical legacies. The raid at Euroa (December, 1878) was a substitute action; the original intention had been to rob the bank at Seymour. As with many of the buildings associated with the Kelly story, the original National Bank building was eventually demolished (in 1974), and replaced with a modern structure. A re-enactment took place to mark the 100th anniversary of the raid, and on the replacement building there is a commemorative plaque which at least marks the site. Other bank buildings in use at the time (such as the Third National Bank on a corner opposite to the National Bank) remain, even though they are no longer used for banking purposes; these, and other buildings which the Kelly Gang used to plot their escapades form important elements in the historic precinct in the central district of the township. The Faithfull’s Creek homestead used by the Kelly Gang as the staging point for the Euro bank raid was destroyed in local bushfires in 1939.

The raid at Jerilderie (February, 1879) involved action at a number of buildings in the centre of the town – the Royal Mail Hotel, the Bank of New South Wales, the telegraph office, the newspaper office (where Kelly tried to have the Jerilderie Letter printed), the blacksmith shop. Many of these remain, although the use of some has changed (for example, the original Courthouse is currently the town library. Sites involved in the raid which have since been cleared (but which are marked by information plaques) include, the police stables (the original stables is being considered for restoration), the Courthouse Hotel, the office of the Auctioneer, the saddlery shop and the Traveller’s Rest Hotel. As with Euroa, there is a precinct of historic buildings linked to the Kelly story. There is a biennial re-enactment of the Jerilderie Raid (the next is in 2012).

Courthouses, gaols

Ned Kelly’s many (twelve) ‘visits’ to courthouses in North East Victoria were to face charges of assault, robbery, ‘robbery under arms’, indecent behaviour, horse stealing, drunk and disorderly behaviour, assaulting police and resisting arrest, attempted murder, murder and outlawry; for most of these a conviction was recorded, and either a fine or a gaol sentence imposed. The most attended courthouses were in Beechworth (where Kelly faced the preliminary hearing of the trial for the Stringybark massacre of three policemen, but where he had previously also faced a number of minor charges), Benalla (where Kelly faced the court five times on charges for relatively minor offences), and the Central Criminal Court in Melbourne where Kelly’s final case was heard and the conviction imposed.

Of these, the courthouse in Beechworth forms part of the critical mass of buildings in the Historic Precinct. It is no longer used as a functioning courthouse, but the building (which houses a small collection of Kelly-related items) and the interior have been preserved and transformed into a museum which becomes the centre-point of the re-enactments during the annual Kelly Week-end in the heritage township. In Benalla the courthouse used during the Kelly period remains intact as a building, but it is now used as a youth ‘drop in’ centre operated by the Anglican Church. The witness box from the old courthouse is now an exhibit in the Benalla Costume and Pioneer Museum. The final trial in Melbourne was conducted at a session of the Supreme Court held in the Magistrate’s Court building adjacent to the Old Melbourne Gaol which, in addition to being a venue used in extended tours of the former Gaol, forms part of the Melbourne campus of RMIT.

In addition to short periods spent in police lock-ups awaiting trial or transportation to trial (such as at Benalla) Ned Kelly was sentenced to spend time in the gaols in Beechworth and Melbourne. Several members of the Kelly family spent time in Beechworth Gaol – his mother Ellen and his brothers Jim and Dan – as did two Kelly Gang members (Steve
Hart, Joe Byrne) and some of the Kelly sympathizers. The buildings are largely intact; the gaol was decommissioned in December 2004, and a portion of the site is under negotiation for residential development. Melbourne Gaol — referred to as the Old Melbourne Gaol — was Victoria’s first prison. It is one of Melbourne’s oldest surviving bluestone buildings (construction started in 1841). The first cell block was commissioned in 1845; additions since that time included further wings (1852), a hospital, chapel and bathhouse and the Governor’s residence, but it was closed in 1924 and its service replaced by a new gaol at Pentridge. Only one cell block remains, and since 1972 it has operated as a museum, managed by the National Trust of Australia. This was the gaol to which Ned Kelly was sent after his trial and conviction, and at which he was executed (11th November, 1880). The museum exhibition includes the cells allegedly used by Kelly, one of the Kelly death masks, and the scaffolding used in his execution. A continuing mystery surrounds the Kelly gravesite.

The focus in this Section has been on the geographical and ‘gaze’ distinctiveness of sites, places and buildings which contribute significantly to the Kelly Story. Not all of the buildings and sites persist with the form they had at the time of the events of the Kelly Story, and some present only plaques or other markers that they were involved in that Story. However, even the remnants which can be observed form part of the physical distinctiveness of the events and happenings of the Kelly saga.

7.10 ‘Texts’, events, and (re)presentations

In previous sections (3.2 and 3.6) there were brief overviews of the nature and scope of heritage and folkloric resources. Those two sections, and the Figures which accompanied them — and especially Figure 3.6 which tabulated a simple inventory of folkloric materials — are drawn down here and used to give shape to the analysis and interpretation of the ‘physical and material reality’ of ‘texts’, events and (re)presentations which are associated with the Kelly story.

‘Texts’

The use here of the term ‘text’ repeats the approach taken previously in Section 3.6; the use of that approach in Chapter 3 was based on the research of Oring (1986 and later) who sought to develop inventories of folkloric resources according to (a) their intrinsic, associational and communication significance, and (b) their linkages with particular contexts, experiences, actions, events and participants. It is the category of associational significance which has been particularly important for this study of the Kelly story, and this is the criterion which has been applied to a simple categorization of such tangible (and visible) ‘text’ items as:

- artifacts and household items, costume and dress, tools;
- armour, guns;
- letters.

Many of the small towns in so-called Kelly Country have displays of ‘Kellyana’ often as the principal exhibit in a heritage museum; examples include:

- ‘The Willows’ Historic House and Museum at Jerilderie which exhibits agricultural, domestic, industrial, occupational and recreational artifacts and tools of the Kelly period, photographs and reports from regional newspapers about the bank raid, and one replica suit of armour;
- Farmers Arms Hotel Museum at Euroa which exhibits maps, sketches and proposals for the bank raid; this museum is an integral component of the Heritage Trail which includes the site of the bank raid;
- Costume and Pioneer Museum at Benalla; this museum has a Kelly-specific exhibition which includes replica armour, the portable prison cell used to
transport Kelly to Benalla after the court hearing in Beechworth, a number of Kelly-linked items including a bridle and guns reputedly collected from the Glenrowan siege site; the principal exhibit is the green silk sash given as a reward to Ned Kelly, and worn by him at the Glenrowan siege;

- **Glenrowan** has three heritage-linked displays
  - Kate's Cottage, in addition to being a commercial souvenir store, includes a replica of the homestead built by Ned Kelly at Greta, and a collection of Kellyana, including domestic, household, and agricultural equipment;
  - the Cobb and Co Store, which is also a commercial souvenir store, has a basement museum of domestic artifacts and household items, photographs and an annotated display of people, events and sites associated broadly with the activities of the bushrangers, the Kelly Outbreak and especially with the Glenrowan siege;
  - a commercial animatronic display of the episode of the Glenrowan siege, set firstly within Ann Jones' hotel, and including a presentation of the shootout with the police;

- **the Beechworth** presentation of the story is focused largely on the annual Kelly week-end (see later) at which there are re-enactments of the principal events which took place in or near Beechworth; some of the principal buildings in the Heritage and Cultural Precinct – such as the courthouse, the telegraph office, the prisoner-holding cells – are presented in a state largely unaltered since the Kelly episodes; the Robert O'Hara Burke museum has a small display of Kelly-linked items, including one of the Kelly death masks.

The presentation of the Kelly story in Melbourne, drawing on various forms of ‘text’ has both fixed and changing elements.

