

# The “Spoils of History” as a Mediated Product

## An Australian folklore-based example

Michael Fagence  
University of Queensland  
*m.fagence@uq.edu.au*

It is the purpose of this paper to engage with the challenge of interpreting situations and events in history so that they can be realized as forms of ‘mediated products’. The process and action of mediation has more to do with the ‘domestication’ of ‘the spoils of history’ (Lowenthal, 1996), and the transformation of those ‘spoils’ into present idioms (Gillis, 1997) – including history-linked and heritage-based tourism – than with the practices of serious scholarship and knowledge accumulation. As a contribution to underpinning the mediation process with appropriate levels of serious scholarship, to combat the potential for the ‘dumbing down’ of history (Coles and Armstrong, 2007) and to minimize the distortion and misuse of the ‘facts’ of history (Laurajane Smith 2006), the speculations in this paper are focused on constructing an investigative framework with which to ‘tease out’ the important and distinctive constituents of story-telling and place-making. The underlying intention is to expose the story-telling and place-making components of history which, through mediation and commodification may be incorporated into strategies of planned development. Using an approach adapted from forensic social science (here, drawing on methodologies and tools from geography and semiotics), an episode from Australian folkloric history is used as a case study.

**Keywords:** ‘spoils of history’; heritage story-telling; heritage place-making; heritage-based tourism; Australian folklore

### Introduction

This paper engages with the challenge of interpreting situations and events in history as forms of ‘mediated products’. The engagement is more with heritage than with historical fact *per se*, drawing the distinction from a frame of reference in which ‘history’ is that which historians consider is worth

recording and interpreting, often as potentially verifiable fact, and in which 'heritage' is the companion mediated (sometimes commoditized) product which communicates selected facts and fantasies (see Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000, pp. 1-7). The principal concern here is with the formulation of an investigative framework which can underpin the 'packaging' of history and heritage-related resources – 'the spoils of history' (Lowenthal, 1996) – for the niche purpose of history-linked and heritage-based tourism. This particular package has been selected because, amongst other things, it provides an opportunity to speculate on the inputs to the process (and act) of mediating 'the spoils' referred to by Lowenthal and the emergence of a determinable and distinctive product. In part, what is considered here draws together three issues: one of these is Garden's (2006) recent creation of a framework with which to examine the micro-scale of 'heritagescapes', a second is the Gillis (1997) commentary about the intertwining of history and heritage, and the third is the speculations of Coles and Armstrong (2007) about 'the phenomenon of history as popular culture'. Throughout this paper the focus is on exposing those elements which contribute to story-telling and place-making, those which confer a measure of 'distinctiveness' (to the story and/or place), and those which, whilst not focusing on or probing the cerebral depths of the historians' interest (see Borsay, 1991), are inclined towards a twinned experience of enlightenment and entertainment in which situations in history are selected, commodified and transformed into 'mediated products' for popular consumption.

Historians of various persuasions have engaged with commentaries on different aspects of the popularization of history. Lowenthal (1996), in particular, has referred to a 'crusade' engaging with 'the spoils of history', and Peter Borsay (1991) has differentiated within this crusade between approaches which focus essentially on knowledge accumulation and those which focus on unravelling the meanings of landscapes, places, buildings and events, and the expression of those meanings through images, icons and symbols. It is the determined pursuit of meanings (perhaps at the expense of the more cerebral history) which has often generated concerns about the over-commodification and mediation of history in which 'facts' are manipulated (even by, for example, distortion, obfuscation or omission) so that the story and its setting attract popular appeal (on this see especially, Laurajane Smith, 2006).

Teasing out the facts of history is often a convoluted process; if those facts are to be mediated and commodified so that 'the spoils of history' can be readily transposed into a product with commercial value (and consequence) and the historical integrity maintained, a suitable investigative and interpretation framework becomes necessary so that, at the very least, the linkage between fact and fantasy can be traced and exposed. It is the purpose of the experimental investigation reported here to expose such a process for consideration. What is done here accords with an observation made by Wood (2009); in his commentary on what he refers to as 'a historiographical revolution' (p.2) he reports on the study of history – and cultural history in particular – being impacted by the infusion of new perspectives and new subjects, new theories and insights from a range of social science disciplines. The case study presented for consideration here has a disciplinary foundation in the social sciences, where processes and perspectives from 'thinking geographically' and 'the gaze' component of semiotics are pulled into an investigation of a special case within the history of Australia, and more particularly from its folkloric history, as a step towards unravelling the transformation of particular 'spoils of history' into a commodity, a mediated product. The underlying entanglement of story-telling and place-making is shaped by highlighting the attributes of

distinctiveness; Gillis has referred to this as a circumstance where “the past is domesticated, made familiar, translated into present idioms” (1997, p.377).

