Mike Robinson
Helaine Silverman *Editors*

Encounters with Popular Pasts

Cultural Heritage and Popular Culture

Springer

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Trans-Atlantic dialogues on cultural heritage began as early as the voyages of Leif Ericson and Christopher Columbus and continue through the present day. Each side of the Atlantic offers its own geographical and historical specificities expressed and projected through material and immaterial heritage. In geo-political terms and through everyday mobilities, people, objects, and ideas flow backward and forward across the ocean, each shaping the heritage of the other for better or worse and each shaping the meanings and values that heritage conveys. Where, and in what ways are these trans-Atlantic heritages connected? Where, and in what ways are they not? What can we learn by reflecting on how the different societies and cultures on each side of the Atlantic Ocean produce, consume, mediate, filter, absorb, resist, and experience the heritage of the other? We offer *Encounters with Popular Pasts* as a first installment in a sustained trans-Atlantic dialogue on these important issues.

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Chapter 1
Mass, Modern, and Mine: Heritage and Popular Culture

Mike Robinson and Helaine Silverman

Introduction

The discourses that refer to and help to construct "heritage" have long been shaped by a particular understanding of what heritage *is* and, indeed, what it *should* be. As evidenced by the recognition of heritage by nation states through lists and registers of monuments and sites and the consequent frameworks of protection, funding, and promotion designed around these, we witness an "official" process of heritage construction that speaks to a moral agenda as well as to the paternalism of governance. Heritage is an expression of culture. It is also a particular interpretation of culture that is seen to be aspirational, educational, and "good" for us. Notably, the nineteenth century English poet and critic Matthew Arnold (2009) drew attention to culture as a human ideal, a standard of order and perfection and the very antithesis of anarchy. Arnold's arguments were bounded by the idea of the state as the guardian of values that needed to be promulgated in the face of the expanding and, in his view, largely undereducated middle and working class. The development of the museum and the art gallery for public education, the excavation of sites of the "classic civilizations," the protection accorded to state religious sites (particularly Christian), and the evolution of legislative frameworks to support such activities all speak to heritage as an elite moral system geared to maintaining the power of the nation state and its interests. These designated venues arose from a highly formalized, structured, hierarchical, and controlled process of denoting value to places, objects, and practices. Moreover, this process frequently entailed state or public

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ownership of sites so as to endorse the value to the nation and to signal the continuity of authority.

Within the context of the emergence of international tourism over the last 50 years or so, it is the formal, state-designated heritage that has been accorded prominence in the itineraries and verbal and visual texts of tourists and tour operators. We are referring to the "must see" or "bucket list" heritage that still retains the capacity to attract visitors and which is integral to the visitors' experience of nation states, whether in the city (historic urban cores) or the countryside (monumental ancient sites). The possibly dissonant histories of such heritage—known, unknown, forgotten, or ignored—do not detract from their appeal in the tourist imaginary. Though the processes of their heritage construction may be problematical in terms of relevance, political, social and economic equity, and other factors, in the main it can be argued that these heritage sites have qualities relating to aesthetics, spectacle, and social taste. The grandeur of architecture, the vast spaces of display, the pomp of narrative and the claims of influence and tradition may all be markers of once and still powerful states, yet these sites have become so familiar that we can refer to them as almost being "traditional." They are widely "loved" and deeply appreciated (with or without formal understanding) in the public or popular sphere. They are cared for by authorized management agencies as the very cornerstones of the heritage and tourism sectors.

The purpose behind this book is to focus discussion and debate upon forms and formats of heritage that are constructed, valued, and consumed outside of the apparatus of state agencies, beyond closed notions of tradition, and that emanate from and engage with an idea of culture that is mobile and rooted in the popular. Heritage as a vast collective of "officially" sanctioned buildings, monuments, ruins, and collections of art and artifacts is a social fact. However, the common imaginings of heritage are shifting and drifting as "new" heritage sites and experiences are born into a world very different from the solidity of nation states, the prescriptivism that accompanied their creation and perpetuation, and the relative immobility of peoples, cultures, and ideas. We do not seek to polarize different conceptions of heritage or culture but rather to explore how they intersect and increasingly blur. Our task here is not to precisely define the concept of popular culture but rather to position it as sharing increasingly important relationships with heritage—relationships that are not polarized from traditional notions of heritage but are connected in reimagined and, in our view, inevitable ways.

The Popularity of Heritage

Widely circulated and recognizable images of tourist hoardes swarming along the Great Wall of China or queuing to see the Tower of London remind us that heritage is popular. In this sense popular is taken to mean "well liked" and this in turn can be translated into "much visited." Direct surface indicators of the popularity of heritage are myriad and include a willingness among the public to pay for site access,

the distance people travel to experience heritage sites and see historic works of art, and the language used to communicate this experience, which frequently makes reference to feelings of awe and wonder. Further indicators that are arguably rather less direct yet still pervasive would include the ways in which images of heritage sites and objects feed into everyday life in terms of advertising and product branding, the extent to which heritage is referenced in design, packaging and "lifestyle" consumables and how heritage frames the production and consumption of film, television, and music. Playfully and sometimes painfully, societies engage with heritage through memory, nostalgia, and revival. The inherited pasts of our own communities and increasingly the heritage of "the other"—real and imagined, material and mediated—surround us and this draws us to the conclusion that heritage is popular in terms of both its production and consumption.

It becomes easy to see that heritage which is "well liked" has been absorbed within wider socio-economic and political domains, certainly within the developed world. Heritage buildings are routinely privileged in planning and policy decisions not only in recognition of their importance but with regard to their popularity within civil society. Looking at this another way, when heritage sites are under threat of destruction their popularity with the public surfaces through demonstrations of support and the mobilization of community/civic protest. But popularity is not a static sentiment. It was strongly cultivated in many societies during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s through the intertwined processes of postwar urban reconstruction, the sweep of modernity, deindustrialization and the erosion of familiarity which, in the destruction of the built legacies of the past, acted to reify the heritage that was left. Some 30 years later, with shifting tastes and the inevitable exercise of hindsight, concrete, brutalist architecture is also considered as heritage. The markers of war, civil conflict, technological innovation, and the production of art have long fed the category of heritage and critically they continue to do so, arguably at an accelerated pace. But the popularity of related heritage waxes and wanes related to the normative passing of time and generational replacement, so that we have heritage associated not only with, for instance, the American Civil War and with the First and Second World Wars, but with the Korean and Vietnam Wars and even with the conflict in the Gulf. To refer to such heritage as being "popular" is not to devalue it but rather to acknowledge its sociocultural currency, its resonance with new generations, and a populace that cuts across class, gender, and socioeconomic groupings.

Heritage is a constantly accumulating category, for while social tastes, attitudes, and feelings toward it do change and its cohorts of fans and supporters may expand and contract to varying degrees, in totality the stock of heritage grows. It is indeed difficult to imagine not having the category of heritage within which to place that which we have inherited from the past. Globally powerful and self-sustaining tropes are at work in the processes of denoting heritage. A powerful Eurocentric, neo-Romantic aesthetic, which plays on notions of tradition and classicism, has pervaded the philosophy and practice of heritage over the past two centuries. Despite cultural differences intervening in terms of the types of heritage recognized around the world, what we commonly identify and acknowledge as being heritage is largely distinguished by age and certain aesthetic qualities. The old, the ancient,

and the "traditional" are accorded value partly as having "survived" over time and partly as having generated and accumulated a certain reverence with regard to their historical significance. This would seem to be particularly the case in relation to tangible heritage—built or monumental heritage and iconic objects. The protection and preservation of these features are generally favored over and above their utility value and their adaptive value. The consequence of this attitude and its practice is that expertise is embedded in technical know-how relating to conservation and maintenance whereby the heritage itself becomes physically isolated or conceptually fossilized. We see this expressed, for instance, in the ubiquitous "Don't Touch" signs guiding our visits to historic environments and the formalization of spaces of heritage in museums, galleries, parks, and landscapes.

There is a commanding argument that suggests that it is the classical characteristics of heritage that bestow its popularity. This line of thought has long acceded to the idea of an innate attractiveness, or aura that is said to be almost self-evident in heritage and recognizable by a majority of the population. This apparent "truth value" of heritage is reproduced and emphasized through official heritage agencies and their narratives as a form of heritage "habitus" giving way to a continuity in the way that heritage sites and objects are received by populations. In this sense, the idea of what is popular in the expansive field of heritage is learned and we can point to various social interventions that feed the learning process and distort the idea of the intrinsic value of the object. In this way, for example, Leonardo da Vinci's Mona Lisa is the most popular exhibit in the Louvre not only because of its beauty, craft, and age but also because countless reproductions of it and the stories that surround it constantly flow and stream through social life and generate a familiarity and a potentiality for direct engagement that converts to popularity. This argument plays with an overlap between being well known and being well liked and is borne out in many heritage spaces and scales so that a museum will have certain objects that are more popular, more well known and liked than others. In the same way, certain heritage buildings and monuments are frequently labeled *iconic*, which has become synonymous with being famous and popular. But not all heritages are popular. This admits to extensive variation among the processes that shape and construct the social reception of the inherited past and a relationship between heritage and the public that is time specific, cultural, and increasingly shaped by commercial interests and our levels of physical and intellectual access to a site or object.

Democratic Heritage?

If by the term popular we mean democratic and pertaining to notions of access, then heritage at the personal, national, and international level has never been more open, even though there are differences in the ways in which heritage is consumed. Access to heritage is driven by the growth of domestic and international tourism and a process of valorizing heritage for economic development. Visits to heritage sites and the expansion in the number and variety of sites are clear indicators of popular-

ity although this consumption remains closely tied to particular social groupings, loosely characterized as the educated "middle class." Within the context of ever-more mobile and multicultural/multiethnic societies, improving access to heritage for a wider range of social groups has become a core concern in heritage policy. However, this is still addressing the issue very much from the perspective of consuming heritage rather than examining democracy in terms of its production. Thus, we must separate public engagement and enjoyment of heritage sites from participation in the construction of heritage.

Scholars dealing with heritage are increasingly focusing on the question of *whose* heritage and in doing so are unpacking the ways in which the histories and sociologies of heritage have been shaped by access to power and some of the core themes of modernity relating to the construction of the nation-state, the dominance of capitalism and dealing with the colonial world. A key aspect is the pervasive notion that heritage is an object, performance or essence that can be owned. This is exemplified by UNESCO's reference to its World Heritage sites as *properties*. This scheme operates on a paternalistic model by which heritage is put in the public domain but is not administered by the individuals of that public. Indeed, the very notion that heritage needs to be managed and curated and how this is to be accomplished has been an important subject in the field of critical heritage studies. In acknowledging that heritage has been and remains an important element in nation building and the global projection of the nation (see, for instance, Fontein 2006; Ikram 2011; Kynourgiopoulous 2011; Hallett this volume; Silverman this volume) it is not surprising that the vast majority of established heritage resources are protected, managed, and supported through instruments of the state. State agencies are also complicit in the production of heritage directly in terms of providing resources and more indirectly by the act of registering/recognizing sites as being worthy of support. Even so, hierarchies of heritage evolve within a normative process of deciding what carries significance at the local, regional, national, and international level—which is increasingly geared to decisions as to what is able to be funded. In the context of global financial instability and in many nations' dramatic reductions in public spending, existing patterns of ownership and management of state heritage assets are being challenged and a process of reassigning priorities is commencing as to what is worthy of public support. This is effectively beginning to rearrange the ways in which heritage is produced as the traditional techno-structures for designation, conservation, and care are no longer able to operate at the levels they did previously. It is allowing for a much wider and diverse process of heritage-making that is driven not by state-focused bureaucracies and ownership but by individuals, groups, and communities that have different and often challenging perspectives on what heritage is and what and who it is for.

The view of heritage as popular (and democratic)—an argument compellingly made by Raphael Samuel (1994) some 20 years ago—subtly but outright challenges the designatory authority of the state and the concept of the traditional. Now, not only is heritage claimed through official discourse (Smith 2006) and formal mechanisms of the reified and elite agencies of its management, heritage increasingly draws from the material and immaterial cultures of the everyday. In other words, in

counterpoint to the production of "authorized" heritage by official agencies of the state (Smith 2006), and also by transnational cultural governance agencies such as UNESCO, heritage also is being prolifically produced and meaningfully practiced as popular culture by communities of individuals who share particular values. This point echoes a series of arguments developed by Derek Gillman (2010) who, drawing upon political philosophy, offers up the idea of heritage that is openly accessible to individuals but not necessarily collectively "owned." He suggests the idea of choice as to what is valued and promoted as heritage. This liberal argument still admits of the need of judgment and "taste" and Gillman draws his arguments around traditionalist heritage, giving no space for the outcomes of decisions that deal with popular culture and heritage. But his argument at least allows for the possibility of a heritage that "is important not because of what it is 'in itself,' but because it embraces goods that are important to individual well-being" (Gillman 2010, p. 198). Such a position appears to accept the democracy of the popular while being wary of the idea of the masses.

The Spectrum of Popular Culture

In seeking to understand the ways by which traditional mechanisms of heritage production are shifting from official, state-dominated, "top-down" approaches to more open, participatory "bottom-up" approaches we look toward the growing influence of popular culture in terms of offering alternative expressions of culture that societies value as their inheritance and in terms of generating new audiences. The concept of popular culture is not new. As Schroeder (1980) indicates, in most historical periods and societies, there have been versions of popular culture widely linked to the notion of "mass culture" which in the developed world is linked with the phenomena of "mass" production, "mass" consumption, and "mass" distribution associated with the industrial and technological developments of the modern period. The heritage sector frequently sees itself in counterpoint to the idea of mass culture in that it chiefly privileges a material world that is "unique" or least representative of a particular historical period or culture. Inherited artifacts that exemplify beauty, creativity, a certain level of skill and craft, and historical significance and that have accumulated age are largely set against those that have been commercially mass produced, are functional rather than aesthetically pleasing, and that typify standardization and their mass consumption in the modern period. Closer scrutiny reveals the complexities of adopting such binary explanations. Sites and objects that we value for their rarity and age were themselves once mass-produced relative to their historical context. So, for instance, we recognize the serial reproduction of culture in the building of Baroque churches in the seventeenth century throughout the Old World and New World, designed to meet mass demand for Catholic worship. Similarly, "old master" paintings singularly displayed in a gallery and viewed as a "one-off" labor of love are, more often than not, revealed as part of the artist's own production cycle, commissioned to meet commercial demand.

In attempting to define the idea of culture reference is frequently made to a continuum along which at one end lies "high culture" produced and consumed by a relatively narrow elite population, while at the other end, and drawing upon the anthropological notion of a "folk culture," are the vernacular practices, institutions and artifacts produced and consumed by defined cultural communities. Within this conception both ends of the spectrum share the idea of valued histories and traditions and also distance themselves from the ordinary and the everyday practices of mass society constituting a large midway discursive category that deals with "popular culture"—a world of the immediate, imminent, and contemporary, brought together and widely distributed by and through the mass media. The span between folk culture and the popular focuses on the everyday as explored and elaborated on by Raymond Williams (1989) in his concept of "culture is ordinary" and his concern with the lived experience. For Williams and others it is in daily life that the different scales of society and representations of and meanings attributed to these scalar manifestations (local, national, and global) interact. Williams precociously hit many of the major themes that would come to occupy critical studies across a range of humanities fields, identifying popular culture as such by asking how culture is distributed and received, noting commercial culture and the consumption of culture and material culture and notably observing that culture is expanding "and all the elements in this culture are themselves expanding" (1989, p. 100).

Intellectual interest in popular culture has emerged over the past 40 years or so. The *Journal of Popular Culture* was first published in 1967 and set out to define the subject matter of this evolving and unwieldy academic field. In 1980 Christopher Geist, based upon an analysis of the *Journal*'s contents, highlighted the problem of situating popular culture and remarked: "there are dozens, perhaps even hundreds, of areas which might legitimately be termed concerns of the popular culture scholar which remain largely untouched. There are also many geographic areas and time periods and materials which have been sadly overlooked" (1980, p. 390). We argue that the cultural heritage-popular culture interface is one area that has been inadequately studied and problematized. In this volume, we also try to redress another of Geist's complaints. He lamented that "we study things, events, and people because they are *popular*, but we rarely examine them from a *cultural* perspective" (1980, p. 393, italics in original). The ways in which popular culture is increasingly woven into cultural heritage together with the ways in which societies encounter and interpret heritage through the lens of popular culture are amenable to ethnographic analysis and cultural theorization.

The Popular Culture Association, established in the US in 1979, embeds its intellectual heritage in cultural studies. It proposes material culture, popular music, movies, and comics as exemplary fields of popular culture (http://pcaaca.org/about/history-and-overview/). This is clearly not an exclusive list and it continues to evolve as new media forms take root in everyday life and displace existing practices and objects. However, all feed into our understandings of heritage and are capable of generating new heritage categories.

At the more intimate and immediate level, folk culture, materially expressed through, for instance, household objects and intangibly expressed through local fes-

tivals, feeds into heritage as a way of expressing local identities, a "sense of place" and also the idea of the nation. The place of folkloric crafts, ethnological material, and ethnographic collections in the heritage-scape is complicated and is bound up with matters of collective memory and nostalgia. The artifacts of the everyday generally carry little in the way of value until time passes and a distance of reverence opens up and personal emotions are harnessed (see Lionnet 2004). As Edward Shils (1981) set out in his analysis of "tradition," individuals, families, communities, and societies hold on to objects and practices for highly complex reasons—as actual and symbolic repositories of knowledge and experience and as anchors and attachments in the face of change and unpredictability. The constant in this is the passing of time and the way in which this acts to contextualize and de/recontextualize the familiar and the routine. As Petracca and Sorapure situate folk tradition along the elite-popular spectrum: "If the Metropolitan Opera House represents high culture, then Madison Square Gardens represents 'pop.' If the carefully crafted knives used in Asian cooking rely on a folk tradition, then the Veg-O-Matic is their pop counterpart" (1998, p. 3).

Context is at the heart of understanding the popular culture–heritage relationship, and contexts are changing more than ever and are caught up with what John Tomlinson (2007) terms the "condition of immediacy"—an acceleration of social practice and expectation fuelled by technological advance. Everyday objects are accelerated into the privileged realms of art and heritage faster than ever before. The Rubik's cube, a toy popular with all ages since the 1970s, is now displayed in New York's Museum of Modern Art. Various models of personal computers that were eagerly used in family homes in the 1980s are displayed as technological artifacts in several computer museums in Europe and North America. In Austin, Minnesota, the SPAM Museum tells the story of the popular tinned pork product (first developed in 1937 and still being produced) very much in heritage terms. The SPAM Museum playfully refers to itself as "The Eighth Wonder of the World" and tells us: "Few experiences in life are as meaningful and meaty-filled as those you'll have at the magnificent SPAM Museum. Referred to by some meat historians as … Porkopolis or M.O.M.A. (Museum Of Meat-Themed Awesomeness), the SPAM Museum is home to the world's most comprehensive collection of spiced pork artifacts" (http://www.spam.com/spam-101/the-spam-museum).

What was once considered ordinary takes on a new status, albeit through some careful marketing interventions. What was new is labeled "old" quicker than ever before, though interestingly, folk art and ordinary objects from "other" cultures, particularly from those of lesser developed countries, have long been included in the museums of the modern world, as if their exoticism and their "out of placeness" somehow compensate for a different aesthetic and a lack of age (Price 1989).

In considering the rate of social change, the complexities of connectivity and the real-time speed of communication, we are directed to open up the idea of heritage as being more mobile, responsive, and more multidimensional than previously thought. This mirrors the dissolution of the two-dimensional, bipolar and largely static approach to culture. The boundaries between so called "lowbrow" and "highbrow" culture have been blurred, allowing for some cross-pollination. So,

for instance, in focusing upon culture as representation, critics point to the ways in which the undoubted populism and popularity of authors such as Mark Twain, Walter Scott, and Charles Dickens in the nineteenth century have given way to their occupying more elite positions in contemporary literary culture. Thus, it is argued that over time J.K. Rowling and Stephen King will shift to similar positions in the pantheons of "high" culture.

The span of popular culture is wide and inclusive and importantly highlights the more intangible cultural expressions such as music, literature, sport, film, and television. Essentially, it breaks out of the narrow band of texts and representational forms that were underpinned by notions of the moral, beautiful, and traditional that had been promulgated by the likes of Frank Leavis (1963) and Mathew Arnold (2009) and recognizes the power and influence of the televisual and the dynamic processes of mediation in effectively opening up our experience of culture. The processes of mediation, representation, signification, and symbolization are acknowledged in our experiencing of culture (Barthes 1975; Bourdieu 1977, 1984; Fiske 1987, 1989; Jenkins 1992). But while these processes imbricate practices of engagement and the making of meanings, we additionally suggest that there is more room for investigating how mediated forms of culture and the media itself as part of culture are being materially reassembled and set in a "heritage" context. Here we include museums, attractions, theme parks, and trails focusing upon popular music, film, literature, and celebrity and also foods, consumer goods and more intangible events and festivals. These are largely, but not exclusively, products of the developed world, some of which have cross-cultural reach and the possibilities of global circulation and consumption. To apply the "heritage" label challenges embedded institutional norms and debate ensues as to the boundaries of the heritage concept. To unpack this further we explore the processes of "authoring" and appropriation.

The Heritage of the Popular

It is difficult to argue against the notion that the formal, state-controlled and institutionalized processes of constructing heritage are still dominant and endowed with considerable, acknowledged power. As Laurajane Smith (2004) has argued, the ideas that have coalesced around Focuault's (1991) notions of governmentality allow us to place heritage in a wider political and historical context that draws upon the scripting power of systems of knowledge, expertise, language, technologies, and the law to ensure the maintenance of that power. Smith rightly argues that positioning the heritage world in such a context effectively opens up the political and cultural assumptions that we have previously (and implied as uncritically) worked with to shape it. She also recognizes that this Foucauldian approach does not fully allow for emergent and competing claims to authority and power, for instance the manner in which individuals can rally social groups and causes in an organic way so as to challenge notions of tradition (Gramsci 1971) and construct alternative narratives in recognition of multiple communities of meaning (Lyotard 1979). We recognize that

the articulation of popular culture by individuals and social groups in ways that are novel, multiple, and mobile is instrumental in disturbing and disrupting the grand narratives of tradition that have so dominated our understandings of heritage.

Allowing for more spontaneous and immediate cultures and subcultures constructed around the popular in counterpoint to institutionalized power also admits to new heritage forms. So, for instance, the building of communities and subcultures around popular music (Hebidge 1979) is now marked through many developed countries by museums and attractions dedicated to various delineations of popular music forms. For example, in the USA there are the EMP/Experience Music Project Museum in Seattle, the Motown Museum in Detroit, the Musicians Hall of Fame and Museum in Nashville, and the Punk Rock Museum in Los Angeles. Also, popular music performers are mobilized to define locale and a "sense of place" through embedding them in the heritage offer of towns and cities. So, for instance, Liverpool, UK, is largely defined by the "heritage" of the Beatles, with attractions, sites, tours, and festivals having evolved over the years. Likewise, Memphis, US, promotes itself through multiple musical heritages and particularly the blues, rock "n" roll and the Elvis Presley connection. This popular musical heritage also feeds into national narratives. Thus, in 2013 ABBA: The Museum opened in the heart of the museum quarter in the ancient Swedish capital of Stockholm. It is very much positioned as an articulation of the national as what Sweden has given to the world.

The construction of such popular cultural heritage sites is frequently accomplished by committed and influential individuals who act to mark and memorialize sites independently of state authorization though ultimately this may mean persuading state heritage bodies that there is value in such sites. For instance, among the bronze statues of national military and political heroes in Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania and a World Heritage Site, there also is a statue of the former rock star Frank Zappa. Zappa had no direct connection to the country, though during the latter years of the Soviet period his antiestablishment outlook generated a certain cult status. It was a Lithuanian photographer and head of the Frank Zappa fan club, Saulius Paukstys, who petitioned the Vilnius City Government to grant permission to erect a monument of Zappa outside the City's Academy of Art. Permission was granted, private monies were raised and the statue was eventually constructed close to the old city but not directly outside the Academy.

The above examples drawn from popular music demonstrate only a partial shift from the embedded authoring of heritage but open up issues of identity making. The links between the heritage of popular music and national, regional, and local identities have been variously explored (see, for instance, Brandellero et al. 2014) but it is Hebidge who also reminds us that while this heritage is a manifestation of subgroups, subcultures, and their identities, it is their subsequent commodification (associated material culture, sites and intangible heritage of songs and records of performances), consumerism and the media that facilitate their dissemination. So while the Beatles may well be considered as part of Liverpool's heritage they are claimed almost as a form of global heritage so that around the world there are markers of their lives, their works, and memorials to John Lennon and George Harrison.

The concepts of scale and ownership as applied to heritage are linked to the ways by which individuals and communities mobilize the legacies of the past to shape their identities. While heritage is still a constituent part of the processes that help to narrate the nation (Hall 1996) it is also "claimed" (and counter claimed) by communities. As Graham and Howard (2008, p. 11) note: "heritage can be conceived for, from and by local communities with minimal professional help from without." Heritage sites may well have an ultimate legal owner—the state or agent of the state—but this does not equate to the notion of a "sense of ownership," a moral claim or a feeling of attachment and conversely a "sense" of detachment or disconnection. Graham and Howard speak of "new terrains" that are "translated into the heritage landscape through a fragmentation of institutional structures, both official and unofficial" (2008, p. 12). The heritage of popular culture appears to focus upon the unofficial. Rodney Harrison offers an example illustrating how locality and community are produced in one historic English town:

> the 'traditional' tug of war … is held between the Bull Hotel and the Feathers Hotel each year in Ludlow town centre on Boxing Day. Here hundreds of locals gather to eat and drink in the streets while cheering on the teams representing these two pubs located on opposite sides of the main street. The focus on this particular place and on communal eating and drinking demonstrates clearly the ways in which such discrete heritage practices can help individuals express a sense of connection between people and place. The fabric of the buildings and the street [it is a historic market town with noteworthy architecture] are irrelevant to this heritage practice, which demonstrates the active role that heritage can take in a community by bringing people together to emphasise shared values. (2010, p. 38)

It is not only the spaces of heritage and identity-making that are being problematized but ethical issues are raised, too. For instance, the indigenous Maori of New Zealand tattooed in the past and they tattoo today. Pierre Clastres (1987) argued that this kind of marking permanently fixed identity in the group. In turn, New Zealand has appropriated the Maori as a heritage of the nation. While this can be considered as problematical in its own right, it also begs the question as to how this sits with the rampant tattoo culture around us. Borrowed Maori tattoo designs on non-Maori might be argued to be inappropriate and, indeed, a challenge to the intangible cultural heritage of the Maori. Yet tattooing (and an inexhaustible number of other behaviors) generates its own identity groups, materializing what one identifies with and how identity is manifested. Biker tattoos would be another example and manifest Hebridge's subculture. Therefore, subculture, with its negative connotation, may be better understood instead as multiple cultures in multicultural societies and the issue thus becomes one of multiple performances of popular culture as identity and the discourses of heritage that these generate.

While individuals, groups, and subgroups undoubtedly are countering heritage-making authority, it is quite clear today that it is the corporate/commercial world that is able to mount the most significant challenge. Heritage sites, objects, institutions, and intangible heritage forms are all capable of being appropriated and taken outside of the state. While the state, in terms of heritage, may guard traditions, it does not necessarily have control over them. Thus, the McDonalds restaurant in the UNESCO-inscribed and ostensibly Ministry of Culture-overseen historic Plaza

de Armas in Cuzco, Peru, decorates its venue with randomly appropriated signs of "pre-Columbianess," creating a pastiche of placefulness to counteract its voracious, placeless consumption of place (Silverman n.d.). Here, as elsewhere in the world, the official heritage sector has ceded display and interpretation of the past to one of the world's most transnationally recognizable manifestations of popular culture. Given that tourists (including residents as local tourists) create their own meanings, this popular expression of "the past" may be as pleasurable as the "authentic" one outside the restaurant walls, and indeed more comprehensible since clients enter the venue with a cultural competence lacking for the complex built environment beyond McDonald's storefront. Similarly, tourists appear to be perfectly content to photograph themselves in front of the Las Vegas Luxor Hotel's great sphinx, imbuing their experience of its monumentality with personal meanings and being unconcerned that it is merely a scale replica of the original at Giza, indeed perhaps being uninterested in that ancient monument, or lacking the money to visit, or unable to visit due to political unrest. In fact, tourists may not process these monuments *as* heritage—certainly they are not *their* heritage and they may be unaware of UNESCO's mantra of the *world's* heritage. Moreover, national citizenries are manifestly more interested and emotionally invested in their own *intangible* cultural heritage as the domain in which meanings relevant to their lives are created. An exception would be the occasional state mobilizations of national opinion or sectoral opinion toward a particular ancient monument in a local political context (Silverman 2011).

The commercial sector is frequently cited as being in opposition to the heritage sector, as a threat to its integrity or as somehow diluting its educational value. The power of capital, the demands of the market, and the media instruments of advertising and promotion are certainly difficult to resist but the commercial world, which is so bound up with popular culture, also generates and crucially, circulates additional heritage forms. International tourism as a vast and powerful, though highly fragmented sector, not only picks up on established heritage sites but also those that emerge from popular culture. Visits to the ruins of Rome are still popular and the images of Venice or Paris are widely circulated. However, the ways in which such sites/sights are read/understood has shifted considerably. It is not that established understandings of "high" culture have evaporated or that aesthetic preferences have undergone wholesale revolution, but they now carry additional, layered and popular meanings more readily accessible to a younger audience. Hence, the Louvre is no longer merely a repository of fine art for the education and moral betterment of its visitors but, for some (and it is a significant number of visitors), it is also a site of the best selling novel and film "The Da Vinci Code." Such an overlay of meanings builds up somewhat organically, allowing for multiple readings of attractions and destinations. In this way culture is metaphorically and vicariously passed along the notional spectrum through the actions and interactions of its consumers/tourists. What is taken as reified "high culture" is made popular through consumption and what was popular is made more so through the same process. As Phillips (2000, p. 98) suggests, drawing upon the ideas of popular literature: "If Rider Haggard and Conan Doyle, Hans Christian Andersen, the Brothers Grimm, Bram Stoker, Mallory and Tennyson are not directly acknowledged, variations of their stories are to

be found in Disneyland, and in almost all other theme parks." Arguably, this is not another cultural form but rather the same culture consumed by a different audience, or even just consumed "differently"—with a commercial component. Such shifts in consumer/tourist perceptions and interpretations of heritage sites as "high" culture may, to a large extent, be explained through their representation in a range of "mass" media forms that reach large and increasingly global audiences. The morphing of cultural interpretations, the intertextualities of heritage forms, coupled with global/cross-cultural exposure and readings and the inter-relations with the media, problematize the very nature of what is widely presented as "heritage." Certainly among public authorities deemed to uphold inherited cultural capital, the idea of "cultural tourism" is widely taken to mean activities that would seem to support longstanding investments in heritage protection and conservation and support for "national" markers of culture such as opera, ballet, art galleries, and museums. However, if we insert the idea of "popular" into culture, then it becomes clear that state hegemonies played out through tourism—or at least the providing for certain types of tourists—are weakened as the popular lies more in the realms of the informal, the commercial, and private sectors and is closely linked to the media and free form expressions. This also challenges the notion of the "cultural tourist"—usually taken to be one who is well educated, middle class, middle aged, and somewhat different from the hedonistic "mass" tourist (Richards 1996, 2001 *inter alia*). In line with the notion of the post-tourist (Rojek 1997; Urry 2002), the very mediation of tourism—or rather the places, peoples, and pasts which constitute tourism through engaging with the imagination and human curiosity—cuts through such typologies and blurs boundaries so that tourists who visit museums may also visit sites associated with Hollywood movies during the same trip.

Irresistible Forces

There are deeper processes at work in fashioning heritage from popular culture, beyond the notion of commercial appropriation and a shift in the authoring of heritage. If, as we suggest, heritage is governed increasingly by more personal and experiential drivers that lack the solidity of the state, continuity, and objectivity, then what are these drivers? Community museums, web-based museums, informal memorials, spontaneous events and commemorations, vernacular routes and pilgrimages and, importantly, "new" tourism products and itineraries are all signs of authoritative scripts being altered to varying degrees and even rejected. Rejection is particularly evident in the field of intangible cultural heritage when communities define for themselves that which is significant, often against national scripts of official heritage or socially dominant discourses of heritage. We see this in a rise in street festivals in the UK as visible expressions of the cultural heritage of subaltern groups in British society (Harrison 2010), or with the persistent popularity of carnival in Río as an inversion of social and geographical marginalization by which the poor (heavily Afro-Brazilian) of Río's hillside favelas can (temporarily) occupy the

space of privilege. This well-exercised rebellion against normative forms of power allows social groups and communities to momentarily insert their own heritages into dominant official narratives in order to "remake their social worlds" (Picard and Robinson 2006). However, this sort of transitory expression of suppressed or obscured tradition does not account for the wider surfacing of popular culture as heritage.

Within the context of what Zygmunt Baumann (2000) has termed "liquid modernity"—the fluidity of social life and the disintegration of social structures—the concept of identity is being reworked—adjusted to allow for uncertainty and mobility. The past, in terms of the material world, tradition and memory, arguably becomes ever more important as a real, virtual, and symbolic place to go and to hold onto. Dislocated, migrant communities hang on to their heritage in tangible and, importantly, in intangible terms. Multiculturalism and diversity challenge notions of heritage as neutral and static (Bodo 2012) and established communities also reach for new identities through the past in the face of social change and economic restructuring (Robinson 1999). There is no metatheory to explain the turn to heritage as way of reenforcing, preserving, and even reconstructing identity. But in the idea of existential crisis—seen as a by-product of modernism and a breakdown of social norms in the personal sphere (Durkheim 1952) or as "crisis in tradition" (Donskis 2011)—we can begin to see how notions of identity, real and imagined, attain a greater importance. Continuity in the face of disturbance becomes important for individuals, families, and communities and if "official" state heritage does not fulfill this function then other forms of heritage are improvised.

The widespread proliferation of local museums can be seen as part of a recognizable phenomenon of self-curation also evident at the personal levels in the craze for "scrapbooking" one's own life as one's own heritage. In their study of the popular uses of history in American life, Rosenzweig and Thelen (1998) emphasized that history is literally crafted into heritage through material practices including the creation of family photo albums, keeping diaries, creating annual family road trips, and so forth. Indeed, scrapbooking—the curating of self and personal experience—became so popular in the USA 10 or so years ago that scrapbooking stores burgeoned and *Scrapbooking for Dummies* (Wines-Reed and Wines 2005) was published to instruct us in the correct performance of heritage and tradition while tapping into market opportunities. The rise in popularity of investigating one's family ancestry (often using commercial software) not only explores history but produces a family heritage in material and immaterial ways (Hey 1987). The development of so-called "roots" tourism (Marschall 2014) also generates practices and materialities that constitute personal, family, and community heritages. These self-proclaimed, spontaneous heritages populate the spaces for identification that the state cannot normally accommodate. All this is not to say that what we may think of as "traditional" heritage no longer plays a role in anchoring identity. However, it may not be as relevant, particularly to younger generations or incoming communities. Charlotte Joy (2011), for instance, discusses how the World Heritage town of Djenné in Mali, inscribed in 1988 for its exceptional earthen architecture and history, effectively fossilizes the identity of the young community of the town. Joy contrasts the in-

ward-looking cultural heritage of the town against the outward-looking aspirations of its young men and the way in which this externally designated heritage imposes "a version of material determinism that is difficult for many in Djenné to accept" (2011, p. 391). As Ashworth et al. (2007) suggest, even if there is the intent to work with the notion of "pluralized" pasts in recognition of complex and mobile societies, there always seems to be a gap between intention and public policy.

Constructing popular heritages and heritages from the popular as part of identity making is widely, if indirectly, referenced in the literature on consumption. Objects of heritage are now embedded in the world as "products" with an assumption that they are consumed in some way or other, both informing the construction of self-identity and the wider social world (Douglas and Isherwood 1979). Heritage in essence becomes part of that which we consume and the processes and objects of consumption inform identity (Otnes and Lowrey 2004). To paraphrase John Fiske (1989, p. 34) who is paraphrasing Levi-Strauss, heritage "products" have also become "goods to speak with." Material culture, as the "stuff" with which we make ourselves in our multiple roles in society (Miller 2010), is gifted, bought, sold, and traded with reference to its past, provenance, market value, and symbolic value. Heritage objects—buildings, monuments, art, collectibles, and craft objects—are those to which value has been allocated through some social process. Owning heritage, displaying heritage and associating with heritage are implicated in the construction of self and imply a self-defined process of designation—that which is valued at the personal and community level. Collecting and curating objects in the home—inherited from the family or purchased—addresses social functions of sharing and generates communities of interest; it can be seen in mimetic counterpoint to that which is relatively inaccessible in museums (Pearce 1998). Private accumulations of popular pasts in turn find their way into museums and thus end up being "officially" sanctioned as heritage. In their study of second-hand cultures, Gregson and Crewe (2003) comment on the deeper meanings that accumulated and collected objects carry in relation to social status and self-identification. While they do not work with notions of heritage *per se,* an important part of their work points to the ways in which the material culture of the recent past is used to re-enchant the present and act as a form of "comfort" (Miller 2008).

Amidst a landscape of monumental heritage buildings and objects that were once created to be markers of events or of ego and which feed national and collective memory and identity, we note an increasing desire by *individuals* to record and mark their own existence within wider social groups and networks. The passing down of objects and heirlooms appears to occur against a creeping awareness of uncertainty. Moreover, the very immediate sense of the transmission of culture also extends to the immaterial to cover languages and dialects, local knowledges, rituals, and practices and even favorite popular songs. Things to be passed down through generations are drawn from popular culture and rarely relate to grand, official narratives. Histories are self-inscribed and laden with memories and myths and material prompts to produce meaning. The analysis of family photograph collections (Edwards and Hart 2004) reveals the transmission of popular culture—what was considered to be of value and worth—into a heritage that maybe disconnected from

official designations but connected to more meaningful legacies of the past. So, for instance, what becomes important about a photograph of the Tower of London is not its "objective" and historic materiality but the fact that it was photographed by someone's father or that it features friends or family (Robinson and Picard 2009). These reflexive practices of recording the present for a future—deliberately or accidentally—link to the notion of a mediated past now intimately tied to the processes of popular culture production, consumption, and circulation.

Heritage sites around the world—particularly those iconic places inscribed on the World Heritage List—are now intimately linked with the ways in which they have been represented in the popular media. Thus, ancient Petra in Jordan is best known not for its UNESCO-authorized "Outstanding Universal Value" but as the backdrop to action sequences in several massively popular movies: "Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade" (1989), "The Mummy Returns" (2001), and "Transformers: The Revenge of the Fallen" (2009). Petra also is enshrined in various video games based around some of the more successful of these movies. Whatever one may think about this intertextual projection of "classical" heritage into the realms of popular culture, it is difficult to escape from. Indeed, some traders among the local communities surrounding some of these sites have been swift to capitalize on this popular, transnational exposure with adopted brands and merchandise to emphasize the "fame" of place. A myriad of such examples speaks to a repositioning of traditional heritage in popular culture.