For example, The State Library of Victoria’s exhibition – first titled, *Kelly Culture: Reconstructing Ned Kelly*, currently titled *Ned Kelly: Man and Myth* – has been a consistent contribution to the library’s permanent exhibition *The Changing Face of Victoria* since February 2003. The essential purpose of this particular exhibition is to explore the presence of the Kelly ‘myth’ (the term used consistently in the Library’s publicity material) in Australian culture, and expressions of it in film, visual arts, literature, performing arts and music (see later in this Section – (Re)Presentation). Key original artifacts from the Kelly episodes include, for example, the Ned Kelly suit of armour worn at the Glenrowan siege, Kelly's rifle, one of the boots he was wearing at the siege, the hand-written version of the Jerilderie Letter (see later), and one of the original Kelly death masks. Other ‘text’ items include original drafts of the novels about Kelly by Robert Drewe and Peter Carey, contemporary photographs, press items and posters about plays based on the Kelly story. A second, almost companion exhibition is at the Victoria Police Museum – currently titled *Ned Kelly and the Stringybark Creek Murders* – presents a different perspective of the Kelly story, with an emphasis being on Kelly as an outlaw and a murderer of policemen. Two sets of armour worn at the Glenrowan siege are on display (of Steve Hart and Dan Kelly), and there is a video interview with a grandson of one of the policemen ambushed and killed at Stringybark. The Kelly story is only one of a number of exhibition sequences, with others representing various aspects of police work. The Victoria Police has packaged some of the information about the Stringybark Creek episode – *Ambush: Ned Kelly and the Stringybark Creek Murders* – and this forms the centerpiece of an exhibition which is loaned to regional libraries and museums, and from that package some items (usually the armour) are extracted for separate exhibition for special purposes (see later). It is the armour worn by the Kelly Gang at the Glenrowan siege which has attracted most of the attention given to Kelly artifacts, later in this Section there is a brief commentary on the symbolism of the armour.
The Kelly legacy includes two important letters -- the Cameron Letter, and the Jerilderie Letter -- both of which were attempts to present Ned Kelly's interpretation of the circumstances which contributed to the actions of the Kelly Gang. It is usually claimed that the letters were dictated by Ned Kelly and transcribed in hand-written form by Joe Byrne, and there have been suggestions that the failure of the letters to gain the exposure Kelly had hoped for contributed to the ongoing frustration he and the gang members had about the political and social organization of Victoria. In the first of these -- the Cameron Letter, written prior to the Euroa bank raid, and delivered to Donald Cameron (an MLA in the Victorian Parliament with a copy sent to the Police Superintendent) -- Kelly sought support for the establishment of an inquiry into the behavior of the police towards his family, and the alleged manipulation of evidence by the police about the Stringybark Creek episode. References were made to the letter in newspapers, but the full version was not released publicly. There is a Victorian Government copy, and a transcript was included in the Kenneally version of the Kelly story. The second letter, written at Jerilderie before the bank raid, dictated by Ned Kelly and transcribed by Joe Byrne, was a more expansive description of the concerns of Kelly and his sympathizers. After the failure to gain publication of the Cameron Letter, Kelly sought to have his longer essay published in the Jerilderie Gazette; but, a number of chance events prevented this, and the hand-written letter was tendered as evidence against Ned Kelly at his trial. This letter was eventually published in full in Brown's version of the Kelly story (1948); the original version was donated to the State Library of Victoria in 2001, and excerpts are displayed in the Ned Kelly: Man and Myth permanent exhibition in that library.

Events and happenings

The Kelly story is enriched by a number of small-scale and larger-scale events and happenings. Although it would be possible to identify some level of geographical and 'gaze' significance for each of them, not all of them have been recognized and celebrated by public exposure. Some have been particularly personal and domestic happenings, and most of these have made little obvious contributions to the construction of the Kelly myth or legend. Those which have marked changes in the development of the Kelly story include, for example:

- encounters with the bushranger Harry Power in the early months of 1870; it is Power who has been credited with teaching Ned Kelly bushcraft, introducing him to bailing-up (hold up, rob, hold as hostage), and to horse-stealing (see, for example, Passey and Dean, 1991);
- the bare-knuckle fight with Isaiah 'Wild' Wright, in Beechworth, in August 1874; this fight was between the Catholic Kelly and the Protestant Wright, and although Kelly won and Wright conceded Kelly's supremacy and courage, Wright was later to become one of the staunchest of the Kelly sympathizers;
- the Fitzpatrick episode at the Kelly homestead in Greta, April 1878; this became a flashpoint in the relationship between the Kellys and the police, and especially Fitzpatrick, and some historians blame Fitzpatrick for creating the circumstances which culminated with the Kelly Outbreak (see Corfield, 2003, p.163 on this);
- the Stringybark Creek episode in October 1878, in which it is alleged the Kelly Gang ambushed a party of police, killing three of them (Constables Lonigan and Scanlan, and Sergeant Kennedy); this was the action for which the members of the Kelly Gang were declared 'outlaws' under the provisions of the Felons' Apprehension Act; a police memorial to the three policemen was unveiled at Mansfield in April 1880 (see later);
- in December, 1878, the Kelly Gang bailed up a homestead at Faithfull's Creek and made arrangements of the bank raid at Euroa;
- Kelly sympathizers were arrested in January 1879, and many were gaoled;
• in February, 1879 the Kelly Gang bailed up the Jerilderie police station, composed the Jerilderie letter, raided the Jerilderie bank, and attempted to hand the Jerilderie letter to the local newspaper editor;
• June, 1880, was the cataclysmic month,
  o beginning with the shooting of Aaron Sherritt because he was thought by other members of the Kelly Gang to be a police informer,
  o continuing with the plot to derail what was thought to be a gold-shipment train at Glenrowan,
  o the substitution of that train by another with a contingent of police and Aboriginal trackers,
  o the resulting siege at Glenrowan at which Dan Kelly, Steve Hart and Joe Byrne were killed and Ned Kelly was captured,
  o the transfer of Ned Kelly to Benalla, and then to Melbourne to await trial;
• the preliminary trial hearing in Beechworth courthouse, presided over by Sir Redmond Barry (see later) in August, was followed by Ned Kelly’s transfer to Melbourne for the trial in the Supreme Court which took place in October; Ned Kelly was executed on 11th November, 1880.

Of these (and consider also the synoptic treatment of the Kelly Story in Section 7.5), the events which are ‘celebrated’ in the modern era are:

• recognition given to the influence of Harry Power by the inclusion of Power’s Lookout as one of the principal sites on the Kelly Trail;
• inclusion of a number of the events as re-enactments at
  o Beechworth (at the annual Ned Kelly week-end)
    ▪ bare-knuckle fight with Isaiah ‘Wild’ Wright,
    ▪ arrival of Ned Kelly for the committal trial,
    ▪ committal trial,
    ▪ departure of Ned Kelly for the Supreme Court trial in Melbourne;
  o Jerilderie (at the biennial anniversary)
    ▪ bail-up of the police station,
    ▪ bank raid

There are few other events marked by a public exhibition, or meeting of some kind, although some occasional presentations include mock trials (not usually held at any of the venues used in the Kelly era, and sometimes held by university law schools or law societies). Anniversary dinners have been held in Beechworth and Glenrowan.

(Re)presentations

This is the multi-focused category of folkloric and folk hero-linked resources (see Figure 3.6) which includes the various means by which the Kelly Story is communicated. It is not the resource per se which is being referenced here, but rather the linkage of the mode of communication (to meet the expectations of ‘the gaze’) with the place of communication. The reference here to ‘re-presentation’ is because the various items considered here are not bona fide artifacts and other tangible ‘things’, but they are interpretations of events, happenings, people and places which are important to the Kelly story. In Figure 3.6 the various resources were marshaled into three groups – art and graphic art forms, narrative forms and performance forms. For this study, the narrative forms have been omitted because none of them can meet both of the two distinctiveness criteria being applied in this investigation; they can meet a diversity of semiotic criteria – for example, they can be seen, read, heard, emotionally responded to – but they cannot meet the challenge of being geographically distinctive and locationally-fixed in the same manner as paintings, monuments and performances.

The Kelly story has been subjected to a diversity of artistic interpretations in painting, graphic and popular arts, and although what is represented in those forms is
geographically associated with Kelly Country, most often the items are located beyond those boundaries. Among those whose art works (of various forms) have communicated the Ned Kelly Story are:

- Maree Coote, whose most well-known projection of the Kelly image lies in her 50 Neds series of artworks, some of which have been published in book form, and some which hang as canvasses on exhibition in Style Gallery, South Melbourne. Her series – 50 Neds and Soldier Neds - adopt a similar symbolism of the black stylized helmet.

- Vanessa Crisp, whose reputation has been built on the application of her series of Australiana prints to many surfaces, including one to the 125th Anniversary Ned Kelly Plate (issued by Bradford Exchange), and others to a compilation of Heroes and Champions of Australia; her Gallery is in Richmond Valley.

- Sidney Nolan, whose Kelly series of paintings, using a stylized black symbolic helmet as the basic Kelly communication device, hang in the National Gallery of Australia in Canberra; his paintings extend through three series, and the National Gallery holds 26 of the 27 paintings. Of the repetitive use of the symbolic black helmet Bail (2002) has said “It was an inspired burst of kleptomania. Kelly’s helmet exerted some sort of power on Nolan. He took it and ran with it ... He made the helmet his own ... The helmet was ridden around on horseback, peering out from behind trees and from over hills ... it is difficult to think of Nolan without seeing a Kelly head” (p.2). The Kelly series, or some items across the three series, have been presented in galleries around the world – Auckland (1968), Christchurch (1968), Dublin (1973), London (1955, 1964), New York (1994), Paris (1949), Rome (1950), Wellington (1968, 2002) – and in many of Australia’s capital cities; and the symbolism from some of those paintings have been replicated on book covers, on many souvenirs, and with animated versions being used to sell products (such as Vegemite).

Other artists, not focusing particularly on telling the Kelly story have resorted to using the symbolism style used by Nolan in some of their paintings; artists to have used the symbolic helmet include Michael Jenkins, Peter Knoblock, Norman Lindsay, John Spooner, Howard Steer, Simon Whitaker; and artists who have used the landscape interpretation style of Nolan include Desmonde Downing, Terrance Hawken and Lynn Pickering.

Still other uses of the symbolism of the Kelly armour focus on incorporating those forms in the design of functional domestic and commercial furniture. Examples of these uses include Gary Ziebell’s coat rack, lamp, wine rack, and wall plaque, all using the Kelly helmet, and Mick Guthrie’s adaptation of the Kelly armour which is painted on to a standardized shape formed from clay or leather. As these are essentially utilitarian, many of these functional forms are readily accessible in boutiques, small galleries and markets in regional New South Wales, Sydney and Queensland.

Other (re)presentations of elements of the Kelly story include brushed aluminium sculptured figures of Ned Kelly (Bob Tomcin, Melbourne), a diversity of Kelly images made from scrap metal (Jangling Jack recycled metal art, Wiseman’s Ferry, NSW), and hand-crafted helmets and boxed sets of reduced-scale Kelly replica armour and guns (MNKC, Garfield, Victoria).