After a brief review of the nature and scope of ‘the spoils of history’, and an equally brief commentary on mediation, commodification, and the creation of ‘themescapes’, attention is given to the construction of a three phase framework - ‘a scientific mode of ordering’ - which progressively exposes the intermeshing of story-telling and place-making, so as to expose the potential components of a mediated product. The focus is on the process of construction and assembly of an experimental three-phase framework; it may be construed as a tentative and hesitant contribution to the call by Jamal and Kim (2005) for “a well-theorized integrated framework showing the complexity, dynamism, scale and scope of doing a research study related to heritage and tourism” (p.56), and to the historiographical revolution described by Wood (2009).

### **‘Spoils of history’: mediation; commodification; ‘themescape’**

Published commentaries on the nature, scope and range of history-linked and heritage resources – ‘the spoils of history’ – reveal considerable diversity. In addition to the extensive and conventional inventories exposed in sources such as Prentice (2003) and UNESCO (1989, 2003) there are categorizations which emphasize transcendental characteristics (myths, legends, folk tales), while others link ‘the spoils’ to matters of nationalism or to statutory instruments and international protocols. At one extreme of simplicity it has been commented by Johnson and Thomas that ‘the spoils of history’ may be considered as “virtually anything by which some kind of link, however false or tenuous, may be forged with the past” (1995, p.170)

For purposes other than intrinsic and perhaps altruistic knowledge accumulation – the ‘cerebral history’ referred to by Borsay (1991) – information about history-linked resources is generally subjected to processes of mediation and packaging so that the communicability of that information is presented in a form suited to the potential consumer. Some commentators have expressed reservations about interfering with the serious evidence from history (Laurajane Smith, 2006), but others have suggested that making the subject ‘familiar’ (Gillis, 1997) and re-presenting that evidence in carefully controlled forms need not be disruptive nor a case of ‘dumbing down’ (Coles and Armstrong, 2007). Any process of selection, interpretation and presentation is interventionist, and both mediation and commodification are acts of intervention; in a simple three-stage process, selection (the act of ‘teasing out’ the ‘spoils of history’) is the first, mediation (‘deciphering’ the ‘meaning’) is the second, commodification (the act of packaging into a product) is the third, with some of this phase focusing on aspects of further mediation and fine-tuning so as to suit a particular interest (such as heritage-based tourism).

The challenge in the processes of selection, interpretation and presentation is to at least suitably contextualize whatever history-linked issues are exposed for public, and especially popular, consumption. As Crang (1997) has observed, any single case of commoditized and mediated history and heritage-based story-telling and place-making is likely to have little more than a temporary ‘shelf-life’, as it becomes replaced by new stories or places of interest, or new forms of presentation, or becomes subjected to new instrumental policies and controls which affect its capacity to sustain (popular) interest. The leveraging of stories and places to meet consumer expectations is commonplace, not least in the cases of the metamorphosis of urban landscapes. Myriam Jansen-

Verbeke (1998) has carefully documented the commodification of urban changes and metamorphosis in a number of Dutch heritage-significant townships, describing as 'tourismification' the process of tourism-induced engineering to achieve a good fit of story and place and product. Such specially-formed areas are almost invariably 'themescape'-based, exhibiting a critical mass of distinctiveness and themed attractions. However, mediating 'the spoils of history' is a more challenging task than simply achieving the popularization of history.

### **Outline of a framework: 'Teasing out', 'deciphering', synthesis**

The remainder of this paper addresses the construction of the investigative framework foreshadowed in earlier paragraphs, and it includes a brief review of a sample of inputs linked to that framework which feature in a case study embedded in the history of urban and rural Australia.