This is not a recent phenomenon. Heritage sites have long been highlighted by the media of the day (the sacrificial Tess at Stonehenge in Hardy's 1891 novel, *Tess of the D'Ubervilles,* and Panini's "Interior of an Imaginary Picture Gallery with Views of Ancient Rome" [1756–1757] are obvious examples). Heritage cinema (Vincendeau 2001), as an imprecise but expanding genre, is mirrored on the small screen with television productions of period drama, effectively consuming actual heritage sites but repositioning them in the imaginations of the audience. In turn such trends—amplified by new media forms—continue to feed the expanding areas of literary tourism (Robinson and Andersen 2011) and film tourism (Carl et al. 2007; Roesch 2009 *inter alia*), reflecting the observation of Benedict Anderson that in modern nations "the imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life [and] fiction seeps quietly and continuously into reality" (1983, p. 36). The appropriation and commodification of heritage by the media dislocates it from both its historical and geographical context while at the same time replicating and validating it and creating an additional layer of heritage—film and television heritage—that plays on nostalgia, not for the real past but for a mediated past.

Nostalgia is an important driver behind the construction of new heritage forms. As an expression of emotional attachment in the wake of loss and the threat of loss and scarcity, it is linked to the most ordinary and popular of artifacts or practices that can thus be ascribed extraordinary value. *Closeness* to the past is the condition of nostalgia. It comes into play when we engage with objects and events with which we feel some meaningful connection and which, in Proustian fashion of *mémoire involontaire*, catalyze memory. The term "living memory" (i.e., what is memorable within one's own life) and what Robert Burgoyne (2003) refers to as "consensual

memory" (which emphasizes common sociabilities and the generally consensual nature of society) increasingly would seem to work through the heritage of the popular, recent, and highly mediatized. However, as Christopher Lasch (1991) has pointed out, in a formal sense, if we see nostalgia as an idealization of the past then memory is not exercised. But while Lasch indicates that there is a difference between nostalgia and memory, the two are nonetheless linked. Our personal memories are those which are shaped through everyday life and popular culture and are embedded within a reciprocal relationship with a heritage which can be remembered and shared. Memories provide entry points, not only into specific moments of time, but into periods of time and recollections of place, in the way, for instance, that we can project our thoughts backwards on hearing a particular song. Nostalgia is a term frequently mobilized as a critique that points to an overemotional and sentimental vision of the past and as a symptom of a society's failure to deal with history and indeed, to deal with the present and future. For critics such as Frederic Jameson (1991), Linda Hutcheon (1986–1987), and Patrick Wright (1985), nostalgia is taken to be regressive, stagnant, subversive, and representative of a society dissatisfied with its present. Popular heritage is fed by nostalgia but not in the way that critics might suggest. In her discussions on nostalgia, Svetlana Boym (2001) recognizes a sense of shrinking time and the related shrinking of space as a form of "chronophobia." Boym considers this condition as, in part, generative for the wave of nostalgia that washes over the heritage worlds we have inscribed and that moves with us into the future. She writes: "nostalgia, as a historical emotion, is a longing for that shrinking 'space of experience' that no longer fits the new horizon of expectations. Nostalgic manifestations are side effects of the teleology of progress. Progress was not only a narrative of temporal progression but also of spatial expansion" (2001, p. 10). Boym invokes a reverse interpretation of Immanuel Kant, who broadly speaking, took space to be public and time to be private. In Boym's argument, we now view time as an outer experience to be shared. She also provides a more nuanced interpretation of nostalgia, referred to as "reflective nostalgia," which she counters against the more regressive "restorative nostalgia." Reflective nostalgia is a mourning for the past as social commentary, a sort of critical tool that we use to negotiate loss and in so doing also deal with the present and future. The experience of tourists at those heritage sites that can induce living memory is far from being a regressive, naïve mourning but rather is more akin to the celebration of the very construction of heritage. Nostalgia is an influential driver for the construction of heritage from memory (Berdahl 2005). In a positive vein, this is borne out by Laurajane Smith's (2013) work on the way museums can invoke childhood memories and associated positive emotions among adults and at the same time can be instrumental in assisting children to create their own heritage. In a more tragic sense, memory of trauma and disaster relating to events and the ensuing construction of memorial heritage (Doss 2010) is itself now bound to the very drivers of popular culture—the mass media—so as to produce what Alison Landsberg (2004) terms "prosthetic memory," a positive, empathetic participation in the heritage of tragedy as a result of mass cultural circulation and participation.

Redefining the Traditional and Accommodating the Popular

While we are aware of the reshaping of the relationship between heritage and popular culture we are also aware that far from being in any sense revolutionary, it is rather a messy, evolving process—at times almost anarchistic outside of the state and without governance and direction. Indeed, at times the construction and consumption of heritage appears to be untraceable and spontaneous: the processes by which new expressions of culture surface. Shifts in its meanings and literal shifts in audiences are wildly democratic in this fluid, intricately, and instantaneously linked world. The Pandora's box of popular culture is open, no matter what the official heritage script. The fascinating question is how these new cultural forms become appropriated and performed as heritage. However, anarchy also provides space for radical expressions and interpretations to arise in the sphere of popular culture. For instance, archaeologists have been pushing back for decades against Erich Von Däniken's (1970;) *popular* proposal that the great geoglyphs on the desert plain at Nazca, Peru were made by extraterrestrials (Aveni and Silverman 1991; Silverman 1990; Silverman and Proulx 2002 *inter alia*). Despite the scientific arguments against Von Däniken's ideas, tourists still sincerely accept or playfully work with the discourse that these were ancient runways for visitors from another planet.

Differing worldviews as to what constitutes heritage constantly collide although, as noted earlier, the core institutions involved in the production of heritage remain intact as do ideas regarding what is traditional. The New 7 Wonders of the World campaign, orchestrated and launched by the Swiss mobile phone entrepreneur Bernard Weber in 2002, culminated in a global public vote as to what heritage sites should be designated as "World Wonders." The campaign was indeed democratic, attracting some 100 million votes directly from publics around the world. At first glance this and subsequent similar campaigns appear to challenge the formal, designatory (and politicized) authority of UNESCO's World Heritage Committee and UNESCO's exclusive right to name sites of "Outstanding Universal Value." Indeed, UNESCO distanced itself from the initiative. But the New 7 Wonders of the World campaign both re-emphasized the classical idea of seven world wonders and it reauthorized the authority of monumental markers of nationhood (Petra, Machu Picchu, Taj Mahal, Great Wall, Chichen Itza, Colosseum, and Christ Redeemer): all of the new wonders, save the Christ Redeemer statue of Río de Janeiro, already were on UNESCO's World Heritage List. Although the New World Wonders process was popular (it had a mass constituency that liked the idea enough to vote), it was not an efflorescence of popular culture because it was an event generated by an outside elite party. Although private heritage entities (such as Global Heritage Fund and World Monuments Fund) now compete with UNESCO in the domain of heritage management, they remain part of the same superstructures that shape heritage.

We are not arguing that the establishment guardians of traditional heritage are unaware of, or unreceptive toward, the pressures of the popular and the role of popular culture in inscribing different heritage forms. On the contrary, the bastions of old style heritage are seeking to accommodate the new, vernacular assertions of

heritage in recognition of community-based, grassroots explorations of identity and meaning and redefined notions of cultural rights and responsibilities. In this way, as Graham and Howard observe, heritage can function "as a form of resistance to … hegemonic discourses and [be] a marker of plurality," notably in plural and multicultural societies (2008, p. 3). We see these official responses to the public in, for instance, major museums that redefine themselves by engaging with popular culture, so that now it is not unusual for elite museums to curate exhibitions dedicated to Hollywood movies and rock music. London's Victoria and Albert Museum has held several "blockbuster" exhibitions on celebrities from popular culture: Australian singer Kylie Minogue was featured in 2007, the Motown singers the Supremes were featured in 2008, and in 2014 the life and works of musician David Bowie became most successful event held at the museum since its opening in 1851. Early reactions condemned such exhibitions as "dumbing down" and "pandering to pop culture." This criticism, however, has eased, in part because the exhibitions were effectively aligned with the mission of the Museum to showcase the best of British design and, in part, because of the record numbers of visitors to the exhibition. Traditional heritage venues (regardless of their motivation) now recognize new popular expressions in addition to the traditional heritage they display and for which they are famous. Rather than sanctifying a frozen, selective and elite past these stalwart places are now participating in the coproduction of novelty. Simultaneously, they also are promoting mass consumption, which is to say consumer culture.

It is the consumerist element of popular culture that is evermore willingly being absorbed by the custodians of tradition. As museums seek ways to reach new and diverse audiences, particularly younger generations, they have sought to accommodate popular culture by virtue of specific exhibitions, the acquisition of objects as emblematic of popular culture and the utilization of popular culture narratives to frame more traditional displays. All this also translates into popular merchandise in the gift shop, public relations opportunities, and sponsorship links. The commercial drivers and media opportunities embedded in popular culture are powerful drivers, particularly in current times of restricted public sector spending. While reflecting some degree of cynicism, the net effect is one of accommodating different conceptions of heritage.

In the main, we have been considering the material legacies of popular culture, embraced explicitly in terms of the designations of more recent objects and buildings, or sometimes implicitly as "retro-artifacts" (Guffey 2006) or "design-classics." The highlighting of more recent material acquisitions in otherwise traditional collections is indicative of a shift from purely aesthetic criteria to also recognize some degree of functionality of the object. The terms "classic design," stylish, and "retro" have been brought into the discourses of redefining heritage. However, we also are aware of the growing pressures to designate intangible cultural heritage, particularly through UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, "made up of those intangible heritage elements that help to demonstrate the diversity of this heritage and raise awareness about its importance" (http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/lists) and the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding, "requiring urgent measures to keep them alive"

(http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/lists), both arising out of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. While professionals and scholars may argue over the best way to preserve the built heritage fabric and the reasons for doing so, there remain serious questions as to whether we really want to preserve intangible cultural heritage as effectively unchanging in counterpoint to the very creativity of popular culture and, whether we need the governance of UNESCO to do so. Change is one of the key messages that popular culture carries. Spontaneous cultural production, free of state ideology *becomes* heritage through effective utilization and community consensus. No state entity is required to generate or promote it. At the same time popular heritage so produced has an uncertain life-cycle, tied in particular to media circulations. Some heritage is valued enough to remain in society and some heritage falls away over time. In Lambayeque, Peru, for instance, there was a craze for the pre-Columbian past for some years following the archaeological discovery in 1987 of the Lord of Sipán, the tomb of an anonymous, powerful ancient ruler (Silverman 2005). The preservation of the body and the extraordinary wealth interred with him led to the spontaneous, regional production of a Sipán identity and the immediate adoption of the Lord of Sipán as heritage of the Lambayecanos. Among the many manifestations of this enchantment was the creation of a *cantata* by a local performance group, which was claimed to be "authentic heritage," indeed, being proposed as such to the national government with the hope of then achieving inscription on UNESCO's Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. The designation was rejected by Peru's Congress and the *cantata* is called heritage only in the advertising for its theatrical performances.

The Contributions

The papers presented in this volume attend to the new heritage meanings signaled above. They emanate from different disciplinary perspectives and cover a wide expanse of conceptual territory through a diversity of cases, but all focus on a "rescaping" of heritage—to play on Appadurai (1996) and Di Giovine (2009)—and on emergent and important processes of heritage production and consumption borne out of new environments, contexts, and technologies and in the face of new demands for meaning, identities and belonging. Collectively the papers move us forward in our thinking and advance our understandings of the heritage and popular culture interface by addressing a series of inter-related, highly complex questions that form an agenda for continued work in this field. The following are the most salient questions that overall have guided the contributors:

- What does popular heritage look like?
- How do societies manage a heritage that is fluid, immediate, and that may straddle extremes of serious conflict and hedonistic frivolity?
- How do class, race, gender, age, and other identity markers intervene in the production and consumption of popular culture/heritage?

- Is heritage active in dissolving class and cultural boundaries or does it merely (re)produce new ones?
- If monolithic and hegemonic structures of heritage designation do fade, how do we make coherent and give legitimacy to more spontaneous and fragmented processes of heritage denotation?
- Does the production of heritage borne out of popular culture replace, accentuate, or merely add to the overall accumulation of heritage?
- Can we still detect universals at work in new, popular heritage?

The imagining of self and trans-cultural circulation of knowledge is at the heart of Michael Di Giovine's study of popular religion (Chap. 2). Along with explorers and traders, pilgrims were the world's earliest tourists, traveling to places far outside their daily lives, known to them through the religious word—spoken aloud or in print. Pilgrimage shrines of any religion are places for the most visual and visceral expressions of heritage and identity. Above all they are popular, attracting throngs of people. Those places of pilgrimage that are embedded in inhabited landscapes, especially urban centers, are inevitably spaces of tension between residents and visitors, between traditionalists and innovators. Di Giovine examines one such pilgrimage shrine where official heritage practitioners are attempting to convert (pun intended) a locus of popular religion into a tourist attraction with a modern heritage. The paper is exceptionally relevant to processes happening elsewhere, for instance in China where state authorities are co-opting local and traditional pilgrimages to engender mass domestic tourism and economic development (Zhao 2013).

The concern with place evident in Di Giovine's work is the basis of Paul Kapp's paper (Chap. 3). In it he deploys Shelley Hornstein's (2011) use of DuBois' (1897) "double consciousness" to capture the "tension and ambivalence, and the multiple subjectivities" (Hornstein 2011, p. 61) of southern diasporas so as to interrogate how state government initiatives promote economically driven heritage tourism routes built around the real place and what we imagine it to be after we listen to the music of transplanted African-Americans and southern White Appalachians. Kapp looks at two initiatives—the Mississippi Blues Trail and Virginia's Crooked Road—that seek to educate and entertain by mixing together digital media, satellite mapping with traditional way-finding, and traditional historic sites around the theme of a specific musical idiom. The initiatives attempt to conjoin, in the specific geographies in our minds, the cultures and histories that made the music come to life. Kapp considers if the initiatives are successful (and what is construed as success) and, importantly, what the tourist is really going to find on these roads.

Robert Pahre (Chap. 4) illustrates the recursivity of heritage as military reenactors, living history enthusiasts, and local heritage groups shape how the US National Park Service interprets a group of forts on the American Great Plains. Despite the many differences across these sites and their particular histories, all of their narratives center on the daily life of soldiers through the exhibitionary deployment of material culture: authentic and replica furnishings in restored barracks, stables, smithies, and other buildings. Popular with visitors, the stories told by the National Park Service resist confronting the fundamental question of what caused

US expansion onto the Great Plains and the consequences of "Manifest Destiny" for the environment, for the native peoples in the path of settlers, and for the USA itself. The choices of interpretation made at these sites reflect the political environment of the national parks and ideology of their supporters, biases in the sources available, role of military historians in the National Park Service, and conventional views of westward expansion shared by many Americans. American popular culture creates a heritage that both disenfranchises the most affected stakeholders of this aspect of US history (the Native Americans) and reifies a national myth into a canonical national heritage which, when challenged—as in the notorious "The West As America" museum exhibition (Dubin 1999, pp. 152–185)—will result in a major political controversy.

Indeed, a key issue of concern with popular culture's relationship to heritage, is *who* introduces the notion of "heritage" into history and into vernacular practices such that they are altered physically as well as conceptually. As Harrison (2010, p. 25) pithily observed, "Heritage is not inherent" (see also Smith 2006). Joy Sperling's paper (Chap. 5) is especially interesting in this regard because her case study operates against the background of Santa Fe, New Mexico, whose image was created through the purposeful marketing campaign of Anglo–American newcomers to exoticize and commodify the town in the early twentieth century (Wilson 1997). Sperling uses the Anglo-Hispanic-Native American cultural mix of the greater Southwest to examine the agency of women cultural actors—artists, writers, and craftspersons—as they constructed their own version of the region.

The negotiation of ethnic heritage that we see in Sperling's paper resonates with the southern heritages of Kapp's study and with the changing ethnic dynamics explored by Lynne Dearborn in her analysis of Swedish heritage in Rockford, Illinois (Chap. 6). At issue in Dearborn's paper is what happens when the tangible and intangible heritage of a formerly successful ethnic group is overwhelmed by population change and an associated economic downturn. Heritage-imbued buildings on a drastically altered urban landscape no longer readily express meanings that were visible and embodied half a century ago. Yet the remnant Swedish-descent population of Rockford continues to promote its heritage in tangible and intangible form in an attempt to rescue their city from further decline. This is "culture-as-a-resource" (Yúdice 2003) and it is especially interesting here because its context is a paradigmatically developed country rather than a developing one. Part of the exploitable cultural repertoire in Rockford is constituted by two icons of American popular culture—"authentic Rockford shoes" and "original sock monkeys." The Swedish heritage of Rockford also is infused with new life through new ties with the motherland that further support continuation of popular traditions.

One of the most diagnostic features of the American popular culture landscape was the motel (Jakle et al. 1996). Just about any middle class American currently aged 55 and older will remember with fondness family road trips whose highlight was staying at motels—mom and pop motels and chain motels. Each offered excitement. Indeed, an early motel court is the setting for a key scene in one of Hollywood's greatest romantic comedies, "It Happened One Night," directed by Frank

Capra and starring Clark Gable and Claudette Colbert—the surprise Academy Award winner in 1934. In Chap. 7, John Presley (who, coincidentally, is a relative to America's preeminent popular culture figure of all times, Elvis Presley) traces the evolution of the motel from its early controversial image as a place of secret illicit behavior and criminality through its subsequent domestication into a family holiday venue to today's "bland big box." The history of the American motel is inextricably linked with the commodified, franchised, homogenizing travel industry.

That travel industry, internationalized, had its early roots in Cook's tours, which were quintessential popular travel. Thomas Cook's company produced beautiful color lithographs as well as more ordinary posters to advertise their tours. Travel advertising today has reached an extraordinary degree of sophistication, taking full advantage of all media and extending to the personal material culture of travel as seen in Magellan's and Travel Smith brochures, and in Louis Vuitton's remarkable web campaign for its luggage, "Where will life take you?". The campaign is premised on the viewer's familiarity with this line of luxury goods since the products are barely visible in the action (these video-dramas appear in addition to LV's clear product placement print ads). Rather, the goal is to tempt the viewer to travel and access his/her own inner self on a journey of personal experience—an opposite end of the travel spectrum from the standardized, familial motel experience discussed by Presley but one that resonates with Silverman's (Silverman and Hallett n.d.; this volume) analysis of Peru's "Empire of Hidden Treasures" tourism campaign.

Helaine Silverman (Chap. 8) is concerned with travel advertisements, in this case the development of nation-branding campaigns. Nation brands reveal how a country would like to be perceived and what it considers to be its most appealing attributes—hence, the parody analyzed by Hallett (Chap. 9). Of course, there is not necessarily concordance between the brand and reality, either as perceived inside or outside the country or both. Ideally, the brand can be sustained in the face of domestic and foreign examination. It can deliver on what it promises. Silverman argues that when a nation's people are mobilized in support of the brand, when they affiliate themselves with the brand's message, when there is popular buy-in, when the brand taps into the prevailing zeitgeist, then the brand becomes iconic in the country and amazing things can happen. Her paper analyzes Peru's new nation brand, which is wildly successful because it has drawn together a strategic cluster of positive cultural ideas about what Peru and Peruvianess are and, in so doing, overcomes a pervasive pathology of cultural intimacy (Herzfeld 2005, p. 3) so as to generate a performative and embodied pride of self as a member of this imagined community. Popular culture in Peru has become one of the foundations of the new nation brand, joining Peru's spectacular ancient civilizations, ethnic diversity, and breathtaking scenery to create what PromPerú calls a "unique, special, and multifaceted image of the country."

In recent decades, the Western middle/upper middle class—as a generalization—has become more mobile than in the era discussed by Presley (Chap. 7) and is economically and educationally strong enough to support international travel and its accoutrements, including a related branch of the industry, the guidebook. Richard

Hallett (Chap. 9) extends his previous deconstruction of national tourism websites (Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger 2010) to the printed Jetlag Travel Guides. The humor of these hilarious parodies of standard guidebooks is predicated on the cosmopolitanism of the reader: fictitious places are inhabited by stereotyped characterizations of other peoples and societies that rely on our own cultural knowledge. The Jetlag Travel Guides are *Borat* for the reading public.

Hallett's Jet Lag books and Silverman's PromPerú advertisements are scripts. These texts are understandable on multiple levels, not least of which is because the reader is experienced in the consumption of written words and accompanying evocative images. The text structures and develops tourism and the behavior of tourists (Robinson and Andersen 2011, p. xiii). Jet Lag and PromPerú are both telling touristic stories and while Jet Lag is scathingly funny, playing on pejorative stereotypes in the mind of the reader, PromPerú is also telling a fiction of sorts, promising a perfect touristic, indeed intimate, encounter with a foreign people and place.

The popular commodification of national identity addressed by Silverman also has been a long-term concern of Cele Otnes and her colleague, Pauline Maclaran, who have extensively studied the British royal family brand. In their new paper for this volume, written with additional collaborators (Chap. 10), they examine Historic Royal Palaces, the national charity responsible for overseeing five Royal sites in and around London. Specifically, they look at the ways that Historic Royal Palaces relied upon specialists in the fields of art, fashion, and theater to create the "Enchanted Palace" exhibition in order to entice visitors to Kensington Palace during its 2-year renovation beginning in 2010. They discuss how the exhibit helped reposition Kensington Palace as a royal residence with relevance to the past, present, and future, and prepared visitors for a more contemporary and engaging museum experience.

Anna Woodham (Chap. 11) also is concerned with popular culture and the commercialization of heritage. In her study of the London 2012 Olympic Games, she observed a veritable obsession with purchasing event memorabilia. This led her to consider why we collect, particularly in relation to mega events. Woodham argues that pin badges are a window into the larger topic of materializing memory. Trading of pin badges at the Olympic Games has an established history. Being small, attractive, and relatively inexpensive the practice of collecting and trading these items is a popular phenomenon. Woodham concludes that a "personal" legacy is generated through this popular but undervalued cultural practice, which stands in contrast to the "official" London 2012 legacy put forward by the UK government.

We referred above to the democratization of heritage through vernacular practices, including its manifestation in spontaneous, private, and personal engagements with the past that generate identity and memory. Noah Lenstra (Chap. 12) presents a fascinating example of this in his study of genealogy and family history practices in the USA in the 1960s and 1970s. His analysis foregrounds the constitutive roles of mass media—for instance with the television sensation of Alex Haley's *Roots*—and a growing information infrastructure enabling the compilation of accessible genealogical data bases. Of particular interest in his study are the intersections of different segments of society—by gender, race, and income—and how these different

stakeholder groups approached genealogy for the construction of identity. Lenstra argues that media, infrastructure, and longing produced a new heritage practice of mass popular genealogy. Genealogical research is simultaneously a situated performance and practice of heritage and popular culture. It is, applying Jerome de Groot, "hobby, politics, and science" (2009, p. 73).

The memory work highlighted by Lenstra links his paper to Sara Jones' contribution (Chap. 13), which deals with the remembrance of everyday life in three post-socialist states of Eastern Europe: Romania, Hungary, and Germany. Jones focuses on the role of material culture and images of the "everyday" in state-mandated and privately funded heritage. She argues that in each of these countries the relationship with popular memories of everyday life within the dictatorship is an "uneasy" one, which provokes varied responses. In Romania, memories of state socialism are largely excluded from cultural heritage—instead, the emphasis is on older or even "timeless" traditions. The state socialist past is constructed as an alien ideology imposed upon the Romanian people and has little to do with national self-understanding. In Hungary, state-mandated institutions incorporate material culture only as part of a narrative of totalitarian repression and control. Other initiatives allow more differentiated interpretations of ideological artifacts, but remove this aspect of material culture from the main tourist trail. In Germany, memorialization of the German Democratic Republic has shifted to incorporate the experiences of "ordinary" East Germans. However, the concept of the "everyday" is subject to a very specific (re)interpretation that allows it to be absorbed into the dominant representation of the German Democratic Republic as totalitarian dictatorship. This uneasy relationship with popular memories of state socialism—be it in terms of ideology or everyday life—risks a "disinheritance" of certain social groups and highlights the particularly politicized nature of heritage construction in post-transition societies.

Joy Sather-Wagstaff (Chap. 14) is also focused on memorialization. She observes that the formal and informal memorialization of tragedies in America—large and small—has become an expected cultural practice of scale, particularly over the last two decades. Interestingly, both formal memorial landscapes and informal memorial assemblages make intensive use of natural materials, both living and inanimate, from living flowers and trees to stones and water. From an anthropological perspective, such natural materials have long been imbued with powerful symbolism that shifts over time and space. She argues that such natural materials are presently (re) appropriated in posttragedy popular cultures of memorialization with a rhetoric of "resilient nature" playing a central role in the cultural construction of a "heritage that hurts" (see Sather-Wagstaff 2011). By analyzing popular discourses on urban ecology, community stewardship of green spaces, and the reclamation of endangered habitats Sather-Wagstaff demonstrates a rhetoric of nature that emerges from and simultaneously constructs (paradoxically) a nexus between popular cultures of memorialization, consumption, and "going green." Importantly, her study addresses the mimetic, inorganic popular culture of memorialization. She specifically looks at "commemorabilia" in the form of official souvenirs (also see Woodham, this volume) that represent selected "living memorial" trees.

Conclusion

While post-Enlightenment interpretations of "cultured society" and the aspirations it defined have not been abandoned in the Western, modern world, in the main, in daily life, we live with and in societies of popular culture—popular in terms of mass, openness, fluidity, plurality, hybridity, and the personal. Popular, too, in terms of the dynamic, vernacular life that is expressed in performances and place, pre-eminently at the immediate and local level. Heritage, which has the connotation of inheritance and possession, is most meaningful at this scale for this is where it is born and operates through actual communities rather than those heritages which are invented or imagined by nations and transnational, transgovernmental agencies. While acknowledging the residual power of monumental heritage that is emotionally separate from daily life, we observe that this "elite" heritage is accessed at the local level in popular ways and with reference to notions of the ordinary even as it appears as extraordinary. The concept of popular culture remains semantically slippery, "a concept of ideological contestation and variability" (Storey 1998, p. 202) that is even threatening to some. We emphasize that the meanings of heritage must be processed not only by reference to its creation and management and the assumptions that underpin its existence, but also with reference to how it is received, understood, talked about, looked at, circulated, ignored, and loved in the interconnected world and our own lived realities. We need to understand the *continual* production of heritage, not only the *given* stock of monuments, artifacts and traditions that we have inherited. Moreover, we are not only actively producing our own heritage as and within popular or unofficial culture, we are eagerly consuming that which is produced by others. Popular culture travels vast distances, both in cyberspace and actual space. The media, tourism, and diasporas are notably active in generating and making available knowledge of these productions. Not only is heritage, as knowledge, consumed, goods are consumed as well. Thus, the most striking characteristic of heritage as popular culture is that it is consumer behavior, encompassing symbolization, economics, rituals, politics, social codes, and outright entertainment. Heritage is markedly modern in the ways that it is brought into the world, protected and circulated so that it is inevitably popular. Raphael Samuel brilliantly captured the relationship between heritage and popular culture, contending that we live in an era of "retrochic" that values and therefore materializes the past in the present, an "olde worlde but ultimately modern … look[ing] both backwards and forwards in time" (1994, p. 83). Retrochic repurposes the past, retrofitting objects and ideas.

Exploring the relationships between heritage and popular culture impels us to consider the realms of the modern and the progressive, and to recognize their essential optimism (Fiske 1989). On the whole, the often tainted label of mass consumption used in the context of heritage and tourism reflects a popularity, democratic openness, and creativity that in turn also reflects that popular culture is a cultural field of production in which more heritage is brought into the world precisely because it has meaning and shapes identity. The papers in this volume ultimately display their own sense of optimism, a reclaiming of the world at the local level, a connecting of communities, and an immense social creativity through the production of heritage from popular culture.

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Chapter 2
When Popular Religion Becomes Elite Heritage: Tensions and Transformations at the Shrine of St. Padre Pio of Pietrelcina

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Introduction

Tensions exist between what we can call "elite" heritage and popular culture. These stem not necessarily from an intrinsically elitist meaning, but rather the way in which that meaning necessarily shifts the types of interactions between the heritage object and people. In particular, this is a shift from being intimately enmeshed in "popular culture," in which the object is valued for the way in which it interacts with, and often is seen as, one of the people, to, very generally, something different: an object of heritage that is set apart, viewed, and conserved. This is largely an epistemological shift; that is, it is not a shift in the level of value that the site is believed to possess, but rather a shift in how that value is perceived: what meaning the object has, through what means and what types of interventions best highlights or emphasizes those meanings, and, most importantly, through what sort of interactions—and through which bodily senses—is that meaning most effectively or appropriately elicited.

These tensions are particularly high when popular culture takes on a spiritual or religious dimension—that is, when the object is perceived to be sacred for popular religious devotion. Both heritage practitioners and especially heritage theorists have traditionally held an ambivalent stance towards the sacred in heritage sites, particularly Western ones. To wit, while a UNESCO study (1994) found that its earliest World Heritage sites were predominantly European religious constructions such as cathedrals and religious artworks, they were deemed to be evocative of universal heritage not for any understanding of their sacredness, but rather for their refined aesthetics, innovative architectural design, or socio-historical significance.

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This ambivalence towards the sacred may stem from the secularization of Europe—and indeed the West—but it might also have to do with the scientization of values that are inherent in what Svetlana Alpers (1991, p. 27) calls the "museum effect," in which objects that are designated to be of heritage are valued precisely for their historical, political, aesthetic, anthropological, and social value. Discourses and practices of tangible heritage often are incumbent on preservation; an object is of such scientific value only if it remains physically present on earth. Its value thus lies in its authentic materiality, not its spirit—which, as some indigenous peoples (i.e. the Zuni) argue in their struggles to have museums repatriate their religious relics and human remains, reaches its fullness only if it is released through the death or destruction of the cultural property itself (see Ferguson et al. 1996). Thus, material cultural heritage in the traditional paradigm is of this world, not otherworldly, and its values lie in and of this world. Likewise, the ways in which we can tap into these values must also be of this world: empirically verifiable with one's own eyes.

Yet, paradoxically, while the process of heritage valorization serves to desacralize the traditional religious object, it also re-sacralizes it as unique, affective, and valuable. Thus, its sacredness has not changed; what changed is the meaning and value of this sacredness, as well as how one can tap into it. Tensions therefore spring up from the confusion and uneasiness with dissonant directives concerning how the once-religious object ought to be consumed as heritage.

This chapter examines such a tension-filled shift from something of popular culture to one of heritage through an analysis of the changes that have occurred at the religious shrine to the Catholic saint, Padre Pio of Pietrelcina, in the small Italian town of San Giovanni Rotondo. Padre Pio was a twentieth century Capuchin mystic and stigmatic who was an object of extreme popular religious devotion—so much so that Vatican authorities, including Pope Pius XI and Pope John XXIII, saw him and his popular religious movement as a threat to Vatican hierarchy, teaching, and obedience, and periodically suppressed his cult. Indeed, while the Catholic Church had a difficult and ambiguous existence in the twentieth century—from marginalization by newly secularized nation-states such as the Italian Republic, to its collusion with Fascism, from the growth of skepticism, secularism, and scientism that threatened the cosmological fabric of Catholic belief systems to its controversial renewal in the Second Vatican Council—Padre Pio presented a simpler and more "seductive" (Di Giovine in press) popular theology that was able to galvanize the masses, capturing the attention and imagination of Catholics and non-Catholics alike.

Padre Pio and His Cult

Pio was born Francesco Forgione in the small southern Italian town of Pietrelcina, in the impoverished province of Benevento, where popular myth holds that he experienced diabolic attacks, ecstasies, and heavenly visions as a child. After a period of illness associated with his entry into the highly ascetic Capuchin Order—an illness, his diaries indicate, that stemmed not from his difficulty with the extreme discipline

of the novitiate but rather with his growing embrace of what scholars have called "victim soul" mysticism (Giloteaux 1927; Kane 2002) that was popular among prophetic individuals during the collectively traumatic and tumultuous early twentieth century. In 1918, when he definitively moved to a very small Capuchin monastery in San Giovanni Rotondo—never to return to Pietrelcina again—he received the stigmata after an ecstatic vision of Jesus while praying before a large crucifix. As early as 1918, people considered Pio a living saint, and worshippers flocked to his monastery high atop the arid cliffs of the Gargano Peninsula for the opportunity to confess their sins to him; he was said to know their transgressions even before they were uttered. A sign of his distinctive charisma, Pio would continuously suffer from these highly visible, bleeding wounds on his hands and feet throughout the rest of his life. They are reported to have inexplicably left him a week before his death without any trace, further confirming the supernatural nature of the wounds in the minds of the faithful. Indeed, after his 2008 exhumation, forensic experts reportedly could find no trace of them in the remains (Galeazzi 2008, p. 16).

As social processes, pilgrimages have a destabilizing quality (see Turner 1974); promising direct and unmediated experiences with the divine, they explicitly circumvent authorized religious institutions and are therefore looked upon by religious authorities warily (Di Giovine and Eade, forthcoming). Pio's popular movement was no different. As word spread of a seraphic father akin to St. Francis, the faithful began to flock to San Giovanni Rotondo, raising suspicions in the Vatican. Under Pope Pius XI, the Vatican feared he was sewing "spiritual confusion" (Ruffin 1991, p. 192) and barred him from celebrating Mass in 1923. A decade later, the Vatican reversed its stance and Pius XI personally lifted the injunction. After growing and internationalizing during the period immediately following World War II, Pio's movement again was suppressed, this time by the equally charismatic Pope John XXIII, who believed Pio to be a charlatan sent by Satan himself (John XXIII 1960, p. 127; quoted in Luzzatto 2009/[2007], pp. 369–370). But subsequent popes Paul VI and John Paul II encouraged pilgrimages to the shrine.

Upon his death in 1968, Pio was buried in Santa Maria delle Grazie, a larger church he constructed at the end of his life to accommodate the crush of pilgrims, tourists, and other gawkers who came to see what all the fuss was about. Pio's charisma—integral to any popular saint—did not wane after his death in 1968; on the contrary, the cult became even stronger and international, taking particular hold in Ireland and the USA (see Grottola 2009). He was canonized in 2002 by Pope John Paul II, who himself was a pilgrim to Pio in his youth; the canonization Mass in St. Peter's Square was reported to have drawn one of the largest crowds in history. In 2008, the Capuchin friars exhumed Pio from his tomb below the church and put on display in what the Church calls an ostension (*ostensione*).

The 2008 exhumation, and subsequent 15-month exhibition (*ostensione*), were extremely controversial. Devotees—particularly those who had met him, or who made multiple trips to visit his tomb—complained that the friars were trying to commodify his tomb to make it a tourist site (see Di Giovine 2012b; cf. De Lutiis 1973; Margry 2002). A faction even sued the friars in Italian court for desecrating the body. They also feared—correctly, it turns out—that the friars were going to

move his body to a new mega-church built by internationally renowned architect Renzo Piano next door. Inaugurated in 2004, this ultramodern basilica could accommodate nearly 30,000 devotees inside and outside, and featured cutting-edge modern art and sculpture by some of the leading artists in Italy (see, for example, Piano 2004; Oddo 2005; Saldutto 2008). It also featured scintillating golden mosaics by liturgical artist and priest, Marko Ivan Rupnik, depicting the lives of Jesus, Padre Pio and Saint Francis—who was the first to have the stigmata—in parallel. These mosaics were made by melting down the golden rings, necklaces, and jewelry that were given by devotees as ex votos—objects donated in request for a miracle. Devotees complained that it was too luxurious, too self-congratulatory, too modern for Pio, who was just a simple friar who wanted to pray, and who donated the money given to him during his lifetime to construct one of the most technologically advanced hospitals in Italy (Di Giovine 2012b).

However, it seems that the aesthetics of the Basilica was not the true source of these tensions. Rather, it was the way the basilica subtly, but materially, impacted the devotional habitus of pilgrims as religious authorities converted Pio's shrine from a locus of popular religiosity to one of cultural–religious heritage, and religious tourism. In conversations with site managers, I learned that they aspired for the shrine to become "the next Assisi" (Di Giovine 2012a, p. 164); Assisi is the burial place of St. Francis, who, before Pio, was the most popular saint in Italy and Roman Catholicism (the latest Pope, although from a different religious Order, the Jesuits, took Francis' name). Importantly, Assisi is a World Heritage Site, owing to its famous frescoes depicting the life of St. Francis by the Renaissance painter Giotto. One site manager was clear: In Assisi today, only 10 % come for St. Francis; 90 % come for Giotto (Di Giovine 2012a, p. 121). Just as Assisi remains viable as a heritage tourism site in a largely secularized Europe, so too, it seems, San Giovanni Rotondo plans to mitigate the decline that seems to befall other saints' shrines from growing societal secularism on the one hand, and the emergence of newer charismatic individuals such as the late Pope John Paul II and Mother Teresa.

Thus, rather than simply being uneasy with a stylistic change in the way in which Padre Pio is memorialized, it seems that the extreme tensions at the shrine grow out of three interrelated shifts in the way in which devotees are made to conceive of Pio's worth, and, consequently, how such conceptions shape the ways in which they interact with the saint. These shifts include the objectives of material exchanges at the site, the ways in which devotees are bodily disciplined, and the types of memories that should be invoked when interacting with Pio's body.

Shifting Values of Exchange Between Popular Religion and Elite Heritage

The first and most obvious shift concerns material exchange at the shrine, and what devotees consider to be the commodification of the saint. Seasoned pilgrims from Italy, the USA and Ireland, who often make one or more pilgrimages to the shrine

per year, often argued that the exhumation and promised veneration was merely a thinly veiled excuse to garner more tourism dollars in response to a decline in pilgrims after Pio's canonization. Indeed, in the frenzy of mass tourism that occurred in the years leading up to Pio's canonization, the town of San Giovanni Rotondo saw the construction of some 125 hotels (Meletti 2011), though it is clear that investors overbuilt. Hotels and guesthouses lay half-constructed, the older generation of hoteliers complains to me about the devaluation of their property, and *The New York Times* reported at the opening of the *ostensione* that occupancy rates in San Giovanni's hotels are the lowest in Italy. Tourism ministers, such as Massimiliano Ostillo, the head of tourism planning in the region of Puglia, were clear: "This is an opportunity we have to turn religious tourism into mass tourism" (Fisher 2008, p. 1); it was his hope that Padre Pio would draw visitors who would then tour other sites in the region.

Consistent with the Church's stance on popular devotion, several religious leaders had been vocal in their critiques of the shrine's commercialization, which nets over €120 million a year through donations, subscriptions to the Capuchin Order's magazines, books, and television stations, and through the sale of touristic tchotchkes such as Padre Pio rosaries, prayer cards, and cigarette lighters (see Di Giovine 2011). During Pio's canonization celebrations, Bishop Alessandro Maggiolini critiqued the "corrupt" (*cattivi*) friars stating, "Jesus Christ threw the merchants out of the temple, but now I see they've returned…" (La Rocca 2002). The international media is particularly vocal about the shrine's commercialization, too. A *Le Monde* article states, "Padre Pio is a business. San Giovanni Rotondo nourishes it" (Bozonnet 2008), while the *Los Angeles Times* called San Giovanni "Las Vegas of the faithful" (Holly 2002, p. A7). By linking San Giovanni Rotondo to the USA's theme park-cum-gambling mecca—famous for its life-size re-creation of elitist heritage sites around the world, such as Venice, ancient Rome and Luxor—these authors' statements also include veiled critiques on shrine's commercial inauthenticity. This reaction is not necessarily unique to Pio's cult; "popular anti-clericalism" and direct opposition to the religious hierarchy is notably strong in Southern Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal (Riegelhaupt 1984), as they continue to privilege direct and reciprocal relations over more rational, economic, and legalistic ones instituted by the Council of Trent (Badone 1990, pp. 13–15). However, Irish Catholics—who exist as minorities in an Anglo-British milieu, and who count among the most devoted to Pio—are generally more receptive to forms that reveal the wealth and strength of the cult, and the Church in general (cf. Taylor 1985, 1990). One Irish man said, "Somebody might disagree with the amount of money that was spent on Piano's basilica because there's so much poverty in the world—but in Ireland, in times past, there was poverty and famine. The only things that stood out and remained past those generations are the churches. Hopefully it'll outlive [our generation, too]" (Di Giovine 2014, p. 159).