There are no ‘official’ monuments to Ned Kelly, although there is a major six metres tall effigy erected largely for touristic purposes in Glenrowan. The final grave sites of most of the members of the Kelly Gang remain unknown; certainly the gravesite of Ned Kelly is unknown – other than being ‘somewhere’ in Melbourne, with other executed prisoners from Melbourne Gaol. The bodies of Dan Kelly and Steve Hart were interred
in Greta Cemetery, although the gravesites were not marked; only the gravesite of Joe Byrne in Benalla Cemetery is marked.

In contrast, Sir Redmond Barry, the judge presiding at the Beechworth committal hearing and the final trial in Melbourne is commemorated (1887) with a statue adjacent to The State Library of Victoria – which was one of his favoured public works projects – and was buried in Melbourne Cemetery. The three policemen killed at the Stringybark Creek ambush – Kennedy, Lonigan and Scanlan – are commemorated by the Police Memorial in Mansfield; it was unveiled and dedicated in April 1880. Gravesites of each of the policemen are marked in Mansfield Cemetery.

7.11 People

The importance of this part of the analysis and interpretation is that it contributes to setting the folk hero into his political and social context. Without this, the folk hero’s story would be detached and isolated from the general and over-arching context (see Section 7.7). As no-one considered here is still living, this Section draws on the historical record to identify, analyze and interpret their direct involvement in or indirect contribution to the Kelly story.

Three groups of people can be identified:

- the immediate Kelly and Quinn families (Ned Kelly’s mother was a Quinn) and the eventual acknowledged members of the Kelly Gang and their families (Byrne and Hart);
- sympathisers and supporters;
- and those who have been described as ‘authority’ figures in parliament, the police and the judiciary.

McQuilton’s (1979) descriptions of lawlessness in the north-east region of Victoria in the 1870s and later referred to the ‘mobs’ of young, single, native-born selector’s sons who engaged in a variety of bushranger-type activities, and which were bound together ‘like a band of brothers’ (p.54) through their activities and their disregard for and disrespect of Victoria’s judicial and police systems. Contributing to the membership of the ‘mobs’ were ‘clans’ which were composed of families which often shared experiences of harassment, persecution and arrest by the Victorian police, and, for many, subsequent imprisonment. Each of the ‘mobs’ was identified with a particular district: the Byrnes, Harts, Kellys, and Quinns were associated particularly with the Greta district, and they shared Irish-Australian heritage. The young men (membership was only open to men) from the Greta Mob (membership of the Greta Mob is listed in Morrisey, 1978, p.296) have been characterized as archetypical larrikins (Jones, 1990), with their almost fierce clan/mob loyalty, irreverent and reckless behavior, and especially their disdain for authority; some of these characteristics have become associated in the popular imagination with the national identity of Australia (see, for example, Gorman, 1990). There are no recorded direct descendants of Joe Byrne, Steve Hart, Dan and Ned Kelly, but the Byrne, Hart, Kelly and Quinn families have continued into the present century.

"During the Kelly Outbreak the Kelly Gang were sustained by large numbers of sympathizers" (Corfield, 2003, p. 464). It was this potential support base which was of concern to the judiciary and particularly the Victorian police; the support given to the Kelly Gang included food and shelter, and a refusal to inform the police of any activity involving the Gang members. The scale of the fraternity of Kelly sympathizers was of concern because the police and the Victorian government assumed that this group could be expected to contribute to the break-away Republic of North-Eastern Victoria mentioned in Kelly’s Jerilderie Letter. Morrisey (1978) has recorded a possible membership of 121, the Kellygang website (www.kellygang.asn.au) lists 27 men and
women; the ‘official’ record of men arrested and remanded in custody in January 1879 lists 23 men. The significance of the Kelly sympathizers was that the police were always concerned that there was a groundswell of support across the rural communities of the north-eastern districts of the State, much of which focused on inequities in the application of the Land laws, antipathy towards the conduct of the police, and the scarcely-disguised acknowledgement of anyone willing and capable of challenging the fledgling Victorian state.

As McQuilton (1979) has observed, “the principal targets for attack were the symbols of constituted authority, the police” (p.4) and when the police had been unsuccessful in tracking down the Kelly Gang they “relied ... on a large reward and betrayal ... [and] after the betrayal the police claimed full credit for the capture” (p.4). Among the ‘authorities’ in the Kelly Story were judges (such as Sir Redmond Barry; see Fricke, 2007: Galbally, 1995), parliamentarians (such as Donald Cameron), defence lawyers (such as David Gaunson), policemen (including the three ambushed at Stringybark Creek, and Fitzpatrick who was responsible for some of the conflict between the Kellys and the constabulary), and officers of the Royal Commission into the Kelly Outbreak (1981). The professional careers and the private lives of most of these prominent participants were disrupted by the various episodes of the Kelly Outbreak with the reputations of many tarnished by the Report of the Royal Commission into the Kelly Outbreak (published in 1881) which included amongst its recommendations action to be taken against some of the police and agencies involved in the pursuit of the Kellys.

Many of the participants in the Kelly story – in addition to Ned Kelly – are examples of

- various administrative, judicial, parliamentary and professional sections of the slowly evolving Victorian community in the late nineteenth century;
- the involvement of immigrant groups (especially the Irish and the Chinese) in the development of the rural regions, at that time remote from the seat of government in Melbourne;
- the ongoing tensions between struggling rural residents and the second of McQuilton’s nominated targets – “the symbols of the rich, the banks” (1979, p.4).

The implication of this is that, although these various participants and participant categories contribute to the Kelly story, there is a broader context of stories about the development of Australia to which they contribute; and there is visible and tangible evidence in the forms of buildings, documents, places, spatial arrangements, structures, trails, and (re)presentations such as various artworks and re-enactments which are testimony to that broader context. This matter is addressed in Chapter 8.

CONCLUSION

The principal purpose of this Chapter has been to use a case study of a folk hero as a means of ‘teasing out’ evidence with which to reach a reasonable determination of whether or not the story of a folk hero can make a contribution to heritage-based tourism.

In particular, this Chapter has been designed to address the three research questions (see Section 1.4) by explication and implication; and it has been conducted as an experiment to test the proposition that ‘dead men do tell tales’.

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So as to be able to address the first question – *what is the evidence that 'dead men do tell tales' ?* – it was necessary to construct a suitable investigative framework to 'tease out' that evidence; that was the purpose of the two Chapters (5 and 6) in Part B. That framework was a practical and theoretical response to the second of the two principal research questions – *How can that evidence be 'teased out' ?* In this Chapter (7) a selected case study – the Ned Kelly story – has been used in three ways:

- firstly, to provide evidence of a story about a folk hero;
- secondly, to use an experimental investigative structure to 'tease out' that evidence;
- and thirdly, to link that evidence as a response to the third research question – *what contribution can the stories about folk heroes make to 'touristed landscapes' and to heritage-based tourism*.

The inter-linkages of the general proposition and the resultant three research questions are exposed to a more complete assessment in Chapter 8.
APPENDIX to Chapter 7

This Appendix includes the Annotated series of Figure 7.4. Reference is made to this on page 177.

All of the Annotated Figures have the same reference number: 7.4; they are presented in the following sequence:

- Location Map (p.197)
- Avenal (p.198)
- Beechworth, 1 and 2 (pp.199, 200)
- Benalla, 1 and 2 (pp. 201, 202)
- Beveridge (p.203)
- Euroa (p.204)
- Glenrowan, 1 and 2 (pp. 205, 206)
- Greta (p. 207)
- Jerilderie (p.208)
- Mansfield (p.209)
- Melbourne, 1 and 2 (pp.210, 211)
- Stringybark Creek, (including Bullock Creek, German's Creek, Harry Power's Lookout) (p.212)
Figure 7.4
LOCATION MAP

Base map from Corfield (2003)
CONTEXT:

Historic period
- Kelly family rented a farm on western fringe of Avenal
- NK rescued Richard Shelton from drowning in Hughes Creek; plaque on Bridge
- NK father buried in Avenal Cemetery (died December, 1866)

Modern period
- Contributes to Nagambie Lakes and The Strathbogie Ranges tourism district strategy
- Bridge over Hughes Creek (the site of the NK rescue) listed on Victorian Heritage Register; also listed as of heritage significance in Strathbogie Planning Scheme (2003)
- Proposed Heritage Precinct (not associated with NK story)

PLACES:
- Kelly family farm on western fringe of Avenal; no evidence of buildings remains;
- NK attended Avenal School; no evidence of the building remains;
- Bridge over Hughes Creek, scene of NK rescue of Richard Shelton; rescue took place 150m downstream from Bridge
- NK’s father gravesite in Avenal Cemetery;

‘TEXTS’, THINGS:
- Father of Richard Shelton gave green and gold silk cummerbund/sash as a reward for the rescue of his son; worn by NK at Glenrowan siege; now exhibited in Benalla Museum.