In its most simple form the framework has three phases, with both the overall configuration and the interlinked components conforming closely to a structure outlined by the Nobel Laureate Elinor Ostrom (2009, 2011) as a device which can accommodate both methodological and conceptual aspects of enquiry, and especially as a research instrument with which to collect information, to organize the collected information, to analyse that information, to facilitate the identification of potentially relevant variables and sub-components of the study topic, to pose questions for direction-specific enquiry, to improve levels of interpretation and understanding, and to form building blocks for the effective creation of new revelations and commodified products. The three phases may be summarily described as 'teasing out', 'deciphering' and synthesis, with the third of these phases being capable of accommodating the addition of specialized interpretative viewpoints which respond to the possible need of fine-tuning (or, as Ostrom claims, being 'well-tailored to the particular problem in hand', 2011, p.9), especially so that the actions of transformation, reformulation and 'mediation' can expose the distinctiveness of the potential product engineered from and around the selected 'spoils of history'.

There are, of course, already many existing conventional social science-based qualitative methods of inquiry which can provide useful starting and general points for an exercise of this kind, but a case can be made that the special circumstances of history-linked studies deserve a purpose-designed framework, albeit with disciplinary associations with the social sciences. A number of recent commentaries have expressed concern about the suitability of many of the standard approaches often used repeatedly with little adjustment to suit the special circumstances being researched. Recent collections of cases in heritage studies edited by, for example, Sorensen and Carman (2009) and Waterton and Watson (2010) have commented on some of the difficulties encountered in 'teasing out' and 'deciphering' the inputs to the stories being told, and especially the influences which have given shape and substance to the process of place-making. In many ways these edited collections have almost innocently supported the advocacy of Jamal and Kim (2005) for the construction of a well-theorized and integrated framework capable of coping with the complexity, dynamism, scale and scope of investigative issues in heritage. Some commentaries in associated fields of enquiry have referred to the need to search for 'novel' ways of discovering, revealing and interpreting relevant information including constructing explicit integrative frameworks (Franklin, 2007). Often these tasks are frustrated by working within the confines of particular disciplinary boundaries; two options have been canvassed to mitigate this, with, for example, the social geographer Doreen Massey strongly advocating what she refers to as 'conversations between

disciplines' and the educationalist Alice Rivlin urging the adoption and adaptation of what she has described as 'forensic social science'.

All of these provocations have been taken into account in the formalization of the investigative framework to be described here as 'a scientific mode of ordering', with its intention of enabling the eventual interpretation and refashioning of the evidence of history into forms of mediated products. In summary, while the process of exposing the evidence of history remains constant it is the different informational needs which give shape to how that evidence is presented; the evidence *per se* remains the same, but it is the engineering of the fit of the story-telling and place-making evidence which gives rise to the different products, each with its own story-line, place-relationships, 'critical mass' and distinctiveness (Urry, 1992). To borrow from Mary-Catherine Garden's (2009) exposition about her 'heritagescape' framework, the aim here has been to construct the framework so as "to capture the sense of heritage sites as both tangible and intangible spaces" (p.270), and so as to "explicate meanings and patterns" (Moustakas, 1990, p.44).

To recapitulate briefly, and to input from sources mentioned previously in this paper, the investigative framework being considered here as 'a scientific mode of ordering' is composed of the following:

- Firstly, as a structure of three interlinked phases – (a) a phase to 'tease out' and expose the range and scope of 'the spoils of history', and the contributory resources to and the influences on the selected episode of history, the story and the associated places; (b) a phase to 'decipher' how those inputs are brought to bear on the story, probing for linkages, dependencies, interdependencies, and configurations, and determining how 'the spoils of history' may be transposed into commoditized products; and (c) a phase – synthesis – which accommodates the actions of transformation, reformulation and 'mediation' so that the targeted 'spoils of history' can be aggregated into a recognizable structure ('themescape') which exposes the distinctiveness of the story and the various place associations; and
- Secondly, as a means of refining the 'themescape', one or more social science-based indicators can be applied to the aggregated information so as to expose the distinctiveness of critical aspects of the story and its associated places; for example, for the case study which follows later in this paper, the two indicators used are 'thinking geographically' (see Shurmer-Smith, 2002) and 'the gaze' component from semiotics (see Pearson and Warburton, 2005; Sless, 1986) which, in tandem, contribute to Urry's (1992) propositions that "it is the distinctiveness of the visual that gives all sorts of activities a special or unique character" (p.172) and that the aim of mediation in heritage-based tourism is to create a product which is "something distinctive to be gazed upon ... the signs collected by tourists have to be visually extraordinary" (p.173).

The overall aim of mediation is to engineer a good fit of story and place and product.