These tensions stem not from commercialism itself but rather from the purpose of commercialism at the shrine. For this, we must examine the exchange of money and material objects through the lens of Maussian gift exchange. While the Vatican's reaction against commercialism in the Council of Trent was theological in

nature, and argued that salvation stems from faith manifested through good works, deeply entrenched popular devotional praxes attempts to construct a strategic bargaining relationship with the divine in which pilgrims seek to tie the saint or deity into a mutual obligation through gifting (Di Giovine and Eade, forthcoming; see Mauss 2000). The conversion from a popular religious site to a heritage tourism destination, therefore, shifts the very cosmology of the shrine. Rather than facilitating a direct and immediate relationship with the divine at an axis mundi that links heaven and earth (Eliade 1959), these same priests and vendors of mass-produced souvenirs and common touristic services become the unavoidable middlemen in a new cosmos, the global capitalistic market.

Pilgrims are thus forced to innovate new practices that attempt to "restore" the sacrality of their commercial exchanges by invoking public rituals of *inventio.* In Catholic liturgy, *inventio* is the official act of deciphering and authenticating a saint's relic. Yet here, it is used as a way of turning souvenirs into relics themselves. The most important one occurs in the English Office among Irish pilgrims, who purchase these religious objects in bulk so that they can then touch them to the relic of Pio's glove (kept in a see-through plastic bag), hoping to transfer its 'contagious magic' (Frazer 2008/[1922]). They would then distribute them to their friends and loved ones, particularly those who are sick, back in Ireland and who could not come in bodily contact with Pio's body or his mitt. Another popular act that converts these souvenirs into relics in the minds of the faithful occurs at the pilgrimage's completion, usually during the final Mass or on the bus to the airport. Priests will ask devotees to hold up their bags of souvenirs, sprinkle holy water on them, and give a benediction; this practice transcends the national origins of the priests and the pilgrims. Pilgrims will often become anxious in the days and hours leading up to this benediction, often pestering the priest to quietly bless them beforehand; they will also nervously ask if the benediction is still valid if their souvenirs are locked away in their suitcases underneath the bus. Theologically, one needs only to pray for God's benediction, and both Italian and Irish priests confide that their aspersion rituals are but a formality. Yet, these elaborate rituals not only invest the object with a spiritual narrative (if not also power) but also serve to unite the congregation around a collective reinterpretation of its value.

Disciplining the Senses

These practices are indicative of tensions that arise through a second type of shift: that of their habitus. That is, the conversion to a heritage site disciplines the senses in a way that conflicts with that of religious devotion. In this case, the interaction is more along the lines of post-Enlightenment, modern tourism—except that the theme happens to be religious, rather than "heritage" or "cultural" or "culinary." Importantly, the Enlightenment shifted the locus at which Western society obtained Truth about itself and individuals' existence from God to the material world, ushering in a paradigmatic shift in Western society's understanding of where, and through

what means, reality could be effectively perceived. Rather than privileging the haptic—or the sense of touch as in popular religion—Enlightenment-era thinking privileged the optic sense—the visual—and relegated the "proximate" senses such as touching, hearing, and smelling to lower levels (Synnott 1991, p. 70; Ong 1991). The religious relic was replaced by the artifact as the locus of knowledge, which could be unlocked through expert viewing—or what Conn (2000) calls "object-based epistemology" (see, especially, Classen and Howes 2006, p. 199)

This is a very specific way of interacting with objects and places that is different from the religious mode, in which, at least in popular pilgrimage, one encounters the sacred bodily, both interiorly and exteriorly (see Coleman and Elsner 1995; Di Giovine and Eade forthcoming; cf. Adler 2002; Frank 2000). Tourism, predicated as it is on "sight-seeing" (see Adler 1989) or what Urry (2000) called the "tourist gaze"—also privileges the sense of sight over the other senses, particularly that of touch. People are often not allowed to touch things of high touristic value: one cannot touch Stonehenge; one cannot touch Michelangelo's *David*; one cannot touch Giotto's frescoes. Tourism is therefore a very museological form of interaction; it is no coincidence museums and tourism grew up around each other, and that museums and interpretative centers are nearly always found near a tourist site (or included on a tourist itinerary).

Yet, the gaze is not simply the privileged form of obtaining knowledge in this world, but, as Foucault argues in his discussion of Velàzquez's *Las Meninas*, it has become the modern, Western form of constructing social relationships. Whereas in traditional religious pilgrimage, visitors enter into a relationship with the sacred through their bodies—often through bodily suffering and the exchange of indebtedness with the Divine—through the gaze, the boundaries between spectator and object are broken down; as the spectator thus becomes part of the spectacle the "observer and the observed take part in a ceaseless exchange. No gaze is stable … subject and object, spectator and model reverse their roles into infinity" (Foucault 1970, p. 5, quoted in Reinhardt 2014).

Whereas before; pilgrims would visit Pio's tomb–kneeling and praying at it, touching it, placing flowers on it, and leaving notes of supplication to the saint–during the exhibition of his body, Pio was placed in a glass case, elevated at eye level, blocked off by those typical velvet ropes that often surround an important artifact in a museum, and pilgrims could only walk around it to look at it, much like a museum object on display. Visitors were even hurried along by guards periodically barking, "keep moving, please!" as if they were tourists in the Sistine Chapel looking at Michelangelo's ceiling frescoes. Thus, the site managers transformed pilgrims' haptic devotional practices shaped by popular religion to secular, museological tourism practices that privileges the optic.

We can understand, therefore, the reason why site managers intending to create a "new Assisi" chose to employ architect Piano to create this new basilica. The Pritzker Prize winner has made a name for himself in designing cutting-edge, monumental public edifices since at least the 1970s. Importantly, many of his most well-known constructions are museums: the Pompidou Center in Paris, the Beyeler Foundation Museum in Basel, the NEMO Science Museum in Amsterdam, and the

modern wing on the Art Institute of Chicago. Likewise, the Upper Basilica's liturgical adornments were also designed by contemporary sculptors whose work is well-represented in art museums but not in devotional settings. In fact, as a testament to Pomodoro's inexperience with liturgical art, his monumental cross that hung above the sacrificial altar was unceremoniously removed in 2010 and replaced by a non-descript crucifix; no one informed him that such an altarpiece required an image of Christ on it (see Loito 2010).

The Capuchin Order's selection of these well-known professionals over more obscure, yet technically more proficient liturgical artists, demonstrated site managers' absolute desire to become "the next Assisi"—a cultural heritage-cum-tourist site, a vast open-air museum in which the objects to be studied, talked about, and visited were not holy relics, but monumental buildings, fine art, and a famous body. The selection of these artisans indicates a transformation in the very significance and value attributed to Pio by his Order. This is an epistemological shift away from utilizing Pio as a locus for obtaining certain universal truths concerning one's own spiritual path to salvation to one that considers Pio as an object of cultural heritage embodying certain facts about their history, culture, and social relations. Such a shift, furthermore, requires pilgrims to discipline their bodies in alternative ways (cf. Asad 1993), sparking extreme internal tensions which were articulated in the form of these critiques over the materiality of the basilica.

Particularly during the veneration of Pio's exhumed body, the pilgrim was specifically disciplined to gaze on Pio as a museum object, both through the tactics of displaying the body and through the semiotic framing elements. Pilgrims would first be constrained to tour his former monastery, which was turned into a literal museum; like anthropologists or curators, tour guides would explain the history of the convent, Capuchin theology and ritual, and Pio's biography. They would pass his cell and confessional encased in Plexiglas, the crucifix in the choir loft under which he received the stigmata, and into a series of rooms filled entirely of exhibit cases, where Pio's personal effects, bloody bandages, clothing, and ex votos were displayed. Of particular impact is an entire wall of letters sent over a three-month period in 1968, illustrating just how global and popular he was at the end of his life. While no doubt interesting to most pilgrims (only a very few, if any, voiced irritation by this detour during a typical trip), this pathway was a framing mechanism, one that disciplined the pilgrim to approach Pio and his relics as objects of epistemology rather than virtue, to privilege the optic over the haptic. When they finally arrived at the crypt, pilgrims were sufficiently cued to employ their gaze, a selective form of looking, as Foucault (1970) reminds us. Indeed, as with Günther von Hagens' global blockbuster *Bodyworlds* exhibitions, in which plastinated human bodies are displayed in suggestive, highly aesthetic poses, visitors to San Giovanni Rotondo commented on the transcendent experience of "seeing" the genuinely authentic, despite the fact that the object of their gaze was highly mediated (see Di Giovine 2009a). Pio was not injected with polymer, but rather fully covered in robes, shoes, and mitts; his face, which had suffered decay, was covered by a silicone mask.

Pio's placement in the Basilica's crypt blended these two disparate expositionary styles. During the translation, Pio was transferred to a new silver, bejeweled

sarcophagus by Soviet-born Georgian artist Goudji. Goudji is also not a liturgical artist but a jeweler–artisan whose works are displayed primarily in art galleries and museums in France, where he is now a citizen. Yet, unlike the other works of fine art in the basilica, the sarcophagus was only partially on display: it was entombed within a mosaic-covered pilaster at the center of the new crypt, just behind a small altar. This pilaster had a large gash—Americans have commented that it looks like the trademarked swoosh on Nike sneakers, though it most likely was made to represent Christ's, and Pio's, side wound—through which the faithful can get a glimpse of this work of funerary art. They were also free to approach it, and pilgrims file past Pio's entombed sarcophagus, taking photographs through the gash, dropping letters of supplication inside it, and sticking their hands inside to caress the silver casket and to touch their souvenirs to it.

It is a rather awkward affair, shaped by conflicting cues on how Pio should be epistemologically and ritually approached. As pilgrims proceed down to the crypt, they pass through a veritable gallery filled with Rupnik's museological mosaic cycle and encounter guards who once again urge quiet. The juxtaposition of narratives comparing Francis and Pio requires the interested pilgrim to read the informational labels next to each frieze, step back, examine the image, then examine its parallel on the other side of the narrow gallery: a basic museological technique. That visitors are disciplined to employ the optic over the haptic is evident, considering that in other venues—both inside churches and out in public piazzas—they would touch, stroke, or kiss images and statues of the saint. Once inside the crypt, pilgrims are then somewhat confusingly confronted with a semi-traditional liturgical space, a church with an altar and a pilaster with Pio's reliquary inside, that they are relatively free to touch.

But the space was not designed for this type of traditional, tactile interaction with Pio; the line of pilgrims block the entrance, the swoosh was too small to allow for many supplicants reaching in at the same time, and the sarcophagus itself was placed just a little too far back behind the opening, forcing some shorter devotees to stretch and contort their bodies in order to touch it. Thus, the placement of Pio's crypt existed midway between two conflicting paradigms for interacting with relics, liturgical and museological—exemplified on the one hand by Assisi, in which St. Francis' body is completely encased within a pillar around which pilgrims circumambulate and can touch at any point with equal effect—and on the other by Guarino Guarini's eighteenth century chapel housing the shroud of Turin, which was innovative for maximizing the impact of the museological gaze by creating a pathway that facilitated large groups of pilgrims walking from one end of the shroud to the other (Guarini 1737; see Momo 1997; Meek 1988).

I am not suggesting—as many pilgrims do—that the basilica is poorly planned. What I am suggesting, however, is that the progression of exhibitionary tactics regarding Pio—from his first tomb, to his temporary exhibition, to his re-interment in his new basilica—reflects a deeper, yet necessarily ambivalent and tension-laden, process of transformation for the shrine as its managers ambitiously refashion their site as a secular religious tourism destination akin to Assisi. It seemed that site managers did not take into account the very visceral, embodied, shifts in interactions

that come with such transformations, and which, I would argue, is a symptom of "religious tourism" in general. Yet, there slowly emerged the recognition that these two forms of interaction must be managed better, that in this specific form of religious tourism at San Giovanni Rotondo, pilgrims' religious needs must necessarily be married with the secular practices of tourism. In 2013, site managers significantly enlarged the opening through which visitors could touch the silver sarcophagus; in mid-May, they announced that Pio's body would be placed on permanent display. As of late 2013, Pio's body has been taken out of Gaudji's silver sarcophagus and returned to his glass enclosure, and the hole through which pilgrims could touch the casket was extended down to the floor. In particular this exhibitionary style seems to marry both types of interaction styles. Pio is back on display, in a museum-style case, perhaps to accommodate and emphasize the museological expectations of tourists—who come to *see* Pio and the new, would-be artistic and architectural heritage sites they have created around him. Yet, unlike other traditional museum exhibits, this style also facilitates the kinds of haptic interactions that religious devotees expect; the barriers to the tomb largely removed, visitors are once again free to touch, kiss, and leave notes of supplication to Pio. It is regrettable that it took several years, and several lawsuits, to come to this conclusion.

Lieux de Mémoire

The reactions of pilgrims who attended the translation of Pio's body from his former resting place to Piano's new basilica also suggest a tension between competing sets of identity claims. This is predicated on a third transformation, that of a shift in the type of memories that should be evoked while visiting the site. While Pio's popularity—both when he was alive and after he died—was predicated on the cultivation of individual memories of specific interactions with the saint, his tomb, and with friends and family who knew or met him, as a new heritage site, these memories are purposefully erased, replaced by an authorized discourse about Pio and his historical value for the Church and Catholic culture more generally. In short, it is a shift from individual, personal memory to social memory.

On April 19, 2010, thousands showed up to watch the solemn ceremony and procession as Pio's body was transferred to the new Piano basilica. Several protesters handed out leaflets and searched for media to give interviews; thinking I was a journalist, one approached me with an old, photocopied clipping. It was a story about him, and the miraculous cure he received after meeting Pio half a century earlier. Others crowded the central piazzas for a glimpse of Pio's new silver casket pass by. Notably present were self-described locals from San Giovanni Rotondo and the surrounding province, those from his hometown of Pietrelcina, and others from afar. Many locals talked of remembering the times they met Pio in the old church, while others recounted the various pilgrimage experiences they had venerating his tomb. "Let's say this place is holy. The other church is really pretty inside, but I don't know—I remember this place. This place is special," one local from the provincial

capital of Foggia remarked. He had not come to the public veneration of Padre Pio that drew nine million pilgrims, but he felt he had to come now, in part to honor the memories of Padre Pio and his parents who had taken him to see the monk when he was ten. He is not alone. During the course of my fieldwork, a significant number of Italians and Irish told me they were devoted to Pio because they remember him when he was alive. Even during the exhumation ceremony in 2008, Josè Saraiva Martins, then-Prefect of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints, tellingly stated, "The presence of the body of Padre Pio calls upon our memory: looking at his mortal remains, we remember all of the good that he has done among us" (quoted in Anon. 2008).

Reliving memories of the times they interacted with Pio in the friary or venerated his tomb, during the translation disgruntled informants spoke of the end of an era, an end of a time when Pio was buried in a site filled with their own memories. The site itself served as a memory trigger in much the same way these souvenir-relics do; it viscerally and immanently mediated between Pio and his devotees. What may be hagiographically problematic about this phenomenon is that these pilgrims—"petty religious *bricoleurs*" (Valtchinova 2009, p. 206)—do not espouse a unified view of Pio or his significance. His translation to another structure, a church that espouses a particular hagiographic iconography, seems to be an attempt to standardize and solidify a particular narrative claim about him. Moving the body to the new church not only shifts the axis mundi of the cult a few feet but also creates a new framing device for the saint that will impact his meaning. Pio's old church is populated by his personal effects, by the images of past devotees, and, above all, by the numerous and varied memories of past pilgrims; in short, it frames Pio's body with competing memories. Piano's basilica, constructed on a barren lot and without the full consent of the cult's varied stakeholders, is heretofore devoid of memories and contextualizes his body in explicit narrative claims about Pio's life that simply were not present in his old church (which, we should recall, was dedicated to the Virgin Mary). This new basilica is therefore a new beginning, a new frame through which Pio will be understood, and a new container for new memories.

When informants stated they desired to create a new Assisi, these site managers were not simply talking about future economic sustainability, but, consciously or not, were referencing a model for exerting hagiographic authority over the saint's biographical narrative. As Davidson reveals in an in-depth literary and artistic examination of the story of St. Francis' stigmata, in the decades following Francis' death, there were competing narratives (and images) concerning this all-important story. The translation of Francis' body into the new basilica—adorned with frescoes concerning Francis' life by Cimabue and Giotto—created a monumental narrative frame for pilgrims' understanding of who Francis was, and what his importance is to the viewer. In short, it systematized and standardized a cacophonous field of memories, accounts, and images of the saint. This is exactly what heritage designations tend to do: identifying the ideological value of an object or site, it selects and emphasizes a particular narrative, an "authorized heritage discourse" (Smith 2006, pp. 29–34; see also Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998)—often localized to a particular time period—and minimizes, if not erases, others (see, for example, Zerubavel 1995; Abu-El Hajj 2001).

Pio's translation is therefore not simply an endeavor to make San Giovanni Rotondo profitable in the long term through heritage tourism but rather is an attempt to stave off the hagiographic entropy that inevitably occurs as the cult progresses through time and space. This is not mere speculative analysis, either. Recent publications on Pio by the Capuchin friars, the shrine, and even the Vatican—including calendars, the *Voce di Padre Pio* magazines, new biographies, and Vatican-published *santini* featuring prayers for the relief of suffering that were distributed to parishes across Italy—have featured Rupnik's mosaics where previously photos of Pio interacting with devotees in his convent (or, in the case of the *santini*, other religious art) were used. The translation is therefore an endeavor to wrest control from the variety of devotees and their competing memories, to authorize a particular account of Pio and his relevance in the broader Catholic cult of saints and to establish the axis mundi of his cult squarely in San Giovanni Rotondo. In short, it once again calls upon Padre Pio to construct distinctive identity claims.

Conclusion: Elite Heritage Values and Re-Sacralization

It is possible to create a heritage site from anew—some forms of monuments and memorials exemplify this. Yet, most heritage sites are created, developed, and evolved from earlier manifestations of themselves, through the intervention of many different stakeholders or "epistemic groups" (Knorr-Cetina 1999) that are brought together in a Bourdieuian field of production, in which they engage in struggles of "positioning and position-taking" regarding the significances, values, and even management of the site (Bourdieu 1993; see Di Giovine 2009b). These struggles are social processes, and are not fixed in time and space. Sometimes the process is very fluid and grassroots; other times, particularly when designated as heritage through state or supranational intervention, it is not. Yet whenever a site is transformed from one of popular culture to heritage tourism, its meanings and types of values change, which compel visitors to self-consciously interact with it in often radically different ways. This chapter furnished a somewhat extreme example, since it examined popular religion and the transformations that occurred when extra-local site managers (the Capuchin Order, in conjunction with the Catholic Church in Rome) intervene to transform it into what can be considered religious heritage. This calls upon a very specific class of tourism that necessitates deep contextual understandings of not only the value of the religious object as a *theme* to be seen and capitalized on for various epistemic communities but also as a *quality* of interaction that may go against, or be counter-intuitive to, the typical habitus or forms of behaviors prescribed by modern tourism. In this particular case, this is shift from engaging in a decidedly pre-Tridentine devotional habitus that privileges haptic (as well as olfactory and sonorous) interactions with the site to a more museological and scientific habitus that is part and parcel of this post-Enlightenment era, which emphasizes optic engagement with heritage.

This is not to argue, however, that in this shift of values and habitus the site managers have desecrated Pio's body, or at least left it de-sacralized, devoid of its conduciveness towards emotional and transcendent experiences. Nor does this mean that religious and secular travelers cannot call their visits to San Giovanni Rotondo pilgrimages. On the contrary, heritage sites are quite often extremely affective sites—they are frequently created to convey a sense of emotional transcendence, a connection with forces larger than ourselves. These forces are not usually religious forces but rather social and political ones: forces of the mighty class or state, of kith and kin, or between members of ethnic groups, spread across space and also time (Di Giovine 2009b, 2010a). Heritage properties are affective mediators, connecting past, present, and future. The object of preservation, they are made precisely to exude the timelessness through which a sacred site—an axis mundi—operates. Indeed, an important aspect of what is often called the "heritagization" (or "patrimonialization") process is the sacralization—some might ungenerously call it fetishization—of the actual heritage property itself. Whether it occurs to a museum object, a secular monument, or a religious place, heritagization involves not only decontextualizing the property, but recontextualizing it with added value—what Alpers calls the "museum effect" (1991, p. 26). This is a social process, one that is deeply implicated in interpretation and the dissemination of particular narrative claims concerning the value of a heritage property, made to create a sense of identity among the primary audience of the site (Poria 2010, pp. 218–220). Poria thus argues that authenticity is generally less important as are the cultivation of affect and the creation of emotional experiences for this audience (2010, p. 220). Indeed, as Alpers suggests, this effect is created simultaneously through the invocation of distance and a sense of human affinity and intimacy—something that is conveyed silently through exhibitionary techniques focused on the kind of museological modes of seeing that even the shrine at San Giovanni Rotondo cultivated during Padre Pio's exhibition.

This type of valorization is, in actuality, a form of sacralization that turns the heritage property into an object not unlike that of religious relic: it is imbued with a sense of timelessness, it mediates between spatialities and temporalities, and it often instills in visitors and stakeholders strong emotional attachments (Di Giovine 2009b, 2010b). Furthermore, as metonyms that stand in for some greater whole, and are imbued with a sense of transcendent value, any one part of the object is just as valuable as the whole—a rule that governs sacred relics themselves. Indeed, Émile Durkheim pointed this out in his discussion of the "subdivision of the sacred"—"when a sacred being is subdivided, it remains wholly equal to itself in each of its parts.…From the standpoint of religious thought, the part equals the whole; the part as the same powers and same efficacy. A fragment of a relic has the same virtues as the whole relic" (Durkheim 1995, pp. 230–231). As I have argued elsewhere,

> Since this value is a quality attributed to the object externally from a subjective actor, it cannot be reduced or fragmented even when the object is split from something larger; the object possesses the same amount of authenticity as its place of origin, and can preserve this authenticity even if the original structure from which it was taken has succored to oblivion (Di Giovine 2009b, p. 30).

That is, as Durkheim says, "it can play an evocative role whether it is whole or not, since in that role it does not need specific dimensions" (1995, p. 231). An American flag represents the country as much as a fragment of it does; it can also create the same emotional experience as a whole flag does. Indeed, if anything, the absence of a piece of the whole may actually provide an added emotional layer, which can additionally resonate with a viewer as well (see Greenblatt 1991). Yet, it is important to note that values do change, as do these notions of sacredness, even when the affective qualities of the perceptively sacred remain. As Labadi points out in her research on UNESCO's World Heritage Sites, values in general are necessarily extrinsic and relative, changing with time, individuals, cultures, ideas, frames of mind, and geographic locations (2013, p. 7).

But despite any "secular pilgrimage" that may be generated by a heritage site, despite the affect and transcendent qualities with which it may have been imbued, and despite its perceptively and resonantly sacred qualities, it does not have the same type of sacredness as a form of "elite heritage" than it did when it was understood in a religious sense. That it, its sacredness lies in the value that it has here on this earth—both its value of intransience as well as its ability to connect terrestrial social worlds past, present, and future. Thus, as Holtorf argues, such popular heritage sites are not valued for the individual qualities they may have—their "literal content"—as much as for its metaphorical content, the notions and meta-narratives it alludes to and evokes among its audience (2010, p. 43). It may be precisely for this reason that such extreme tensions are created at the shrine of Padre Pio: elite heritage largely calls upon similar notions of value, sacredness, and emotion, yet remains decidedly in and of this world. Each site may be unique; they may be sacred, but we must remember Alpers' assertion that, in a museum (or in this case, a tourist site), the object "is always put under the pressure of seeing" (1991, p. 29)—seeing in, of, and for this world.

To adequately mitigate these tensions, site managers must be aware of this complex interplay, this subtle yet notable shift. We must always understand that heritage itself operates within a field of production, and each epistemic community may have different, and conflicting, behaviors and expectations of how one should interact with the site. Yet, as this case study revealed, it is precisely through such conflict that new meanings, and new practices, associated with the site can be innovated. Religious heritage, and the religious-themed tourism it invokes, requires its site managers to anticipate, mitigate or alleviate that pressure, and to facilitate alternative forms of interaction with the object of visitation.

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Chapter 3
Experiencing Intangible Heritage on the Byway: The Mississippi Blues Trail and the Virginia Crooked Road

Paul Hardin Kapp

Introduction

At the intersection of Interstates 74 and 57 in Champaign, Illinois, a large way-finding sign presents us with two corresponding, interrelated, and yet, incongruent American cities to visit and explore. Heading north on Interstate 57, we arrive in Chicago, Illinois and heading south, on the same interstate highway, we will eventually reach Memphis, Tennessee (Fig. 3.1). At first glance, these two cities share little in common. They are separated by over 500 miles of the American heartland and at least two climatic zones. Located along the shores of Lake Michigan, Chicago is the third largest city in the USA and the pivotal railroad hub that links the American east to the west. It is generally considered the more important economic city of the two. Memphis, along with Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis, is one of the several vital and important port cities along the Mississippi River. Memphis is the southern city, where cotton, river-based commerce, and transportation converge. Moreover, it is the quintessential American city where rural culture meets urban culture. Chicago is the northern city and the leading industrial city in the Midwest.

These two cities, Memphis—the departure point and the cultural terminus of the Mississippi Delta, and Chicago—the culmination point and the historical gateway for new opportunity for southern African-Americans, are intrinsically interwoven in the diasporic American. The cultural meaning of these two cities not only inspired the original diasporic peoples, African-Americans, but also the white and cultural diasporic, who is inspired by the music and wishes to reconnect the place and the music in his or hers consciousness. It is through this diaspora that a musical idiom was developed and with it an intangible reality of culture and memory that enabled these diasporic peoples to remember their homeland, return to it in both imagination

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Fig. 3.1 Chicago and Memphis roadside sign on Interstate 74 in Champaign, Illinois

and reality, and share with others. Through the last 2 decades of the twentieth century, the shared diaspora was capitalized and marketed throughout the world. Suddenly, Chicago and Memphis did not seem so far apart from each other.

In Memphis and Chicago, there are sites and landscapes, which are both real and imagined. Landmark buildings can be found in the downtowns of both cities but we can also find incidental spaces and historic places—a juke joint, a recording studio, and a church. In these cities we experience buildings and spaces that allow us to experience in them a double-consciousness of perception in sight, sound, imagination, and memory. Chicago and Memphis share a uniquely American common bond with each other; they are both homes to the American blues and their places of blues musical heritage present a double-consciousness of meaning to African-American diasporists.

This chapter is an exploration of intangible cultural heritage along the musical heritage byways of American popular culture. Two case studies that feature the marketing of diaspora and intangible heritage will be examined. The Mississippi Blues Trail is a rambling heritage corridor that runs across the entire state of Mississippi; it uses both actual landmarks, conventional way-finding and digital media to tell the story of Mississippi Blues (Fig. 3.2). Located in the Appalachian mountains of Southwestern Virginia, the Crooked Road is a similar heritage corridor that begins in Bristol, Tennessee/Virginia, "the Birthplace of Country Music" and ends in Rocky Mount, Virginia (Fig. 3.3). Both experiences attempt to meld the set boundaries of the tangible place with the borderless landscape of the mind through the common experience of music presented today with the memory (both actual and perceived) of the inhabitants of the place, archival photography, and historical sites in order to satisfy the collected desire to experience diaspora. But are these corridors successful? Can they be sustained? And finally, is there a real there there? This chapter considers how intangible heritage is experienced on the historic American byway through the diasporic lens.

Fig. 3.2 The Mississippi Blues Trail roadside marker

Fig. 3.3 Virginia's Crooked Road sign

A Heritage of Blues and Diaspora

Not only have African-Americans, throughout the twentieth century, bestowed intense diasporic meanings to these cities, others have as well. Both Chicago and Memphis captured the imagination of not only African-Americans but of white Americans and Europeans as well. To many African-Americans, Chicago was the gateway to better economic opportunities, while Memphis was the gateway to the Mississippi Delta. African-Americans, who lived in these cities, expressed their sentiments through a powerful artistic medium now known as American blues music. First created and played in the Delta region south of Memphis, this music was imported to Chicago during the African-American migration in the first half of the twentieth century. In Chicago, the music evolved as it was performed in nightclubs and recorded for a commercial audience that eventually became global. The lyrics of the blues music spoke of love lost and lust yearned; hard times and exhilaration, but most importantly, it spoke of lost homes left far behind in the Mississippi Delta.

The music was poignant and it caught the imagination of other people as well, most notably, whites in the Northeast and in Europe. Popular musical artists adopted musical ideas in the 1950s and 60s and as it evolved this music genre eventually became Rock and Roll. Blues became mythic and part of its mythology was a diaspora felt by Mississippi-born African-Americans. As more whites were moved by the meaning and message of the music, they also began to seek out the places where the actual music was created. Each group had their own motives for seeking out the actual blues landscape. For African-Americans, reconnecting with family and family history and lore were the primary motives. Whites sought out the inspiration that blues music sites may embody. Today, compelled by a common but separate diaspora, both Black and white cultural tourists set out to find meaning and learn the history of the Mississippi blues along the byways of Mississippi and the backstreets of Memphis and Chicago.

In learning and experiencing the double-consciousness of places, for blues cultural tourists the journey is more important than the destination. They travel the Mississippi roads, rail lines, and the trains in order to make the connections to the real places found on a map and designated by a historic plaque or marker with the imagined spaces that they construct in their minds through music and imaginary. Some places resonate as the music comes alive or provides a more profound meaning, while at other places, the tourist experiences the disconnection of the place. The conflict between the real and perceived lies at the heart of the diaspora. Pilgrimages back to the homeland can bring about emotions that are joyful, sad, empty, and conflicted. Through these feelings, diaspora is reaffirmed. For most of the twentieth century that was what African-Americans did: they traveled back to Mississippi, first along Highway 61 and later Interstate 57/55. They reconnected with their families they had left behind and they also reconnected to the places they remembered. It was a personal emotion between families and a common bond found in the African-American community. For the most part this diasporic ritual was overlooked by the outside world.

Seven hundred miles east of Chicago, along the Blue Ridge mountains in Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia, another American musical genre emerged, American bluegrass and old-time music. Rooted in Scotch–Irish folk music dating back to the eighteenth century, bluegrass was created by Appalachian whites. As was the case with African-Americans, the music became popularized when Appalachian whites migrated north to Cleveland, Ohio, Detroit, Michigan, and Chicago, Illinois. Moreover, songs, sung by bluegrass singers, such as, Kentucky's Bill Monroe, spoke of lost homes, family that was left behind, and the simple mountain life. These songs reflected the diaspora that was being felt by relocated Appalachian whites who came to the northern cities to work in automobile plants and steel mills. The music was a common bond between Appalachian whites. These relocated Appalachian whites played their music in parlors and in parks. They played their music with their kinfolk and old friends when they had opportunities to travel back to the mountains and to their families and to their old homesteads. It is through their travels back to their home places that their diaspora was reaffirmed. As was the case of the diaspora felt by displaced Mississippi blacks, the Appalachian whites' diaspora

was hardly noticed by the rest of American culture. It was not until the folk movement of the 1960s, when bluegrass music was rediscovered, that the Appalachian diaspora was recognized by popular culture—but it was experienced mainly by Appalachians.

In the 1990s all of this began to change. Diaspora now became a broader and commonly held emotion—a feeling an individual who is part of a displaced community only experienced—at least that is how it was, and currently is presented, commercially today. Diaspora is now a codified and capitalized commodity in the popular culture economy and an integral component of the cultural tourism industry. State governmental agencies—not necessarily the peoples who created both the music and the myths of the places—are deliberately developing this new tourism market. By interweaving historic roadways, historic buildings, and places with the intangible heritage of music, narrative, and memory (either real or mythic), governmental agencies and cultural advocacy groups have begun to develop tourism industries centered on diaspora. Whether it is deliberately recognized or not, diaspora plays a key role in marketing and capitalizing intangible heritage of place in the tourism industry, especially in the economically depressed rural areas in the deep south and the southern Appalachians.

In her recent book, *Losing Site: Architecture, Memory and Place*, Shelly Hornstein (2011) defines diaspora as both a double consciousness and a double geography for a people who live in a perceived or actual exile. She states that the diaspora is "best charted as a palimpsest, with multiple centers and capitals and overlapping porous border zones. One layer of the map corresponds to the nation-state and its citizenry, the other layer marks the experimental space of diasporic community." Diaspora is commonly known as a distinctly Jewish experience. Webster's dictionary defines it as "The settling of scattering colonies of Jews outside Palestine after the Babylonian exile" or "the experience of Jews living outside Palestine or modern Israel." Hornstein broadens this idea in order to address how the layering of imagery, specifically photographs and postcards, changes and complicates the meaning of a specific place by not only the diasporists but others as well. Labels and perceptions of place demonstrate the elaborate, imaginary, and real constructions of a particular place and diaspora is not, in fact, a uniquely Jewish experience. It is something felt by all ethnic groups who believe they have been exiled from their homeland. Hornstein redefines the concept of diaspora by stating that diasporic people emphasize the pleasure qualities and productive character of a place, while at the same time, coming to terms with personal feelings of ambivalence and tension in the same place. This conflict produces a "double consciousness" of the place that may still exist or has been destroyed long ago (Hornstein 2011, p. 62).

As immigrant-based and transient peoples, Americans have been diasporic since the early days of the republic. In 1847, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow wrote his epic poem, *Evangeline, A Tale of Acadie*, and to this day it defines the diaspora of the Cajuns of Louisiana. Cherokee Indians define their diaspora through remembrance and use of the tragic "Trail of Tears," when the federal government removed them from their native lands in Georgia and relocated them to the

reservations in Oklahoma. Although these diasporic events have been woven into the American story, they have not had the same impact on popular music as the twentieth century migration of African-Americans from Mississippi to Chicago, St. Louis, and Kansas City or the migration of Appalachian whites from western Virginia and east Tennessee to Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Washington, D.C., and Baltimore, Maryland. Unlike the eighteenth century French who were exiled from Nova Scotia or the Cherokees, both the African-Americans and Appalachian whites freely left their home to seek better opportunities in the more industrial northern states. Often, they traveled seasonally back to either the Mississippi Delta or the Blue Ridge Mountains to reconnect with the families they left behind and the places that they held dear in their memories. Both Mississippi blacks and Virginia mountain whites used music to memorialize the place. In the 1940s bluesman "Mississippi" Fred McDowell sang about "Goin Down to the River" and the Virginia Mountain Boys from Grayson County, Virginia sang, "Fire on the Mountain." McDowell recorded his songs in Chicago and the Virginia Mountain Boys recorded in Baltimore (Smithsonian Folkways 2013). Roadways such as Highway 61 (made famous by Bob Dylan) and the old Lee Highway in Virginia were celebrated in the diaspora. Even trains such as the "City of New Orleans" that stops in Clarksdale and Greenwood, Mississippi, Blytheville, Arkansas, Centralia and Champaign, Illinois, and the "Old 97" in Virginia were placed through songs into the double consciousness as well.

Commercial recordings of blues and bluegrass music occurred in the 1920s in Chicago, Washington, and other northern cities. Ethnomusicologist Alan Lomax made field recordings in both the Mississippi Delta and throughout Appalachia for the Archive of the Folk Song in the Library of Congress during the late 1930s and early 1940s. Both of these musical genres became nationally popular after the Second World War. In post-War Mississippi, blues music was suppressed by the ruling racist white society. Both the blues and bluegrass was regarded by the white-dominated society as backward and not progressive. Both musical genres were rediscovered through the advent of "rock 'n' roll" music in the 1950s and the Folk Music Movement in the 1960s. During this time, British rock musicians, most notably the Beatles and the Rolling Stones, discovered the blues and rockabilly. All the while, Mississippi blacks and Appalachian whites continued their migratory patterns from the industrial north to their family home places and continued to contribute to the musical idiom and their diaspora. By the 1980s blues and bluegrass was celebrated by all groups of people not just African-Americans and Appalachian whites. Music festivals patronized by diverse populations flourished in both the Mississippi Delta and the Blue Ridge Mountains. Fans of these music genres rediscovered historic photography taken by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) during the Great Depression. Live recordings became popular and tourists from across the world began to seek out the places that were memorialized in both song and imagery.

Blues Tourism

In the last decade of the twentieth century, state departments of tourism began to see the value of the heritage that helped culturally define them. The states of Mississippi and Virginia were no exception. In 2003, the Mississippi Blues Trail Foundation and the Mississippi Blues Commission were established by the Mississippi State Department of Development and Tourism. The Blues Trail is a network of roadside markers and historic sites that tells the story of the blues, the early musicians that created this music genre, and the places that they lived. In 2006, the commission dedicated its first marker at bluesman Charley Patton's gravesite in Holly Springs. Currently, there are now over 150 markers. Interestingly, not all of the markers are in Mississippi. There are also nine markers placed in cities such as Chicago, Memphis, Los Angeles, Muscle Shoals, Alabama, Ferriday, Louisiana, Helena, Arkansas, Rockland, Maine, Grafton, Wisconsin, and Tallahassee, Florida (Mississippi Department of Development and Tourism 2012). The trail uses both traditional highway way-finding and digital media to educate the tourist. It has no set path and encourages the tourist to travel at his or her own leisure and manner. The plaques are similar in appearance to the large roadside plaque fabricated for the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, but they are also distinctly different. These plaques have created an overlay historical narrative of the state that complements the state's public history program. The trail also uses digital media that is intended to support the highway markers. The website features Google maps and satellite photographs and historic photographs, such as the Library of Congress' Walker Evans Collection, to depict the historic environment of the Blues Trail. More importantly, you can download an Apple "app" for your iPhone. The network also includes historic sites and repositories of blues music. The Center for Southern Culture at the University of Mississippi in Oxford and the Delta Blues Museum in Clarksdale are the two primary museums and repositories that feature both musical recordings and artifact collections on the Blues Trail (Mississippi Blues Trail 2013). Elvis Presley's Graceland and his birthplace are also part of the trail network. But unlike other heritage corridors, the trail also includes nightclubs, beer joints, juke joints, churches, and performing halls where the blues was and is still played and where now-famous blues singers, such as B.B. King, got their start (Deep South USA 2013) (Fig. 3.4).

Through a grant from the Mississippi Arts Commission and the National Endowment for the Arts, the Blues Commission developed an online curriculum intended for fourth graders. The curriculum is divided into six core areas: music, meaning, cotton, transportation, civil rights and media. The curriculum consists of 18 lessons for a 6-week module. Although the intent is to teach the blues in a cumulative manner, lessons can be taught individually and teachers can teach it to the students using electronic tablets or smartphones; partnering with music specialists is not required but it is encouraged (Mississippi Blues Trail 2013). The commission seeks to do more than create an attractive tourism venue; it also strives to educate the public about Mississippi's troubled racist past. The trail has been recognized for many

Fig. 3.4 The first Mississippi Blues Trail plaque is near the burial plot of bluesman Charley Patton. (Courtesy of the Mississippi Blues Trail)

successes but it has also been criticized for not alleviating the primary motivator for the existence of the blues and the immigration of Mississippi blacks out of the state—abject poverty.