EVENTS:
- NK Avenal Festival; inaugural festival, November 2006; not continued

(RE)PRESENTATION:
- Avenal Maze, includes a NK theme, with NK and Gang sculptures

PEOPLE:
CONTEXT:
Historic period
- 19th Century gold mining town; central town of Ovens Goldfield; gold first discovered in the area in 1852
- Beechworth Gaol and Courthouse part of a regional court and prison system for Magistrates, Petty Sessions, County, Assize and Mining Warden’s courts

Modern period
- Indigo Shire: Beechworth is one of Shire’s four promoted historic towns;
- Indigo Shire Tourism and Economic Development Strategy
- Indigo Shire Tourism Advisory Committee Strategic Plan (2009-2012); NK country and bushranger history acknowledged as key product strength;
- Indigo Shire Planning Scheme (all of Heritage Precinct and most of sites in core area listed on Heritage Overlay); most of Heritage Precinct, Cemetery and Gaol listed on Victorian heritage Register, and by National Trust

PLACES:
- “Many of the sites that the Kelly Gang and their friends would have known still remain” (Corfield, 2003, p.48)
- Historic and Cultural Precinct, including (a) Courthouse (trials of NK, family, friends and sympathizers; in use until 1989); Stone Lock-up (cells); Museum; Harry Power’s Cell (in basement of Town Hall)
- Historic and Cultural Precinct includes places not directly linked to NK story
- Gaol – NK, family members, Gang members, sympathizers held here for various periods (NK three times); operational until 2004:
- Sebastopol – hometown of Joe Byrne; NK’s cave
- 30 High Street: site of bare knuckle fight with ‘Wild Wright’; former site of Imperial Hotel; building demolished
- 22 Camp Street: office of law firm which defended NK, NK family members and Harry Power
- 33 Camp Street: formerly studio of photographer responsible for many Kelly and sympathizer photographs; now a dentist surgery
- 9 Williams Street: home of magistrate who issued remands for Kelly sympathizers
- Beechworth Cemetery: gravesites of Aaron Sheritt (unmarked), some Kelly family members and sympathizers
- Sydney Road Telegraph Rock – for signaling by Kelly sympathizers

Figure 7.4
BEECHWORTH (1)

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TEXTS, THINGS:
- NK death mask (in Museum; one of four plaster cast death masks made by Maximilian Kreitmayer)
- Courthouse fittings remain from NK period
- Museum holds artifacts from NK period

EVENTS:
- NK event (first week-end in August); includes (a) re-enactments of NK arrival under escort, NK trial, NK escorts; (b) panel discussion, public lectures; (c) conducted tours; (d) festival dinners;
- Kelly Women's Anniversary Commemorative Quilt
- Occasional specialist exhibitions of Kellyana, including guns, photographs, Kelly-period artifacts, many on loan from private collections. Kelly-period police items, rare books, pamphlets, film and drama posters, reward notices

(RE)PRESENTATION
- Robert O'Hara Burke Memorial Museum – NK-related objects, including death mask, reward notice, newspaper items, photographs
- Replica suit of Kelly armour
- Test pieces for Kelly armour, including Chinese model which might have inspired NK

PEOPLE
- Joe Byrne (Sebastopol), Steve Hart, Aaron Sherritt
- NK family members
- Sir Redmond Barry (presided at many Kelly family cases, including committal trial before NK taken to Melbourne)
- NK sympathizers

Figure 7.4
BEECHWORTH (2)

200
CONTEXT:

Historic period
- Considered to have been the epicenter of NK's bushranging exploits (family home at Greta nearby)
- Base for police manhunt for Kelly Gang

Modern period
- Core of Benalla Rural City
- Former Courthouse, Stringybark Creek site, Kelly Gang camp site all listed on Victorian Heritage Register.
- Former Kelly homestead site at Greta listed as "Heritage Place" of local significance (see below)
- Council Plan (2009-2013) includes strategy to maximize heritage input to tourism strategy
- Tourism Plan (2005-2010) to improve NK Interpretive Trail, and to develop events around the NK theme

PLACES:
- Old Courthouse (and Survey office) where NK and many family members made several appearances (NK =6); Includes holding cell used for NK
- Bootmaker's shop where NK fought with police escort, and where NK allegedly make threat to Constable Fitzpatrick
- Benalla Cemetery: gravesites of Joe Byrne, Martin Cherry (who was a hostage at Glenrowan and fatally wounded by police fire), Dr Nicholson (who treated NK's wounds at Glenrowan, and one of the Aboriginal trackers at the Glenrowan siege)
- Some Kelly family members (especially Quinns) are buried in Benalla Cemetery
- Commercial Hotel (Bridge Street) was the HQ of the police task force to coordinate the manhunt for the Kelly Gang

'TEXTS', THINGS:
- Green and gold cummerbund/sash presented to NK for his Creek rescue at Avenal is exhibited in Benalla Museum
- Portable cell used to transport NK exhibited at Museum
- Kellyana collection - The Kelly Saga - selected artifacts, bridie, documents, guns, newspaper items, photographs, posters
- Cell door used to support body of Joe Byrne’s body after the Glenrowan siege (for press photographers)
- Replica of Joe Byrne's armour
- Witness Box from Old Benalla Courthouse

Figure 7.4
BENALLA (1)
EVENTS:

(Re)Presentation
- Nolan's tapestry 'Glenrowan' displayed at Benalla Art Gallery
- Tucker's painting of Joe Byrne in Benalla Art Gallery
- Video of Kelly Story at Benalla Costume and Pioneer Museum
- Copy of Jerilderie Letter at Costume and Pioneer Museum
- Kelly mural on external wall of Costume and Pioneer Museum

PEOPLE:

Figure 7.4
BENALLA (2)
CONTEXT:

Historic period
- Principal claim for Beveridge is as the Kelly family residence before they moved to Avenal; doubt whether NK was born here.

Modern period
- Mitchell Planning Scheme: Kelly House listed on Heritage Overlay and on Victorian Heritage Register.

PLACES:
- John Kelly house; originally 3-room cottage, later enlarged; original plan though to be modeled on Irish cottage tradition; listed on Victorian Register of Historic Buildings (September, 1992); some conservation work after Registration ($30,000 grant for stabilization work, 2002).
- Volunteer conservation work by Hands On Conservation Volunteers.

TEXTS, THINGS:

EVENTS:

(RE)PRESENTATION:

PEOPLE:

Figure 7.4
BEVERIDGE
CONTEXT:

Historic period
- Targeted by Kelly Gang because of low level of police presence
- NK Sympathizers in the region (Ben Gould acted as lookout prior to the bank robbery)
- Local NK sympathizers arrested January 1879
- On the fringe of Wombat and Strathbogie Ranges – bushranger country

Modern period
- Contributes to Nagambie Lakes and The Strathbogie Ranges tourism district strategy
- Euroa is HQ of Strathbogie Shire
- Former National Bank of Australia (robbed by Kelly gang) listed on Victorian Heritage Register
- Euroa Action Plan (2008); one strategy focuses on heritage

PLACES:
- Euroa branch of National Bank robbed December 1878 (original bank demolished 1974; new bank building occupies the site; wall plaque commemorates the robbery
- Kelly gang boiled up Faithfuls’ Creek homestead before the robbery; 25 hostages;
- Nearby Mt Wombat lookout
- Euroa Heritage Trail

‘TEXTS’, THINGS:
- Cameron Letter dictated by NK, written by Joe Byrne at Faithful’s Creek; prepared before bank robbery (sent from Glenrowan, December, 1878); original held in Public Records office of Victoria

EVENTS:
- Euroa History, Heritage and Heroics Festival, June (since 2009)
- Re-enactment of the bank raid conducted in December 1978 (200th anniversary)

(RE)PRESENTATION:
- Kelly Corner at Farmer’s Arms Hotel Museum (since 1974)

PEOPLE:
- Local NK sympathizers arrested January 1879; imprisoned for three months
CONTEXT:

Historic period
- Site of NK and Kelly Gang 'last stand'
- Glenrowan chosen by NK as site to sabotage railway line and derail the police special train; prior knowledge of area and his previous work on railway track gang; siege at Ann Jones' Inn

Modern period
- Wangaratta Rural City Tourism Industry Strategic Plan (2010-2013) – Glenrowan as the 'keeping place of the Kelly Legend' – one of the four key strategies
- Now a very small town (population approximately 200); economic prosperity tied to Kelly story and to output of local vineyards
- Glenrowan Heritage Precinct listed June 2005 as place of National Significance by Heritage Victoria; listed on National Heritage Register
- Glenrowan Revitalization Project part of Glenrowan Master Plan (2002); with grant from State government for trail system and siege site re-establishment
- Proposed NK Centre (concept design and feasibility study, 2003); rejected by Wangaratta Council, 2005

PLACES:
- Note: most of the sites of the Heritage Precinct are not cleared: marked by signs
- Sites:
  - Ann Jones' Inn (Glenrowan Inn): deliberately set on fire by police and burnt down during the siege; Kelly Gang in armour fought form the Inn; police gunfire killed some of the hostages; replica signs of the Inn at the site; bodies of Dan Kelly and Steve Hart found in ruins of the Inn; site excavated 2008-2010
  - Railway Reserve, opposite the Inn; location of many of the police engaged in the siege
  - Tent city of railway contractors, also on Railway reserve; NK hoped to use their skills to derail train
  - Railway station; platform is from Kelly period; station building is a replica; reporters and photographers en route to Beechworth to cover the story of the shooting of Aaron Sherritt sheltered here during the siege; their presence facilitated extensive media coverage of the event; NK received medical treatment here after his capture from Dr Nicholson (see reference to him at Benalla Cemetery; he retrieved the green and gold sash, and later donated it to Benalla Museum)
  - Kelly Copse (named AFTER the siege) about 100m from Ann Jones' Inn; site of NK's capture; original tree stump and log removed; replicas in place
PLACES (continued):
- Note: most of the sites of the Heritage Precinct are not cleared; marked by signs
- Zites (continued)
  - McDonnell's Railway Tavern – rocket launch site (to inform the sympathizers) across the road from the Tavern;
  - Meeting place with sympathizers
  - Train stopped 700m short of Glenrowan station
  - Track disrupted 500m past Glenrowan station
  - NK statue – 6m high at gateway to township