Across the three phases of the Ostrom-derived 'model' framework, there is inevitable engagement and entanglement with both substantive (subject-specific and subject-related) and methodological issues. Of the three phases, the first – the 'teasing out' phase – is formulated mechanistically and conventionally to expose the range and scope of 'the spoils of history', including, for example, the

resources of 'physical and material reality' such as (a) the *in situ* physicality of places, spaces, sites, tracks, structures and buildings, archaeological remnants, artifacts, and such textual records as documents, diaries and reports, and (b) the physical presence of these resources removed to and relocated off-site to museums, galleries, libraries and similar depositories, in public or private collections. The relative significance of these 'spoils' to the story being told and the place being created can be differentiated into at least five categories - intrinsic, symbolic, personal, economic, social and political. In the second phase - 'deciphering' - the analysis becomes concerned with the tasks 'to capture the sense', to 'explicate meanings and patterns', and to identify 'something distinctive'. It is these tasks which are interpretive rather than focused on fact-finding. There is a triad of contributory components to this phase - 'powerscape', conversion, and configuration. The first aims to unravel the influence on the resources of a 'powerscape' (Jacobs, 2006) which includes, for example, the record of history (from disparate sources), the actions of public agencies (such as strategies for safeguarding 'the spoils of history'), the attitudes towards commodification by entrepreneurial agencies, and the interest shown by the public towards history and heritage. Conversion is the second of the components; its principal focus is to expose and interpret the relative importance to the process of transforming 'the spoils of history' into products of, for example, the systems and operations of government, the agendas of interest groups, the impacts of business decisions and technical planning and design issues. The third of the triad's components is concerned with interpreting the configuration of the history-linked and heritage resources, both as a 'natural' or as a contrived spatial arrangement and specially-created 'themescape'. In aggregate these three components in this phase tighten the focus to the story-telling and place-making tasks/.

The third and synthesizing phase is that in which 'the spoils of history' become refashioned, converted and mediated into a product with a distinctive 'physical and material reality', and with a capacity to be commodified for any one of a range of purposes (for example, economic development, education, entertainment, identity formation, information promotion, raising community awareness, stimulating crafts, tourism, urban conservation and/or redevelopment). This is the phase in which the story-telling and place-making conflate. Whereas the previous phases and their components are likely to be assessed *in vacuo* (almost a contest-free 'zone'), it is in this phase that the focus sharpens to become situation-specific and distinctive. Engagement with mediation and commodification is not without criticism; whilst these processes embody the capacity to maximise the intrinsic or contrived economic potential of the selected 'spoils of history' they may also weaken the intrinsic value and authenticity of the resource as it becomes associated in some way with a commercial use. It becomes a principal task of the synthesizing, conversion and configuration process to be respectful of the resource and to avoid the challenges presented by, for example, (a) Goulding (2000) with his claim that popularizing heritage "sacrifice[es] scholarly credibility by presenting only those images of history that have broad market appeal" (p.836), (b) Waitt (2000) with his claim that the deliberate selection of versions of history may lead to stereotyping with replicas and copies, and (c) the claim of Halewood and Hannam (2001) that mediation may lead primarily (as a default position) to audience-friendly reconstructions and re-enactments. These may be mere lapses of precision about, for example, locations, sequences of events, credibility of the 'texts' and 'things', the re-presentations of elements of the story in artworks, and so on; and, as the story or parts of the story become commodified the inventory of matters of fact and fiction may become intermeshed and become mediated into signs, symbols, and replicas. Various layers of meaning can be exploited in the process of mediation; the favoured

situation would be where the verifiable ‘facts’ form the background (and the substance for the serious historian – see earlier), while the foreground is taken up by those elements of the story which (a) are particular to a selected situation (a person, a place, an event, a period of history), (b) may be differentiated according to selected distinctiveness-creating characteristics (discipline-based approaches), and (c) can be readily commodified and transformed into a mediated product for popular consumption.