The same year that Mississippi began marketing its musical traditions, 2006, Virginia began marketing their bluegrass musical tradition with the Crooked Road. Similar to the Blues Trail, the Crooked Road was intended to generate tourism and economic development in the Appalachian region of Southwestern Virginia by focusing on the region's musical heritage. Unlike the Blues Trail, it is set on only two byways, Highway 58 and Highway 23; the 370-mile road goes from the Kentucky/Virginia border to Bristol, Virginia/Tennessee, and ends at Rocky Mount, Virginia (Wildman 2011). It includes ten counties, three cities, and ten towns. There are similar features between the Crooked Road and the Blues Trail but there are some distinct differences. The road does not use traditional permanent plaques; instead, roadside exhibits consisting of vinyl panels set in pressure-treated wood-framed stands inform the tourist. The road attempts to merge historic museums with musical clubs and performance halls in order to immerse the tourist in mountain music culture. The Carter Fold, the home of the A.P. Carter family, is both a museum and a performance venue along with the Ralph Stanley homestead and is an example of how the Crooked Road tries to strike a balance between history and entertainment. It should be noted that state historic preservation offices did not implement this initiative; instead, state offices for tourism and economic development developed both the Mississippi Blues Trail and Virginia's Crooked Road. The primary mission of these venues is not to be a historical museum or repository but an entertainment venue. As is the case with the Blues Museum, the Crooked Road uses digital technology to feature historic photography in order to convey the people who produce mountain music and their historic settings. Tourists can use electronic tablets to access WPA era photography of towns and landscapes of the Blue Ridge region. The Crooked Road is also public information tourism tool that informs tourists of music festivals and events in towns and counties that are part of the tourism system (Virginia's Crooked Road 2013) (Fig. 3.5).

Fig. 3.5 Virginia's Crooked Road. (Courtesy of the Virginia's Crooked Road Association). See a clearer image of the sign on this website: http://damascusinn.com/attractions/the-crooked-road/

The Mississippi Blues Trail and Virginia's Crooked Road attempt to promote economic development by curating between the double consciousness of real and imaginary place using music as the bridge the two realities. These two tourist experiences are based on diaspora (as described by Hornstein 2011) but their shortcomings come from a disconnection of the real and intangible. When driving through Mississippi, it is unlikely that you will encounter the Mississippi of Robert Johnson or Muddy Waters. Sharecropper housing, large cotton gins, and Jim Crow facilities have given way to Wal-Mart shopping centers, riverboat gambling, and heavy industry such as automobile plants and high-end appliance manufacturing such as Viking Range in Greenwood, Mississippi. Highway 61 immortalized by Bob Dylan in the 1960s is no longer a real roadway; similar to Route 66, it is now a series of fragments encountered in a disjointed manner. The Crooked Road is, in fact, not that crooked anymore. Decades of highway projects have made the mountain two-lane roads, which were made famous not only for music but also by daring fast-driving moonshiners who would eventually establish NASCAR stock racing, into a modern four-lane highway. Will the cultural tourist be disappointed in experiencing the real landscape after experiencing the imagined landscape of the music and photographic imagery? Most likely.

And what about the photographic imagery used to paint an image for diaspora for both the diasporist and the tourist? In his keynote talk, called "Concrete Modernity," given at the Eighth Savannah Symposium on Historic Preservation, Dell Upton (2013) questioned how historic photography of the American South was being interpreted. He argued that artists have invented an African-American culture that is not true and through a loose interpretation of historic photography they have conjured up customs and practices for their own benefit. He demonstrated his point with Subrossa, architect Samuel Mockbee's last creation in New Bern, Alabama. This meditation structure was based on a black custom of using bottles to catch the essence of one's spirit as it goes to heaven, which in fact is not true. As we interpret heritage based on photography, we should be careful with how we use photography to build a plausible narrative.

Conclusion

Narrative through music is what makes these diasporic tourist experiences compelling. In *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, David Lowenthal flatly states that heritage in all its forms relies more on a contrived narrative formed by continual invention and revision, often in defiance of known fact. He points out that narrative is not contrived out of desire to be misleading but in order to "simply make a good story" (Lowenthal 1996, p. 143). With the Blues Trail and the Crooked Road, the narrative is the music that was partly driven by diaspora. By not having a set path of travel but instead allowing the tourist to arbitrarily encounter blues music and roadside markers, the Blues Trail loses a coherent narrative that the Crooked Road retains through its linear progression. Music and geography can help structure the narrative and provide a rational understanding of the real and intangible heritage that defines Hornstein's (2011) idea of a double consciousness of diaspora. But in order for this narrative to be successful, the real and imagined must be curated.

So how can we use diaspora as a tool for interpretation of intangible heritage on byways such as the Blues Trail and the Crooked Road? The challenge is to find ways to calibrate the double geography of place, the real that is bounded and the imaginary, which is without borders. Digital media, using satellite mapping, and historic photographs can not only be used in this process but also in preservation and interpretation of the actual place in at least part of the heritage corridor. Recreation or reconstruction is not the answer and will only make the history more conjectural and the narrative less compelling. In order for the intangible heritage to be experienced in a meaningful manner, a mental datum of calibrated real places and digital images should be constructed in order to rectify the diasporic double geography of heritage and place. By doing this in distinct heritage corridors such as the Blues Trail and the Crooked Road, music and images can be used to provide a compelling and interesting narrative of the place.

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Chapter 4
Material Falsehoods: Living a Lie at This Old Fort

Robert Pahre

Introduction

When he was the Speaker of the US House of Representatives, Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill famously proclaimed, "All politics is local." The same is true of national historic sites (NHSs). They may be designated nationally, commemorate nationally important sites, and be managed by the National Park Service (NPS), but they too are local. Vernacular concerns mark the origins of these NHSs, and continually shape each site's meaning through ongoing practice (compare Glassberg 2001).

Local groups mobilize to obtain national recognition for "their" site, and write local concerns into the site's establishment legislation. Local enthusiasts think of themselves as loving history, but they really love a particular part of history, an imagined history with an imperfect connection to the history written by historians. These vernacular communities value restored or reconstructed buildings, costumes, antiques, anachronistic language, and a kind of "authenticity" that helps them to connect with their historical forebears. Their practice of "living history" emphasizes unexceptional daily practices of the past, even though a historical site is meant to recognize the exceptional significance of a place. They value an on-site materiality that differs from the off-site significance of many historical sites (compare West 1999).

This chapter will explore these issues in a set of NHSs—the Western forts of the prairies and plains that have become part of the national park system. When Congress adds one of these sites to the national park system, the NPS must develop a way to interpret them for visitors. While the scenery at the great national parks may "speak for itself" to some degree, historic sites only make sense to visitors when explained (Rothman 1998, p. 155).

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Fig. 4.1 Kitchen at Bent's Old Fort. (Photograph: Robert Pahre)

These explanations produce an immediate confrontation between speaker and audience, and between present and past. A fort from the Mexican-American War might raise questions of "just war"; a Civil War fort reminds us of slavery and states' rights; an Indian fort forces us to confront colonialism and racism. However, the NPS prefers not to work through such controversial relationships. Its interpretation emphasizes the relationships between park ranger and visitor, imagined as being like the relationship between educator and student. It views relationships between past and present as potentially "controversial" and best avoided.

Instead, the NPS retreats into "facts" that it believes are objective and value neutral. It takes a similar approach to objects. Buildings, furnishings, equipments, and the landscapes appear as value-neutral objects that exist without controversy. For example, Fig. 4.1 shows the kitchen at Bent's Old Fort with a backgammon board, but without bottles of whiskey—two of many choices that shape the viewer's interpretation of what happened in this room.

The buildings themselves also embody restoration choices. By imagining buildings as "original," the NPS even downplays active preservation or reconstruction (Handler and Gable 1997; Matero 2011; Pitcaithly 2008). Taking this approach obscures the political choices behind preservation, the interpretation of objects, and historiography.

Alongside this emphasis on the "facts" are local enthusiasts with parallel interests in a different kind of facts. Historical reenactors are fascinated by the minutiae of the forts—the buttons on uniforms, historic card games, smithies and cartwrights, and the recipes of officers' wives. Volunteers and the NPS work backstage to create their own history, the history of daily life on the frontier. They effectively direct attention away from the expansionist purposes of This Old Fort. They transform the "resource" to match a particular image of the past.

These seemingly popular practices actually represent only a part of the *demos*. Living history does not attract Latinas who would play laundresses, blacks who might portray antebellum slaves, or American Indian victims of westward expansion. It attracts people who get to wear the costumes of white elites or some colorful characters such as mountain men.

At This Old Fort, vernacular heritage becomes an elite heritage, a result different than many other contributions to this volume. Popular practices conceal differences among groups over American history. Interestingly, at times the state's self-image as controller of "neutral facts" can compensate for the biases of some groups. For example, the NPS concern for a certain kind of authenticity helped to bring in the stories of African-American Buffalo Soldiers to This Old Fort.

This chapter explores these issues in NPS management of historic forts from the Mississippi to the Rockies, a group of sites tightly linked with the origin myth of westward expansion: Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site (Colorado), Fort Davis National Historic Site (Texas), Fort Laramie National Historic Site (Wyoming), Fort Larned National Historic Site (Kansas), Fort Scott National Historic Site (Kansas), Fort Smith National Historic Site (Arkansas–Oklahoma), Fort Union National Monument (NM) (New Mexico), and Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site (Montana-North Dakota). Some of these were most important for their military role, some as trading posts, some as bases for exploration and settlement, a few for state building on the frontier. Most have a little of each. Whatever their purpose and significance, whether NHS or NM, all are assimilated to a model I call "This Old Fort." That ideal type reflects the interests of local preservationists, and serves the NPS preference for controversy avoidance.

Forts were military posts, trading posts, and way stations along the westward trails. They were instruments of expansion. Yet the politics allows vernacular activities to turn This Old Fort into a museum of Victorian furnishings, a showpiece of nineteenth century smithies, a stage for enthusiasts who worry whether the regimental buttons on their jacket match the epaulettes. Popular worries about authenticity prevent an engagement with history, and help to domesticate a violent legacy.

Welcome to the Doll House: An Overview of This Old Fort

Fort Larned provides an example of a typical Western fort. Lying just off the Santa Fe Trail in western Kansas, Fort Larned provided security for this important trade route as well as supplies, medical services, and other necessities that travelers and settlers might need en route. Interpretation here emphasizes the tangible remains of the historic landscape and the stories of people who lived and worked here.

After parking, visitors cross a large bridge across the Pawnee Fork River. Along the path, two exhibits orient them to the fort. One large sign introduces the people who lived in a place that "looked more like a small town than a fortified place." In its open spaces, "civilian travelers, freighters, craftsmen, Santa Fe traders, and sutlers [civilian merchants] mingled with government Indian agents, scouts, cavalrymen, infantry soldiers, and commissioned officers." The people here were a diverse lot, with soldiers "from Germany, eastern Europe, France, and Ireland." The melting pot included "scouts like Buffalo Bill, journalists, Hispanic and Anglo teamsters, and even Cheyenne and Kiowa inspecting the sutler's goods." This overview of a diverse community is also found at Bent's Old Fort but is unusual elsewhere.

Fig. 4.2 Checkers and liquors at Fort Larned. (Photograph: Robert Pahre)

This was a busy place, where "Skilled civilians—wheelwrights, tinsmiths, painters, and blacksmiths—worked to keep the hundreds of government wagons on the Trail rolling." The exhibit has photos of Captain William Forwood, the post surgeon (1866–1868), sutler Theodore Weichselbaum (1859–1869), and Nels Cederberg, one of the sutler's clerks (1867). The sign includes several color photos of modern reenactors in costume, in the barracks, in the sutler's, at the smithy, and in the parlor of an officer's home. This exhibit begins the identification of reenactors with historic people.

After crossing Pawnee Fork, the visitor arrives at the fort itself. Its buildings are arranged in a square around a parade ground with an American flag flying high above. Turn left to the barracks, one of which has been converted to the visitor center and museum. Interpretation here emphasizes soldiers' daily lives, noting that enlisted men slept head to foot, four to a bunk. In their leisure time they might play cards, table games, or engage in sports. Presumably some of them also drank, but interpretation does not mention that. As Fig. 4.2 shows, a lone bottle on the side of the scene hints at this, but the overall scene emphasizes a simple elegance that may or may not have been present historically.

After the barracks, the visitor will reach a building that features the bakery, wagons, smithy, and carpentry. Visitors learn about the monthly wages paid to these skilled craftsmen. The website provides more information, such as the fact that the army let the bread dry for 2 days before serving it to the troops, for fear of causing stomach ailments (http://www.nps.gov/fols/photosmultimedia/shops.htm).

The next building in line is the fort's warehouses. Interpretation emphasizes the importance of the supplies here for the soldiers, and the way that the fort defended them. The third of these three warehouses, the New Commissary, later became a school for the children of the fort (http://www.nps.gov/fols/photosmultimedia/warehouses.htm).

The blockhouse lies next to the warehouses but outside the fort's square design. While the other buildings of the fort have been restored to their current appearance, the blockhouse has been completely reconstructed on an original foundation. Its "authenticity" therefore differs from that of the other buildings at Fort Larned.

Fig. 4.3 Hospital at Fort Union. (Photograph: Robert Pahre)

The army originally designed the blockhouse for defense, with narrow slits for firing weapons and protected access to a well. As the military threat declined, it was redesigned as a prison (http://www.nps.gov/fols/photosmultimedia/blockhouse.htm). This penal function dominates the visuals today, as there are two sets of shackles attached to the dirt floor of the blockhouse.

Our visitor's tour ends with the large living quarters of officer's row. Each company had space for its two lieutenants and a captain (http://www.nps.gov/fols/photosmultimedia/officers-row.htm). Interpretation emphasizes the furnishings, the presence of the officers' families, and leisure activities.

In all these details, Fort Larned is typical of the other forts the NPS manages on the Great Plains. The forts do vary in detail. Fort Union NM (2009) highlights its medical services, both by preserving the original adobe hospital (see Fig. 4.3) and by discussing the hospital throughout the site. For example, the brochure points out that it had "one of the best hospitals in the West. Soldiers and families received free care; civilians had to pay about 50 ¢ a day for their board."

Bent's Old Fort has livestock, including horses, mules, oxen, cattle, sheep, chickens, and even peacocks. Interpretation at Bent's explains the role of these animals at the fort, for traders along the trail, and among local Plains Indian societies.

Despite the many differences across these sites and their histories, all the forts center their stories on the daily life of soldiers, portrayed by reenactors using authentic and replica furnishings in restored barracks, stables, smithies, and other buildings. Visitors see how the smithy worked, how the stables were organized, what the enlisted men's barracks and mess halls looked like, how officers' quarters appeared, and so on. Despite the presence of stacked rifles, the occasional cannon, and bugle sounds over the public address systems, the forts convey a sense of historic domesticity rather than impressing the military functions upon the visitor (Sellars 2011). For example, a warm quilt on the bed next to a fireplace (Fig. 4.4) implies a kind of coziness that directs attention away from other aspects of military duties.

All these sites prefer to talk about the boredom of a frontier post instead of the thrill of battle. For example, Fort Scott's two most recent (2007, 2011) emphasize monotony—"A soldier's life was a round of guard duty, drills, details, construction,

Fig. 4.4 Bedroom at Fort Scott. (Photograph: Robert Pahre)

and maintenance." A soldier's social contacts were largely confined to the post. "While illness and injury were constant threats to Fort Scott's soldiers, combat was not. Nobody was killed in battle while stationed here."

Recognizing this monotony, both the original inhabitants and the modern park rangers were interested in breaking the routines. The NPS takes pains to describe the social life of the officers in particular. Fort Union's brochure (2009) notes that the commanding offer's home had wider center hall "made a perfect dancing floor when covered with stretched with canvas and suitable decorated."

Along with the monotony of fort life, the NPS likes to show the splendor of military uniforms, weaponry, and period customs. The old brochure at Fort Scott (2007) has paintings of central characters here and the military insignia they wore. It explains:

> The dragoon officer, in full dress uniform at left, was one of the most resplendent military figures of the day. His lady often rivaled her husband's display during Sunday promenades. The post sutler was familiar to soldiers and civilians alike. His store stocked all kinds of luxuries—candy, tobacco, whiskey, playing cards, cloth, boots and shoes—not usually available through the quartermaster. The sergeant at right was a mainstay of the infantry ranks.

That paragraph pretty well summarizes the main line of NPS interpretation at This Old Fort.

Authenticity and Props at This Old Fort

This Old Fort is filled with nineteenth century furniture and furnishings. Sometimes the furniture is original to the site, but much more often the NPS finds period objects in antique shops and other outlets. Richard Sellars (2011, p. 5) reports that 90% of the furnishings at Fort Laramie are not "authentic" to the site but instead carefully selected antiques or reconstructions. That figure is probably typical of other forts. Other furnishings are obvious replicas. Barrels, tin cans, and plastic replicas of food

Fig. 4.5 Bakery at Fort Larned. (Photograph: Robert Pahre)

may be treated as if they are "authentic," but they visibly are not. For example, the loaves in Fig. 4.5 are obviously fake.

The buildings exhibit a similar range of authenticity (on this contested term see Bruner 1994; Caton and Santos 2007; Handler and Gable 1997 inter alia). Some decrepit buildings and ruins were restored to their appearance in the "period of greatest significance," necessarily destroying their appearance in other periods. Many are rebuilt, perhaps using newer materials on top of original foundations, frames, and other intact elements. The NPS makes no secret of this. For example, the 2011 Fort Scott brochure classifies its buildings as either reconstructions or restorations, describing the original function of each. Much more rarely, a site can be reconstructed *ex nihilo*, as was Bent's Old Fort. Only the cemeteries appear as largely intact historic objects, though one could argue that they have lost their real meaning if they are no longer used for burials.

As a result, the NPS finds itself preserving buildings and furnishings that are only partially authentic. Fort Laramie's cavalry barracks, as shown in Fig. 4.6, represent a mix of the authentic and inauthentic. While the room and layout may be original, durable objects such as bed may have been found in antique stores while less-durable wool blankets, sheets, jackets, and the like may come from a range of sources.

Such objects of arguable authenticity then *define* the site, locking in certain stories of the buildings, furnishings, and grounds. Visitors explore inside and find wagons, smithies, and commissaries, with each building explained to them in turn. The buildings and furnishings are props for telling stories about skilled trades.

This is more problematic than it might appear. Congress did not make This Old Fort an NHS because of its significance for the history of architecture or the history of the skilled trades. Congress did not make This Old Fort an NHS because it brings together a collection of antique furnishings—the furnishings came only later, and some share of the buildings did, too. Congress designated a geographic *space* but the NPS preserves and interprets *objects* whose connections to the space may be strong or weak. Those objects constrain subsequent interpretation.

Fig. 4.6 Cavalry Bunks at Fort Laramie. (Photograph: Robert Pahre)

That move entails choices. The NPS does not interpret objects because they're there. It acquires objects for the interpretation it chooses to tell. It buys props for its stories. Its decisions over what objects do or do not belong on display shape interpretation at Mesa Verde (Fine-Dare and Durkee 2011) and will shape interpretation of the Manhattan Project at the proposed Los Alamos National Historic Park (McGehee and Isaacson 2011).

More remarkably, Congress sometimes buys a gigantic prop for the NPS. The sculpture at Mount Rushmore and the Gateway Arch at Jefferson National Expansion Memorial provide two examples, discussed elsewhere (Pahre 2012; Rothman 1998, pp. 155–160). These are the extreme cases of creating a "historic site." Indeed, the Gateway Arch was listed as a national historic landmark before it was completed.

We must realize that the NPS could purchase other props with which to tell different stories. For example, Fort Laramie could have built *tipis* instead of reconstructing cavalry barracks—both were part of the historic landscape in its period

of greatest significance. Fort Scott and Fort Davis could rebuild the historic town adjacent to the fort to show a different side of civilian life, including the stories of taverns and prostitutes. However, the NPS prefers not to tell of that side of soldiers' lives.

The Fort Coalition

In This Old Fort, the NPS tells stories reflecting the concerns of a group of people I will call the Fort Coalition. The Fort Coalition supports a particular historiography, one focused on the daily lives of individual people. The coalition is less interested in broader social forces. It does not mobilize to tell the stories of the off-site factors that produced western expansion or the need for forts in the first place. The concerns of the Fort Coalition illuminate why the stories of many historically underrepresented groups remain invisible at forts—native stories at most forts, Mexican stories on the Santa Fe Trail between the USA and Mexico, and Chinese stories throughout the West. The stories do not interest the Fort Coalition, and these underrepresented groups have not mobilized politically to join the coalition. Vernacular history is biased history at This Old Fort.

This Old Fort also takes a naïve approach to history, treating its own authenticity as genuine and unproblematic. In contrast, every interpreter on the main tour at Colonial Williamsburg—not part of the NPS—calls attention to the anachronisms of the site and to aspects of history that management disguises (Handler and Gable 1997, p. 57). Even in the NPS, other sites take a more self-aware approach. Kathleen Fine (1988) finds that many tour guides at Mesa Verde also problematize relations between present and past at that national park. I have never seen any such detachment or irony at This Old Fort. Instead, the Fort Coalition encourages a historically naive approach that other historic sites have begun to leave behind.

Changes are more difficult at This Old Fort because of the political strength of the Fort Coalition. Local visitors and volunteers often take a heroic view of "their" site. Locals may have family ties to the site, which brought their ancestors here. Supported by the military historians in the NPS, and the conventional views of westward expansion shared by many Americans (Pahre 2011b), local communities, and enthusiasts encourage an uncritical view of This Old Fort.

Indeed, the Fort Coalition forms even before a national park unit becomes reality. Each site has advocates, often locals, who provide leadership for the movement to recognize a particular place as nationally significant. The arguments they make will shape the legislation that establishes the park, and will provide a mandate for the NPS to follow as it develops its initial interpretation program.

Civic boosters and local officials also play important roles. At Fort Smith (Fig. 4.7), for example, the city government named a board to study restoring the Judge Parker Courtroom, which they hoped would attract tourism. That board organized themselves as Public Historical Restorations (PHR), which gained control of the site and lobbied for its federal recognition (Demer 2005, p. 19).

Fig. 4.7 Courthouse at Fort Smith. (Photograph: Robert Pahre)

At Bent's Old Fort NHS, the initial advocates were the La Junta Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), who erected a marker in 1912 to the long-gone trading post. After receiving a donation of the fort ruins in 1920, the DAR mobilized to preserve the site. They succeeded in getting federal recognition and then pushed for a reconstruction of the fort. In the late 1970s, Bent's became the only completely reconstructed fort in the National Park System.

The particular historic moment at which advocates succeed also shapes later interpretation. At Fort Davis NHS, for example, locals began to work for a park in the 1920s, though they did not succeed until 1965. At that point, concerns about civil rights had achieved national prominence, shaping both locals and the NPS staff who would work there. This led interpreters to highlight the role of the Buffalo Soldiers in the history of the fort (Welsh 1996). This focus on the Buffalo Soldier resonated well with advocates' interests in celebrating soldiers, thereby assimilating the African-American experience at Fort Davis to an Anglocentric perspective. In contrast, neither native Americans nor Mexican residents fit this story well, making them much less visible at the park (Pahre 2011a)

Once the historic site has been established, the local community will naturally take a strong interest in seeing that its concerns are represented. Locals tend to support a "patriotic history" focusing on the overland trails, the army, and the settlement of the West. Visitor interests at historic sites may be more experiential than nostalgic, like the interests of reenactors and volunteers (see Caton and Santos 1997 for Route 66). Managers generally seek to serve visitors' interests as they understand them, which generally means that they reinforce visitors' preconceptions of the site.

Locals also provide the core volunteers in many parks, staffing information desks, performing trail maintenance, and raising funds through cooperating associations. Volunteers have a passion for "their" park. That passion, almost by definition, makes them unrepresentative of all Americans. They may be wedded to certain management practices, buildings, and sites, with which they have formed emotional connections. Because the NPS relies on the associations for money and volunteers, it must take their views seriously. Richard Sellars (2011) describes interpretation at

Fort Laramie being stamped by "the enthusiasm of park staff and area residents for the restored buildings and the traditional romantic views of Western history that the buildings represent."

In the 1970s, the Fort Laramie Historical Association (FLHA) spent a considerable share of its gift shop profits to buy period costumes and equipment for the living history program. Interpreters included a sentry to explain army discipline, a prisoner doing hard labor chopping wood, a cavalry trooper, an infantryman, a fur trapper, a sutler, and a post clerk. In 1972, an officer's maid interpreted the role of women, and another volunteer played an officer's wife (Mattes 1980, pp. 161–166). The FLHA website features an officer's wife, Pony Express rider, and storyteller (http://fortlaramie.org, accessed November 16, 2012). In the 2000s and early 2010s, I have seen a different mix of roles being played, with demonstrations of guns and cannon always part of the repertoire. The sutler plays bartender and serves up ginger ale and root beer for visitors.

In addition to local enthusiasts, Western military historians in the NPS have played important roles at This Old Fort, writing resources studies, administrative histories, and popular books for sale in the bookstores. This "distinct subculture" of the NPS appears in the history of many forts, led by the eminent Western historian Robert Utley. They may support the restoration and reconstruction of historic forts, sharing the enthusiasm of volunteers and the local community for the lives of US soldiers on the frontier.

In addition to budgetary and professional considerations, we find legislative reasons for NPS support of This Old Fort. Since the New Deal, and gaining momentum in the 1960s, Congress has given the NPS responsibilities for many areas of historic preservation. As Whisnant et al. (2011, p. 20) note, the size of this legislative commitment has shaped the role of history in the NPS, tending to define "history" in terms of "historic preservation." This complements well the concerns of the Fort Coalition.

The NPS often lacks the professional staff to challenge local interpretations of their history. A major study by the Organization of American Historians finds that the NPS relies heavily on avocational historians, amateurs who have worked in a given park for many years and who have developed great passion for a place and knowledge of its history (Whisnant et al. 2011, pp. 68–69). These enthusiasts tend to focus on facts and not their meaning, in contrast to the interpretive concerns of professional historians. The nonhistorians often tend to believe that once historical research has been done once, and the "facts" determined, it need not be done again; this discourages the NPS from rethinking the stories it tells at historic sites. While many professionals also engage historical materials, they are increasingly professional interpreters—people concerned with communication and education, who are not experts in the substance of history.

Putting these groups together, the coalition of the NPS and locals can lead to a view of history that avoids controversy. It emphasizes facts, not narratives. If it does not draw on professional expertise or outsider perspectives, as preservationist Carroll Van West notes, "it is too easy for communities to mouth the stereotypes of

American history that they assume everyone wants to hear" (cited in Whisnant et al. 2011, p. 104).

Though it has considerable inertia, the Fort Coalition has not been immune to change. While grounded in the male Euro-American experience, it has been relatively open to including African-Americans as "Buffalo Soldiers." The role of African-American soldiers on the frontier fits easily into the Fort Coalition's existing interest in individual soldiers. Advocates often found themselves knocking on an easily opened door.

William "Bill" Gwaltney provides a notable example. One of his grandfathers had been a Buffalo Soldier, and he had a strong interest in the topic. These black soldiers were "invisible" to the local community, and the white staff had felt awkward interpreting the black experience. When Gwaltney worked as a park technician at Fort Davis in 1983–1986, he was able to help the park tell these stories. He brought in black seasonal personnel and students, built relationships with historically black colleges, and engaged in outreach to African-American media outlets. Gwaltney thus laid the foundation for the site's current emphasis on the Buffalo Soldier role in its history (Welsh 1996, Chap. 7).

Though the Fort Coalition accepted black soldiers easily, it resisted stories about the soldiers' enemies. Again, Gwaltney's efforts provide an example. When he became superintendent at Fort Laramie, Gwaltney tried to broaden interpretation to bring in the Native American sides of the story. He went to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation to "broker a better relationship" with the Oglala Lakota, and he invited Indian activists to the park to discuss history and interpretation. He even obtained support from NPS staff from the Denver office in early March 1997, which made the "primacy of the Indian story" their top recommendation for the park (Sellars 2011).

These efforts failed. Both the Fort Laramie staff and local residents resisted any change in interpretation, and their opposition won the day. Gwaltney later recalled that some staff thought it was "almost politically dangerous to know too much about Indians" because this would make a person suspect in the local community (Sellars 2011). Maintaining good working relationships with the white community trumped any efforts to update interpretation.

Though details are sparse, something similar happened to efforts at Fort Davis to include American Indian stories. Two college-educated native American staff at Fort Davis, Frank Chappabitty (Comanche) and Fred Peso (Mescalero Apache), tried to make American Indian stories more visible in the 1970s. Their efforts did not meet the same success as Gwaltney's work on Buffalo Soldiers (Welsh 1996, Chaps. 5–6), for reasons not evident in the record. Presumably opposition from the local community, and the Fort Coalition more generally, again played a role.

In these cases, vernacular history constrains the narratives that academic historians and NPS reformers would tell. If, as some would maintain, the point of historiography is to rewrite narratives, popular enthusiasts such as the Fort Coalition make that task more difficult.

Living History at This Old Fort

The concerns of the Fort Coalition are inscribed physically onto these sites, creating a material reality that constrains the narratives. Once Fort Laramie has rebuilt the cavalry barracks and officers' quarters, it becomes harder to tell the story of *tipis*. Like the "hardware" of these historic sites, the "software" also limits the options for interpretation. For example, living history programs lead both volunteers and visitors to act out a particular form of history (Hunt 2004).

In a living history program, staff or volunteers dress in period costume and try to act as if they lived or worked at the fort. Most are organized around a "period of maximum historical significance," freezing the "locals" in time, much as African tourism or ecotourism tend to do (Bruner 1991). Participants may be park rangers, volunteers, or visitors who arrive for a particular event such as the fur trader rendezvous at Bent's Old Fort. Their audiences are visitors, one another, and in interesting ways also themselves.

Fort Davis NHS was apparently the first to dress interpreters in period uniform (Mackintosh 1986, pp. 55–56; see also Welsh 1996, Chap. 6). Living history played a big role at Fort Laramie in the 1960s and 1970s (Mattes 1980, p. 143), and costumed volunteers are still a regular part of the park's summer interpretation. Bent's Old Fort dresses all its rangers in period costume (see Fig. 4.8), using rangers instead of interpretive signs to tell the story inside the fort. Bent's also has a "Living History Encampment" for training new fort volunteers, teachers, and historians each June, a "Santa Fe Trail Encampment" each September, and holiday celebrations in December. These events seem to generate most of the park's visitors and visitor contacts (Bent's Old Fort NHS 2010), which is evidence of their popularity. Superintendent Alexa Roberts says that visitors love experiencing the fort, through seeing, hearing, tasting, smelling, and touching (O'Brien 2012).

Local businesses also use living history as a draw. Fort Larned's cooperating association (the Western National Parks Association) and the Larned Tourism Committee promote the site through its living history, with photos of period costumes, buildings, and weapons. Their joint display card ("Fort Larned: Adventure into the Past!") claims simply that "Original buildings, a visitor center, Park Rangers, and Volunteers bring the story of this turbulent era to life."

Living history supports the kinds of projects that the Fort Coalition finds interesting. At Fort Laramie, the living history movement supported restoring historic buildings and refurnishing their interiors in the 1960s. These then served as stages for the living history action.

Because it has only adobe ruins, with no reconstructed buildings, Fort Union NM stands alone among the forts in not filling rooms with furniture. Instead, its interpretation tries to fill ruined adobe with the imagined spaces of officers' quarters, cavalry barracks, bakeries, and craftsmen. Abandoned wagons litter the site (Fig. 4.9), more like a Western movie than an active post on the Santa Fe Trail. Costumed volunteers do not wander the ruins, perhaps because this would make the anachronisms too visible.

Fig. 4.8 Living History at Bents Old Fort. (Photograph: Robert Pahre)

Fig. 4.9 Mechanics Corral at Fort Union. (Photograph: Robert Pahre)

As is often the case in "living history," the participants place great emphasis on "authenticity" (Handler and Saxon 1988). Like the furnishings, these enactments are only partly "authentic." The visitor sees the actions of routine army life, wheelwrights repairing wagons, sutlers selling goods, soldiers drilling on the parade ground. We do not see people in the hospital dying of cholera, a detail bringing back soldiers' bodies from battle, nor anything like the disorder of an actual battle. This Old Fort does not smell.

Of course, practitioners know that they cannot reproduce every detail because of "scale, setting, selectivity, and subjectivity" (Handler and Saxon 1988, p. 245) Battle reenactors know they cannot achieve the scale of a real battle. All understand "anachronisms" such as airplanes overhead. They know that visitors may wear shorts and appear in photos. Enthusiasts understand that, when visitors meet reenactors, the costumed volunteers find it perfectly natural to be chatting with people in foreign clothes. Those visitors have somehow arrived at a nineteenth century Western fort without knowing basic facts about blacksmiths, bakers, or stable hands. Having been transformed themselves through the act of reenactment, the reenactors then seek to transform the visitors' own sense of history—a kind of transformation that lies at the heart of tourism (Bruner 1991). Some reenactors may break down the fourth wall, while others do not.

For participants, living history programs are a hobby and a major leisure activity. Participants seek camaraderie as a major goal, and not authentic history. Douglas McChristian, a park interpreter at Fort Davis, reports that his fellow reenactors were uninterested in taking care of the horses, which would have been the primary concern of real cavalry. Instead, they just wanted to fire some historic weapons and drink with friends (Welsh 1996, Chap. 6).

William Gwaltney dove more deeply into the reenactor community when he worked at Bent's Old Fort. His mountain men reenactors ("buckskinners") were more interested in their own enjoyment "than teaching or learning history" (Gwaltney 2001, p. 496). While camping with them, he learned skills such as horse packing, muzzleloading, outdoor cooking, and a little Lakota and Plains Indian sign language, among other skills. Such activities motivated most buckskinners. As a result, they were poorly suited to interpret history to visitors. Instead, Gwaltney had to develop a nucleus of buckskinners with an interest in sharing history, and who would follow rules on decorum, clothing standards, and alcohol consumption. His allies organized themselves into a group called "The Opposition," named (ironically) for the fur traders who did not trade at Bent's. They eventually evolved into the teacher training program called "Winter Quarters." The hard-core buckskinners drifted off.

Most sites have not had a dedicated reformer like Gwaltney. Instead, living history programs reinforce the myths that visitors want to see reenacted here. As Bruner (1991, p. 242) notes of African tourism, "tourists are not radically challenged on tour, since what is presented to them tends to confirm their expectations." Visitors to This Old Fort expect to see a Western fort that evokes the myths of Western history. Those myths reflect in part the West of Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show, itself a form of living history that used real Indians and cowboys. "Sharpshooting, horseback riding, roping, shootouts with Indians, harrowing escapes and rescues

were all part of the romance" that Americans expected from the West (Tyler 1995, p. 31). In many visitors' minds, the West still consists of such mythological figures.

That mythology helps to squeeze out many stories about why these forts were there in the first place (Sellars 2011). They focus on daily drills instead of field campaigning, skirmishes, and actual battles involving fort troops. Fort Scott's 2011 brochure hints at one implication of this. It notes that infantry performed most of the fatigue duties, such as maintenance around the fort. In contrast, the dragoons went on expeditions, traveling down the Oregon Trail as far West as South Pass, Wyoming. By focusing on the routines of the fort, Fort Scott highlights the infantry at base over the dragoons in the field.

Living history also reinforces ethnic and racial stereotypes. Generally speaking, reenactors play only their own race, ethnicity, and gender. Because male European-Americans are overrepresented among enthusiasts, This Old Fort fails to show visitors the real diversity of life on the Great Plains—where native Americans, Euro-American emigrants, African-American soldiers, Mexican traders, and Chinese railway workers all played important roles.

Interestingly, African Americans are the most well-represented nonwhite group at the Western forts, thanks to the "Buffalo Soldiers." Enthusiasts are organized into living history units such as the Nicodemus Buffalo Soldiers Association (http://www.coax.net/people/lwf/NIC_NBSA.HTM)—named after Nicodemus National Historic Site (Pahre 2013), about a 2 h drive away. Nicodemus was homesteaded by freed slaves from Kentucky, and African-American historical reenactors often find Buffalo Soldiers an attractive hobby. Naming a group of African-American military reenactors after a nonmilitary community of freed slaves is not an unusual bit of anachronism at This Old Fort.

In contrast, Mexicans and Mexican-Americans tend to be underrepresented at This Old Fort—though they probably made up more than half the people on the Santa Fe Trail. They should be a visible part of Fort Larned, Bent's Old Fort, and Fort Union among our sites, but are in fact visible only at Bent's. Because Mexican-Americans have not organized around heritage or living history programs, they are mostly not part of the Fort Coalition.

Native Americans are also generally not interested in these sites. For some reason they do not find the forts of their colonizers particularly attractive objects of recreation. The rare exception appeared once, at Fort Laramie, when it hosted a ceremonial, sacred ride by the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara tribes to commemorate the 1851 Treaty of Fort Laramie.

The New Western History has called attention to questions of race, ethnicity, and gender on the frontier (e.g., Adams 2009; Smith 1998). These issues are most evident in the Buffalo Soldiers and in the "officers' wives cookbooks" available in gift shops in the forts. The frontier forts all interpret the difference between the officers' quarters and the barracks of the enlisted men, but do not yet connect this to questions of class. Some decisions send messages about who matters by restoring officers' homes but leaving only the foundations for enlisted men's quarters, as at Fort Davis (Fig. 4.10).

Fig. 4.10 Ruins at Fort Davis (Photograph: Robert Pahre)

The NPS consistently points out that the Buffalo Soldiers were black troopers led by white officers, but it does not explore whether the pattern extends to, say, Mexican enlistees. As we have seen, the Fort Coalition has incorporated both officers' wives and Buffalo Soldiers into its concerns, but Mexican-Americans, laundresses, and the social backgrounds of enlisted men tend to be overlooked. This Old Fort lags behind current historiography.

The issues here differ considerably from those in many other chapters in this volume. At This Old Fort, vernacular history is exclusive, not inclusive. The state has largely aligned itself with popular history groups, only partially correcting some of the resulting biases. These sites remind us to ask *whose* heritage appears in our popular historical practices. Bias is not just a feature of the elite or the state but also of the masses.

Conclusions

The fundamental historical question for the Western forts is "why are these forts here?" This question might be posed in several different senses: why did the USA expand westward, why was the US Army mobilized in support of private emigrants and traders, why did the Army decide on the particular policy of several dozen forts along the major trails, or why was any particular fort placed in a given location.

The NPS tends to address only the last of these. It tells us that Fort Laramie, Fort Larned, and Fort Scott were all placed near good sources of water along particular travel routes (the Oregon Trail, the Santa Fe Trail, and a frontier military road, respectively). The account is underdetermined, since there were other water sources even on the arid plains. The NPS story also tends to overlook how sites such as Laramie or Scott proved more successful than, say, Fort Grattan or the first Fort Kearny (near today's Nebraska City).

More important, the question of locating a fort near water does not examine why western expansion happened at all. Thus, the NPS and the Fort Coalition transform

history just as they transform the site. Though the NPS describes itself as *preserving* landscapes, it necessarily *transforms* them. It has destroyed native and preindustrial copper mining sites to present an industrial copper mining landscape at Quincy Mining Company Historic District National Historic Landmark (Williams 2011). Jefferson National Expansion Memorial was an exercise in large-scale urban renewal, razing all but three historic commercial buildings of "Old St. Louis" to build parking lots, an open green park, and the Gateway Arch; Independence Hall in Philadelphia required similar redevelopment (Carr 2007 pp. 176–180). The national parks literature has discussed such physical transformations while overlooking the cognitive transformation of domesticating imperialism (Hoganson 2002; West 1999).