'TEXTS', THINGS
- Various items culled from siege site include the bar to lift the rail track (to derail the train), bullets, belts, boots, scarf used by Thomas Clunney to wave down the train (later cut into sections as souvenirs, some of which have featured in museum exhibitions (eg, at Old Melbourne Gaol), boot cut from NK's foot, remnants of Glenrowan Inn
- Note: archeological dig at Ann Jones' Inn, 2008-2010; under Victorian Heritage Law all the historic artifacts become the property of the State, conserved and stored by Heritage Victoria

EVENTS:
- NK Commemorative Dinner (June – infrequent);
- Kelly Country Classic (November – cycles)

(Re)PRESENTATION:
- Self-guided walking trail around siege site; markers at principal sites
- NK statue at one gateway to the township
- NK Memorial Museum– forms part of Kate's Cottage and Souvenir Shop; replica Kelly homestead; replica armour; photographic display of NK history (people, places, events); NK period artifacts
- Glenrowan Tourist Centre and Kellyland– animated theatre; events of the siege
- Glenrowan Cobb and Co Museum – Kelly memorabilia; information display about bushranging and NK

PEOPLE:

Figure 7.4 GLENROWAN (2)
CONTEXT:

Historic period
- First European settlement by Squatters in 1840s.
- Land in area taken up under Lands Selections Acts.
- Kelly family moved here from Avenal (after death of NK's father).
- Originally a group of four small settlements along fifteen Mile Creek (early 1850s); original nucleus not Greta West; Kellys worked a holding at Eleven Mile Creek.

Modem period
- Lies within the Rural City of Wangaratta.
- Listed as target site on NK tours; little remains of buildings associated with NK period.
- Nothing listed on any heritage register (Note: comment in Corfield, 2003, p.203) that the owner of the Kelly homestead site offered it to National Trust and State Government of Victoria, but local hostility threatened any restoration.

PLACES:
- All former sites associated with NK now on back country, in ruins or cleared.
- All former buildings associated with NK now removed or in ruin: (1) original residence of NK's was former hotel (burned down by NK's uncle James Kelly); (2) first home burnt down; (3) second home built by NK, later enlarged by other family members, decayed - by 1950s only one chimney stack remained; site now derelict, on private land and public access is prevented.
- Greta Cemetery; gravesites of Ellen Kelly (NK's mother), Dan Kelly, Steve Hart, and other Kelly family members; none are marked by standing headstones; a marked gravesite of Thomas Lloyd, the alleged 'fifth' member of the Kelly Gang.

'TEXTS', 'THINGS':
- Scarcely any tangible evidence remains.

EVENTS:

(RE)PRESENTATION:
- Replica of Kelly Greta Homestead constructed as part of Kate's Cottage Gifts and Souvenir Shop Kelly Museum at Glenrowan (see further at Fig 7.4 Glenrowan).

PEOPLE:
- In the Greta district many relatives and descendants of Kelly family; many continue to be hostile to the Kelly story.
**CONTEXT:**

**Historic period**
- Only township in NSW to be visited by Kelly Gang
- Robbery at NSW Bank, February 8-10, 1879
- Composed Jerilderie Letter here; intention was to have it printed at office of Jerilderie and Urana Gazette

**Modern period**
- Listed as ‘heritage items’ under Jerilderie Local Environmental Plan (1993, as amended); Schedule includes Courthouse, Post Office (post and telegraph office), Powell Street (Museum Precinct, includes Willows Museum)

**PLACES:**
- Museum Precinct
- Blacksmith’s Shop; Dan Kelly and Joe Byrne dressed as police had their horses shod
- Courthouse (currently, Jerilderie library)
- Post and Telegraph Office; telegraph wires destroyed
- Police Stables (undergoing restoration by Jerilderie Shire Council)
- Royal Mail Hotel; hostages taken and held here before bank raid
- Bank of NSW formed part of Royal Mail Hotel (bank demolished 1928)
- Printing Office of Jerilderie and Urana Gazette

**‘TEXTS’, THINGS:**
- Jerilderie Letter, donated to and held at State Library of Victoria, Melbourne (since November 2000)
- Copy made by John Hanlon, now held at National Library, Canberra.

**EVENTS:**
- NK Jerilderie Letter Event (biennial event, last held February, 2010; plans for 2012, 2014); schedule includes Gala Dinner, ‘The Great Debate’, Irish and Scottish country music festival; re-enactment of Kelly raid
- Australian NK Song Awards (February, March)

**(RE)PRESENTATION:**
- NK Raid Trail – interpretive signage linking Police Stables, Courthouse, Post and Telegraph Office, Royal Mail Hotel, Blacksmith Shop
- Brochure with schedule of Kelly Gang activities in Jerilderie
- Willow’s Pioneer Museum (within Museum Precinct)

**PEOPLE:**

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**Figure 7.4**

**JERILDERIE**
CONTEXT:

Historic period
- On threshold of High Country; history linked to squatters, selectors, bushrangers, gold miners
- Police party into Wombat Ranges in search of Kelly Gang started from here
- Monument to the Victoria Police members killed at Stringybark Creek

Modern period
- Mansfield Arts, Culture and Heritage Strategic Plan (2007-2013)

PLACES:
- Mansfield Cemetery – gravesites of police killed at Stringybark Creek
- Monument to the three policemen funded by public subscription; unveiled 22 April 1880
- Courthouse – where proclamation declaring Kelly Gang as outlaws made on steps of Courthouse; building listed on Victorian Heritage Register

'TEXTS', THINGS:
- Police Monument (see above)
- Gravesites of Kennedy, Lonigan, Scanlon in Mansfield Cemetery

EVENTS:
- Proclamation declaring Kelly Gang as outlaws made at Courthouse

(RE)PRESENTATION:
- Occasional re-enactments of Stringybark episode
- Centenary Commemoration (October 1978) as Monument
- Remembrance Festival, October 2003

PEOPLE:
**CONTEXT:**

**Historic period**
- NK in Old Melbourne Gaol – one of Victoria’s oldest surviving buildings (constructed 1840s-1860s);
- NK at Victorian Supreme Court

**Modern period**
- Old Melbourne Gaol and Old Magistrate’s Court now a themed tourism attraction, managed by National Trust of Australia (Victoria); Magistrate’s Court was previously the Victorian Supreme Court; some of the site is now part of RMIT University (since 1979); Listed on Heritage Register in 1957; re-opened as public museum in 1972; listed on Victorian Heritage Register.
- Melbourne General Cemetery – listed on Victorian heritage Register
- Victorian Police Museum – a themed tourism attraction and information centre, with exhibits, commentaries about police work; includes permanent exhibition about the Kelly story and police involvement

**PLACES:**
- [Old] Melbourne Gaol – closed for us as a gaol in 1924; now only a themed attraction; the second cell block to be built (1852-1858) remains, and this was the block used by NK; NK story told on ‘story-boards’ at “far end” of the ground floor; cell used by condemned prisoners on second floor (includes board listing names of prisoners executed in the gaol); scaffold adjacent to condemned prisoner cell; examples of plaster death masks, prisoner chains, prisoner clothing;
- NK held in Old Melbourne Gaol awaiting trial and after being sentenced; NK executed here; alleged skull of NK stolen from display cabinet in 1978; exhumation of executed prisoners bodies removed to Pentridge Gaol (1929)
- Old Magistrate’s Court – former Supreme Court Building used at the time of NK trial; now used as part of themed attraction twinned with Old Melbourne Gaol; building in use at the time of the NK trial demolished in 1910; purchased for use by RMIT in 1997;
- Melbourne General Cemetery – gravesites of Sir Redmond Barry (NK trial judge), Edward Baker (doctor at NK execution), David Gaurson (legal counsel to NK), Maximilian Kreitmeyer (make of the plaster death masks)
- Victorian Police Museum; themed exhibition about police work; includes NK exhibits (see later)
- State Library of Victoria – themed exhibition (see later)

**Figure 7.4**
MELBOURNE (1)
'TEXTS', 'THINGS':
Exhibitions of NK-linked materials:
- (Old) Melbourne Gaol – NK death mask; NK cell; scaffold (not original); NK story told with exhibition of selected NK-linked items; (see also later)
- Victoria Police museum – Dan Kelly and Stuart Hart armour, Ann Jones’ cash box from Glenrowan siege on display; themed exhibition ‘Ambush’ with police perspective on the Stringybark Creek episode; McIntyre’s scrapbook and manuscript about the incident; poster proclaiming Kelly Gang members as ‘outlaws’ (15 November, 1878); photographs of NK, Gang members and NK sympathizers; video of police commemorative monument at Stringybark Creek site; register of sites of interest to Victoria Police history – includes Stringybark Creek memorial, monument in Mansfield, gravesites at Mansfield
- State Library of Victoria – permanent themed exhibition (since 2003): The Changing Face of Victoria, includes a section Ned Kelly Man and Myth; full suit of NK armour and items on loan from private collectors and the State Government’s own collections, including full copy of the Jerilderie Letter, eyewitness photographs of the siege (from, Barnes, Bray, Lindtall, Madeley, Murman,) and other graphic items register at the Copyright Office; items and fragments recovered from the archeological dig at Glenrowan (see Figure 7.4 Glenrowan), death mask; multimedia presentation of sketches by Norman Lindsay (1944), posters of plays about NK, scripts and transcripts of films and broadcasts, excerpts from original drafts of books about NK by Drewe and Carey.