The concluding element within this ‘scientific mode of ordering’ aims to implement the previously-listed commentaries of Moustakas (1990 – to ‘explicate meanings and patterns’) and Garden (2009 – ‘to capture the sense of heritage sites as both tangible and intangible spaces’), by exposing carefully-selected and critical aspects of the story and its associated places, that is, to expose the characteristics of distinctiveness (as nominated by Urry). For the case study which is commented upon briefly and selectively in the next section, two social science-based filters were applied to the final phase of the synthesis – a spatial reference, ‘thinking geographically’ and a semiotic reference, ‘the gaze’. In summary, these distinctiveness-revealing filters embodied mediating (intervening) factors such as:

- For the geographical filter – location, placement and association, positioning, spatial arrangement, patterns, symbols, identity, ‘*genius loci*’, sense of place, critical mass, accessibility, and sources of influence, jurisdiction, prescription and mediation; and
- For the semiotic (‘gaze’) filter – place, ‘thing’, object, document, tangibility, interpretability, visibility, authenticity, substitution, symbolism, scope and scale, legibility and communication.

One possible synthesis to emerge from combining these two filters is composed of six characteristics of distinctiveness; these characteristics are:

- historical context (both past periods and the current period);
- physical elements - places, sites, spaces;
- material elements - ‘texts’ and ‘things’;
- events and happenings;
- forms of presentation (and re-presentation);
- people associated in some way with the story.

Of course, the choice of these two filters nudges this study into a particular investigative, analytical and interpretive direction; the choice of other filters could be expected to take the investigation and analysis into a different direction, and even a different elaboration of these two filters may divulge other characteristics.

### **A test case: an example from Australian history and folklore**

Having put in place the ‘bare bones’ of an investigative framework this narrative progresses here to an examination of how the mediation referred to in that framework may be used to ‘tease out’ the circumstances of a heritage story, and especially those circumstances which contribute to a particular and distinctive ‘product’. This process engages with both story-telling and place-making, and it focuses attention on the special case of the mediation of folkloric resources, and the even

more particular case of the folk hero as one of those resources, in the commodified practice of heritage-based tourism.

Whereas historians are generally dismissive of folkloric resources as serious contributions to the study of history, folklorists tend to suggest that whilst not an impeccable and invariably credible record of history folklore can be a valuable resource by adding an interpretive dimension to verifiable fact. For example, Lowenthal (1996) has claimed that the resources of folklore contribute significantly to any checklist of principal factors in art, economic, political and social history; and, in Toelken's (1996) study of the special case of the folk hero General George Custer, he has claimed 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. 140). The special case examined here is in a similar position, astride both history and folklore; it is from the treasure trove of Australian folklore, and it focuses particularly on the spatial and semiotic evidence of the story of the bushranger and folk hero Ned Kelly. It is the stories, events and happenings, tangible 'things' and places linked to any folk hero which, through processes of careful selection, treatment and mediation become realized as products, as created 'thescapes' or as 'themed attractions' for the purposes of heritage-based tourism. This is the case considered here.

The mediation of the Ned Kelly story has become one of the most significant acts of commodification of the 'spoils' of Australian history. In summary, the story of this folk hero traverses a period of little more than twenty years during the last few decades of the nineteenth century, and it is coincident with the final few years of British colonial influence, the emergence of the independent States in Australia, the fracturing of relationships between the rural communities and government, and a period of hardship for many rural families which contributed in part to the emergence of the bushranger fraternity, and to folk heroes such as Ned Kelly.

The biography of the Kelly family includes references to such evidence of 'physical and material reality' (places, 'texts') as where the Kellys first lived, where Ned Kelly was born and grew up, where the children went to school, the areas across which the family endeavoured to engage in farming activities, the remnants of some family houses, and the burial places of some family members. It also includes references to locations closely linked to the bushranging apprenticeship of the Kellys, to their skirmishes with the police, to their court appearances and to the gaols in which they spent time, to the sites of the principal criminal activities indulged in by the family members and their friends including the bank robberies at Euroa and Jerilderie. Further signs and symbols of Kelly associations include, for example, the suits of armour worn by the Kelly gang at the Glenrowan siege, the Cameron and Jerilderie letters authored by Ned Kelly, the sash awarded to Kelly by the father of the boy he rescued from drowning at Avenal, the Kelly tree at the site of the gun fight at Stringybark Creek, the cells and execution place at Melbourne Gaol, and the Kelly death mask. Whilst some of these signs and symbols are located *in situ*, others, and especially those discovered at archaeological digs (such as the guns and cartridges), have been removed to museums, or have been commemorated in artworks on display away from the location of their happening, and still others have become degraded through lack of conservation; examples of degraded sites include the original Kelly house (at Beveridge), the family farmhouse (at Greta), and the siege site (at Glenrowan). Some of the events linked to the Kelly Story (such as gun battles, arrests, court hearings, bank robberies) have become celebrated by modern local re-enactments. Linked to the stories and places of most

folk heroes are ‘casts of a thousand actors’, (including, for example, family members, sympathisers, government officials, police, judges, prosecutors, defence attorneys and so on), each of which can be linked to the story by their participation at particular places and episodes, and which have become ‘immortalized’ by monuments and memorials. In the Kelly story, such participation includes, for example, the presiding judge (Sir Redmund Barry – with his association with the founding of public institutions such as the State Library and the University in Melbourne), members of the Kelly Gang (and their gravesites across various townships in north-east Victoria), and the police officers caught up in the Stringybark Creek gunfight.