Vernacular practices reenact this domestication. A formal parlor, enlisted men's bunks, or the sutler's post all provide a peaceful vision on stage, with living history programs providing the actors. Off-stage lies the violence of the Trail of Tears, the Mexican-American War, and the Indian wars. Popular heritage practices often hide these realities.

I have argued elsewhere that national park interpretation should always give attention to causes, context, and consequences (Pahre 2012). At This Old Fort, the NPS should explain the causes of westward expansion and the decisions to build forts instead of using roving patrols or other means to provide security for the westering crowds. Interpretation should put events in context, discussing political differences between North and South over westward expansion; pointing out the Spanish, French, and British legacies of various regions of the Great Plains; and reminding visitors of key events such as the Texan Revolution, Mexican-American War, California Gold Rush, Civil War, Homestead Act, and the like. Each of those is mentioned at some fort on the Great Plains, but almost all are relevant to almost all of these forts. Finally, the NPS should discuss the consequences of these forts and the events associated with them. Obvious consequences include westward expansion, the destruction of native cultures and peoples, economic development, environmental despoliation, Anglo dominance of the Southwest, and the growth of the USA as a world power.

While much of this volume celebrates popular engagements with heritage, this chapter suggests a darker side. Local communities, enthusiasts, and reenactors combine with the NPS to obscure actual history in favor of myth. In some ways, the NPS is the most reluctant member of this coalition, welcoming volunteers and financial contributions but repeatedly returning to the historical evidence of what really happened at these sites—if not always seeing what happened off-site. At This Old Fort, the state sometimes provides a democratic corrective to the biases of popular heritage, especially in the hands of a committed staffer such as William Gwaltney.

Reimagining This Old Fort more fully will require a political coalition of its own. A report by the Organization of American Historians argues that the time is ripe for a rethinking of historical interpretation in the national park system, just as the 1960s saw reform of wildlife management (Whisnant et al. 2011). Many NPS staff members would welcome these changes. It requires an ideological coalition that values broad historical narratives over material minutiae to make it happen.

Local communities and the NPS negotiated the practices we see at This Old Fort. They will need to negotiate new practices. This probably requires that the Fort Coalition will need to reimagine each fort's heritage as well as itself. Bringing in people with interests in excluded parts of this story will help to make visible the off-stage violence ignored in the domesticity of an officer's sitting room.

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Chapter 5
Women, Tourism, and the Visual Narrative of Interwar Tourism in the American Southwest

Joy Sperling

Introduction

In 1942, Arnold Newman (1918–2006) photographed the Surrealist artist Max Ernst (1891–1976) in his New York apartment surrounded by modern art, but beside him was a prominently displayed Navajo Kachina Doll (Fig. 5.1). Ernst, like other New York-based artists in the 1930s and 1940s, had "discovered" Southwest Native American Art. Indeed by 1941, so too had most of the USA. It had been exhibited widely in the East Coast since 1922, when George C. Heye opened the Museum of the American Indian in New York. In 1931, the artist John Sloan (1871–1951) mounted an *Exposition of Indian Tribal Art* at Grand Central Galleries that included more than 600 Native American art objects; in 1937, the National Gallery of the American Indian opened in Washington, D.C.; and in 1941, the prestigious Museum of Modern Art mounted a major exhibition of *Indian Art of the United States* (Douglas and D'Haroncourt 1941). Numerous New York arbiters of taste attended demonstrations of Navajo sand painting and patronized Macy's concurrently installed Gallery of American Indian Art that sold Indian arts and crafts with which to decorate the home.[1]

Since the early twentieth century, various iterations of the "See America First" campaign and the Atchison, Topeka, and the Santa Fe Railway (AT&SF) had also distributed literally millions of images of the Southwest through promotional pamphlets, posters, and illustrated calendars bearing images of the so-called "Santa Fe Indian" by Taos artists such as Irving Couse (1866–1936). Travel writer and tour guide Erna Fergusson (1888–1964) described how East Coast women were wearing "Indian-inspired" clothing, how Carl Jung (1875–1961) observed a "mysterious

[1] The term "Indian" is used throughout as the preferred term used by the Native Peoples of the Southwest.

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Fig. 5.1 Arnold Newman, *Max Ernst*, January 1942. Photograph. Courtesy Arnold Newman Collection, Getty Images

Indianization of the American people" (Fergusson 1937, p. 348), and how newcomer Anglo residents of the Southwest "all went nuts about something: ruins or Indian dances, old Mexican plays, or tin sconce" (Fergusson 1946, p. 276).[2]

This chapter posits that this highly visible and visual apprehension of the cultural heritage of the Southwest, viewed through the distorting and dislocating lenses of multiple popular visual narratives, established a largely feminized visual imaginary of Southwestern cultural heritage that has functioned largely intact and relatively unquestioned, even by the region's tri-cultural residents for almost a century. Visual imaginaries carry a profound visual capital and can frame desire, expectation, and value. Images have the power to construct and sustain visual discourses, regimes, and culturally constructed (dominant) *visualities*. They validate and frame the

[2] Fergusson also provided commentary on several Anglo residents: "Witter Bynner bought and wore and hung on his friends a famous collection of Indian jewelry. Alice Corbin introduced the velvet Navajo blouse. Stetson hats, cowboy boots, flannel shirts, and even blankets were the approved costume….Jane Henderson [Baumann] made a record by living in Santa Clara all winter and learning a whole repertoire of Indian songs. Mary Austen [sic] discovered and ordered her life to the beat of the Amerindian rhythm…[and]…, Carlos Vierra and Jesse Nussbaum designed the state museum along lines of the pueblo missions: poems and pictures were Indian strained through such diverse personalities as Parsons, Cassidy, Baumann, and Nordfeldt" (Fergusson 1937, p. 377).

Fig. 5.2 *The Alvarado, Albuquerque, New Mexico*. 1914. Illustration from the Great Southwest Along the Santa Fe, Fred Harvey, Kansas City, Missouri. Postcard in possession of the author

history of time and place. Two visualities competed to describe the cultural heritage of the Southwest between World War I and World War II: that of the masculinized traveler and that of the feminized tourist. I argue that a feminized visuality of the tourist not only emerged as dominant but as the popularly constructed visual narrative of the "enchanted Southwest's" cultural heritage.

The Masculinized Construction of the Southwest

As early as 1907, several nationally known archaeologists and anthropologists were resident at the School of American Research in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and in 1929, at the Laboratory of Anthropology. These included Edgar Lee Hewett (1865–1946) and Kenneth Chapman (1875–1968), who promoted their work broadly in scholarly and popular publications, such as *El Palacio* or *Art and Archaeology.* In 1902, Hermann Schweizer (1871–1943) became the principal buyer of both ancient and contemporary Indian arts and crafts for the Fred Harvey Company in Albuquerque and purchased thousands of exquisite objects for its Indian Department, which he ultimately sold to museums, galleries, and collectors around the country. (Anonymous, The Alvarado 1904; Anonymous, The Great Southwest 1914) He also commissioned and sold many thousands of more modest objects through the Alvarado Hotel's Indian Building (Figs. 5.2, 5.3, 5.4), an institution so well-known in the East that it was used as backdrop for the short film, *The Tourists* (Sennet and Percy 1912). By the mid-1920s, America's upper-middle class arbiters of taste not only considered it *au courant* to display Southwest Indian art in their homes, but they wanted to visit the region. And, in the more popular realm, the nation was inundated by "western" stories and imagery through popular magazine stories, dime novels, radio broadcasts, and "western" movies (more than 225 were produced in 1925 alone) (Strickland 2000).

In 1912, when New Mexico and Arizona achieved statehood both states immediately focused on tourism as the engine of economic development for their depressed and depleted region. Competing railroad companies also promoted travel to the

Fig. 5.3 *Indian Building, Albuquerque, New Mexico*. 1914. Illustration from the Great Southwest Along the Santa Fe, Fred Harvey, Kansas City, Missouri. Postcard in possession of the author

Fig. 5.4 *Interior Indian Building, Albuquerque*, New Mexico. 1914. Illustration from the Great Southwest Along the Santa Fe, Fred Harvey, Kansas City, Missouri. Postcard in possession of the author

Southwest, aggressively advertising special fares, safe and comfortable Pullman passenger car travel, well-stocked dining cars, excellent Harvey restaurants along the way, and up-to-date and well-equipped luxury hotels, many adjacent to the train stations (Bryant 1978). With increasingly affordable and reliable automobiles and the first construction on the transcontinental Route 66 in 1926, the preexisting river of middle-class tourists to the region became a flood (Heitmann 2009). One motor tour, Indian Detours, alone boasted more than 40,000 clients per year in the 1920s (Thomas 1978, p. 320).

The first nationally disseminated visual imagery of the Southwest was produced by artists of the two nationally acclaimed art colonies in Santa Fe and Taos. These mostly male Anglo artists promoted their art in large traveling group exhibitions that regularly circulated nationally. But these same artists also produced illustrations for popular magazines such as *Harper's* and *Scribner's* and imagery for AT&SF advertising materials and exhibited at Santa Fe's Museum of New Mexico (established 1909) and the Museum of Fine Arts (1917). Since 1900, the AT&SF

had aggressively promoted artists who painted the Southwest, sponsored artists to travel to the region by train to produce art suitable for AT&SF advertising, and purchased more than 600 such paintings. Irving Couse sold dozens of his Indian paintings to the AT&SF for calendar art, while Thomas Moran's (1837–1926) *The Grand Canyon of Yellowstone* (1876), a large multi-perspectival image shown to great acclaim at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition (1876), ultimately graced a variety of AT&SF advertising materials (Kinsley 1997, p. 311). By the 1920s, the art of New Mexico art colonists was so famous in non-*avant-garde* art circles that Erna Fergusson noted: "No eastern [art] show was complete without its quota of Taos Indians, Taos scenes, and one or two Taos men on the jury" (Fergusson 1946, pp. 315–316).

The formal colonies of mostly male Anglo artists and ethnographers in the Southwest effectively functioned as mediators between local Indians and increasing numbers of Anglo tourists. Most would have rejected outright their implication in the tourist business, but in fact their livelihood depended on it. Arguably, the more paintings artists sold to the AT&SF or from traveling shows around the country, the more they invited tourists to the Southwest and in turn increased demand for their art. Until 1920, it was their visual imagery that created the prevalent and highly persuasive (if largely imaginary) visually discursive spaces of the cultural heritage of the Southwest in urban America's imaginary.

These artists' visual imaginary of the "West" was a metonym for Anglo (male) authority and dominion over the frontier, a conceptual architecture that has proven both enduring and tenacious throughout American history. It was revived and reconstituted in the early twentieth century by cowboy artists such as Frederic Remington (1861–1909) and Charles M. Russell (1864–1926), novelists such as Zane Grey (1872–1939), radio shows such as the Lone Ranger (1933), innumerable "pulp westerns," and Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919) who, despairing of a weakened, enervated and feminized American commodity culture, urged the nation to restore its vigor, virility, and power (Roosevelt 1885). Such a remasculinization demanded *de facto* internal colonization of Native Peoples by Anglo artists and ethnographers wielding social and economic power over their subjects. These same Anglo male artists also imagined themselves as romantic travelers, privileged heroic individuals whose imperative was to escape "civilization," rediscover their lost cultural innocence, regenerate spiritually, and thus attain artistic inspiration. The romantic traveler engaged in lengthy, purposeful journeys, gazed upon other cultures and their heritage with a colonizing controlling and panoptic vision, and then captured them in paint.

The Feminized (Re) Construction of the Southwest

Anglo women in the Southwest by contrast were usually characterized more modestly, domestically, and even disparagingly. Scholars have not yet examined the collective and cumulative impacts of their work. Paradoxically, scholars who have

focused on individual women frequently, if unconsciously, relegated their work to a secondary order, yet also acknowledged it as more "popular" and thus more consumable by tourists. The tourist designation purportedly devalues that work, because the tourist, in contrast to the masculinized traveler and as caricatured in *The Tourists* (Sennet and Percy 1912), was solidly middle class, bubble-headed, flighty, uncritical, uninformed and possessed of a (female) desire to consume. The female tourist—in contradistinction to the male traveler—demanded "passive comfort, convenience, and diversion," absorbed little, and ultimately returned home relatively unchanged (Beezer 1994, p. 119). The traveler embraced new experiences, while the tourist was imagined as never quite leaving home, as dragging along her Anglo social baggage as she zealously collected souvenirs to take home to display and validate her experience.

Many Anglo women artists not only produced images and objects that they sold locally, no doubt to tourists, but they also exhibited their art regionally and nationally, although not collectively. They also created visual spaces and places in which Southwest tourists operated. Thus, while dozens of Anglo women assisted in producing a mediated, filtered, and consumable "enchanted" Southwest, they did so within an expanded, oblique, elastic, and mutable field of vision. In addition to producing "high art," many women also worked in interstitial visual spaces to frame, describe, and delineate a no less pervasive and persuasive *visuality* of the Southwest's cultural heritage; one that was consumed just as greedily and even more readily. I posit that this body of images defined the Southwest imaginary more robustly than the art of contemporary men, because as W.J.T. Mitchell argues, "there is no getting beyond pictures" (or *visuality*) to "some mythic reality"; pictures do not "world-mirror" they "world make" (Mitchell 2005, pp. xiv–xv). *Visuality* then is the overall *picture* or dominant cultural vision composed by the accumulation of similarly visually discursive narrative messages. Therefore, it is crucial to explore the strategies and tactics engaged by women in the Interwar Southwest to produce what is now half-remembered, half-understood ephemeral and locational imagery in an effort to support, amplify, or modify the visual narrative of the region's cultural heritage proposed by Anglo men.

In the second and third decades of the twentieth century, significant numbers of Anglo women moved to the Southwest, mostly from the East Coast or urban Midwest. Some accompanied their husbands, but others sought independence, self-determination, freedom from the constraining mores of contemporary urban American society, and a greater ability to participate professionally in political, social, and artistic activities. Alice Stevens Tipton (1916, p. 34) claimed in a *Sunset Magazine* article that the Southwest offered "occupations unusual to women" and that "(i)n the entire union there is no other state which offers to women such rare opportunities for a field of action broader than her time-honored domestic sphere than does the state of New Mexico."

Many women newcomers to the Southwest carved out significant cultural spaces within which to act. An unusually high percentage of wealthy, privileged women in New Mexico, in particular, supported the arts, the state's several coexisting cultures, and intellectual life. In Santa Fe, for instance, Mary Cabot Wheelwright

(1878–1958) founded the *Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian* (1937), Florence Dibell Bartlett (1881–1953) established the *Museum of International Folk Art* (1953), and Amelia Elizabeth White (1878–1972) and her sister Martha Root White (1872–1939) collected Indian art and then donated it to museums around the country, fought for Indian rights, and Amelia ultimately bequeathed her home to the School of American Research. Mabel Dodge Luhan (1879–1962) dominated the cultural scene in Taos with her salons populated by artistic and literary luminaries. Her self-appointed mission was to "Save the Indians, their art culture—reveal it to the world" (Powell 1974, pp. 51–52). She even married a Taos Indian, Tony Luhan. Much of Luhan's art collection was given to Taos' first museum, established in 1923 by Elizabeth Harwood (1867–1938).

Many Anglo women artists in New Mexico were highly educated for their time but most found it difficult to maintain the kind of focused professional practice available to men, so they tended to resort to other more popular visual activities to support themselves. In Santa Fe, for example, Olive Rush (1873–1966), a well-established East Coast artist, also painted murals, taught at the Santa Fe Indian school, and even painted backdrops at the New York World's Fair (1939) for the Mayan Temple exhibit. The sculptor Eugenie Shonnard (1886–1978), who studied in Paris with Auguste Rodin, also made decorative lace and created decorative garden and architectural sculpture, pottery, and furniture. Rebecca Salisbury James (1891–1968), who moved to Taos after summering with Georgia O'Keeffe (1887–1986) at the Dodge house in 1929, also painted on glass, helped (with Nellie Dunton) to revive Colcha embroidery, wrote a Spanish-language column for the local newspaper, and published a book on legendary Taoseños. Gisella Loeffler (1900–1977) painted murals, painted on enamel, designed and sold greeting cards, made tapestries, designed china patterns, made furniture, decorated lampshades, and illustrated children's books. Barbara Latham (1896–1976) and Agnes Tait (1894–1981) wrote and illustrated children's books, and Ila McAfee (1897–1995) painted animal portraits, illustrated magazines and books, made calendars, and designed fabric, wrapping paper, and china. Mary Green Blumenschein (1869–1958), wife of artist Ernest Blumenschein (1873–1960) and originally more famous than her husband, made popular illustrations, and Gerald Cassidy's (1879–1934) wife, Ina Sizer Cassidy (1869–1965), was art critic for *New Mexico Magazine*. And, Regina Tatum Cooke (1902–1988) wrote for several magazines and newspapers, illustrated books, and designed Southwestern clothing. These artist's multifarious visual contributions to the *visuality* of the Southwest were deeply implicated in tourism and the telling of the region's cultural heritage. Indeed, many of their popular illustrations, household decorations, and crafts were highly visible and in circulation for many years.

By the 1920s, tourism was both deeply engendered and deeply attractive to women, emerging as a foundational stone in middle-class structure. Just as the continual circulation of capital marked modernity, social and geographical mobility marked the middle classes, a mobility that produced both restlessness and a corresponding desire and an ability to travel. Additionally, if we accept Nicholas Mirzoeff's hypothesis that the female gaze refracts a controlling male gaze into a "domestic" gaze engendering an impulse to collect, then it could be argued that the

touristic need to consume the cultural heritage of *others* in fractured, divisible parts to validate experience and confirm place doubly feminizes an already feminized activity (Mirzoeff 2009, pp. 174–175). Women tourists, again as portrayed in *The Tourists* (Sennet and Percy 1912), demanded immediate, hands-on contact with local Indians (unlike the male traveler); they not only wanted to purchase domestic objects such as bowls and blankets as souvenirs, they also wanted to inspect the merchandise. This process further feminized the Indian recipients of the tourist gaze: first by snaring them in a "trap" of permanent visibility (Dilworth 1996, p. 163) and second by trapping them visually at home, the explicit site of domesticity.

Many Anglo women artists unconsciously capitalized on tourists' desire for typically Southwestern imagery both in their own productions and in assessing the productions of others. Two women in particular, Mary Colter (1869–1958) and Erna Fergusson, understood tourists' visual desires for a contained, constructed imaginary of Southwestern cultural heritage. Between them they constructed wholly new visual and cultural architectures to frame the *picture* of the Southwest within the region itself. Mary Colter served as the Fred Harvey Company's interior designer and informal architect, or more appropriately stage designer, for several decades starting in 1902.

In 1876, the AT&SF hired restaurateur Fred Harvey (1835–1901)—famous for his Harvey Girls waitresses—to overhaul its pit stop cafés, dining car service, and later hotels, activities he subsequently brokered into a hospitality empire. Harvey cleverly conflated AT&SF advertising with his own para-scientific promotion of the region's cultural heritage at World's Fair exhibitions, and then re-appropriated the same World's Fairs' exhibitionary strategies, in both formal exhibition spaces and in midway entertainments, to orchestrate and theatricalize visitors' actual experiences in the Southwest (Bennett 2001). The Chicago World's Columbian Exposition (1892) included artifacts from the Mesa Verde cliff dwellings discovered in 1888 along with encampments of Navajo and Pueblo Peoples on the midway who performed demonstrations of weaving, jewelry-making, and pottery for fairgoers. At the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, the Fred Harvey Company contributed a much more elaborate (re)construction of an entire Hopi village where, for several months, Hopi people performed scripted simulacra of their lives. Mary Colter probably contributed to this installation, and in 1915, at the behest of J. F. Huckel and Schweizer, and in consultation with Hewett, she created a ten-acre *Painted Desert Exhibit* for the San Diego Panama-Pacific Exposition. The centerpiece of the *Painted Desert* was a wholly fictional Indian settlement that included Navajo hogans, Apache tipis, a Hopi settlement, and mock-ups of the Taos and Zuni pueblos. Three hundred members of various tribes, including the famous San Ildefonso potter Maria Martinez and her husband Julian, lived on site for several months enacting a scripted (re) enactment of their daily lives of farming, cooking, making crafts, and performing ceremonial dances. An adjacent Harvey trading post offered souvenirs for purchase.

The Fred Harvey Company quickly recognized the potential of motor tours as an adjunct to transcontinental train travel. In 1926, they engaged Fergusson to lead "Indian Detours," tours into the field originating from La Fonda in Santa Fe, and R. Hunter Clarkson to maintain the fleet of cars and buses to transport "Detourists"

Fig. 5.5 *Indian Detour Bus Tour, Santa Clara Pueblo*, c.1926. Courtesy Palace of Governors (MNM/DCA) Negative 046940

(Fig. 5.5). Fergusson was charged with selecting and training a coterie of 20 highly educated young women as tour guides (couriers) and was afforded exclusive control over their training, although she was ostensibly assisted by an all-male Courier Corps Advisory Board of "experts," including Edgar Lee Hewett, F. W. Hodge, A. V. Kidder, S. G. Morely, and Paul F. Walter. By 1930, Indian Detours offered eight major tours throughout New Mexico and Arizona. In 1928, Charles Fletcher Lummis (1859–1928) characterized Indian Detours as "not merely a magnificent Pullmanizing of an incomparable wilderness [but] a vital sociological and educational enterprise," adding that "[t]oday the laziest traveler can not only see…..the wildest and noblest scenery on this continent, and the most picturesque and fascinating types of humanity—but he can see them comprehendingly, with guides so charming and so authentic as were never available before" (Lummis 1928, p. 7).

That couriers were women represented a dramatic break from past touring practice, especially in the West. Ruth Laughlin remarked in The *New York Times* (1935): "Feminine America is making its mark even in the Wild West…cowboys used to typify the Western cattle-range country, but now it is soft-voiced college girls" (Laughlin cited in Thomas 1978, p. 307). Lummis also emphasized the feminized aspect of Indian Detours: "I know of no other such corps of Couriers as the Indian-detour has trained to this service. Fine, clean, thoroughbred, lovely young women of old families, inheriting love and comprehension of their native State, and put through a schooling in its history and nature" (Lummis 1928, p. 8).

The rigors of courier training detailed in promotional material underscored the assumed cultural veracity of courier narratives: "It may interest you to know something of the training of a Harveycar Courier, once she is qualified as to social background, character and personality" (Anonymous Indian Detours November 1930, p. 5). Most couriers were college graduates and some even had undertaken graduate studies, which was extraordinarily uncommon for tour guides in the 1920s. Couriers were expected to have a deep knowledge of Southwest culture and history, to have traveled abroad if possible, and to have a speaking knowledge of at least one language beyond Spanish and English. The training course comprised 4 months of

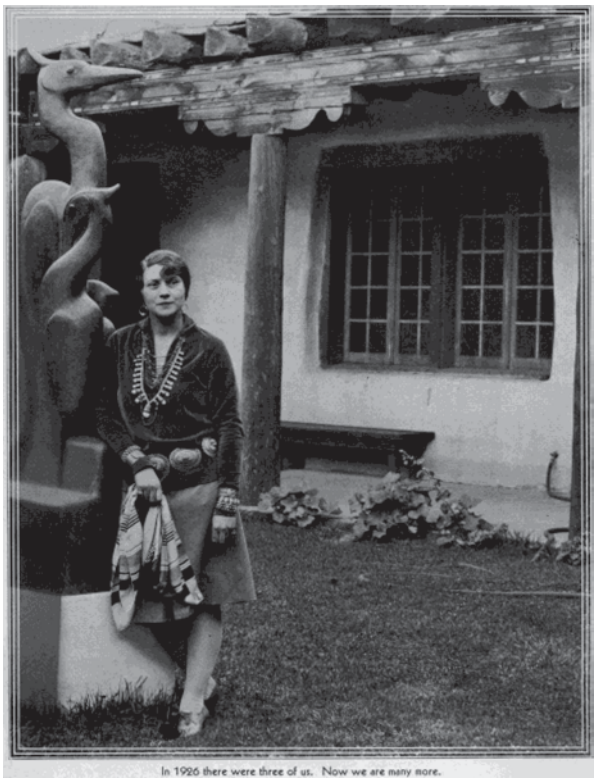

Fig. 5.6 *In 1926 there were three of us. Now we are many more*. 1930. Indian-detours—Most distinctive motor cruises in the World. Rand McNally, Chicago. Page 4

"bookwork, lectures, and long field trips by motor into the backcountry," followed by examinations to qualify first as a substitute courier, then as a regular courier, and then, "after proof of tactfulness and resource to meet any emergency," receive the "coveted designation" of land cruise courier, qualifying her "to pilot you and yours over the length and breadth of a quarter million square miles" (Anonymous Indian Detours November 1930, p. 6).

Most couriers were girls of social standing, but independent, resourceful, and usually much better educated than their Detourists: yet they were expected to be modest in their accomplishments, to be socially adept, genteel, refined, and accommodating. Couriers facilitated a direct and constant interface between the tourist and Indian and Spanish cultures as well as the Anglo elite in Santa Fe and Taos (Fig. 5.6). After couriers greeted guests as they arrived by train, it was then their "privilege to fill the pleasant dual role of hostess as well as guide" (Anonymous Harvey October 1929, n.p.). They ensured the comfort and well-being of Detourists in the field, served them meals, provided informal informational tours, and mingled with their clients in the evenings in La Fonda's social spaces. The stated goal of Detours was simple: "we want you to feel at home in the Southwest" (Anonymous Indian Detours November 1930, p. 5).

La Fonda was advertised as a sanctuary and resting place for weary Detourists at the end of their touring days: "Nothing could present a more soothing contrast to

too much geology or too much travel than the quiet restfulness, the sense of being at home again, that a Harvey House gives" (Fergusson 1946, p. 189). Mary Colter's feminized La Fonda interiors and Fergusson's feminized use of Colter's spaces normalized tourists' field experiences. The hotel's lounges, for instance, offered a "comprehensive library of books and photographs" physically framed by the comfort of a large fireplace and "huge chairs and couches and subdued richness" and brief, conversational lectures illustrated by colored magic lantern slides (Anonymous Indian Detours November 1930, p. 10). Speakers studiously elided difficult or uncomfortable issues such as Indian poverty or land loss. Courier and instructor Elizabeth De Huff (1886–1983) probably used similarly romanticized slides commissioned by the Harvey Company from Laura Gilpin (1871–1979) (see Sandweiss 1986, p. 60). Several couriers spoke so engagingly that they were even sent on promotional tours around the country to solicit prospective Detourists (Clarkson and Roger 1926).

La Fonda was also the primary public social place for Santa Fe's artistic elite, male and female, in the late 1920s. Journalist Ernie Pyle (1900–1945) claimed: "You never met anybody anywhere except at La Fonda" (Pyle 1937, n.p.). And, since couriers were usually invited to participate in that community, they also facilitated introductions between artists and Detourists, who tended to be wealthy or influential and potentially prospective collectors. Courier and author Beatrice Chauvenet (1902–) described artists regularly welcoming Detourists into their studios.

Couriers functioned as both physical and visual embodiments of a feminized and feminizing narrative of the popular cultural heritage of the Southwest. They rendered the (largely masculine) scholarly narrative of Southwest history and ethnography familiar for tourists. They rendered it feminized on multiple levels: through the gender of the teller; through the deliberately informal manner of delivery of information in short snippets as part of a conversation; and through the informal sites of its delivery, in La Fonda's homely living-room spaces, in Pueblos, and from within Detour automobiles. And, since most tours visited Pueblo Indians in their homes to purchase souvenir arts and crafts, the content of most courier narratives was perforce trained on the cottage industry based and domestic lives of Indian women. Indian Detours narratives were delivered by women, were largely about women, and for women.

The feminized aspect of tours was also accentuated by the costumes and behaviors enacted by both couriers and drivers. Drivers dressed in cowboy outfits refracted through a Hollywood lens. They wore boots and hats but were tidy, clean, and courteous: advertising described them as "reliable," "clean-cut," and "courteous and thoughtful of the little things" (Anonymous Indian Detours November 1930, p. 7). Initially, when leading Koshare Tours, Fergusson dressed in trousers and boots. But the couriers needed to appear more feminine so Winifred Schuler designed a uniform that fused several kinds of visual signifiers. An advertising pamphlet boasted: "There won't be any difficulty on recognizing our uniform, with its brilliant Navajo blouse, flashing Navajo belt of figured silver conchos, turquoise and squash-blossom necklaces, and the Thunderbird emblem on a soft outing hat" (Anonymous Indian Detours November 1930, p. 5). Courier uniforms comprised a fashionably short pleated walking skirt, durable tan stockings, and polished walking shoes with small heels. Couriers wore long unstructured

Navajo-style velveteen blouses with long sleeves and an open neck that came in a variety of brilliant jewel colors, and which served as a perfect visual foil for the heavy silver jewelry that they also wore around their necks, waists, and wrists. The hats were fashionably soft-brimmed felt cloches with a Harvey Company Silver Thunderbird insignia attached. The hybrid effect communicated fashionable urbanity, art-colony Bohemianism, and knowledge of both Indian and Spanish history and culture. The brilliant colors of courier blouses explicitly marked them as exotic regional chic (local color) and "primitive" (since it was widely believed at the time that "primitive" peoples were incapable of distinguishing between nuanced colors and thus preferred brilliant color) (Mirzoeff 2009, pp. 100–102). The overall visual semiotics described a fashionable, intelligent, independent, and slightly unconventional young woman, who was also glamorous, poised, socially assured, tasteful, and culturally sensitive. Courier costumes were also incidentally walking advertisements for the clothing and jewelry sold simultaneously in La Fonda's curio and gift shops and in Harvey hotels throughout New Mexico.

Middle-class Detourists relished multiple opportunities to purchase souvenirs in the form of postcards, photographs, booklets, jewelry, and art and craft objects in hotel curio shops or, preferably, from Indian artists themselves (see Thomas 1978, p. 130 ff). The acquisition of souvenirs served both as evidence of the trip and as a prompt for retelling and re-inscribing the story of the trip at home. But souvenir production also (re)inscribed the lives of its producers (Dilworth 1996, p. 165; Naranjo 1996, p. 192). While the tourist business successfully bolstered depressed Southwestern economies, it also catalyzed cultural shifts among Indian craftspeople, especially women. As they progressively sold their art wares to tourists and traders, Indian craftswomen became increasingly implicated in the Anglo cash-based economy, frequently emerging as the primary wage earner for their families and also causing cultural and familial disruptions. As craftswomen exploited their markets, they also accommodated their art to tourists' tastes making smaller, more purely decorative, and cheaper objects that could be produced quickly and *en masse* unlike large functional objects.

Some assimilationist-leaning Anglo women proffered craft production as a means of "lifting" Indian women out of (what they considered) a degraded state of poverty and of encouraging self-sufficiency; for example, they encouraged craftswomen to adapt traditional designs to decorate Anglo domestic objects such as candlesticks or pitchers (see Jacobs 2003; Dietrich 1936; Nash 1936). But other preservationist-leaning Anglo women vehemently opposed this strategy, lamenting the putative degeneration of Indian crafts and dilution of the Pueblo cultural heritage. They urged craftswomen to "preserve authentic" Indian designs free from commercialism. They even offered "assistance" in the "restoration" (actually reimagination) of ancient forms and imagery (see Bramlett 1934). Their efforts to guard jealously the "primitive" state of what they described as "their Indians" and their art both denied craftswomen's rights to function as self-actualized artists and robbed them of a self-narrated cultural heritage. The implicit Anglo presumption was that living Indians were degenerate, ill-equipped to survive in the modern world without Anglo "assistance," and unable to tell their own story (Fergusson 1937, p. 384).

Indian Detour couriers and resident Anglo elite women alike delivered visually inscribed narratives of Southwestern cultural heritage that were distorted through the refracting lenses of their own racial, social, and cultural *visualities*. Anglo tourists consumed these narratives as naturally occurring because they were familiar, comfortable, and ultimately confirmed already established cultural preconceptions and prejudices. This *visuality* was distinctly feminized, acquisitional, and self-serving. Fergusson described Interwar tourists and newcomers as "that tribe which roams the world looking for what it has not, talking about what it does not know, seeking emancipation from what it can never escape" (Fergusson 1946, p. 281). She disparaged them:

> In a frenetic effort to escape the complications of western cities, they were seeking not only the peace of the desert but the refreshment of primitive life. What a relief to turn….to softly mellowed pueblos where brown men raised what they ate in peace….Jaded and nerve wracked aesthetes plunged into it as into a refreshing bath. Nothing was too extreme to express their desire to go western, to live simply, to be part of the country… Everybody had a pet pueblo, a pet Indian, a pet craft. Pet Indians with pottery, baskets, and weaving to sell were seated by the corner fireplace ([which was also] copied from the pueblo), plied with tobacco and coffee, asked to sing and tell tales… It was obligatory to go to every pueblo dance. Failure to appear on a sunny roof on every saint's day [to watch the dance] marked one as soulless and without taste (Fergusson 1937, pp. 377–378).

Conclusion

A trip to the Southwest in the 1920s promised adventure and excitement to a region that was "primitive" and "savage," yet safe and civilized for visitors. It was visually imagined as a place of spiritual renewal and an anodyne for "world-weary bodies and minds" (Beezer 1994, p. 127); a place of majestic beauty and isolated pockets of "authentic" remnants of ancient civilizations. It was promoted as isolated yet easily accessible by rail and automobile. The Indian Detour described itself as "The Road to Yesterday" (*The Indian-detour* 1926) and "The newest way to see oldest America" (Clatworthy and Simpich 1929, p. 252). The visual imaginary of the Southwestern cultural heritage consumed by Americans en masse between 1900 and 1930 was romanticized, exoticized, *othered*, but most significantly domesticated, contained, rendered safe, and ultimately feminized.

Both the masculinized and feminized visual imaginaries that transformed the Southwest's visual cultural heritage into an "enchanted" place were refined and reshaped largely for Anglo tourist consumption. But, the monocular direct gaze of the largely male Anglo newcomers was refracted in a multi-ocular, multi-perspectival sideways glance by Anglo women active in popular visual spaces, who collectively and cumulatively posited a complex, imbricated, and tri-culturally interlaced visual narrative of Southwestern cultural heritage. Their domesticated and feminized touristic visual imaginary shaped an understanding and perception of the Southwest's cultural heritage as "enchanted," a construct that not only remains relatively unchallenged today, but still functions as the region's prevalent popular narrative of cultural heritage.

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Chapter 6
Deploying Heritage to Solve Today's Dilemmas: The Swedes of Rockford Illinois

Lynne M. Dearborn

Locating Rockford in the Discourse

A cursory look at the contemporary landscape of Rockford, Illinois, suggests that it is the typical industrial city in postindustrial doldrums. Like other cities with an industrially prosperous history (Detroit and Flint, Michigan to name two), Rockford is challenged by its "blue-collar" past, economic disinvestment, and the physical infrastructure of vast empty buildings designed to house manufacturing enterprises that sprung up in the city between 1850 and 1940. Unfortunately for Rockford, this history underlies its current label, "America's Third Most Miserable City" (Forbes.com 2013). Rockford, Illinois, hit hard by three decades of decline in its manufacturing base, has an 11.2% unemployment rate and burdens its residents with exceptionally high taxes. However, within this context, there are a number of promising enterprises, grounded in Rockford's resilient Swedish heritage, that are being consciously and unconsciously deployed to reshape social, political, and economic realities in the city. This chapter explores these contemporary uses of heritage to address Rockford's current economic dilemmas and discusses ways that this heritage is managed with respect to ethnic and racial boundaries that remain a part of the city's landscape.

These contemporary uses of heritage to support development initiatives can be understood as a local extension of the global phenomenon analyzed by George Yúdice (2003) in *The Expediency of Culture*. Yúdice introduces the framework of "culture-as-a resource," noting that it is being employed on local, national, and international scales to address the contemporary failure of neoliberalism's trickle-down economic theory. Neoliberalism's failure to deliver an economic upswing has led to a shift toward investment in civil society with culture as the prime motivator of economic development in many contexts. In his role as president of the World

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Bank, James D. Wolfensohn (1999) has spoken of the importance of employing heritage to seed economic development in poor communities around the world.

Economic development efforts focused on culture and heritage often borrow indiscriminately from high culture, everyday life and popular culture, blurring distinctions among these, to spur economic growth through urban development projects, among other initiatives. "[Culture is] increasingly treated like any other resource" as powerful transnational institutions begin to understand culture as a crucial sphere for investment (Yúdice 2003, p. 13). In these efforts, activist-actors must integrate the voices of many and infuse those voices with their own intentions. They must also work within existing processes with models that they find most expedient within their societal context. In Rockford, several initiatives, linked to Swedish heritage consciously and unconsciously deployed, are working within Rockford's well-established civil society to reshape the city's social, economic, and physical landscape. As a precursor to the analysis of these initiatives, it is important to provide some historic and cultural background for the city.

Rockford's Early History

The City of Rockford, Illinois owes a large part of its rise as a Midwest industrial center to Swedish immigrants whose ingenuity, entrepreneurship, and hard labor underpinned numerous manufacturing enterprises in furniture, machine tools, and textiles, socks and stockings. The first Swedes arrived in Rockford in 1852, somewhat through an accident of history. Originally bound for Chicago, they were urged by Rev. Erland Carlsson, pastor of Immanuel Lutheran Church of Chicago, "to take the train as far as it went" (Hillary 2005, p. 2). At that time, Rockford, located 90 miles northwest of Chicago, was the terminus for the Galena and Chicago Union Rail Road, as no bridge, rail or other, existed to cross the Rock River.

Although there had been white settlement in the area since 1834, Rockford had only just incorporated as a city in 1852, while Chicago had been an incorporated city for only 15 years. In 1828, president Adams first opened to settlement the broader region surrounding Rockford. Word of opportunities in the fertile and scenic Rock River Valley spread by word of mouth from the soldiers who fought in the 1832 Black Hawk War (Olson 1908). The settlements that would become Rockford were located about halfway between Chicago and Galena (an early nucleus of frontier trade), at a popular fording location along the Rock River.

Migration to the point called Midway, because of its location halfway between Chicago and Galena, greatly increased between 1834 and 1835, resulting in two settlements. Germanicus Kent and Thatcher Blake settled Kentsville on the west side of the river, developing it around Kent's sawmill that drew power from the Rock River. In 1835, Daniel Haight Shaw settled in what became known as Haightsville, on the east side of the river. With the arrival of the first stagecoach from Chicago in 1838 and generally increasing numbers of settlers, the two villages grew and in 1939 they joined to incorporate as the town of Rockford, with a population of 235.

Upon its incorporation, Rockford was made the seat of Winnebago County (Nelson 1940). Several dams had been built, demolished by flood and rebuilt, to support small milling operations on the river, but not until 1844 did Rockford see the first, but short-lived, bridge built to replace the established ferry service connecting the east and west villages. Presaging Rockford's later industrial dominance, in 1854 Rockford's first industrial scale manufactury, Duncan Forbes and Son Foundry, became the first foundry west of Pittsburgh. It continued to be a part of the city's landscape, first as Rockford Malleable Ironworks and later as Gunite Foundries (Antelman et al. 2003).