EVENTS:
- Occasional exhibitions, such as some of the Sydney Nolan series of paintings, six months 2009

(RE)PRESENTATION:
- At Old Melbourne Gaol and adjoining Old Magistrate’s Courthouse – courtroom drama (interactive scripted courtroom experience of Crown v NK), ‘Such a Life’ (each week-end theatrical performance of NK life), Hangman’s night tour, occasional exhibitions about various aspects of NK story
- At Victoria Police Museum
- At State Library of Victoria; exhibition, and at main entrance is a statue of Sir Redmond Barry

PEOPLE:
Sir Redmond Barry, David Gaunson, Edward Baker, Maximilian Kreitmayer

Figure 7.4
MELBOURNE (2)
CONTEXT:

Historic period
- **STRINGYBARK CREEK**: natural bush wetting in Wombat Ranges' site of gun battle at police camp site involving Victoria Police party, 26th October, 1878; three days later Kelly Gang officially declared as outlaws
- **BULLOCK CREEK**: (also known as Kelly's Creek): Kelly Gang campsite at the time of the Stringybark ambush; confusion about location of cabin/hut used by the Gang
- **GERMAN'S CREEK**: third police body found here
- **HARRY POWER'S LOOKOUT**:

Modern period
- **STRINGYBARK CREEK**: camping reserve and heritage attraction jointly managed by Victorian Government Department of Sustainability and Environment, and Benalla Rural City; recently upgraded and redeveloped; more recently vandalized; site added to Victorian Heritage Register (September, 2009); lies within Toombullup Historic Area of Mt Samaria State Park Management Plan (2009-2014)
- **HARRY POWER'S LOOKOUT**: Nature Scenic Reserve, managed by Parks Victoria.

PLACES:
- **STRINGYBARK CREEK**: site of gun battle; disturbed by gold prospectors; finally determined 1993; site of Kelly Tree; Heritage walking trail, with interpretive signs; plaque commemorating ambush and deaths of the three policemen; stone amphitheatre and interpretive panels
- **BULLOCK CREEK**: Kelly Gang campsite; no tangible evidence remains;
- **GERMAN'S CREEK**: ongoing conjecture of the location of this;
- **HARRY POWER'S LOOKOUT**: walking track' interpretive board about HP and Kelly Gang

'TEXTS', THINGS:
- **STRINGYBARK CREEK**: Stone memorial commemorating deaths of the three policemen; unveiled 26th October 2001; Kelly Tree (original cut down by loggers in 1908; second choice tree decayed; current choice with plaque selected 1985)

EVENTS:

(RE)PRESENTATION:
- **STRINGYBARK CREEK**: Burman photographs of police re-enactment of gunfight held at Public Record Office, Melbourne; doubts about accuracy

PEOPLE:
‘Dead Men Do Tell Tales’
‘Teasing out’ the contribution of the folk hero to heritage-based tourism

CHAPTER 8
INTERPRETATION, OUTCOMES, CONCLUSIONS

- “Heritage tourism is a spatial and temporal phenomenon. The ‘past’ is the focus ... but the politics of identity, representation and preservation that arise in the instrumental use of the past influence the physical, social-cultural and spiritual well-being of people and the sustainability of their cultural goods, places and environments...”

Jamal and Kim, 2005, p.58

INTRODUCTION

This introductory quotation from Jamal and Kim (2005) – from a source which has been used extensively throughout this study to underpin the general direction being taken – refers to the underlying circumstances being considered here, namely the ‘past’ and its spatial frame of reference. It reflects both the substance considered by Lowenthal (1996) in his commentary on the ‘spoils of history’, and the processes of change which Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000) addressed in their interpretation of the ‘geography of heritage’. As the review and progressive refinement of matters relevant to heritage and to folklore in Chapter 3 revealed, the attention of the (heritage) tourism research community has been uneven; the energy of this study has been directed to exploring the nature of what has been referred to by Pearce, Morrison and Moscardo, (2003) as one of the less well-researched potential contributions to the treasure trove of heritage resources – the folk icon and folk hero.

The particular focus and purpose of this investigation was stated clearly in the first sentence of the Introductory Chapter (1):

This study has been designed to explore the proposition that ‘dead men do tell tales’, and to construct a means of ‘teasing out’ the evidence from both the tales per se and from the inputs to and influences on those tales which impact on the translation of them into resources for (and of) heritage-based tourism.

In this final chapter there is

• a brief reprise of the positioning of this study, and where it fits into the broad scope of the study of heritage-based tourism (8.1);
• a commentary on the Research Questions posed earlier in Section 1.4, and an explanation of how the ‘teasing-out’ and ‘scape-based’ approaches contributed inputs to the investigative framework (8.2);
• and, an explanation of how the commodification and tourismification of the spatial and semiotic circumstances of a folk hero – in this case, the Ned Kelly story – can influence tourism product and tourism strategy development through commodification and tourismification (8.3).
A concluding section (8.4) considers the issues likely to be confronted in studies of the folk hero, especially where the principal focus is to determine the contribution of the folkloric resources to tourism strategies and tourism product development.

8.1 Positioning this study

As the introductory statement suggests, from the outset there have been two tasks, one focusing on the 'dead men' (or folk heroes as they are interpreted in this study) and the substance of their stories, and the other on how that evidence can be exposed and how it is or may be used as a contribution to heritage-based tourism.

Always lurking behind these two tasks was the problem of how they might be addressed.

After determining that the study would be focused on addressing the proposition that 'dead men do tell tales', the only serious substantive problems were definitional (what is a folk hero?), taxonomic (what kind of folk hero, and especially whether he was factual or fictional?), confrontational (whether the implications of the folk hero story were contestable), and selective (which folk hero to use as a case study). These matters were addressed in Chapter 3.

The choice of 'how' to conduct the study was less straightforward. After some preliminary forays into the substance and methodology of a number of investigative approaches including some from, for example, cultural anthropology and ethnography (see Palmer, 2005, 2009), it was decided that this study would engage with a flexible investigative strategy, albeit within a particular disciplinary framework — 'thinking geographically'. This was encouraged generally by Andrew's observation that, in the burgeoning field of heritage studies

"researchers are challenged, but also free to employ novel lines of enquiry towards our aim of a more complex and satisfying understanding of heritage"

(2009, p.140)

and by Butler's advocacy that

"it is surely essential for geographers to retain a strong spatial focus and a synthesizing approach. These are the two traditional characteristics of the geographer and are unique to the discipline"

(2004, p.156 – with this comment referring to a general point made at p.155).

The implication of this has been that this study has indulged in and taken an experimental route to unraveling ('teasing out') the evidence that 'dead men do tell tales' rather than rely on a single previously-existing investigative method with its more narrowly-conceived capabilities. Such experimentation has been championed by, for example, Andrews (2009), Chambers (2007), Jennings (2009) and Tribe (2005, 2007).

In the search for a means by which the distinctiveness of what was being studied could be realized (see Section 1.4) this investigation was drawn into the literature on 'themescpapes' and various 'scape'-type formulations (see Chapter 4), and to the value-adding contribution which the addition of the observational filter of semiotics — more especially 'the gaze' — could make in terms of both information-gathering and interpretation. These matters were addressed in Chapters 5 and 6.
Armed with commitments (a) to a subject area – the folk hero, (b) to a means of investigation located within the broad ‘knowledge force field’ (Tribe and Airey, 2007) of the social sciences, and (c) to adopt and adapt the investigative approaches of forensic social science (Rivlin, 1973) using the perspectives of ‘thinking geographically’ (Hubbard et al., 2002) and semiotics (‘the gaze’ – Urry, 2002), this study then engaged with an experiment to construct a ‘well-theorized integrated framework’ with the capacity to ‘tease out’ the evidence that ‘dead men do tell tales’ and that those tales contribute to heritage-based tourism. The way in which this study has been approached sets it within the loose context of tourism geography.

8.2 Addressing the Research Questions: using ‘teasing out’ and ‘scape’-based approaches.

In Section 1.4 the interlinked tasks of this study were expressed in three questions:

1. what is the evidence (that ‘dead men do tell tales’)?
2. how can that evidence be ‘teased out’?
3. and, given that evidence, what contribution could the stories about folk heroes make to ‘touristed landscapes’ and to heritage-based tourism?

The first two are addressed in this Section; the third is addressed partly in 8.3, and partly in 8.4

Question 1: What is the evidence?

Rich and diverse veins of evidence were encountered in the search for evidence to suit both general and more case study-specific subjects. Some of this evidence led to considerations of heritage conservation (and preserving the folk hero story) rather than to contributing especially to tourism matters, whether strategies or product development.

For this study, discipline was imposed by focusing attention on resources with tourism potential which were shaped by the parameters and criteria of ‘distinctiveness’ referred to by Urry (1992, p.172), and the hero/icon-specific criteria nominated by Pearce, Morrison and Moscardo (2003, pp. 74ff).