Two further elements of the Kelly Story are susceptible to the ‘teasing out’ process aligned with the acts of geographical and semiotic filtering; one of these focuses attention on the substance of the over-arching context of the story, and the other is concerned with the ways in which the story is communicated in a diversity of arts-linked forms. As backgrounding, and spatially and semiotic referencing, there is the general and over-arching context of the physical landscape which influenced (a) the nature of the economic, political and social history of the period, and especially (b) the conduct of government administration and policing in the remote regions of the State of Victoria which generated mutual social and political antipathies between various groups in those remote regions and which contributed to the ‘social banditry’ of the type exhibited by the Kelly Gang. The records of history (see earlier, as one of the factors of ‘powerscape’, with those records now held in various public depositories) reveal the social and political disturbances which underpin the activities of the Kelly Gang, and the eventual conciliatory responses of the government. Subsequent popular, academic and professional interest in the Kelly episodes has contributed to the mediation of the ‘physical and material reality’ of that story and the creation of, for example, public policies and planning measures which give effect to the ‘what’ and ‘how’ dimensions of heritage conservation and to control over other forms of development in the Kelly ‘zone’, the active pursuit of story components through both public marketing strategies and the uptake of commercial opportunities resulting in the creation of Kelly-linked products, and the creation of a diverse range of arts-linked products in response to both artistic and popular interest in the Kelly story. The presentation and re-presentation of elements of the Kelly story are manifest in, for example, narrative forms, art forms (paintings, including the Sidney Nolan series in the Australian National Gallery, and the tapestry at Benalla), performance forms (including commercial films, documentaries, dramas, musicals, readings of Kelly diaries and other contemporary documents), symbolic forms such as monuments and memorials (at Mansfield, Melbourne), periodic re-enactments and celebrations (such as the annual Kelly celebration at Beechworth and the bi-annual celebration at Jerilderie), and even particularized signage along the Hume Highway, in the Benalla cemetery, and around Jerilderie.

## Conclusion

It has been the purpose of this paper to engage with the challenge of interpreting situations and events in history as forms of ‘mediated products’, with a focus particularly on heritage and derived commoditized products from ‘the spoils of history’ (Lowenthal, 1996) rather than on what Borsay (1991) has referred to as ‘cerebral history’. The particular challenge for mediating ‘the spoils of history’ for a purpose such as heritage-based tourism is not necessarily in the protection of the historic ‘facts’, but in the selection of those ‘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. One of the principal aims of the framework described briefly here has been to provide a mechanism with which to draw into the foreground those measures of distinctiveness which have (a) high factors of recognition, familiarity and appeal, (b) a determinable impact on local, regional, national history, (c) clear association with a particular geographical area, (d) a legacy of tangible items (some of which have been transformed into symbols and signs, and perpetuated through place-linked anniversary celebrations and re-enactments). What has been reported here is methodological and operational rather than a substantive contribution to Borsay's 'cerebral' history.

From different perspectives, and with different intentions, Gillis (1997), and Coles and Armstrong (2007) have referred to the 'domestication' and even the 'dumbing down' of the past so that the stories and their places may become accessible in the popular domain. In preparing the tentative 'scientific mode of ordering' considered here, the intention has been to overcome any tendency of 'dumbing down' by devising an investigative structure which, whilst engaging with the cerebral realm of the facts of history, can expose those elements which can be 'translated into present idioms' (Gillis, p.377), one of which is heritage-based tourism. It is likely that it is the careful selection of the two filters as tools of mediation (here, the geographical and the semiotic) which will transform and render the facts of cerebral history suitable for expression as a commodity, a product. Careful selection of the tools from forensic social science is likely to be the key to providing inputs to forward planning of places and situations with heritage-based tourism potential.

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