Rockford's first formal census in 1850 documented the city's population of 2563 (Nelson 1968). In the early 1850s, a new and larger dam was constructed across the Rock River for the generation of waterpower for mechanical purposes. Saw mills were the first endeavors, but gradually various small industrial plants grew up as the humble antecedents of Rockford's later large manufacturing enterprises (Olson 1908). During this time the stagecoach route was the only mass transportation linking Rockford with Chicago. However, both a plank road and a railroad were contemplated as a means to transport farmers' produce to Chicago markets. The railroad won out and on August 2, 1952, the first wood-burning locomotive of the Galena and Chicago Union Rail Road arrived in Rockford (Carlson 2002). However, passengers and freight could go no further until the railroad bridge needed to cross the Rock River was completed in 1853.

Immigration that Fueled Rockford's Swedish Enclave

Three important factors pushed one-third of the Swedish population to emigrate from their homeland in the 1800s: Sweden's *Enclosure Movement*, desire for autonomy and freedom from Sweden's rigid hierarchal social order, and famine. As early as 1680, Swedish landholdings began to shift away from the medieval system of "common land." First, "the *reduction* blocked the transformation of Crown land and freehold land into noble land" (Bergenfeldt 2008, p. 11, italics in original). Over time the Crown also sold land to freeholders to increase its revenues and build Crown reserves after various wars. Eventually, it also became legal for freeholders to pass land on to their sons. While these transformations did much to improve Sweden's agricultural output, they led to social and economic upheaval that drove many to contemplate emigration.[1] Prior to enclosure, which had been fully implemented by the start of the nineteenth century, Swedish peasants had held their small farms free from the tenurial rights of feudal overlords since the settlement of Sweden by Teutonic tribes. Enclosure, technological advances such as the iron plough, and agricultural deregulation pushed many peasants from the land. These advances

[1] Definitions: Emigration—the act of an individual leaving Sweden to settle in the USA. Immigration—the act of an individual coming to the USA, where one is not a native, for permanent residence. Migration—the process of going from one country or region to another.

benefitted a small portion of the rural population. However many, including the younger sons of freeholders, became part of a large population of landless rural peasants without voting rights. As the landless population swelled, Sweden also experienced crop failures in 1867 and 1868 and a resulting 3-year famine (Lundin 2002). During this time period, many Swedes turned to emigration as the only alternative to starvation.

Swedes had been immigrating to North America since 1638 when they established the colony of New Sweden in what later became the mid-Atlantic United States. However, the immigrants of the 1800s who came from rural farming roots went west in search of the storied abundant North American farmland. They primarily settled in the Midwest, in Iowa, Illinois, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, where they were initially drawn to farming and forestry. Swedes of this era also clustered in urban enclaves in Chicago and Minneapolis-St. Paul (Lundin 2002). Landing in east-coast cities after harrowing 2- and 3-month sea voyages, early Swedish immigrants bought tickets for Chicago having no idea where that was. Swedes who arrived in Chicago in 1852, when the city was experiencing one of its earliest and most virulent cholera epidemics, were urged to keep moving west to farming communities; some landed in Rockford.

When the first small group of 24 Swedish pioneers arrived in the late summer of 1852 to make their permanent homes in Rockford, most had very few resources remaining. They lived where they could find affordable lodging, be it shanties made of boards stuck in the ground or common lodging near the railroad station on 4th Avenue between Kishwaukee and South 4th streets. Nearly all of Rockford's early Swedes lacked for food and work when they first arrived. But they were a determined group who bonded around their strong religious foundation. When an early Swedish Lutheran minister, Reverend Eric Norelius, stopped in Rockford in 1855, he noted of Rockford's Swedish immigrants,

> They were poor and lived in inferior houses. Most of them were to be found on the east side of the river, then heavily wooded. Still, they were full of hope and cheered by better times. They were eager to hear the Word of God and some of them were delightful Christians. We held a service in an old school house. (Hillary 2005, p. 2)

The Swedes as a group, soon gained a reputation among their American neighbors as, "honest, hardworking people, generally a God-fearing lot, with a passion for freedom and social righteousness" (Carlson 1975, p. 61). Members of the earliest immigrant group originated from the parish of Södra Ving, located in a section of Västergötland of Sweden, famous for its handicraft and textile production and were often employed as carpenters and craftspeople. Swedes generally were thrifty and able to save despite meager wages (Olson 1908). Their penchant for thrift and industry helped to move many families into Rockford's middle class and propelled numerous early Swedish immigrants into prominent positions as industrialists and businessmen.

Rockford's Swedish immigrants continued to arrive from Västergötland, while other early arrivals came from Småland and the island of Öland in the Baltic

(Beijbom 1993). Despite difficult conditions, these early immigrants wrote to their friends, family, and neighbors urging them to come to the city. These early connections meant that by 1900 a majority of Rockford's Swedish population traced their roots to these three rural provinces in Southern Sweden (Beijbom 1993). The Swedes continued to settle east of the Rock River, near the railroad depot. By 1854, 1000 Swedes lived in the city, a number that was decimated both by Rockford's 1855 cholera outbreak and by Civil War service. By 1866, Rockford counted 2000 Swedes as residents (Olson 1917, p. 162). At the end of the nineteenth century, the Swedish colony engulfed all of East Rockford. Although the early Swedes were poor, they were thrifty and economical and were able to provide necessities but also were known as savers. While many of the Swedes who came to Rockford were not intending to stay, many did (Beijbom 1993). Enculturated in a peasant farming tradition, the Swedish settlers wanted land, and when able they purchased it on the outskirts of the city, farming the land. However, "when they had children, and an American education became important, they would often sell their land to another settler and move into the city to establish a "more civilized" home in the area around Kishwaukee Street and Seventh Street" (Swanson n.d.a, p. 2), the area that developed into Rockford's Swedetown.

Because they valued the opportunity for citizenship in their new country, Swedish and their clergy became involved in support of the Republican Party because its opposition, "Know-Nothings," had vowed to prevent immigrants from obtaining citizenship until they had lived in the USA for 21 years. Furthermore, Swedes firmly backed Abraham Lincoln because of his support for justice and freedom, ideals underlying their emigration; they also supported the Republican Party platform, as it promised to satisfy the immigrants' basic needs (Homer 1964). P.A. Peterson notes that, "the first 48 naturalized Swedes in Rockford marched in a body to the polling place to vote for Abraham Lincoln on Election Day in 1860" (1978, p. 48). And although they were relative new comers, the Rockford Swedes were among the first to sign up to preserve those values when Lincoln called for volunteers to serve the Union in the Civil War.

In part as a response to Sweden's famine years, mass immigration to the USA began following the end of the Civil War and continued through 1930. During this period, Rockford's Swedish ethos, as well as the city's growing commercial and industrial sectors, impelled many Swedish immigrants from Sweden directly to Rockford, bypassing Chicago. This influx swelled Rockford's Swedish-born population to 6000 by 1885. According to the 1900 US census, 22% of Rockford's 31,000 inhabitants had been born in Sweden and 40% claimed Swedish birth or parentage. By 1930, 26% of Rockford's population of 86,000 consisted of Swedish born and their children. A full 40% of the population at that time claimed Swedish ancestry, far larger than any other group in Rockford. At the centennial of the first Swedes' arrival in 1952, at least one-third of Rockford's 100,000 inhabitants professed Swedish ancestry (Beijbom 1993).

In speaking about Swedish–American[2] history and Rockford's place in it, Olson noted that "Although not a Swedish–American center of culture in the same sense as Chicago, Minneapolis, New York, and Rock Island," the city was a prominent location for Swedish–American advancement (1908, p. 328). Olson goes on to describe Rockford's early Swedish community as, "more culturally and politically homogeneous than most similar communities, making the Swedish characteristics more pronounced here than elsewhere" (1908, p. 328). Possibly in response to the insecurities of life in Sweden that prompted migration, many early Swedish immigrants to the USA were caught up in a fundamentalist religious revival in Sweden that prepared them to engage a similar revival on the US frontier (Homer 1964). For many of the earliest Swedish immigrants to Rockford, their Lutheran faith provided continuity between homeland and new world. Shortly after arrival they commenced laity-led worship, meeting in homes of participants.

Rockford's first Lutheran church, the Scandinavian Lutheran Church (renamed First Swedish Lutheran Church of Rockford in 1858 and later simply First Lutheran), was organized as the city's first Swedish religious establishment in 1854. However, the central position of this Lutheran church in Rockford's Swedish community was short-lived. Early on "new immigrants, looked to the church and its minister to find places to live, to secure jobs, to receive desperately needed aid in times of physical or financial need, and to gather with compatriots for fellowship" (Hillary 2005, p. 3). Despite inviting all Swedish immigrants to join, the strict disciplinary standards that the Swedish Lutheran Church enforced ensured that "only those with genuine faith and ethical lives would be admitted" (Hillary 2005, p. 4). In 1860, the church decided to join the newly created Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod of North America (Beijbom 1993), with a conservative canon that avowed, "complete abstinence from alcoholic beverages and shunned such "questionable" public entertainments as plays and concerts" (Homer 1964, p. 150). Although this first Swedish Lutheran establishment enjoyed long-term success as a large urban church, its role as a focal point of the immigrant community was challenged by numerous other Swedish protestant churches and Swedish fraternal societies. As the initial cultural foundation for the Swedes, the influence of the conservative Lutheran worldview implanted a Republican and anti-Catholic perspective in these immigrants, creating a rift between Swedish immigrants and Rockford's Irish immigrants (Homer 1964). It also separated the growing population of Swedish immigrants from the large group of Italian immigrants that arrived at the start of the World War I (Beijbom 1993). More importantly, the conservative perspective of Rockford's early Swedish immigrants distinguished them from "socialist" Swedes who arrived in greater numbers after 1900 (Homer 1964; Beijbom 1993). However, particularly during and following the depression, common heritage expressed in customs, traditions and everyday life united residents of Swedetown.

[2] Spacing and hyphenation throughout: SwedishAmerican Hospital – proper name; SwedishAmerican Health System – proper name; SwedishAmerican Heritage Center – proper name; SwedishAmerican Foundation – proper name; Swedish-American National Bank – proper name; Swedish-American when used as an adjective modifying for example community.

Rockford's Swedish population is often identified with the city's top ranking among midwestern industrial centers. Nascent in the 1850s, by 1900 Rockford boasted 246 industrialized businesses of various types, employing 5223 people, with annual production valued at $ 8.9 million (Olson 1908). At the start of the twentieth century, the chief products of Rockford's industries included furniture, hosiery, agricultural implements, pianos, sewing machines, and machinery and tools. And although Swedish immigrants formed the core of Rockford's working population between 1870 and 1900, between 1880 and 1900 Swedish–Americans had become leaders in Rockford's manufacturing and business. Olson describes the upward social process for many of Rockford's Swedes.

> They have generally worked in the employ of others until acquiring a competence, when they have combined into cooperative companies for the purpose of furniture manufacture or carrying on other lines of industry, thereby becoming employers and themselves reaping the profits…. they have made many practical inventions, thereby simplifying processes, reducing costs of production and increasing the efficiency of labor. (1908, p. 327)

The process outlined above and the fact that so many of Rockford's Swedes made notable industrial inventions and became pioneers of industry, led Beijbom to write, "it is questionable if Swedish immigrants in any other place have been credited with so much entrepreneurship and ability to create their own jobs" (1993, p. 9). Swedes like John Nelson, cabinet maker, creator of a dovetailing machine, and inventor of the automated machine for knitting seamless socks and hosiery, laid the foundation for Rockford's stocking industry that by 1950 produced many millions of seamless stockings and continued to fuel Rockford's economy through the 1970s.

Rockford's furniture industry illustrates another manufacturing business hub attributable to Swedish immigrants who planted its seeds in the early 1870s. In 1875, Andrew C. Johnson, "the father of Swedish furniture fabrication in Rockford" (Beijbom 1993, p. 11), helped form a cooperative venture, the Forest City Furniture Company, with 15 Swedish-laborer share holders. By 1880, this company had 100 employees and moved into its own brick building. Shortly after, some Forest City stockholders withdrew from that venture to form the Union Furniture Company. These were the first of 20 Swedish furniture fabrication establishments started by Rockford Swedes over the next decade. In the 1880s, the Swedes became prominent in machine tool industries specializing in agricultural implements and tools. Swedes also started other successful industries such as textiles, pianos, auto parts, office machines and locks, often employing a cooperative model to bring together enough capital for start up. Although many Swedes who worked in these industries contributed to Rockford's early civil society through personal assistance, and religious, aid-and-benefit, and fraternal societies, one giant of Rockford's industrial era, Peterson, can be singled out as an example that provides a foundation for contemporary uses of Swedish Heritage in Rockford.

Contemporary Swedish Heritage in Rockford

Peterson, a titan among Rockford's Swedish industrialists, helped to build and owned 25 of Rockford's major industrial businesses ranging from furniture, to shoes, to adding machines and pianos (Rockford Register Star 1993). Though many businesses he started during his 81 years are no longer operational, "numerous present Rockford machine tool and aerospace businesses operating today were started by P.A. Peterson" (Swanson n.d.b, p. 80); some of these contribute to Rockford's hope for an economic future in, "a quietly thriving aerospace and aviation industry" (Karp 2013). Peterson was a gifted business leader whose reputation for integrity was built by repaying all loans, including those that nearly caused his bankruptcy during the panic of 1893. He was a man of the people, who often ate his sack lunch with his workers in the lumberyard. Factories and businesses throughout Rockford closed to honor him, on the day of his funeral in 1927. While alive, Rockfordians knew well his personal philanthropy (Swanson n.d.b). His generosity is visible in two important contemporary Rockford establishments: Peterson Center for Health, which developed from his endowment for the Swedish old-age home (Lutheran Social Services of Illinois 2013), and the SwedishAmerican Hospital, where he served as president of the board of trustees and provided support through gifts, including his stately home. These enterprises, along with others using Rockford's tangible and intangible Swedish heritage discussed below, have built upon the ingenuity and culture of Swedish immigrants and are consciously and unconsciously deploying Swedish heritage to reshape social, political, and economic realities in the city.

The SwedishAmerican Hospital

Rockford's SwedishAmerican Hospital, and the SwedishAmerican Health System that developed from it are two of the most visible legacies of the city's Swedish heritage of charity and cooperation. In 1911, the Swedish community incorporated the hospital association in response to a great need for healthcare services in the city. The fund drive for the hospital began with a $ 1 contribution and a letter to the editor of Rockford's Swedish newspaper challenging each Swede in the city to give $ 1 per year toward its development. Rockford's Swedish ministers took the challenge seriously and with the first donation, an account was opened at the Swedish–American National Bank. Later that year a hospital association was formed to move the project forward. Large picnic fundraisers solidified support of the city's Swedish community; factory membership aids helped to encourage membership among the community's industrial workers. In 1912, with $ 4000 in cash and $ 8000 in pledges, the association purchased a tranquil property on Charles Street that was easily accessible from the city's Swedish districts. Bylaws and a constitution were adopted allowing any person to become, "a member of the association by the payment of $ 1 annually. Life memberships were granted for a one-time fee of $ 100" (Greenland 2011, p. 8). The 55-bed hospital opened in July of 1918 and an associated nursing

school opened in 1919. In 1920, the Swedish–American community established the Jenny Lind society to fund care for the needy. Sweden's Prince Bertil presided over the hospital's celebration of 20 years of operation. The Prince noted, "This willingness [of Swedish immigrants] to help each other is a sure sign of strength and culture" (Greenland 2011, p. 11).

The need for patient care at SwedishAmerican grew as the Swedish community flourished and health care delivery increased in complexity. Between 1940 and 2000, the hospital embarked on an expansion and growth period. The hospital with 55 beds in 1918 has grown into a large regional hospital that ranks among the top 5% of hospitals nationally, in many specialties, for its delivery of patient-centered care. The hospital has specialized facilities to address everything from cardiac health, to breast health, to chronic headaches, to psychiatric care, to daycare for employees. The hospital acquired numerous independent medical practices and developed clinics and medical office buildings through the creation of the SwedishAmerican Health System. The SwedishAmerican Foundation has also embarked on a neighborhood housing improvement effort since 2000 in the 81-block area surrounding the hospital. Through this effort, the foundation constructed 26 new homes, renovated or improved 100 other properties, and renovated 24 units in a two-building apartment complex. The foundation, in cooperation with the City of Rockford, has developed a novel effort supporting collaborative education between Rockford high school students and those from Lidköping, Sweden. Through hands-on construction, this initiative seeks to transfer knowledge about energy-efficient building techniques between the two countries. The hospital also recently opened the SwedishAmerican Heritage Center that celebrates and commemorates the SwedishAmerican Health System's first 100 years of medical service to the northern Illinois community.

An Industrial Partnership: Rockford and Lidköping, Sweden

To connect the city with its strong Swedish heritage while promoting economic development, Rockford has joined in an industrial partnership with the city of Lidköping in Sweden. Through this relationship both cities promote economic development by creating an international business climate and employing an international business developer. This relationship also supports cultural and business exchanges for professionals and citizens, and educational exchanges for students and teachers. Possible tourism and retail opportunities are also promoted through the partnership (Bengtsson 2012). The economic-development focused relationship between Rockford and a city in Sweden is judicious given Rockford's history and the fact that 13% of the city's residents still claim Swedish ancestry, giving it the third largest concentration of people of Swedish ancestry per capita in the USA. There is also a strong relationship between Rockford's current high-tech manufacturing focus and Sweden's strengths in innovation and technology. The Rockford Area Economic Development Council (2013) believes these links of heritage and a potentially symbiotic economic development relationship will develop fruitful initiatives.

Fig. 6.1 **a** The American Standard House. **b** The Swedish Influenced House. **c** The Swedish Standard House. (Photos by author)

The Swedish Standard House is one initiative that has developed out of the Rockford-Lidköping industrial partnership. With cooperation from the SwedishAmerican Foundation, as part of its Neighborhood Revitalization Program described above, the partnership has brought together students from Rockford's East High School and Lidköping's De la Gardiegymnasiet to build three different houses between 2009 and 2013. The collaboration is a way to exchange ideas about improving housing and to bring Swedish and American construction techniques together. The first house, called "The American Standard House," is shown in Fig. 6.1a. The construction of this house, built in 2009, follows standard US two-by-four, wood-frame construction and insulation techniques. The second house, built in 2010, is titled "The Swedish Influenced House." The construction of this house, as shown in Fig. 6.1b, follows some US wood-frame construction standards but also applies Swedish lessons about insulating and air sealing. The third house, shown in Fig. 6.1c, follows Swedish residential construction standards including a frost-protected Styrofoam foundation, in-floor radiant-heated floor, 8.5-in. wall construction (compared to 3.5-in. in US standard construction), triple-pane windows, and rock-based mineral fiber insulation. The "Swedish Standard House," applies all the lessons of energy-efficient residential construction and resembles a Swedish vernacular house (Bengtsson 2012). The 4 years of educational exchange involving high school students and teachers from the two cities have enabled the transfer of construction

Fig. 6.2 Erlander Home Museum. (Photo by author)

knowledge and contemporary energy-efficient building techniques and materials, facilitated development of friendships, and also linked students from both cities to contemporary Swedish and Swedish–American heritage as well as distant relatives (Linnea Bengtsson, personal interview, September 22, 2013).

The Swedish Historical Society (SHS)

A final example from Rockford of the conscious application of Swedish heritage to reshape contemporary realities comes from the city's SHS. After visiting a 1938 event in Delaware celebrating the 300th anniversary of the Swedes in North America, a group from Rockford was driven to establish SHS when they noted that the location supporting the earliest Swedish settlements no longer had a living Swedish heritage. In organizing SHS, the group sought to preserve the Swedish–American history and culture of Rockford. In recent years, SHS programming has promoted preservation of Swedish–American cultural traditions and education of the general public about Swedish–American history and heritage. In support of its mission, SHS operates the Erlander Home Museum, as shown in Fig. 6.2.

SHS is headquartered at the Erlander Home Museum, located at 404 S. 3rd Street in Rockford. Listed on the National Register of Historic Places, the building is situated within the Haight Village Historic District, a 13-block neighborhood near downtown Rockford. The home was built in 1871 by one of Rockford's earlier Swedish immigrants, John Erlander. It was Erlander's third residence in Rockford and the first brick house built by a Swede in the city (Haight 2013). John Erlander came to Rockford as a tailor in 1855. After success as a tailor, he eventually helped to organize the Union Furniture Company as well as several other industries in Rockford. He was among the main group who set up the Swedish Mutual Fire Insurance Company and held stock in the Manufacturers National Bank (SHS of Rockford IL 2013). He was among the richest Swedish immigrants in Rockford in his day. Upon the death of her parents, Mary Erlander, the youngest of six children, assumed ownership of the house. In 1951, at the age of 80, she sold the house and many of its contents to SHS so that it could be maintained as a museum. After a

Fig. 6.3 Erlander Home Museum Interior Collage. (Photos by author)

quick renovation of the first floor, the Swedish Prime Minister, Tage Erlander, dedicated the museum when it was opened to the public in 1952.

Through the operation of the Erlander Home Museum, SHS preserves Rockford's Swedish–American history and culture using conservation of artifacts, museum displays, and educational programs. The museum's first floor maintains the arrangement and contents of the Erlander family spaces illustrated in Fig. 6.3: the parlor, sitting room, dining room, music room, and clean-up kitchen (full kitchen was originally in the basement). The second floor, renovated and opened to the public more recently, houses the restored Mary Erlander bedroom, furnished with its original contents, as well as two galleries of artifacts and informational displays about Swedish–American culture in Rockford. The final gallery on the second floor holds the immigration exhibit, which tells the story of many of Rockford's Swedish–immigrant families. The Pleasant Company book, Kirsten's World, part of the American Girl Collection, features the contents of this exhibit (SHS of Rockford, IL n.d.). The nonfiction story chronicles the life of a young Swedish–American immigrant girl growing up in 1854. The book is an accessory, providing background for the American Girl doll, Kirsten, sold by American Girl Brands, LLC.

Through its programming, SHS promotes the preservation of cultural traditions and educates on Swedish–American history and heritage. The society holds a number of events throughout the year. Camp Sweden is a Scandinavian cultural adventure for children ages 6–12, hosted at the Erlander Home Museum for two, 1-week sessions each summer. The campers learn about Swedish customs, language and history, Swedish foods, and arts and craft. Campers also take local field trips and culminate the week with a short play. Each year the society sponsors three Swedish holiday traditions: Julmarknad—a 1-day Christmas market, celebrating traditional Swedish dancing, singing, and foods; Lucia Day—a festival of light on one of the darkest days of the year—celebrated with a concert of traditional Swedish Christmas music in the First Lutheran Church; Midsommar—a midsummer fest with May

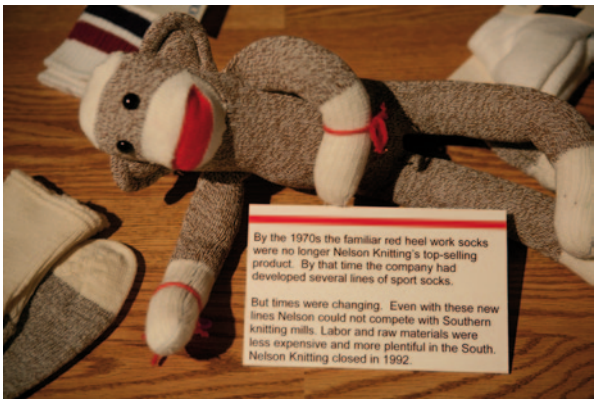

Fig. 6.4 Sock monkey on display at Rockford's Midway Village Museum. (Photo by Ruth E Hendricks, posted online at Ruth E. Hendricks Photography http://rutheh.com/2010/10/05/sock-monkey-signage-in-museum-exhibit/#comments, used with permission)

Pole celebration, and traditional Swedish dancing, music, and crafts. SHS also hosts the annual Midwest Kubb Championship (Kubb is a Swedish lawn game that can be likened to a combination of bowling and horseshoes). Through its efforts, SHS seeks to increase economic opportunities that benefit the Rockford community and beyond (Linnea Bengtsson, personal interview, September 22, 2013).

Swedish–American Heritage Unconsciously Deployed Through Popular Culture

Several authors have noted that the ingenuity displayed by Swedish immigrants in Rockford is unparalleled in any other Swedish–American Community in the USA (Olson 1908; Nelson 1943; Beijbom 1993). The ability of these immigrants to perfect and then deploy their inventions in service of large-scale manufacturing is likewise unprecedented among other US immigrant enclaves (Nelson 1943). The invention of one Swede, John Nelson, mentioned earlier as having laid the foundation for Rockford's sock and stocking industry, forms the basis for a North American popular culture craze, the sock monkey—a homemade toy crafted from socks fashioned in the likeness of a monkey, as shown in Fig. 6.4.

Imitation stuffed animals probably originated during the late Victorian era when tales such as Rudyard Kipling's *Jungle Book* and *Just So Stories* heightened the general public's familiarity with unusual species. And while there are claims of individuals making sock monkeys as early as 1919, these early stuffed monkeys lacked the characteristic red lips of sock monkeys popular today. John Nelson's son Franklin improved on his father's invention, creating a loom that enabled socks to be manufactured without seams in the heel; this provided Nelson's company with its market niche in the 1880s (Olson 1917; Carlson 1975). These seamless work socks became so popular that the market eventually was flooded with imitators. Socks of this type became generically labeled "Rockfords." In 1932, Nelson Knitting added the red

Fig. 6.5 Life-sized sock monkey statue in Swedish American Hospital's front entrance hall. (Photo by author)

heel "de-tec-tip" to assure its customers that they were buying "original Rockfords" (Midway Village and Museum Center n.d.). Hence, the earliest possible emergence of the modern popular sock monkey with its iconic big red lips was in 1932. While the earliest verifiable claim for the existence of a contemporary red-lipped sock monkey is 1949, Nelson knitting learned of the dolls in 1951 (Connelly 2007). As a result of a 1955 sock monkey patent settlement, which awarded Nelson Knitting the patent for the sock monkey, the company began including the pattern for the homemade toy with every pair of socks sold (Midway Village and Museum Center). While these toys were very popular during the mid-1950s and mid-1970s, they are currently enjoying resurgence in popularity. "Original sock monkeys" made from "authentic Rockfords" address the intangible Swedish heritage of ingenuity. They underpin such popular culture happenings as Midway Village Museum's annual "sock monkey madness event." As Fig. 6.5 (taken in the front entry of Swedish

American Hospital) illustrates, likenesses referencing the sock monkey can also be found in various Rockford establishments with roots in Swedish heritage, referencing, for the informed, the heritage of Swedish ingenuity.

Conclusion: Gambling on Heritage in Community Development

The Swedes were only one of many immigrant groups that settled in Rockford. In We, the People… of Winnebago County (Nelson 1975), the chapters chronicle the various histories of the county's diverse ethnic groups: Native American, English, Scottish and Irish, Swedish, Norwegian and Danish, German and Dutch, Italian, Polish and Lithuanian, African American, Jewish, Greek, Mexican, and Asian. The chapters are arranged in chronological order of primary immigration into Rockford and surrounding communities. Thus, this book, in particular, illustrates the ethnic patchwork that is Rockford, even today. Most of these ethnic groups still have a presence in the city and African American, Hispanic, Irish, Italian, Lithuanian, and Polish are represented in the six ethnic galleries of Rockford's contemporary Ethnic Heritage Museum at 1129 South Main Street, west of the Rock River.

This ethnic patchwork has provided one among many challenges for the city throughout its history. Ethnic and racial divides have been part of Rockford's landscape since the first Swedes stepped off the Galena and Chicago Union Rail train in 1852. Swedes settled in the area around the railroad depot in the east part of Rockford. Over time a very large Swedish enclave engulfed much of the area east of the Rock River. In 1943, noting the Swedes "remarkable economic success," Helge Nelson described the Swedish geography in Rockford.

> The Swedish population is concentrated in the eastern section of Rockford. The Swedes constitute the majority in three of the four districts—wards—east of the Rock River and constitute nearly half of the population in the fourth one. Here are located most of the Swedish factories that impress through their practical planning and the cleanness and orderliness that there prevail. In the southern section of the city the Swedish shops are also most numerous, even if business men with Swedish names are to be found also elsewhere. In Seventh Street and 14th Avenue, which are business streets, Swedish names dominate on the signs. And round about in the eastern section of Rockford one can walk up one street and down another and find Swedish homes side by side in unbroken rows. The Swede loves his home, and makes every effort to get a home of his own. There are hundreds and hundreds of Swedish homes along the tree planted streets. That it has been possible here to form a veritable "Swedish city" depends on the foresight shown by P.A. Peterson and other leading Swedes in acquiring considerable tracts for the erection of factories and homes, which has enabled the Swedes to settle not too far from the manufactories. (1943, p. 159)

This description of Swedetown explains why as late as 1940 Rockford had, "one of the most dense Swedish settlement concentrations in urban America" (Lundin 2002, p. 3). For the most part, the Swedish maintained a very conservative worldview centered on the Lutheran canon, a Republican political perspective, and an anti-Catholic leaning. This set of characteristics played out in the landscape of the city

with the Irish, Rockford's other large, early immigrant group, concentrated on the west side of the Rock River. Swedes looked down upon the Irish. But despite greater numbers, the Swedes controlled fewer electoral districts. All these characteristics bred tensions between Irish and Swedes that often, "exploded into gang fights on the bridges across the river" (Beijbom 1993, p. 24) prior to 1900.

The ethnic divide between the Swedes and the Irish remained and was exacerbated by Italian immigrants who arrived in the 1910s and 1920s and settled on the west side of the Rock River. Swedes, whether from early immigrant families or later immigrant "socialist Swedes," coalesced around their common heritage, which proved a strong bond in overcoming social and political differences among those of Swedish descent. A common Swedish heritage maintained an us–them mentality in the city. By the 1940s, this divide had shifted to Caucasian versus African American discrimination, a divide that remains physically imprinted in Rockford's east versus west landscape. Even now, east Rockford is economically more prosperous and very Caucasian as it has been since early days. West Rockford is economically challenged and primarily African American.

The Swedes took the roles of innovators and industrial entrepreneurs in Rockford in a way that did not happen to the same degree in any other place in the USA. These positions propelled Swedes to the upper levels of the city's society and put them in positions of power. As time went on most of the population of Swedish ancestry moved solidly into the middle and upper middle classes of the city. Not only were the Swedes leaders of industry and business, but they became active in politics at the local, state, and national levels (Carlson 1975).

Swedish heritage in Rockford remains vital. It has been deployed in numerous ways in attempts to reverse the city's economic and physical decline. In the SwedishAmerican Foundation's Neighborhood Revitalization Program and the Industrial Partnership with the city of Lidköping, and even in the anchoring influence of the historical Erlander Home Museum in the Haight Village Historic District, one can see the capacity offered by calling on this heritage. However, given the historic animosity between ethnic groups and the power exercised by Rockford's Swedes, one can question to what extent such efforts would be deemed acceptable by Rockford's population at large.

Working closely with organizations in Rockford, it becomes clear to an outsider that the divide pronounced by the Rock River remains a threat to the city's economic renaissance. Strong institutions such as the Swedish American Foundation and the SHS are working to address the decline. However, because of their connection to Rockford's Swedish history and heritage, these institutions are still embedded in the east side of the city. This heretofore unexamined bias has caused the city to support some arguably unwise large-scale infrastructure alterations on the west side of the river, the West State Street Corridor project among them. A more reasonable strategy might be to examine heritage-popular culture overlaps that are not necessarily place-bound and perhaps have less overt ties to Swedish heritage and thus hold broader potential. The opportunities presented by heritage-popular culture overlaps such as the transfer of energy-efficient building technology and practices, in the Swedish Standard House project, and the Rockford Sock Monkey

Madness events show promise to more equitably address Rockford's community development dilemmas.

Acknowledgments It is important that I recognize several individuals who opened my eyes to the potential of Rockford, Illinois, a city that at the present time does not enjoy a reputation equal to its history and fascinating patchwork of ethnic heritage. I hope that my outsider's analysis of the utility of ethnic heritage in the city might prove useful upon reflection. I must thank Ron Clewer and Jodi Stromberg from the Rockford Housing Authority, who I first met in Sweden. Also my thanks to Jean Lithco who was incredibly helpful in the Local History and Genealogy room of the Rockford Public Library and to Linnea Bengtsson, International Business Developer with the Rockford-Lidköping Industrial Partnership for giving an excellent tour of The Erlander Home Museum and providing background on the partnership's efforts.

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Chapter 7
From Co-op to Conglomerate: Quality Courts, World War II, and the Commodification of Travel

John Woodrow Presley

Introduction

The motel industry has long been characterized in popular culture by two seemingly contradictory perceptions. Either motels are places where secret illicit behavior of all kinds occurs, or motels are so standardized that they are a boring aspect of travel, nearly featureless.

In order to understand the motel in its popular culture persona a historical examination is necessary. The modern motel industry has largely lost touch with its historical origins in the rapid advance from "autocamping" to "municipal camps" to tourist cabins and "courts" to the modern "bland big box." But the modern motel industry appears only vaguely aware of its fascinating history, for there has been little analysis of corporate image or advertising culture. Rather, study has focused on individual companies and only a few in-house histories of major companies and their brands have been written. An application of cultural theory about consumption to motels and using one of them, Quality Courts, as an example, offers us a window into this remarkable American phenomenon.

Theorists have considered whether commercial culture is really identical with popular culture (e.g., McAllister 2003). Boorstin (1974) argues that advertising has in fact become "the rhetoric of democracy." Too much writing about brands and their effects uses entertaining content analysis or classification of prominent themes (Marchand 1985). Neil Postman considers the narrative structure of television advertisements, even seeing their definitions of sins, "intimations of the way to redemption, and a vision of Heaven" (1988, p. 67), though Soar argues that since the assessment of authorship—who wrote the ad and why—is never taken into consideration. Soar writes that semiotics and such analyses can provide "no credible way to explain, for example, how the strategies of content of advertising messages have developed over the last century" (2000, p. 416). The result has been theorizing

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that attempts to link advertising memes to American social or cultural history, or content analysis combined with semiotics, such as that of Leiss et al. (1997). And attempts to link the creation of branding memes to industrial transformation present their own limitations: these studies are linked virtually always to goods, not services. Refrigerators, vacuums, washing machines, even automobiles are, after a while, rather too obvious subjects.

Even in the face of pervading opinions of a particular service industry, such as the widely claimed boring commodification of modern travel, little analysis focuses on the history of the creation of a meme and that history's role in creating cultural clichés. It has been almost 40 years since I began an oral history project requested by Quality Inns International, a request relevant to my argument here. Though they requested that I interview the founders of Quality Courts United (QCU) about their aims, motivations, early challenges, even early organization and structure, the modern organization seemed most interested in the origins of construction standards, furnishings, and guest amenities. This paper fills in the story of motels and argues that the history of a huge company like Quality Inns International and its *social* origins serves as a case study of branding memes and their effects. The rapid evolution of motels away from spontaneous responses to the needs of travelers is an illustrative example of the ways that the motel industry fled that first popular culture conception to help create the second, from hideouts to characterless rooms in big-box buildings.

History

The development of the motel industry is fairly well-documented (Belasco 1980, pp. 105–122). However, little has been written about the World War II years and the 1950s, when cottages transformed into franchised chains, or the advent of modern advertising, architecture, conveniences, and services, the "homogenizing" of travel experience. Visual records of the transition abound (Baeder 1982). For instance, the work of Jakle et al. (1996) traces this later period and is heavily illustrated with maps, photographs, and reproductions of the inevitable postcards.

Frank Redford's Wigwam Village chain is a well-documented example of the "intermediate stage of entrepreneurship in the modernization of roadside businesses." In Sculle's analysis (1990) this unique chain of motels with their startling visuals resulted from Redford's recognition of public need for roadside lodging. His Wigwam cottages were additions, in 1939, to his gasoline and restaurant business. But Redford was an improvising entrepreneur, focused on marketing, not operations. He bought commodities in bulk only twice, Sculle claims, and often forget to collect franchise fees (1990, pp. 129−131). Though Redford's chain was a referral chain, a member of United Motor Courts, it "lacked the corporate structure to respond to the new conditions for successful competition," and by the 1950s Wigwam Village was out of business (Sculle 1990, p. 132).

Gilbert S. Chandler, an earlier entrepreneur and one of the seven founders of QCU, first drove into Tallahassee in 1925 and discovered there was no camping ground, so he pitched a tent across from the governor's mansion. Within days, he had leased seven acres from the city at $1.00 per year. A store, four one-room "cabins," community house, sanitary buildings and laundry were built. A barn became a seven-room cottage. The cabins featured homemade tables and benches; tourists brought their own beds and cooking equipment (*Quality Courts Bulletin* 1940, N.p.). Chandler's business grew quickly. Cabins with beds "commanded an extra $1.00 a week for such unheard of luxury." Chandler built six "Spanish type" cottages, paved lanes, and added 10 cottages with baths.

The iconic Quality Inns International has its roots in a 1939–1940 cooperative of tourist courts that first formed along the Florida coast as QCU. In 1940, Chandler wrote the *Quality Courts Bulletin*[1] describing his newest court in Pensacola, with brick and marble, flower boxes, tile roofs, live-oak trees, "enamel Simmons steel furniture suites in all rooms, carpeted floors, venetian blinds, tiled baths in colors, ceiling fans, mirrored doors, weather stripped windows and doors, double cross ventilation, steam heat from a central plant, and outside private telephones." This "spontaneous response" by motel entrepreneurs to the needs of the traveling public contrasts to the earlier history of the American hotel. Boorstin describes early American hotels as "a new kind of community enterprise," a public meeting place frequently built before a surrounding town had developed, "booster hotels to match the booster press." Boorstin describes "American hotel mania" with hotels "built not to serve cities but to create them," frequently the most grand of public buildings and often the place where the newest conveniences—gaslights, telegraph, telephones, elevators—were first tried (1965, pp. 135–147).

By 1940, motor courts had become serious competition for these hotels. *The Quality Courts Bulletin* reported that 13,521 motor courts were operating across the USA, with 8460 employees and a total payroll of $4,226,000. They offered 136,202 "cabins," with 159,846 "units." Receipts for the industry were $36,722,000.

R. A. Perry (the modern Quality Inns office had his initials wrong) opened his 15-room Perry's Ocean-Edge in Daytona Beach in 1940, the year Quality Courts was founded. Mr. Perry was host for the first convention of Quality Courts in 1941, chairman of the third in 1945, and for 2 years served as secretary, editor, and director. After 1948, he served on the advisory board. Mr. Perry was regarded as an important source of information, for an early news bulletin of the tourist courts industry (Perry 1945).

I interviewed Mr. Perry in Augusta, Georgia[2]. On the morning of our interview, he had just returned from Florida, where he checked his files on the early days of Quality Courts. He had kept extensive records, including copies and clippings of

[1] Materials provided by Mr. Perry, from his private collections and files, included clippings as well as some few complete versions of the Quality Courts United Bulletins, guidebook, and convention programs. Dates are provided in the text where possible; the materials did not have page numbers.

[2] Mr. Perry was interviewed on June 26, 1975. All quotations identified in the text as Mr. Perry's words are from the author's notes of that recorded interview.

the first guidebooks and bulletins. He made frequent references to a stack of these materials. I asked Mr. Perry what had prompted the founding of Quality Inns. His answer:

> Two reasons, really. We wanted to improve the image of motels in general; some law-enforcement agencies, the FBI in particular, had attacked the industry. Since early motels were on the outskirts of cities or even in the country, lawmen were worried that they were being used as "hideaways" or "getaways." I think this has been over-rated as a reason, though it's true that one of our speakers at the first convention was a FBI agent.