The diversity of distinctive evidence included such matters as, for example

- places, spaces, sites and settings,
- buildings, public buildings and structures,
- townships, villages or groups of buildings
- trails, tracks, routes
- natural settings (including retreats and hiding places)
- ‘texts’ and ‘things’ (such as artifacts, armour, tools),
- diaries, documents and ‘official’ records,
- events and happenings (now recreated in festivals and anniversary celebrations),
- narrative and other art forms,
- biographical evidence of people (other than the hero) associated in some way with the story.

In addition, the evidence of ‘physical and material reality’ was embedded in both an evolving context of cultural, environmental, economic, political and social circumstances and happenings which form constituent elements of the hero’s story, and in organizational circumstances which have developed to present that story, including the
policies, programs and actions of both commercial and public agencies, and of
volunteer and other interest groups.

Question 2: How can that evidence be ‘teased out’?

It became clear during the early phases of the research that reliance upon existing
investigative frameworks was not being as successful as hoped. The implication of this
was that even before the first of the research questions could be addressed adequately
it would be necessary to formulate a framework which could be configured to meet the
special circumstances of the folk hero. This led to the search for a suitable ‘teasing out’
process; at this point, the investigation was drawn back to the observation of Jamal and
Kim (2005) that the investigative means should be based on a ‘well-theorized integrated
framework’.

The ‘teasing out’ process used in this study has been based on the principles of
forensic social science (see Rivlin, 1973; and Chapter 2 here, Section 2.4). This
‘teasing out’ process, as it is explained in dictionary definitions, is associated with
investigative actions such as ‘to gain by persistent coaxing’, ‘to disentangle’, ‘to
carefully extract facts’, or ‘to reveal or extract by painstaking effort’. In recent
examinations of discovering meanings in the association of tourism and landscape,
Knudsen and others (2007) have advocated ‘teasing out the ways in which tourist sites
are artfully constructed’.

8.3 Commodification and tourismification of folk hero stories.

The third of the Research Questions, which addresses the contribution the stories about
folk heroes could make to ‘touristed landscapes’ and to heritage-based tourism was
approached by examining how the evidence (‘physical and material reality’) was
spatially positioned (in terms of its distribution, location, and especially its presence in
the semiotics-based lens), and the geographical types and forms which materialized.

This research task – which, at its core was to determine the nature and scope of the
commodification and tourismification of the evidence – engaged with two further
disciplinary filters. There was an organizational filter based on the adaptation of the
framework approach which provided a workable structure with which and within which
the information could be gathered and then analyzed (based on Ostrom, 2009). The
second of these was a perceptual filter which concentrated on only that evidence which
could be accessed through a semiotic lens, and which contributed to story and place
distinctiveness (see earlier).

It was the second of these which drew the study into consideration of various ‘scape’-
based conceptualizations, some of which were procedural (such as ‘powerscape’) and
others which were determined by the nature of a tourism-linked resource (such as
‘foodscape’), and still others which bridged the two (such as ‘heritagescape’).

Using this multi-faceted approach – a form of investigative triangulation – this study was
able to focus attention on the distinctive heritage and folkloric landscapes which were
formed as contributions to tourism strategy and product development. At the final stage
of the analysis and interpretation the previous complexity was simplified so that the
case study could be interpreted and assessed in accordance with six variables with
links to the story of the folk hero:

- the context of the folk hero story (both as it evolved and as it is currently
  presented),
- the places involved in the story,
- the ‘texts’, things and tangible objects associated with the story,
• events in the story,
• forms used to communicate the story,
• and people other than the folk hero which play a part in the story.

8.4 Interpretation; assessment; future directions of research

Four issues are considered in this final section:

• the contribution the stories about folk heroes could make to 'touristed landscapes' and to heritage-based tourism;
• issues confronted in a study of a folk hero: lessons to be learned from this study;
• interpretation and assessment of this study;
• and, possible future directions for research in this subject area.

Stories about folk heroes can contribute to 'touristed landscapes' and to heritage-based tourism on two principal levels. Firstly, and most generally, they may complement other heritage-related information which has been harnessed to support the operation of heritage-based tourism attractions; alternatively, they may provide a complementing resource in tourist regions where the principal attraction is not heritage-based.

Secondly, and most particularly, they may provide:

• a focus for attraction across a spectrum from 'infotainment'/entertainment to 'information' – or, as it is expressed by Kerstetter et al (2001), a spectrum of attraction which extends from the interests the 'history green-horn' to the interests of the 'history buff';
• a site or place or even regional focus for heritage-based tourism;
• a distinctive rationale for tourism, including using the folk hero as a symbol;
• spatial distinctiveness and place identity through, for example, celebratory events, re-enactments;
• linkages to other historical events and circumstances including various aspects of cultural, economic, political and social development;
• and, a focus for exhibitions and displays of materials directly associated with the folk hero, or of art works representing aspects of the folk story.

The contribution of the folk hero stories to 'touristed landscapes' will be influenced by the degree to which those stories have elements which can be readily commodified for presentation, by the commitment of public agencies to conservation, preservation and presentation, and by the ease (or difficulty) of harnessing the physical elements into a policy and planning framework which can be presented within a readily accessible geographical space. In addition, to make a significant contribution to tourism strategies the various aspects of the story will need to be distinctive.

Issues confronted in a study of a folk hero: lessons to be learned from this study.

Even with an abundance and richness of evidence of the 'physical and material reality' of a folk hero's story it is possible that investigations of the kind recorded here will encounter a range of particular and generic problems which singly or in combination could impede both the telling of the story and the transformation of it into tourism attractions. Some of those difficulties are considered here briefly, drawing on the experience of this study.

In the design of the study process it has to be recognized that not all folk heroes will have stories based on facts, even contested facts; for the Ned Kelly story told here the
focus was on ‘officially’ documented and verifiable sources, and on field observations. A different outcome would be likely if the sources were only or mainly myths, legends, folktales and similar forms. The lesson to be learned here is to avoid mixing the different genres, although including evidence from, for example, various art forms and re-enactments can be included in the portfolio of information provided it is made clear where this is being done.

For this study two inter-liked perspectives – ‘thinking geographically’ and ‘the gaze’ – imposed a pre-determined focus on the exposure, examination and analysis of the information being gathered. Although this restricted the core issues of the ‘knowledge force field’ it provided consistency of discipline and perspective to the engagement in information-gathering, analysis and interpretation. In addition to consistency, this approach builds confidence in the judgments being made because the parameters are constant. In this study the intention has been to make a contribution to tourism geography, and the inputs to and outcomes from the study should be considered only within that frame of reference; using tools and perspectives from any other disciplinary position may expose different inputs and outcomes.

An important purpose of this study was to expose the distinctiveness of the factors of ‘physical and material reality’ which supported the proposition that ‘dead men do tell tales’. Clues from Pearce, Morrison and Moscardo (2003) and Urry (1992) were drawn upon to construct a prospectus of indicators. This proved to be an important sieving factor, and once used successfully in the preliminary scan for evidence it became an important determinant of what to look for, and where to find it. The use of distinctiveness as a distinguishing factor was relatively easy in this study with its emphasis on geographical and semiotic issues; it may need refinement to cope with perspectives which have economic, political or social issues, and for which the visible and geographic are not so dominant.

In studies about the interests of tourists in heritage resources Kerstetter et al have speculated about a spectrum extending from the ‘history green-horn’ to the ‘full-fledged history buff’ (2001, p.267), with those extremities having very different informational (and entertainment) needs. For this study, the underlying strategy has been to delve as far as possible into the accessible information for both general and backgrounding issues and for empirical evidence on the assumption that if the informational and entertainment expectations of the ‘full-fledged history buff’ can be met then the possibly less-demanding interests of the ‘history greenhorn’ could also be met.

Various degrees of latitude have to be applied to the gathering of information through desk-based studies because the evidence from some of those sources – whether art, narrative, or performance forms, or tangible materials – may have been re-cast or inflected to convey a particular message. What is important for a study such as this is to at least be able to recognize any contention, convergence, difference, or dissonance, and to build an interpretation of the proposition that ‘dead men do tell tales’ which is consistent and constant. For this study, from the outset, the intention was to tell a fact-based story of a folk hero, even though there are credible sources which argue that the subject of the case study – Ned Kelly – was primarily a criminal and outlaw rather than a hero.

Fieldwork-based investigations may be impacted by matters such as accessibility, tangibility and visibility. Fortuitously for the circumstances of this study, the arena of the exploits of the folk hero was limited to a corridor of approximately 300 kms north/south and 100 kms east/west, and to less than 25 townships or identifiable rural locations. Although access to many of the sites, places and buildings in the story was generally unimpeded, some have been transformed since the folk hero’s activities through clearance, demolition, or redevelopment, some have become dilapidated and abandoned, and public access to others is not welcomed by the current owners. The
impact of this is that a full interpretation of the landscape as it was at the time of the folk hero's activities can be frustrated. Many of the critical (and authentic) tangible artifacts are protected and guarded jealously in museum collections, and some are so protected that it is only replicas and facsimiles that are publicly accessible.

One other matter deserves a comment; this study did not engage with conventional social science investigations involving structured questionnaires and social surveys seeking opinions from visitors to heritage tourist sites, from public officials or from entrepreneurs responsible for tourist attractions or services. Rather, this study engaged in a strategy of unobtrusive observation (Kellehear, 1993; Lee, 2000) where the investigator looked, watched and listened, made copious notes and a few audio recordings using a handheld voice recorder, sketched and photographed places and objects, made annotations on maps, and collected books, brochures, facsimiles, handbooks, pictures, and postcards. Not all studies of folk heroes could adopt this strategy; it was appropriate in this case because the evidence being gathered was to be fitted to an analytical framework which was designed to accept as high a degree as possible of inputs consistent with the imposed geographical and semiotic perspectives.

Interpretation and assessment of this study

Once the exploratory phase in this investigation had gained momentum it became clear that evidence was abundant, culturally, geographically and historically extensive, and composed of accounts of both fictional and factual heroes; however, the evidence was qualitatively uneven, sometimes incomplete and inconsistent, and often contested (especially in the case of factual heroes).

This study has been particular in its choice of (a) the folk hero, (b) disciplinary orientation, (c) investigative perspectives, and (d) analytical device. Any outcomes (such as the constructed research questions and the responses to those questions) need to be interpreted within the confines of these deliberate choices. The entire study has been set within an interpretation of making a contribution to tourism geography; the investigative system – inputs, analysis, outputs – has been framed by this commitment. An important implication of this is that if different choices to (b), (c) and (d) were to be made, it should be expected that the outcomes would be different. The implication of this is that this investigation has been a particular contribution to the study of the proposition that 'dead men do tell tales', and that other and possibly complementary contributions would inevitably increase the level of enlightenment about the role which the folk heroes and stories about them can make to heritage-based tourism.

Albeit from a selected disciplinary perspective and using particular investigative tools, this study has exposed the nature of the phenomenon of the folk hero and the diversity of components which may be drawn upon in the commodification of the hero as a resource for the purposes of heritage-based tourism. To a significant degree this study confirms the general proposition of Pearce, Morrison and Moscardo (2003) about the potential of the folk icon and folk hero for touristic purposes, and it sets the folk hero squarely within the scope of the Lowenthal (1996) conceptualization of 'the heritage crusade and the spoils of history'. In order to achieve the necessary exposure of the intricacies of the folk hero's story it was necessary to construct an appropriate investigative tool, and this drew the study into a range of 'themescape' conceptualizations and 'scape'-based frameworks.

Recent critical commentaries about the operational 'comfort zone' in studies about heritage-based tourism nudged this study towards experimentation with both the subject and the method. A useful discovery was the advocacy of Ostrom (2009 and others) for the construction of frameworks capable of being manipulated to suit the circumstances of "data collection instruments, the conduct of fieldwork, and the analysis of findings" (2009, p.420). This advocacy was exploited in the three-phase construction
of the framework used in this study, and although its structure was designed to cope with geographical and semiotic inputs there is little (if anything) in its basic format which could not be reconfigured to convert it into a suitable structural device for inputs from other social science perspectives. The framework form is particularly compatible with the expectations and needs of forensic examinations in, for example, geographic profiling.

Only one case study has been used here – the Australian bushranger Ned Kelly. As was explained in Chapter 2 (Section 2.9) this was a deliberate choice, so that the single case could be used as both a means of explanation and as a means of experimentation (see Mitchell, 2006, and especially Yin, 2003, pp. 39-44), in so doing underpinning the study with depth and intensity rather than the breadth and relative superficiality which can result from the consideration of multiple cases in a single study.

One final point follows this reference to the focus on Ned Kelly as a case study. There is an extensive volume of published literature about this bushranger, and whilst some of it refers to him as a folk hero, other sources refer to him as an outlaw and criminal. It has not been a purpose of this study to pass judgment on him or his activities, but simply to use the information about him as evidence that ‘dead men do tell tales’.

If the commentaries in some of the sources which have been used most frequently in this study are benchmark indicators of what still needs to be done to heighten the levels of knowledge and understanding about heritage and heritage-based tourism, what has been achieved here may be assessed as a useful and usable step towards, firstly, increasing the level of awareness about the potential contribution of an often overlooked and neglected resource – the folk hero – and secondly improving the level of competence to search for, analyze and interpret that contribution, especially within the frame of ‘tourism geography’.

Future directions

It has been made clear throughout this investigation that the target has been to establish the credibility of the proposition that ‘dead men do tell tales’ and that this task has drawn on the investigative opportunities from the perspectives of ‘thinking geographically’ and semiotics (the ‘gaze’).

There are, of course, other disciplinary perspectives each with their own prospectus of investigative methods (see, for example, the case studies in Sorensen and Carman, 2009); however, the commentary in this Section about future directions of research retains the focus of the two perspectives used in this study.

Four matters are considered briefly.

It is the three chapters 4, 5 and 6 which have provided some of the significant indicators of scope for future directions of research. For example, in Chapter 4 there was an interpretive overview of various ‘scape’-based forms which have been developed to meet descriptive and structural purposes associated with the subject of this study, and whilst there seems to be little need for the invention of another variant, further substance would be attracted to the theoretical foundations for heritage-based tourism if the challenge of Ostrom (2009, 2011) was addressed by taking any of the frameworks forward – including the framework constructed in this study – to develop theories and models of heritage-based tourism (see Chapter 5; and Pearce and Butler, 2010 – see their advocacy for “a greater use of explicit integrative frameworks”, p.233). Also in Chapter 4 reference was made to the conceptualization of ‘tourismification’ by Jansen-Verbeke (1998 and others); she formulated a way of using the physical fabric of heritage cities in Europe as the inputs to an examination of their heritage potential for the purposes of tourism. Building on this, and with empirical evidence of the kind used
in this study (in Chapter 7) an investigation of the spatial and historical associations of episodes of folk heroes' stories could be used to underpin the identification of a network or system of distinctive places, precincts, districts or even townships and regions which could be incorporated into conservation, planning, development and even marketing strategies.

The case study here focused attention on the historic circumstances and current evidence of a folk hero whose identity can be confirmed in various 'official' sources even if the descriptor 'hero' is contested. There is a vast folkloric research literature which includes tales about artists, entrepreneurs, musicians, national military heroes, politicians and public servants (such as judges), with some tales being verifiable and others conjectural or even apocryphal with 'evidence' embedded in folktales, legends, myths and similar genres of folk stories. Some of these matters were considered in Chapter 3. The contribution of the folk hero as a resource for heritage-based tourism could be extended through the range of hero types and recorded across an extensive spectrum of (re)presentational forms in, for example, folk literature (such as ballads, doggerels, folktales, legends, myths, poetry), various forms of artworks, in souvenirs, and in films and other pictorial and photographic forms.

At the third phase of the construction of the analytical framework used in this study (Chapter 6) a set of six components was identified – contextual circumstances, places, 'texts' and things, events, forms of (re)presentation, people associated with the story. Each of these could become the principal focus of any forensic scrutiny through an analytical framework (either a general or single-focus framework) designed to expose the features which endowed distinctiveness and heightened the attractiveness of folk hero-linked resources for heritage-based tourism (Urry, 1992).

Building research investigations around the proposition that 'dead men do tell tales' could contribute to an exploration of a range of cultural, economic, environmental, political and social issues which infuse the stories with their special character and distinctiveness. The implication of this is that, rather than being the principal focus of investigation, some aspects of the folk hero stories could be used as inputs to extend, for example, Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge's (2000) speculations about 'a geography of heritage', Gyimothy's (2005) consideration of nostalgia, Hobsbawm's (1969) commentaries on social bandits, Palmer's (1999, 2009) references to national identity as a potential heritage resource (see also the contributions to Graham and Howard, 2008), Pearce, Morrison and Moscardo's (2003) speculations about contemporary heroes, and Rojek's (2001) commentaries about celebrity.

Two final points are worth making, as matters of caution.

Firstly, it is appropriate to point out that some studies could drift away from a focus in tourism towards one which concentrates more on the artifacts, or on the personalities, or on the places, or on the nature of the information and record, or even become more focused on conservation and heritage per se rather than on the commodification of tourismification of the resources and the evidence; and this might happen even with a consistent information base. Secondly, background evidence gathered for this study confirmed that there is not a single folk hero type; that is not surprising, but it foreshadows problems in appropriateness if the research commentary attempts to make generalizations based across a diverse range of examples, some of which might not fit well together. In this study there has been a single case – Ned Kelly - and the conclusions which have been drawn are set in that focused context, with no extrapolations to any general set of cases. Allied to that is the need to be wary of making assertions about outcomes which extend beyond the disciplinary framework used for any particular study.
CONCLUSION

It has been the purpose of this study to examine the proposition that ‘dead men do tell tales’, and to search for evidence which can confirm that, and especially to discover what contribution the ‘dead men’ and their ‘tales’ can make to heritage-based tourism.

This particular investigation has been positioned deliberately within the loose parameters of ‘tourism geography’, and the principal interpretations of the evidence that ‘dead men do tell tales’ are the outcome of geographical discovery aided and abetted by investigations influenced by an adaptation of the semiotic viewpoint of ‘the gaze’. In short, the evidence sought – and found – to support the basic proposition has a fixed geographical reference and it can be accessed and appreciated visually and often tangibly (although, in some cases, tangible contact is limited to replicas or facsimiles).

One of the conclusions to come from this study is that tales about folk heroes are integral components of Lowenthal’s ‘spoils of history’, and that by engaging with an experimental means of information-gathering, analysis and interpretation it has been shown to be possible to ‘tease out’ the contribution those tales can make to heritage-based tourism.
'Dead Men Do Tell Tales'
'Teasing out' the contribution of the folk hero to heritage-based tourism

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