J. Edgar Hoover had attacked motel courts as gangster "hideouts," and in fact, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agent's talk was entitled "Courts of Quality Contrasted to Camps of Crime." However, Mr. Perry insisted that the owners first banded together not in response to this attack, but to increase business by forming a referral organization—though much early effort was in fact public relations work to emphasize that their courts were safe for families, where nice people would not be "embarrassed or disturbed by any unseemly or boisterous conduct of improper neighbors," as the early guidebook boasted. In fact, two requirements for joining the cooperative were that no liquor be sold in the premises and that no "dance hall" will be operated.

The first convention was optimistically reported in the *Bulletin*. Elmer Jenkins said the "Q.C.U. guide has created quite a stir in the industry, proving that the American public does appreciate quality…" He lauded the "four points stressed by Q.C.U.—Courtesy to Guests; No Disturbance from Neighbors; Strict Inspection, and Quality Always."

But that other principal speaker, FBI agent R. G. Dannen, "made a meaty address." Dannen listed three types of court operator: the "responsible owner," improving his business and better serving his guests; the "operator who wishes to do the right thing but through greed shuts his eyes to a few wrong things;" and "those who actually permit activities violating the laws." Dannen applauded QCU, saying the "best way to eliminate the questionable places is to educate the public as to what quality in a court consists of and where such courts are located." Dannen was, of course, tempering the Hoover message of motel courts as "assignation camps" and criminal hideouts for his audience, a courtesy the *Bulletin* returned:

> No court of questionable character can become or remain a member. There can be no quibbling on this vital point. It is gratifying to all law-abiding court operators to know that the lawless element is being methodically weeded out by this branch of the Government, and that the better Quality Courts have the recommendation of the FBI and many of their agents patronize them.

Nonetheless, Perry's firmly held position in our conversation minimized this concern about the image of tourist courts:

> The main reason the organization was founded was as a referral cooperative, so traveling families could be referred to other member courts. Most of our motels were run as a family business—father in the office, mother running the restaurant, and the children helping out where they could—and we wanted to emphasize the family atmosphere.

There had been an earlier, disappointing (to some) organization, Perry remembered.

> Yes, Quality Inns was formed as Quality Courts United, in 1940, but the first organization of motor courts was United Motor Courts, formed five years earlier. A number of owners in Florida, South Carolina, and Virginia, members of United Motor Courts, became dissatisfied with the way that organization was operated—its lack of progressiveness.

QCU was different from its start:

> The organizers raised $4,000 and published the first free guidebook in 1940, listing a small number of selected motels in the southeast, to get the ball rolling.

The main work of the group at its first convention was producing the Guidebook. Notes from the conference extolled the reasoning behind creating such a book: "Visualize what that means to each and every one of us—One Hundred and Fifty Thousand handsome salesmen working for your court! No organization ever faced a brighter future." Perry was proud of the guidebooks, mentioning them repeatedly.

> Interest was good, and in 1941, a new guidebook was issued with 56 listings of courts in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, North and South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia, each paying $100 for a listing. The organizers all worked to recruit new members, and 50,000 guides were soon exhausted, so we printed up another 50,000. This second issue had color pictures of the courts and a map locating each member.

But the bright future was likely to dim. Perry's group was beginning to see, as did many Americans, that the USA was coming closer to involvement in what was then a European war.

> At our 1941 convention—in November—a lot of discussion was devoted to the problems likely to confront the tourist industry during any war. We went on with our group's business, though; we established standards, distributed guidebooks, set dues and referral methods, and began selecting a "Quality" sign. We optimistically printed 150,000 guides for 1942, and set dues at $100 per court for the first 12 rooms, with $3 per room over 12.

But by the end of 1941 the USA had entered the war, and travel restrictions on the home front seemed aimed directly at the motel court business.

> Our membership dropped drastically, and 1942 was a tough year. Gas rationing was instituted in the Southeast, and later in the entire country, with drastic curtailment of travel. Fuel oil was also rationed, another hardship on cottage courts. Blackouts on the coasts and strategic areas caused difficulties in maintaining resort operations. Court owners closed up and went into other work, including military service. For a while the government considered banning bus and train travel. Quality Courts carried on, though reducing the number of guides printed. We debated whether to even hold our convention in 1942. Rent control was in effect by 1943 for areas near military bases. Owners with new mortgages were hard-hit, so we reduced dues by two-thirds. I had just started myself, and when business declined, had to let all my employees go. My wife took an outside job, and I did all the motel work myself. We insulated all the pipes and cracks, and economized. Courts converted to weekly and monthly rentals to attract local business. Those with kitchen cottages tried to attract local business or servicemen.

Gasoline rationing had been predicted since "spot shortages" had developed during 1941. In May of 1942, gas rationing was imposed in the 17 states of the Pacific Northwest and the Atlantic seaboard, due to extended shortages in these areas; there were too few tankers to move domestic oil from Texas and Louisiana to the East

Coast. In March alone, five German submarines off the coast sank almost 20 tankers. “Shortages were serious enough for tourists wintering in Florida to cut short their stay. … The *Kriegsmarine* had done its work so well that … for the owner of a twelve-cylinder Packard and a three-gallon-a-week ration card, the war became the grimmest of realities” (Kennett 1985, p. 138).

One Quality Court operator began teaching for the University of Alabama, another reported that “the Army has taken over my place…” and still another reported that “tourists are a thing of the past” (though the operator of Don Dee Cabins in Virginia reported that he had had his first-ever guest arrival by airplane).

The *Bulletin* applauded American Hotel Associationattempts to convince the government that travelers’ well-being should be prioritized and hotels classified as an essential war industry (arguing that people needed sleep to be productive). The *Bulletin* decried rent control, blackouts along the East Coast, and the government’s media campaign to minimize rail and bus travel. A “day of reckoning” was darkly predicted for “lesser men” responsible for some government decisions. (It was apparently acceptable to criticize wartime bureaucrats.)

But despite all this, in February of 1942, QCU proved its “progressiveness” again in selecting its first sign, “four feet high and three feet wide… of baked porcelain enamel, in four colors.” The signs were owned by the association, and leased to members for a one-time payment of $15.00. The sign changed little over the early years; design elements always included a capital *Q* and a stylized “seal of quality,” forerunners of the later Quality Inns sunburst signs (Fig. 7.1).

The group was beginning to experiment, as the Redford Wigwam Chain had not, with cooperative buying to reduce expenses. Cashmere Bouquet soap was available from the co-op for $20.75 per thousand bars; two-ounce Colgate “floating soap” was $16.00 per thousand; and for real bargain hunters, the half-ounce bar of Crystal Coco could be had for $6.25 per thousand. The co-op also offered its first attempt at advertising on matchbooks at $2.90 per thousand, “the advertising of your court on one side and QCU matter on the reverse.”

Between news of two dropped members and two disciplined members, the *Bulletin* carried exhortations to hold to current prices, alongside news of scam artists “working through Virginia and Carolina,” and a report that Duncan Hines, who “had called the hotel business the ninth largest business in the nation and about the worst conducted,” continued, in contrast, to champion tourist courts. In return, *Bulletin* editors urged members to “work harder to cooperate in the sale of Duncan Hines books.”

On the first day of December 1942, gas rationing went into effect throughout the nation, with inevitable effects on travel and small businesses that depended on travel. In Los Angeles alone, 900 restaurants closed within the first 2 weeks after rationing became law (O’Neill 1983, p. 136). By January 1943, pleasure driving was outlawed on the East Coast; violators were fined by reductions in gas ration coupons or confiscation of their entire allowance of coupons (1983, pp. 136–139).

Bus and train travel were never outlawed, but troop trains had scheduling priority, so travel in poorly maintained, overcrowded, late trains was unpleasant. Civilian mobility was high, but long-distance travel was almost entirely by train, which

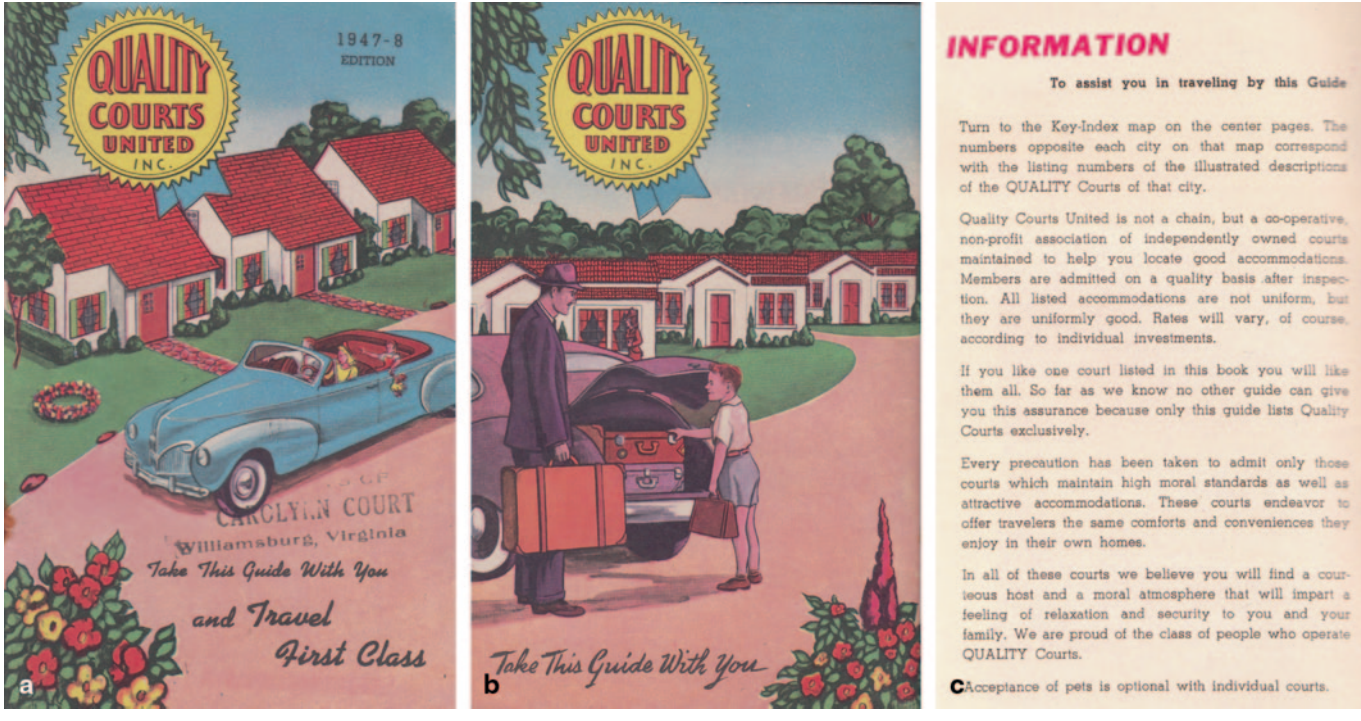

Fig. 7.1 **a** Front cover of a Quality Courts United guidebook from 1947 to 1948. **b** Back cover of this guidebook. **c** Inside front page explaining the guidebook.

hardly took travelers past Quality Courts members' motels. Equally problematic for the Courts were labor shortages, which devastated many small businesses. In Arkansas, for example, as workers were drafted, volunteered, or took defense jobs, "6,000 small businesses would fail by 1943 for lack of workers" (1983, pp. 236–249).

The optimism of the QCU early years was seriously tested by these home-front effects of World War II. By August 1942, the *Bulletin* was packed with news of the industry's worsening fortunes and the co-op's attempts to help. Committees of the board lobbied in Washington, arguing that with rent control, gasoline and tire rationing, "our industry is peculiarly a victim of the war effort." Senator Claude Pepper introduced a bill forbidding mortgage foreclosure on tourist businesses.

Perhaps because their emphasis on referrals and cost-cutting seemed ways to stay in business in wartime, QCU grew to over 50 members nonetheless, with 100% payment of dues. (But with many operators working in war industries or serving in the military, only 25 could afford the new sign.) *Bulletin* warnings to members about slack standards continued: "Watch your H's—Housekeeping, Heat and Hot water… Eternal vigilance is the price of excellence."

These exhortations ran alongside editorials arguing gas rationing decisions: why was it more patriotic for retirees to stay in Minnesota where they would have burn "seven hundred and fifty gallons of fuel every month for that eight month winter" than it was to use only 250 gallons of gasoline traveling to Florida and back for the winter?

Printing of the next guidebook, planned to include new flyleaves, was cancelled; the 1942 guidebook was only a slightly revised version, to save money, and was reprinted in a small run to serve as the 1943 guidebook since "gas rationing drove the tourists from the Eastern highways this summer and prospects of it spreading west became strong" just as the *Bulletin* had predicted.

Still, among editorials and news, operators were reminded that "one unexpected guest"—the occasional traveler who might require a room—would still expect high standards. And the *Bulletin* continued to warn about "questionable guests."

> It is expected that a Quality Court will be operated always as a morally irreproachable court… This past spring, hotels came in for their share of bad publicity when they "made" the front pages of New York newspapers. The owners and managers of several hotels were convicted of catering to illicit business. One owner was given a prison sentence of three years… Such publicity as the New York "scandal" is a stench in the nostrils of the travelling public. The hotel business is so well established… that comparatively little harm will result to the industry. However, the court industry is relatively young… Better let that "doubtful" guest pass by than run the slightest risk of ruining one's post-war business and one's own self-respect… since nothing will so mark a place as this undesirable business… No man, wishing to keep free of law courts and damage suits, will question the status of any applicant… He can, however, have "nothing available"" when any undesirable business seeks to trickle in.

The motor court industry became successful in part by driving out—or minimizing—this "undesirable element." As the large middle-class customer base traveling for recreation shrank, travel industries necessarily had to be perceived as secure, "suitable for families," and comfortable. This self-defining is one origin of the "lev-

eling" or "sameness" of the travel experience. Under wartime restrictions, almost any prudent business practice had to in fact "level" the experience of travelers.

No QCU conventions were held in 1943 and 1944, but in October 1945 at Ocala, Florida, 51 members attended the convention. By 1950, membership had more than doubled, to 126 members. In 1955, there were 207 members, and membership rapidly grew to include nearly 500 motels, even more remarkable considering that early member courts were all east of the MississippiRiver. (For travelers to the West, Quality Courts eventually formed a referral agreement with Best Western Motels.) By 1953, dues were $350 for 12 rooms, $17 for each additional room, and by 1954, QCU was distributing 4 million guidebooks annually.

As early as October 1943, the *Bulletin* columns, had—optimistically—begun to carry plans for post-war expansion. The Federal Housing Administration was in 1943 offering mortgages to hotels and motels for up to $60,000 at 4% interest, with amortization beginning after the war's end, so the industry's lobbying in Washington had worked. That same *Bulletin* quotes government figures indicating that travel had become a $6 billion industry ("8% of the American public's income," the *Bulletin* crowed) with $4 billion investment in facilities.

And so, another progressive idea had arisen. Edmund Worth, another founder, had proposed advertising on billboards, and the *Bulletin* in October 1943 editorialized in favor:

> There can be no doubt about the value of this form of advertising, since the bulk of the travelling public move in automobiles… (This has been the condition that has brought motor courts into existence. Nevertheless, few capitalize on the roadways as a means of making their courts known to the motoring stranger.) The paramount thought in the minds of persons traveling the highways is, 'Where will we spend the night?'

The *Bulletin* was ready with details:

> If Quality Courts spent $7,500 to erect seventy five or a hundred high class signs along good highways, telling the message of our chain of really fine courts, then our emblem would really have significance, similar, let us say, to that of the American Automobile Association emblem, which is known to every person who drives a car.

The editorial even included sample copy for these billboards.

> Forceful messages could be used, brief, packing a punch, yet read by the driver of a car moving at a high rate of speed. "For a Good Start Tomorrow, Stop at a Quality Court Tonight. The next court is Brown's Auto Court, one mile beyond Fredericksburg."
> "Parking problem got you down? Spend tonight at a Quality Court where you drive right up to your cottage door. Your next stop is Larson's."

The plan was to place 30 10 × 20-feet signs along the busiest highways traveled by tourists in the Southeast. Others "would be located to give the most advantage… at strategic spots to benefit every unit in our chain." Quality Courts officers also realized that a "campaign" for customers might also increase the number of member courts.

Mr. Perry indicated that with the success of these steps, serious challenges to Quality Courts arose, attempts to profit from QCU's growing identity and recognition:

> Well, as the organization grew in prestige, many motels that couldn't qualify for membership tried to use the word *Quality* in their signs and advertising. Mr. Worth, who was also an attorney, had the foresight to copyright the name *Quality*. He successfully defended our right to the name in court, so that we were no longer plagued by unaffiliated motels calling themselves "So and So's Quality Motel." Some members who were dissatisfied or dropped for not meeting standards attempted to form a rival referral service. Now and then, driving through the country, I see a sign, maybe 30 or 35 years old, for one of these groups, but none of them ever really got off the ground.

Between the *Bulletin* items urging unity—"A flower am jest a flower, and a fly am jest a fly, but a hornet's nest am an organization"—and promptness with dues and with orders for Duncan Hines guidebooks is nestled self-congratulation about Quality Courts' first challenge from "the rival referral group," in March 1942. "Your organization has withstood the acid test and emerged with flying colors, a symbol of honest men doing business through honest methods, and a warning to those who, by ways dark and dubious, would try to enter by the back door."

Mr. Perry thought many might be surprised by how early the important QCU standards had been adopted.

> We actually adopted a rating chart as early as August of 1941, which gave the qualifications for membership on a point basis. Out of 100 possible points, for example, you got 13 points for good masonry brick walls, 15 points for good bathrooms—the size of the bath was specified even then, 32 square feet—10 points for a good heating system, 10 points for good mattresses, 8 points each for good bedding, springs and furniture, 6 points for floor coverings and 8 points for clean linens. Rate cutting and "hot beds," hourly rentals, were very much taboo, with a deduction of 25 points. The organizers considered price signs and vacancy signs to be very poor business. They felt that prominently displaying price signs cheapened the industry and led to rate cutting. "Vacancy" signs implied poor business, and "No Vacancy" signs kept the all-important referral end of the business down.

Throughout the 1940s and early 1950s the *Bulletin* was filled with reminders about housekeeping, about the availability of the QCU signs, the necessity—and benefits—of working as a referral cooperative, and almost always about the public image of the motor court industry. Hourly rentals may have been taboo for Quality Courts, but the public was very aware of the practice elsewhere. In 1935, a study in Dallas had shown that 75% of the tourist court customers in that city were local couples—sometimes 2000 couples per weekend for the 39 motor courts studied; one manager claimed to have rented the same cabin 16 times in one 24-hr period (Finch 1992, p. 164).

Room rates in the 1940s were typically $2.50 for a single, $3.50 for a double, and $4.00 for a room with twin beds. Since linen had been hard to obtain during the war, tent cards in the rooms (from Cannon Mills) asked guests to "Be Kind to the Linen." Until 1950, bed linens were changed once weekly for long-term guests, twice weekly for short-term guests. Towels were changed when the linen was changed, and hot water was frequently turned off in the summer months.

Perry was proud to emphasize, however, that the standards of the 1940s might seem surprisingly modern.

> The standards were not as much different as you might think. Individuality was a selling point at first, but as ratings were upgraded, and members remodeled or improved, construc-

> tion standards became uniform. Members who couldn't meet the standards were dropped. Many "modern" conveniences were around in 1940. Paved parkways were a requirement in 1941, and extra points for an enclosed garage. Swimming pools became a requirement in the late 1950s, but a court with a pool was given extra points in the early ratings.
> I installed television in 1957, but it wasn't required until around 1960. In terms of the development of television, 1960 was pretty early. Wall to wall carpeting was a requirement in the early 1950s, I think; we were exempted because of the beach, and the sand and mold problems. Extra points were always given for outside phone systems, but as late as 1958, when I remodeled Ocean-Edge, we had only an inter-court system, so it was probably around 1960 when outside systems became mandatory. In 1941, a member received extra points for circulating ice water, and in the early 1950s, the association began requiring daily change of linen rather than twice a week.

When asked if QCU had made mistakes, Perry admitted a few.

> Oh, sure, some things backfired. For example, in the 1940s a committee of officers made a trip to investigate taking in western members. The committee reported back that it found a number of nice motels, but "hot beds" seemed to be common, so the idea was dropped. In 1948, the cost of printing the guide books had gotten quite high, so we decided to charge 25 cents for each book. That "innovation" was short-lived. And even as late as 1950, Quality was not quite ready for courts with two or more floors; we thought the guests might not like to walk up stairs.

Asked to name the reasons for Quality Courts' enormous success, Perry was quicker in answer.

> We took in the best courts, and stressed housekeeping and cleanliness, with rigid annual inspections. We began QCU when tourism was beginning to really grow in the United States, and we filled a need. People liked the motel concept, where you could drive right to your door, with no parking charges, no stairs, no elevators, no bell boys. Quality was a progressive organization. We required members to have free guidebooks in rooms, lobbies, local gas stations, touring bureaus and chambers of commerce. We concentrated on referrals as much as possible. We instituted toll-free telephone service for reservations.

One recognizes, of course, that at least one of these reasons has been a constant theme of motel advertising: no bell boys to tip. But Mr. Perry admitted that advertising meme has become a thing of the past, along with the one-story motel:

> Now Quality has 20-story motels with bars and pools; most of the early members have dropped out of the organization. There are only two of the original courts left: mine at Daytona Beach and Larson's Motor Lodge at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Where courts were once family owned and operated, now courts are often owned by partnerships or corporations with salaried managers. The service may not be as personal, but it's still good. At Ocean-Edge we have a multi-story section now, but we've still got some of our original accommodations. Oh, they've been remodeled enough times that you'd never know they were original, but they met Quality's first requirements and they still do. The organization had foresight.

In 1963, the original members transformed their non-profit association into a corporate enterprise, with a full-time staff. In 1972, the name was changed to Quality Inns International, and with 320 Quality Inns across the USA, Canada, and Mexico, the company's stock began to be traded on the New York Stock Exchange.

By 1981, Quality Inns International was the fourth largest chain in number of franchised properties, sixth in number of rooms, and had a revenue of $62,000,000—

equal to the revenue of the entire travel industry 40 years earlier. In an interview in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Jakle offers a concrete explanation for some of this rapid growth in the industry: tax laws allowed and encouraged rapid depreciation of motel properties. When the tax value of the property reached zero, it was quickly sold to another operator who could start the depreciation process all over again. Possibly the largest source of revenue "came from setting the process up, not from maintaining the system" (Biemiller 1997, p. B2).

Still, this huge company paid tribute to its roots as a cooperative; the diction of its *1979 Annual Report* is remarkably similar to that of the early *Bulletin*. "Beginning in the South, they [early members] provided an assured level of quality in highway travel accommodations, and a way to recognize it—the Quality Courts golden emblem of excellence. American travelers could at last put their confidence in a consistently superior brand name 'product'" (1979:N).

The 1979 convention still stressed as its theme the old referral slogan that "the more all of our inns work together, the more they assure their own success." This from a company that was, in 1979, adding a property a week to its holdings. Prominent mention was given to the sunburst sign, still a recognizable evolution of the sign first designed in 1942, and to the "cooperative advertising campaign, the only one of its kind in the industry" (Convention Program 1979).

In December 1980, Quality Inns Internationalwas acquired by Manor Care, Inc.an international operator of nursing homes and hospitals. But the operation of what was once QCU changed very little. Under Manor Care's ownership, Quality Inns still enforced a 1000-point quality assurance program and terminating properties that failed to meet them. In 1981, 32 properties were terminated from the list (1981 Annual Report).

By 1995, Manor Care had increased its holdings to include pharmacy and infusion therapy sites, along with an entire range of franchised hotels. Choice Hotels International, Manor Care's lodging business, franchises six brand names, with 2561 hotels with 222,985 rooms, with $2 billion in room sales revenue. One might argue that referrals—now "1-800 number" reservation centers along with hotel and travel aggregator websites—continue to be the life's blood of the motel industry.

And by 2012, Choice Hotels International held 6200 hotels, in the USA and 30 other countries. By June of 2012, there were 375 sites under construction, and three more brand names had been added. In early 2013, Choice Hotels announced that, in an ironic closing of the circle, it had added to its independent holdings the Postcard Inn in St. Petersburg, Florida. The Postcard Inn sits on the beach, "a one of a kind hotel with retro, 1950s, surfer-inspired style" (Choice Hotels International 2013, N.p.). This 2013 addition rather contradicts Jakle's observation in 1997 that "the beach is the last bastion of independent hotels" (Biemiller 1997, p. B2).

The sunburst sign has by now evolved to a simple sphere with three horizontal bands—a logo almost identical to the Comfort and Sleep logos—but the word *Quality* in the logo continues to distinguish the Quality Hotel from its corporate siblings.

The story of QCU is a story of grassroots entrepreneurism, niche marketing from its beginnings as a co-op, and its evolution alongside the explosion of travel in mid-twentieth century America. Once the rigors of the 1940s were past, the designs,

standards, and deliberate mass appeals of safety and convenience—appeals delivered by the distributed guidebooks and the sunburst sign at first, then by means of billboards and, finally, by all the familiar modern media—situated Quality Courts to become Quality Inns. As the hotel industry had focused on the middle class (Boorstin 1965, pp. 146–147), so too, finally, had the motel industry. And the boom in travel made possible by better incomes, better cars, better highways of the 1950s and 1960s—Finch's chapter on the rise of the motel chains is called, appropriately enough, "Freeways and Franchisers" (1992, pp. 225–247)—led to a new scale of operations: super-motels with hundreds of rooms, indistinguishable from Holiday Inns, Ramada Inns, or indeed now from most downtown hotels except by logos and trademarks and, yes, slogans. These big-box motels have in large part been responsible for homogenizing the American roadside landscape. Pleasing a mass audience in fact created a horde of virtually identical purveyors of safe, wholesome, but usually uninteresting rooms for a modern traveler. In *The Motel in America*, in a chapter called "The Nation's Innkeeper," John Jakle (1995) interviews Kemmons Wilson, the founder of Holiday Inns, who began construction of his first motel in reaction to the shabby lodgings he experienced during a family trip in 1951. Much of Holiday Inns' history is similar to the Quality Courts story—designs were simple choices by entrepreneurs; Wilson's mother chose the early sign; the name was "borrowed" from the film *Holiday Inn*, and so on—but there was no co-op involved. The history of Wilson's chain is much later that that of Quality Courts, but Wilson's genius also helped directly to create the big-box era. "The idea," Wilson claimed, "is to develop motel rooms along the line of branded product; the name is your guarantee" (1995, p. 85).

The Quality Inns sign and slogans and image helped cause travel consumption to be, as Ellul argues, less about "the consumption of material objects than a consumption of symbols" (1978, pp. 214–217). Similarly, Dyer offers the insight that consumers "don't use a product for what it is; we identify with the result. The product can make us like the signifier in the ads" (1982, p. 19). Are those now easier "links to the next Quality Court," or the focus on ease of travel—the phone services, the websites—simple ways a consumer can avoid what Marchand (1982, p. xxi) calls "the indignity of scale"?

Conclusions

It is no great leap to apply aesthetic theories to the effort to understand our perceptions of postmodern travel. Hans Robert Jauss' (1982) Reception Theory, for example, argues that literature which is popular is that literature which represents the perfect fit of the horizon of expectations of the public. The Frankfurt School sees culture as a commodity structured by an industry, mediated and shaped by forces of production and distribution; should the "culture of travel," even more obviously a commodity, be an exception? As Habermas (1958, pp. 62–80) argues, in a society that devalues and flees "work," its opposite, "play," must be as unlike work as pos-

sible. Free time must be used to enjoy that which can be experienced with no effort, no strain—experienced as simply as possible, as a "distraction."

In a focused analysis of this phenomenon's progress in the motel industry, Jakle explains that "Americans have anchored their lives as consumers." Consumers tend to "load sentiment onto symbols." We have a nostalgia for past experiences, and for the consumption experience no longer available. America's economy has shifted from production to consumption, and "an economy of consumption is very ephemeral" (Biemiller 1997, p. B2).

QCU navigated its own transition successfully, from a "mom and pop" cooperative to the age of the commodified, franchised travel industry and the international conglomerate. Indeed, with their early "standards" for construction and membership, their emphasis on referrals, guidebooks, signs, inspections and ratings (the last of which had huge effect on construction and appearance of motels) the Quality Courts United members assured themselves enormous success. By fleeing that first mass perception of the motel as a "hideout," Quality Courts United survived the rigors of the Second World War, but in fleeing that first perception their efforts very quickly helped create the second mass perception—the boring sameness of "suitable" roadside rooms.

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Chapter 8
Branding Peru: Cultural Heritage and Popular Culture in the Marketing Strategy of PromPerú

Helaine Silverman

Introduction

When I was a young woman living in Peru my mother used to write to me every time she would see Peru mentioned some place. She was not referring to the news, since I would know about those stories inasmuch I was living them—earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, tsunamis, coup d'états, terrorism, and great archaeological discoveries. Rather, she meant Peru in popular culture. She used to say that whenever a distant place was needed for a story line, it would be Peru. She spotted Peru all over the media. In a *Superman* TV episode. Cary Grant piloting over Barranca in the film *Only Angels Have Wings*. Humphrey Bogart reuniting with Lauren Bacall in Paita in the thriller, *Dark Passage*. Charlton Heston looking for lost treasure in *Secret of the Incas*. Not to mention Frank Sinatra singing about Peru in his great hit, "Come Fly with Me."

> Come fly with me, let's fly down to Peru
> In llama land there's a one-man band
> And he'll toot his flute for you
> Come fly with me, let's take off in the blue

Long after I returned to the USA, Peru was still present in popular culture. Disney, the doyen of popular culture, created an imaginary Inka Empire (albeit with significant borrowings from earlier civilizations) as the setting of its animated movie, *The Emperor's New Groove,* released in 2000[1] (Silverman 2002). *Groove* was followed by *Kronk's New Groove*, a direct-to-video animated movie released in 2005, and a children's TV series, *The Emperor's New School*, which began in 2006 and mentions in a few episodes that the characters are Inkas. A less positive connection between

[1] However, Peru and the Inkas are never mentioned by name and the setting is identified as "ancient Mesoamerica."

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Peru and American popular culture is the murdered rapper, Tupac Amaru Shakur, whose Black Panther activist mother named him after a great Peruvian revolutionary of the Colonial Period—although it is unknown how many of his fans were familiar enough with Andean history to grasp the reference and the connotation.

These few examples suffice to demonstrate that Peru has appeared in meaningful ways in the American popular culture consciousness for quite some time. Interestingly, however—and notwithstanding its magnificent scenery, extraordinary archaeological landscapes and fascinating traditional societies—tourism to Peru was slow to develop, both from the USA and from elsewhere. This lag is most attributable to the technological difficulty of air access into the Andes until the late 1960s.[2] More recently, terrorism (early 1980s–mid-1990s) contributed to a setback in tourism.

To redress Peru's negative image and unfulfilled tourism potential the neoliberal government of President Alberto Fujimori (1990–2000) created PromPerú (Commission for the Promotion of Peru for Exports [International Commerce] and Tourism) in 1993, just as Peru was emerging from its decade of civil war. The state agency stepped into the void surrounding tourism promotion that had existed since the demise of its state-run predecessors (EnturPerú and Foptur) during the socialist military dictatorship (1968–1980). PromPerú's creation marked Peru's insertion into the competitive global market for the agency was explicitly charged with creating "an integral, attractive image of Peru abroad and specifically to encourage investment, boost exports and improve tourism levels" (Boza 2000, p. 5). Its goal, thus, was to erase the negative foreign perception of Peru and create a desirable tourism and business destination. This kind of officially orchestrated creation of nation-as-destination (*desti-nation*) today is known as nation-branding (Anholt 1998). PromPerú arose on the cusp of nation-branding worldwide. It was one of many other governmental agencies in countries around the world that, during the late 1990s, were experimenting with corporate business theory and marketing principles so as to enhance their image for the international market.

Simon Anholt's coining of the term "nation-brand" in 1998 (see also Dinnie 2008) arose from his observation of the decisions and policies that were being undertaken in countries concerned with their international reputation, just as they were concerned with their trademark commercial products. Nation-branding scripts the country as a carefully produced, managed, and marketed product, a brand. Anholt characterizes nation-branding as "national identity in the service of enhanced competitiveness" (quoted by Comaroff and Comaroff 2009, p. 122), among other definitions. Nation-branding is a global marketing effort and, indeed, we live in an era that Nezar AlSayyad has called "a global culture supermarket" in which culture "is shaped equally by both the state and the market" (2008, p. 165). Nation-branding has "kicked it up a notch"—appropriating star chef Emeril Lagasse's catch phrase

[2] In other words, until air travel was improved, the great Inka sites of the south highlands could not be developed as major tourist destinations: Cuzco, Sacred Valley, and Machu Picchu. In this regard, it interesting that *Secret of the Incas* (released in 1954) accurately depicts the very few number of tourists who arrived by air in Cuzco a few times a week.

(himself a brand and popular culture icon)—in terms of how countries market themselves.

The application of the word "brand" to countries has led to a mutual courtship between states and international private sector brand management and consulting companies such as Future Brand and Interbrand that already were handling goods. This professionalization of nation-branding has made it a high stakes and very expensive enterprise. Nation-brands are a country's calling card on the world stage and a potent demonstration of soft power (Nye 2004). The study of nation-brands reveals how a country would like to be perceived and what it considers to be its most appealing attributes. Of course, there may be a disconnect between the touted features of a nation-brand and the reality within the country, and both internal and/or external audiences to the branding campaign may perceive that fact. A successful brand is one that can be sustained in the face of examination—domestic and foreign. It can deliver on what it promises. But at what cost? John and Jean Comaroff worry that the logic of corporatism has taken over nations: "Statecraft itself has come to be modeled ever more openly on the rhetoric and rationale of the for-profit corporation … government actually *becomes* business … corporate nationhood may be remaking countries … in the image of the limited liability company … with astonishing abandon and almost no attention to social costs—or worse yet, in denial of a 'social' to which any costs may be ascribed" (2009, p. 126, 127, italics in original).

I focus my study of the Peru brand in two directions: analysis of the discourse (words and images) of PromPerú's marketing campaign, and the repercussions or costs of those campaigns on the ground—among the Peruvians themselves. Regarding this last point, I am concerned with those social dimensions lamented by the Comaroffs but that are not ethnographically examined by them. I am interested in how a national-branding campaign actually affects citizens, how a democratic government responds by way of its policy decisions, how nation-branding is enacted at the official and popular levels of society, and what the sociological consequences are to the populace. I leave economic assessments of nation-branding to other specialists.

"Pack Your Six Senses" (2003–2007)

PromPerú's initial activities in the tourism field were unimpressive but when 1996 was declared "The Year of 600,000 Tourists" a more integrated, comprehensive, and competitive approach began to be taken. Given all the problems that had afflicted Peru in previous years as well as continuing political crises, PromPerú did the best it could at the outset of its mission. But by 2001, it appeared that the government would close the office. The election that year of Stanford-trained economist Alejandro Toledo as president of Peru (2001–2006), however, changed PromPerú's fortunes because Toledo believed tourism should be an axis for development. So important did Toledo consider tourism that in 2004, he partnered with the USA TV's Travel Channel in a documentary called "Peru: The Royal Tour" (aired November 16, 2004) whose pitch was "When a president is your tour guide, there's

Fig. 8.1 "Land of the Inkas" always appears printed in the logo. The logo is composed of a colorful scarlet macaw (indigenous to the tropical forest) emerging from the beak of a bird that is rendered as one of the famous precolumbian geoglyphs of the desert south coast of Peru and that is traced on an Inka stone block (of the highlands). I doubt that the foreign public (in general) understood this iconography. Nevertheless, the logo is visually appealing. (Photograph of an old T-shirt that belonged to the author, taken in December 2004)

nowhere you can't go."[3] A full-color eight-page special advertising section in *The New Yorker*[4] previewed the program and included an ad from PromPerú's "Pack Your Six Senses. Come to Peru" campaign, which had been created the year before (in 2003) and which promoted the country as "Land of the Inkas" (Fig. 8.1).

That tagline—"Land of the Inkas"—recognized that most potential tourists, if they knew anything about Peru, would have (or could be instructed to have) one principal association with it: the Inkas. The slogan built on Peru's most iconic image in the public imaginary: Machu Picchu, fabled lost city of the Inkas. As Carlos Canales, then president of the National Tourism Board, said: "The idea was to orient the consumer so that he would identify us and know that we exist" (quoted in Navarro 2003). This issue was quite serious. American Airlines, for instance, in 1998, had a travel campaign for Peru that said "American Airlines Now Offers Service To Places That No Longer Exist!" (Length constraints do not permit me to unpack that statement.)

The phrase "Pack Your Six Senses" was intended to convey Peru as an experience beyond the five of smell, taste, touch, hearing, and sight—that you should be ready for an experience beyond the commonly experienced and exceeding your

[3] In April 2002, The Travel Channel toured Jordan with King Abdullah II bin Al Hussein and later that year New Zealand was presented by its Prime Minister, Helen Clark.

[4] *The New Yorker* is a venerable, literate, upscale magazine. The Travel Channel and Peru were investing where the payback would be the greatest: among a public with the resources to travel and the level of cultural sophistication to want to do so. Carlos Canales, then head of CANATUR (National Chamber of Tourism), said, "the campaign is oriented to an adult group, older than 25 years, with a high level of education and who earn more than $ 75,000 yearly, with cosmopolitan culture, independent, and who are always looking for enriching life experiences" (quoted in Navarro 2003).

Fig. 8.2 The lettering for "Pack Your Six Senses" is derived from the colonial manuscript of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. (Photograph is cropped from a tourism ad on a wall in Jorge Chavez Airport, Lima, taken by the author in July 2004)

expectations. Words that appear in the ads are what you would expect: "discover," "unique," and "wonders."

The brilliant "Pack Your Six Senses" campaign was the creation of the renowned advertising firm J Walter Thompson (JWT), contracted by PromPerú. "Pack Your Six Senses" saturated US magazines devoted to travel, leisure, and food. It advertised Peru along three dimensions: history/archaeological monuments, nature/biodiversity, and living traditions/living culture. The archaeological ads provided some necessary textual explanation, whereas the nature ads did not need to do so.

The lettering (Fig. 8.2) of the "Pack Your Six Senses" campaign is distinctive and derived from an early sixteenth century Colonial manuscript (Guaman Poma de Ayala's *El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*). Any educated Peruvian recognizes it from school and because the font has been widely used in publicity in Peru at least since the 1970s. PromPerú chose this lettering for its foreign public because it is unique and eye catching. But PromPerú also chose it for domestic consumption, for at the same time that "Pack Your Six Senses" was launched abroad, PromPerú undertook a national campaign with the slogan "Peru Has Everything. Live It!," which was intended to promote domestic tourism (*La Industria*, Chiclayo, June 29, 2003). Almost the exact same words would be revived by PromPerú for its full international nation-branding campaign in 2011 (see "Live the Legend" below).

The first "Pack Your Six Senses" print ads were special section magazine inserts with detailed texts explaining the cultural, archaeological and natural wonders of Peru. The amount of text and number of photographs decreased in 2004. In 2005 crisp, single-image ads touting single destinations appeared, accompanied by an enticing caption beginning with the word "Discover." If you look closely at one such ad (Fig. 8.3) you will see what I call a "Kodak bracket," a yellow frame around part of the photograph (we might also call it a *National Geographic* bracket), in essence becoming a photograph of the photographic image and putting the viewer in the position of virtual photographer and simulating the visual experience that we will have of the site when we visit. The image invites us to consume the site. Not only will we pack our six senses and take them to Peru, through our cameras we will consume Peru and bring it home with us in the form of visual souvenirs. As Urry writes:

> Photography is…intimately bound up with the tourist gaze. Photographic images organize our anticipation or daydreaming about places we might gaze on. When we are away we record images of what we have gazed on. And we partly choose where to go to capture places on film. The obtaining of photographic images in part organizes our experiences as tourists. (1990, p. 140)

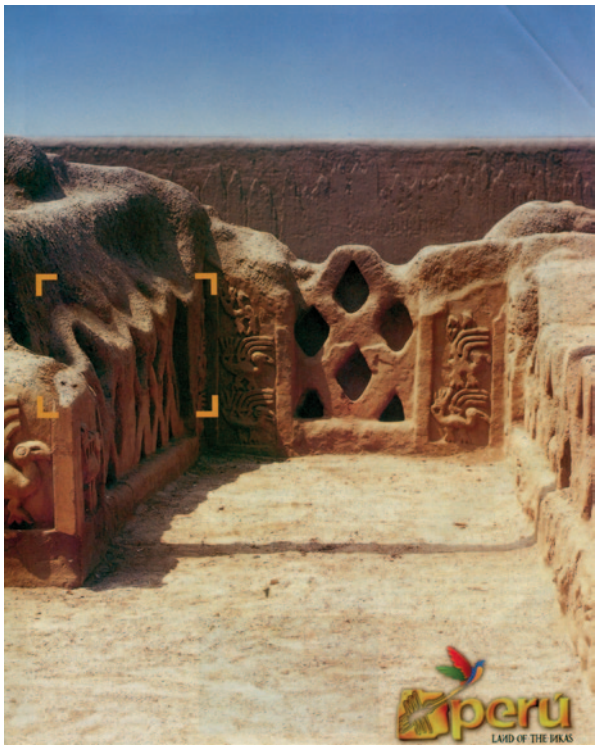

Fig. 8.3 The "Kodak bracket" (or "*National Geographic* bracket") on a "Pack Your Six Senses" ad, produced by PromPerú

We immediately understand the Kodak bracket because of our positionality as members of a culturally privileged group. We have learned a "visual vocabulary of perception" that has taught us to see in a particular way (Harris and Ruggles 2007, p. 8). The ad most directly addresses a sense of sight among the other senses highlighted by the slogan.

Other iterations of the "Pack Your Six Senses" campaign were created. 2006 was a period of experimentation in PromPerú, but the ads produced had less aesthetic appeal and were short-lived. In 2007, the variations of the previous year were eliminated and the print ads look like those of 2005, but with the addition of a small map at the bottom of the page showing the location of Peru and, importantly, the creation of new tagline: "Country of Experiences and Senses," a direct emotional appeal to the potential tourist. The emotion evoked in the new addition to the campaign reached fulfillment with three exceptional television ads, released in 2008, that saturated US television in 30-sec TV spots. I analyze them below.[5]

[5] All youtube videos cited in this chapter with their url were available as of August 21, 2014 when this volume went to press.

Machu Picchu

www.youtube.com/watch?v=97IEKrtEIU4

Machu Picchu is presented in this ad as the embodiment of Peru's history and living Andean traditions. The latter are represented by a traditionally dressed Quechua-speaking father and son channeling their heritage in language and material culture. The use of Quechua authenticates the experience the tourist will have and corresponds to the well-known use of foreign language in advertising (see Jaworski and Thurlow 2013). Machu Picchu—shrouded in mist, ready to be discovered—is a familiar image on postcards and this representation corresponds to its ecological setting. But the environment is not the message. Rather, it is personal discovery and validation of Andean heritage as the young boy asks his father: *Taytay, kaychu kay rimawaskaykita?/Father, is this what you told me about?* And the father replies, "*Qhaway!/Look!*" as the mist disappears, revealing the site in its glory. The promo suggests that the tourist will have this same experience of ethereal discovery at the site.

Semana Santa (Easter Holy Week) in Ayacucho

www.youtube.com/watch?v=FK_j_cryZn0

Semana Santa is deployed as an example of Peru's living traditions, here in the form of mestizo Catholicism rather than the more traditional heritage legacy in the first promo. Semana Santa in Ayacucho is one of the most moving religious celebrations in Peru and a deeply embedded part of the historic city's popular culture. Although the action is staged, it is not far off the mark except for the contrived blowing out of candles so as to heighten the drama of the emerging, candle-lit litter carrying the religious image. Introduced sound effects are placed over actual religious prayer for dramatic effect as well.

Jungle

www.youtube.com/watch?v=DMeynDvNJE4

This promo showcases Peru's biodiversity and depicts, in a familiar trope, indigenous people as part of nature. The visuals seem to have been inspired by the 1959 film, "Green Mansions" (based on W. H. Hudson's 1904 novel), starring Audrey Hepburn. The staged sound effects create an experiential soundscape or auditory space (as used by Feld 1996). The promo simulates the immersive experience the tourist supposedly will have in the jungle, bearing in mind, however, that the jungle portrayed is not the far more domesticated one that tourists will visit.

Importantly, "Pack Your Six Senses" was not conceived or executed as nation-branding as the term is used technically today, but rather was described by PromPerú

as a promotional campaign for tourism. This is not to say that PromPerú did not avail itself of business and marketing strategies that characterize nation-branding, or that the campaign was not intended to generate a positive image of Peru. Rather, PromPerú was focused on generating tourism as a source of revenue; it did not imbricate the campaign in a larger, comprehensive strategy or national ideology.

"Live the Legend" (2008–2010)

At the same time that the three "Pack Your Six Senses" videos were running on TV, the "Pack Your Six Senses" print campaign was reformulated by PromPerú in 2008 as "Peru. Live the Legend," with a greater, more direct emphasis on experience: "This place exists. You can see it. Feel it. Come live the legend." Each legend had a print ad as well as the innovation of Internet videos: "Where Gods Become Mountains" for Machu Picchu; "Facing Eternal Walls He Emerged from the Sea" for the spectacular ancient sites of the north coast; "Peru's Gateway to the Gods" for Lake Titicaca; "Land of Snow-Covered Stars" for adventure tourism in the Andes; "Seeing Giants" for adventure tourism in the Amazon; and "Feel Centuries of Faith" for colonial and contemporary Lima.

Consider how different the 58-sec summary "Live the Legend" Internet video (www.youtube.com/watch?v=RzHDPlkZxx8) is from the previous three promos (coast, highlands, and jungle) for "Pack Your Six Senses." In those ads—granted they are beautiful and dramatic—the viewer was not in the action. We were passive observers. In the "Live the Legend" video, we are active. Or, at least, a 20-something traveling generation is. An off-camera young-sounding woman narrates the youthful tourists in the video. They are participating in living Andean culture, which is shown as the continuous descendant of the ancient civilizations preceding it. The young tourists are dancing with villagers in a traditional Quechua fiesta—a backstage encounter tourists would not have. But, it is the possibility of authenticity (MacCannell 1976) that is being sold here. "Live the Legend" feeds tourists' well-known quest for personal, emotional experience, a topic of great interest in critical tourism studies (e.g., Picard and Robinson 2012; Watson et al. 2012).

That 20-somethings are the new target audience is a conclusion supported by PromPerú's decision to produce the video explicitly for social media: youtube, twitter, facebook, and flickr, unlike "Pack Your Six Senses," which was a print-based and TV campaign, and which took advantage of the official PromPerú website only for the presentation of static information.

The "Live the Legend" print ads are noteworthy for having hotel, dining, and transportation icons in the lower left corner that direct the viewer to the www.peru.info website. Tourism is still the driving force behind PromPerú's activities and PromPerú is getting better at organizing it on the web. The advertising logo is still the same as in "Pack Your Six Senses": the macaw emerging out of the bird geoglyph on an Inka rock alongside the word Perú. Importantly, though, the phrase "Land of the Inkas" no longer appears below the rock (see Fig. 8.1).

Fig. 8.4 The brilliant logo of *la marca Perú.* (Screenshot captured on the PromPerú website in January 2014; Source: http://www.promperu.gob.pe)

I have no data on the success of the "Live the Legend" campaign, but I conclude that it was not adequate because at the same time that it was appearing a major new initiative was being undertaken at PromPerú, one that resulted in the first true nation-brand for Peru: *la marca Perú,* the Peru brand.

La marca Perú (2011-Present [2014])

Mere months after the launch of "Live the Legend" and even as "Live the Legend" continued to be used, PromPerú conceived a new campaign that would be revolutionary in advancing PromPerú's mission to promote the country for export, investment, and tourism—a multistranded megaproject to *brand* Peru—a campaign that would simultaneously work abroad while serving other ideological as well as practical purposes at home. That project was developed by PromPerú over the 15 months following July 2009 with the help of 15 members of an interdisciplinary FutureBrand team, the brand strategy and design consultancy of the McCann-Erickson WorldGroup, one of the world's most prestigious advertising and marketing firms.

La marca Perú was launched on March 10, 2011 with a new eye-catching, totally unambiguous country logo (Fig. 8.4; replacing the previous bird-and-rock icon) and an exceptionally appealing 2-min video (www.youtube.com/watch?v=TnkNg80dk2g) shown at the world's largest travel trade fair, always held in Berlin. The logo and video went viral on the Internet. The next day (March 11), the first Peru Day was held at the New York Stock Exchange and here, too, *la marca Perú* was literally unfurled with massive publicity (Fig. 8.5).

Two events: one for tourism, one for business—both working together under the new nation-brand and with a single purpose: to promote Perú as a stable country with unlimited economic investment opportunities equal to its unlimited touristic interest. Put succinctly by the Minister of Foreign Trade and Tourism, the government perceived the need to have a brand that would position Peru abroad so as to

Fig. 8.5 The first Peru Day at the New York Stock Exchange, March 11, 2011. **a** Peru's nation-brand is unfurled (Source: http://incakolanews.blogspot.com/2011_03_06_archive.html). **b** Peru's Finance Minister, Ismael Benavides, rings the closing bell. (Source: http://archive.peruthisweek.com/blogs/business/archives/finance-stock-market)

attract tourists and investment: "The idea was to unify and create a single identity" (quoted in *El Comercio*, March 10, 2011). Peru is that identity, encapsulated in its logo.

At the same time that a single identity for the country was being promoted, the slogan of the Peru brand campaign is "Hay un Perú para cada quien"—"There is a Peru for each and every one," replacing "Live it, feel it." Peru is conceived as

"multifaceted, special, and captivating"—a phrase repeated in the campaign (archive.peruthisweek.com/news/14362). Certainly, if it is nature, traditional culture, or archaeology that you want, Peru has it. But look at the video and you will see an important, clear, and new message: Peru is a modern country ripe for investment. Here is what part of the script says: "This mythical land is today a great and thriving nation with a developing economy that is opening itself to the world… and the countless possibilities of applied techniques and technologies."

The enthusiastic reception of *la marca Perú* at the Berlin and New York events was matched at home when, in early May 2011, PromPerú introduced *la marca Perú* for domestic consumption by means of a hilarious 15-min television documentary (produced by Young and Rubicam) in which a busload of well-known Peruvian personalities from across the cultural spectrum—ambassadors as they are called—bring the best and most iconic of Peruvian popular culture to their surprised fictive compatriots in Peru, Nebraska, USA (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r_xBZcVEH1I). The goal of that trip to the US midwest—purportedly to awaken the inner Peruvian in small-town American residents—actually was intended to generate a strong sense of identification with and pride in Peru among the Peruvians back home, to build an expanded national identity and motivate the populace to support PromPerú's economic and tourism goals and ultimately the imagined community (Anderson 1996) of Peru itself. "Peru, Nebraska" was a sensation in Peru, garnering an immense viewing audience and widespread positive commentary across sectors following its premiere.

However, national identity—an amorphous, fraught idea—is not unproblematically appropriated by a state to improve the country's prospects for increased foreign investment and tourism. Nation-branding is an actual project requiring support from the populace. *La marca Perú,* although created by PromPerú, is intended to be a coproduction of the Peruvian people and their state. Indeed, the national campaign exhorts Peruvians to be domestic ambassadors of their country to each other.

In Peru, which has been characterized by pervasive negativity toward itself (resonant with Herzfeld's 2004 concept of cultural intimacy), *la marca Perú* has been wildly successful in generating massive public interest and enthusiasm. Whereas previously the official discourse of national identity was constructed around past glory (to wit, "Peru, Land of the Inkas"), at the heart of this recent *domestic* campaign is the presentation and valorization of *contemporary* Peruvian popular culture—in addition to the more recognized *patrimonio cultural* (cultural patrimony). The new Peru brand integrates the cultural heritage of imposing ancient sites with popular culture (extraordinary cuisine, music and dance, handicrafts, traditional highland people, *criollo* and Afro-Peruvian coastal populations, etc.), all represented by the new country logo (Fig. 8.4) and enfolded into its ideology.

La marca Perú has validated a strategic cluster of positive cultural ideas about what Peru and Peruvianess are. The nation-brand has generated a performative and embodied pride of self as a member of this imagined community of Peru. Peruvians of the proverbial "all walks of life" are materializing and embodying the Peru brand campaign. For instance, wearing polos, sweatshirts, and jackets with the brand logo

Fig. 8.6 Wearing the Peru brand logo is the rage among ordinary Peruvians. (Photographs: Helaine Silverman)

has become the rage (Fig. 8.6) and companies officially petition to use the logo of the nation-brand on the many kinds of goods they produce (see http://www.peru.info/solicitudes/public/reglamento.pdf).

PromPerú is actively breaking race, class, and gender barriers to enlist the entire nation in its domestic ambassadorial project, validating the popular as could be seen in a Peruvian TV program from July 2011 (unfortunately, no longer available on youtube). In it, the immediately recognizable red PromPerú bus has just returned

from Peru, Nebraska and is now traveling around Lima to promote the same values as it did in Nebraska. The reporter explains to her TV audience that "PromPerú has put the luxurious Mercedes Benz bus at the disposition of the Peruvians because we have the obligation to promote a *marca* that we have in our blood and heart. We're lucky to be Peruvian and to enjoy this and we have the obligation to share our Peru with everyone so that our country has no limits." The popular has become the basis of national growth. What is that which is now valued? Food of all the ethnicities, the *yapa* (the extra portion of food that street vendors give their clients), popular music, popular dance, sport, vernacular religious customs, hard work, and many other popular traditions, *as well as* the pre-Columbian heritage and the natural environment. All are Perú, Peruvianness, the national identity mosaic that is deliberately being promoted—most especially popular culture and the ordinary Peruvians who carry it. Popular culture is validated as Peruvian heritage, an inheritance to which all Peruvians have a right, indeed, an obligation, according to the exhortatory script.

"Empire of Hidden Treasures" (2012): The Second International Launch of la Marca Perú

A brilliant 3-min web trailer (a minimovie), "2032," was created by the McCann Erickson agency for the second international launch of *la marca Perú* (www.youtube.com/watch?v=G5we-yas2Ro). It went viral and with good reason. An original story is created in which we see a wealthy businessman in his futuristic office in the year 2032. He receives a package containing a flash drive. Curious, he plays it and sees a video filmed by himself 20 years earlier on his trip to Peru as a young man. The younger him shows all the wonderful experiences he had in Peru, ranging from archaeological discovery, to sport and ecological adventures, to cultural engagements with traditional Peruvian people. The elegant businessman watches and remembers. He then phones his wife, saying, "Darling, have you ever been to Peru?" The video ends with PromPerú's new tagline: "Whatever you need today is in Peru." And the country logo.

Also embedded in the middle of the trailer is the pitch to the global business community: "When the whole world said 'it can't be done' and the hopes of a country demonstrated that the world was wrong." But the overall theme of the trailer is personal experience, learning, and the way life should be lived, which only Peru can provide. The "Peru is a life-altering experience" message of "2032" underwrites the new "Empire of Hidden Treasures" tourism campaign. Although the campaign's title does not accord with the content of its print ads or the three additional web promos, the print ads are coherent and brilliant in their own right.

The real meaning-bearing tagline for "Empire of Hidden Treasures" is not that misleading title, but rather the subtitle: "Don't Watch The Movie, Live It For Real." *You* will have a deeply personal, emotional experience in Peru. And not only will

Fig. 8.7 Example of the movie theme script of ads for PromPerú's "Empires of Hidden Treasures" campaign. (Source: http://veilletourisme.ca/2013/01/07/3-campagnes-marketing-au-pays-du-septieme-art/)

you have that experience, *you* are totally in charge of your experience, as was the young man in "2032." The print ads are ingeniously designed like a movie poster and reference this genre, saying: "Produced and Directed by You; Created and Written by You; Costumes Designed by You; Art Direction by You; Edited by You; Soundtrack by You; Casting by You" (Fig. 8.7). Obviously, this is not a print ad campaign for group tours. "Empire of Hidden Treasures" is reminiscent of Julio Cortazar's 1963 novel, *Rayuela*, in which his characters play with the reader and offer multiple endings to the story. PromPerú offers the armchair tourist the opportunity to be a real tourist and create his or her own drama on the set of Peru with their own individual plot choices.

The three additional tourism promo videos on the Web, to which I referred above, are "The Beginning," "The Legacy," and a combination of the two with no logical segue between their abbreviated versions. "The Beginning" is a stunning (think Warner Brothers' 2004 *Troy*) but error-filled 2:33-min archaeological drama meant to entice the viewer to ancient sites (www.youtube.com/watch?v=XzMFpRp5pYo). I showed it to my University of Illinois tourism students and they were completely bewildered by it and unmotivated to go to Peru. Too much background knowledge about ancient Peru is required to appreciate it. (I am an archaeologist and I love it). "The Legacy" (2:24 min) pitches the great civilizations but only as one part of many more attractions (www.youtube.com/watch?v=7yKBwsN5ZlQ). "The Legacy" script invites us to "enjoy Peru on your next vacation" where these attractions are put on display for "entertainment." "The Legacy" is a direct appeal to upscale tourists who will "enjoy the highest level" of everything in Peru: comfort, cuisine, transportation, and hotels while seeing a "breathtaking landscape filled with magic and fantasy and the entertainment you can only find here—in Peru, Empire of Hid-

den Treasures. Don't watch the movie, live it for real." Affluent tourists can selectively consume the best, as presented by PromPerú. And only in Peru can you have these experiences, which require no knowledge of the country or concern with its structural realities.

Conclusions

The study of nation-brands engages interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary work on globalization; cultural politics and *realpolitik*; hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses of ideology; the creation and representation of national identity; the production of identity at the personal and community level; structural articulations of power; and the tourism, heritage and culture industries. Other important areas of nation-branding pertain to specialists in other fields such as its macro- and microeconomics of development, communication, marketing, and advertising. The academic study of nation-brands should be holistic, contextual, and historically informed. By this I mean that the political, ideological, economic, social, cultural, technological, and environmental milieux in which and with which the nation-brand functions need to be understood. No one work on nation-branding will address all its components. But the anthropological investigation of nation-branding can yield significant insight into a nation.

The task of a nation-brand is to sell a country and nation-branding does not come cheap. It requires a significant investment of financial and other resources. It is still too early to quantify the results of *la marca Perú* in terms of its goals of increased investment, economic development, export, and receptive tourism. But the nation-branding process is readily amenable to qualitative analysis, which is what I have undertaken in this chapter.

The evolution of PromPerú's marketing has been remarkable. Since 2003, PromPerú's sales pitch has moved from an object-oriented campaign focused on history and living culture (de la Flor 2000) to an emphasis on personal experience. PromPerú also has shifted from an exclusively outward-directed (foreign market) campaign to an integrated dual-track campaign that projects a positive image of Peru abroad and at home.

PromPerú deploys tourism as one of the pillars for growing investment in Peru, facilitating export of its products, and generating employment, revenue, and overall development. An increasingly exciting and innovative series of tourism campaigns have been launched. Their form and content respond to a complex array of domestic realities in Peru interlinked with Peru's insertion in the competitive neoliberal global framework and a savvy awareness of the role of social media in promoting tourism. In the most recent iteration of its tourism campaign, PromPerú has deployed its popular culture abroad to build a strong sense of identity with and support for the nation at home. This is intended to form the platform for further development of the country, thereby linking popular practice with public policy.

"Pack Your Six Senses" was object focused on the inert landscape of great ruins and past glory. PromPerú's trademark tagline, "Land of the Inkas," suggested an ancient country, not a dynamic one of the present with great potential in the future. "Live the Legend" and "Empire of Hidden Treasures" are emotion focused and premised on sensory experience (see Picard and Robinson 2012; also see Tolia-Kelly 2006). We see a shift in the campaigns from tourism conceived within the traditional parameters of cultural heritage tourism (e.g., Timothy and Boyd 2003) with its focus on that which the state defines as exploitable resources to ads that market an unscripted, preeminently personal experience that was targeted first at backpackers in "Live the Legend" and then upscale consumers in "Empire of Hidden Treasures."

A country's touristic self-promotion is the most direct, obvious window into its dominant national narrative of identity. Notwithstanding the changes indicated in this chapter, an unchanging aspect of PromPerú's advertising is that it conveys Peruvian dominant ideology: the past is alive in the present; cultural heritage provides contemporary Peru with continuity and meaning; history lives on in the Peruvian people; and indigenous people are happy peasants working the land and performing ceremonies as they have for centuries. Living culture is presented as Fabian's (2002) timeless other. However, the inclusion of popular culture in the nation-brand (*la marca Perú*) is a remarkable development, redressing historic patterns of inequality and disenfranchisement in Peru while being directed at the global market and international tourism, for *la marca Perú* explicitly places tourism in the context of modernization and globalization. Of note, too, is PromPerú's adoption of new technologies of communication.

Amazing things can happen when a nation's people are mobilized in support of the brand, when they affiliate themselves with the brand's message, when there is popular buy-in, when the brand taps into the prevailing zeitgeist, and when the brand becomes iconic. I have seen this in Peru with the popularity of *la marca Perú*. It is not just tourists who buy polos with the Perú logo. Peruvians are proudly wearing their nationality. And companies are eagerly branding their products as well. Nor is this phenomenon restricted to the tangible use of *la marca Perú.* In affluent homes where whiskey usually would be offered to guests, now it is fine pisco (a grape brandy that has been produced in Peru since Colonial times) that is consumed. Peruvian and especially "nouvelle Peruvian" food is now fashionable at upper middle class/upper class dinner parties, as are the restaurants of star chefs who prepare traditional and innovative *comida criolla.* It is now popular in Peru to be Peruvian. But, as I cautioned above, this sense of excitement and pride must be validated by actual tangible progress in the lower and middle classes who have embraced the message of *la marca Perú.* Time will tell if the nation-brand can be sustained domestically, at the popular level. Mere valorization of popular culture is not enough if other promises are not kept.

In the foreign market, popular culture has joined Peru's spectacular ancient civilizations, traditional peoples, and breathtaking scenery to create a unique, multifaceted and captivating image of the country—as intended. Tourism is booming.

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Chapter 9
Parodying Heritage Tourism

Richard W. Hallett

Sociolinguistics of Tourism

Linguistic studies of tourism are not entirely new. In his seminal book on the sociolinguistics of tourism, Graham M. S. Dann (1996, p. 2) claims, "tourism is grounded in discourse." Accordingly, he calls for researchers to examine the language employed to motivate potential tourists into becoming actual tourists (see also Thurlow and Jaworski 2010, p. 10.) However, noting the lack of sociological scholarship on tourism, John Urry (1995, p. 129) states, "There really is no sociology of travel." By extension, some linguists claim there is no sociolinguistics of travel as well while a handful of linguists have lamented the paucity of research on discourse and tourism (Pritchard and Jaworksi 2005). For example, Gavin Jack and Alison Phipps (2005, p. 6) write, "The fact that tourism is an intercultural activity, constructed within and through language, has been largely ignored in tourism research until very recently." As Phipps (2007, p. 1) observes, "Modern linguists ignore tourism in their research, with one or two exceptions making forays into the study of travel writing, and tourism scholars ignore the main medium of tourism—not language, but languages." Moreover, what little research has been done has been called into question; for example, "… many tourism researchers have utilized discourse analysis in an eclectic and unsophisticated fashion" (Hannam and Knox 2005, p. 23). Nonetheless, a few linguists have begun to provide sophisticated discourse analyses of tourism materials (see, e.g., Whalen 1998; Mühlhäusler and Peace 2001; Thurlow et al. 2005; Aiello and Thurlow 2006; Ferreira 2007; Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger 2010; Thurlow and Jaworski 2010).

Starting with Paul Fussell's (1987, p. 631) statement that "[t]ourism requires that you see conventional things, and that you see them in a conventional way," this chapter provides a discourse analysis of three parodic travel guide books: Cilauro

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et al.'s (2003) *Molvanîa: A Land Untouched by Modern Dentistry*, Cilauro et al.'s (2004) *Phaic Tăn: Sunstroke on a Shoestring*, and Cilauro et al.'s (2006) *San Sombrèro: A Land of Carnivals, Cocktails and Coups*. Richard W. Hallett and Judith Kaplan-Weinger (2010) have analyzed the websites associated with these parodies, but this chapter specifically focuses on the parodies of heritage tourism that these fictitious guides provide. In doing so, this chapter argues that the discourse of heritage tourism has become so stylized and genre specific that it can serve as the source of a parody.

Parody

As an established genre, guidebooks are subject to parody (Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger 2010, p. 101; see also Nilsen and Nilsen 2000). Parody, which Seymour Chatman (2001, p. 28) defines as a "subspecies of satire," questions social functions of a genre while employing appropriate conventions to that genre (Bex 1996, p. 226). According to Tony Bex (1996, p. 235), parodic writing is "a form of subversive activity in that it challenges the conventional relationships that are supposed to exist between form and function." The function of a parody is to highlight hegemonic discourse; "postmodernist parody is a value-problematizing, denaturalizing form of acknowledging the history (and through irony, the politics) of representations" (Hutcheon 1989, p. 94). Therefore, parody is, arguably, a form of intertexual reference, the success of which lies in the social significance of the original text. According to Mikhail Bakhtin:

> In order to be authentic and productive, parody must be precisely a parodic *stylization*, that is, it must re-create the parodied language as an authentic whole, giving it its due as a language possessing its own internal logic and one capable of revealing its own world inextricably bound up with the parodied language. (Bakhtin 1981, pp. 363–364)

If, as Fussell implies, tourism literature is so hegemonic as to prescribe an experience for the consumer, it is subject to parody, and thus further inviting for sociolinguistic inquiry. There exists a dearth of studies on the use of parody in tourism materials. James Buzard (1993, p. 7) notes its use in "anti-tourist rhetoric." In a similar vein, Dann (1996, p. 181) states, "From abhorrence of cultural practices of the Other, it is but a short step to the explicit denigration of all locals, a familiar enough theme in travel writing, but somehow made more acceptable by the interjection of patronizing humour." As aforementioned, Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger (2010) provide a discourse analysis of three parodic travel guides: *Molvanîa: A Land Untouched by Modern Dentistry*, *Phaic Tăn: Sunstroke on a Shoestring*, and *San Sombrèro: A Land of Carnivals, Cocktails and Coups*. These humorous guides parody guidebooks for Eastern European, Southeast Asian, and Central American countries, respectively.

Heritage Tourism and Guidebooks

Though scant research has been conducted on parody in tourism discourse, much more research on the discourse of heritage tourism, which John B. Allcock (1995, p. 101) deems "an inherently political discourse, which by ordering the past orders also the present," has been done. Important in any discussion of heritage tourism and its discursive style, is the social construction of what counts as heritage for a given destination; "To designate any object, practice or idea as a component of heritage (or equally to *exclude* any item from this designation) is to participate in the social construction of a reality which is *contested*" (Allcock 1995, p. 101). For Singh (2008, p. 149), heritage gives a locale a cultural identity "without which it is a nameless and faceless identity." The promotion of heritage in tourism is, by its very definition, the promotion of the past, a fact that leads Benedict Anderson and others to ask: "But why do nations celebrate their hoariness, not their astonishing youth?" (Anderson 1986, p. 659).

Rather than focus on why tourism is so often promoted through heritage, this chapter focuses on how language is used in the promotion and parody of heritage tourism. Obviously, linguistic elements play a crucial role in this process of identity construction; for example, Charlotte M. Echtner (2002, p. 417) explains that adjectives and adverbs "create *atmosphere* by describing the destination, hosts and tourists in a certain way—for example, the 'ancient' temple, the 'stunning' mountains, the 'exciting' city, the 'simple' people, the 'adventurous' visitor, etc." Thus, the study of the language(s) of heritage tourism helps scholars understand the linguistic conventions used to lure people to various places. The examination of the parody of heritage tourism establishes the extent to which such linguistic conventions are canonized. An obvious starting point for analysis of canonical language of heritage tourism is the tourist guidebook.

According to David Gilbert (1999, p. 283), "Guidebooks must be seen as examples of transcultural texts: as writings which help to establish popular understandings of the meanings of other cultures" (see also Cronin 2000; Laderman 2002; Peel et al. 2012). Thurlow and Jaworski sum up the importance of guide books in tourism discourse in the following way:

> Perhaps the most widely recognized example of a touristic textual genre—or "discourse on the move"—the travel guidebook is in itself an iconic, genre-defining feature of tourism… guidebooks have long since usurped the importance of the local, mother-tongue guide or the commercial tour guide. (Thurlow and Jaworski 2010, p. 192)

Parody solidifies the linguistic norms for touristic discourse. To that end, Thurlow and Jaworski mention the Molvanîa parody by name as evidence of the established genre of guide books:

> The guidebook still constitutes one of the most established and recognizable of tourism genres. Its distinctiveness is, for example, evidenced by spoof publications such as Molvania: A Land Untouched by Modern Dentistry—A Jetlag Travel Guide (Cilauro et al. 2004) that premise their intended humour precisely on widespread familiarity with the standardized format and style of commercial guidebooks. (Thurlow and Jaworski 2010, p. 193)

This chapter expands on Thurlow and Jaworski's (2010) claim as well as Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger's (2010) previous research on the Jetlag series by providing a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of the parody of heritage tourism found in the guide books for the fictitious nations of Molvanîa, Phaic Tăn, and San Sombrèro.

Methodology

As previously stated, this chapter employs CDA to analyze the parody of heritage tourism in the Jetlag Travel Guide series. The basic underlying premise of CDA is that a power structure exists in modern societies; CDA attempts to illuminate that structure (Bloomaert and Bulcaen 2000).

For Norman Fairclough (1999, p. 79), CDA provides a framework for linking texts and social practices to form the perspective of an *order of discourse*, which consists "of discourses and genres in particular relationships with each other, but with an orientation to shifts in boundaries within and between orders of discourse as part of social and cultural change." For Ruth Wodak, Rudolf de Cillia, Martin Reisigl, and Karin Liebhart:

> [CDA] assumes a dialectal relationship between particular discursive acts and the situations, institutions and social structures in which they are embedded: the situational, institutional and social contexts shape and affect discourse, and, in turn, discourses influence social and political reality. In other words, discourse constitutes social practice and is at the same time constituted by it. (Wodak et al. 1999, p. 8; see also Bloomaert 2001)

To date most work in CDA has examined discourses commonly seen as contentious and/or controversial in some way. Jan Bloomaert and Chris Bulcaen (2000) list ten preferred topics in CDA: political discourse, ideology, racism, economic discourse, advertisement and promotional culture, media language, gender, institutional discourse, education, and literacy. Nonetheless, sociolinguists have successfully applied CDA to the study of tourism discourse as tourism texts also result from social practice that is concomitantly constituted by the discourse of tourism. For example, Anastasia G. Stamou and Stephanie Paraskevopoulos (2004) use CDA to examine the discourse of ecotourism in Greece, Thurlow and Jaworski (2006) provide a CDA of 46 frequent-flyer programs and related business-class services, and Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger (2010) employ a CDA framework to examine the language of tourism websites.

In contrast to the analysis presented in Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger (2010), all of the examples presented in this chapter come from the print versions of the three Jetlag Travel Guides. Specifically, the "history" sections from each book were analyzed and, where appropriate, particular mentions of what might be viewed as references to the "heritage" of a given locale were selected for analysis.

Analysis

As established above, the writing in guidebooks constitutes a specific genre (see Dann 1996; Gilbert 1999; Laderman 2002; Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger 2010; Thurlow and Jaworski 2010; Peel et al. 2012, *inter alia*) An informal, impressionistic examination of nonparodic guidebooks supports this claim. One typical discursive feature of guidebooks in general is the often extensive sections on the history of a given destination. For example, the eighth edition of the Lonely Planet guidebook to Myanmar (Burma) offers 16 pages of historical background, including information such as the following:

> In 1752 the Mon took Inwa, but in the same year Alaungpaya came to power in Shwebo, 80 km north of Inwa, and spent the next eight years rushing back and forth across Myanmar—conquering, defeating and destroying all who opposed him. He was the founder of the last Burmese dynasty and it was his near-invincibility that later deluded the Burmese into thinking they could resist the British. (Martin et al. 2002, p. 15)

Even the small guide to Aruba published by Fodor's offers the following historical claim in a section titled "Snapshot of Aruba":

> Due to their lack of gold or other useful resources, the Spanish referred to Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao as "Islas Inutiles" or "useless islands." In 1513 the Spanish exported most of Aruba's native population to nearby Hispaniola (today's Dominican Republic and Haiti) to work in silver mines there. Some of the native people were brought back to the island in 1527, and others escaped to the mainland. (O'Reilly Ramesar 2010, p. 21)

With the references to delusion and uselessness, both of these examples evidence what Laderman (2002) refers to as *doctrinal truths*; "[a]nalyses in Western guidebooks reflect their construction by authors and editors who draw on original scholarship subscribing to disciplinary paradigms" (Laderman 2002, p. 89). Such terms are evidence of Western paternalism, and serve to further position the described culture as an *Other* (see also Edensor 2002). Whether locally produced guidebooks would chose the same touristic rhetoric remains to be studied in depth.

The presentation of history or heritage discourse of (Western) guidebooks is the subject for parody in the Jetlag Travel Guide series. The following examples from the guidebook for San Sombrèro present the (pre-)history of San Abandonio and Aquazura, respectively:

> The earliest evidence of human **occupation** in San Abandonio comes in the form of a series of hollowed-out, **upright stone blocks**…, or 'menhirs', dotted across the treeless central plains at intervals of about a mile. Dating from the Neolithic period (4000–2400 BC), these structures were originally thought to have religious or **astronomical significance**, however, the scientists now believe them to represent one of the largest continuous networks of public **urinals** ever erected. (Cilauro et al. 2006, p. 146)
>
> The earliest signs of human **habitation** around Aquazura date from about 6000 BC, in the form of simple **pottery**. These relics are quite crude (literally—most of the specimens found have been ceramic penises) and are believed to belong to the Tz'xuls people, a **primitive** tribe of coastal dwellers who survive by eating shells and driftwood. (Cilauro et al. 2006, p. 170)

Various words in the guidebooks for Molvanîa, Phaic Tăn, and San Sombrèro are presented in boldface type for no apparent reason; i.e., their importance is never explained in the books. Mainstream tourism guides use boldface to highlight important local landmarks and cultural elements, as in "[f]arther west, towards Mahazedi Paya, you can visit a **woodcarving workshop**" (Martin et al. 2002, p. 209). In the above San Sombrèran examples, the humor is unsophisticated focusing on the speculative use of the original *menhirs* and the polysemous nature of the English term "crude," that is either constructed in a rudimentary way, as one might imagine pottery produced in 6000 BC to be, or unrefined, as in art depicting male genitalia.

The following example from the guidebook for Molvanîa presents the origin of the town of Dzrebo:

> Dzrebo was first discovered in AD 6 by the Roman centurion Callus who, while leading an expedition through the region, became bogged on the flat, swampy plains. After several fruitless weeks attempting to extricate himself from the mosquito-plagued, leech-infested, **stagnant wetlands**, Callus is said to have declared "this would make an ideal place for a village". Whilst historians have subsequently conjectured that he may have been speaking sarcastically, his comments were soon acted upon and a small town sprang up. (Cilauro et al. 2003, p. 110])

In terms of parody, the emphasis on the words "stagnant wetlands" draws attention to a feature that would be unlikely to be promoted in tourism, once again demonstrating the rigidity of the genre-specific conventions to be parodied. Even the name of the Roman centurion, "Callus," reminds the Anglophone reader to think of a "callus," a hardened part of skin or soft tissue formed by friction; Dzrebo is the result of a callus. The description of Dzrebo, Molvanîa continues:

> During the Middle Ages the discovery of silver led to a minor boom that saw much of the city's great monasteries and cathedrals constructed, making Dzrebo a great centre of **Catholicism** throughout the east. When the silver mines finally closed during the 16th century most of the town turned to **prostitution**, but this failed to fully arrest Dzrebo's economic decline. In 1978 the municipality was officially recognized as the flattest city in Molvania. (Cilauro et al. 2003, p. 110)

What is interesting about the above continuation is the footnote that appears after the first mention of silver in the above paragraph: "*Locals proudly insist that the 30 pieces of silver given to Judas actually came from Dzrebo. This biblical link is celebrated each year on 25 April (St Traitor's Day)*" (Cilauro et al. 2003, p. 100). Here, the Catholic heritage of the town is parodied with a biblical allusion to the betrayal of Jesus Christ. The source of the humor lies in unlikelihood that hosts would be proud of the source of the money for a betrayal or that a town would have a "St Traitor's Day."

Religious heritage is also the source for parody in the guide to Phaic Tăn:

> By about the seventh century merchants and missionaries from India began to arrive. The merchants introduced new political and social values, along with art and architectural values from the west. The missionaries introduced bingo. Around this time the Tubom, a renegade sect of militant Buddhist crusaders from Burma, invaded the country and the people of Phaic Tan had non-violence forced upon them. (Cilauro et al. 2004, p. 18)

In the above example, the humor lies in the incongruity of what the legacy of the Indian merchants and missionaries is; one expects a guidebook to state that missionaries introduced political, social, and architectural values and not something as trivial as bingo. One could also argue that the reference to bingo might also be a stereotype of an activity associated with some churches. The humorous use of incongruity continues in the idea of "militant Buddhist crusaders," as crusaders are historically associated with medieval Christians, and militancy with violence. Likewise, one of the precepts of Buddhism is abstention from harming living beings.

The following example contains more parody of Buddhist heritage in Phaic Tăn:

> **What Dha Hec** This massive temple is situated on the banks of the Chugalong River and features a grand gilded entrance hall full of religious art. The ceiling is quite striking—literally—as tiles tend to fall off without notice, and construction helmets are recommended. The **Inner Temple** which, due to a design flaw, is located outside the main building, houses one of the most revered holy images in Phaic Tan, the **Jade Buddha**. This magnificent statue is said to have been carved from a single piece of jade although it's a little hard to know as it was knocked over and shattered by a cleaner some 50 odd years ago. (Cilauro et al. 2004, p. 218)

Of particular interest here is not only the description of the "Jade Buddha" and its destruction but also the use of English puns in the text. In all three guidebooks place names, personal names, and terms from the "indigenous" languages are all based on English word play. In the above text, *What Dha Hec* references the phrase "what the heck," and the *Chugalong River* references the phrase "chug along." Other examples of personal name puns in the guide to Phaic Tăn include *King Mok Mai Shlong*, which sounds like "mock my schlong," the last word being a slang term for "penis" in English; *Prime Minister Tuph Nhut*, which sounds like "top nut"; *Princess Buk Phang*, which sounds like the English words "buck fang," who, as the guidebooks states, "despite years of orthodontic treatment and extensive cosmetic surgery, still shares her mother's striking looks" (Cilauro et al. 2004, p. 27); and *communist leader Colonel Kru Kut*, which sounds like the English term "crew cut," a type of short haircut associated with the military. This linguistic punning at through an exoticization of Southeast Asian languages goes beyond personal names, e.g., Phaic Tan's national emblem, the *Pihng Pohng*, which references "ping pong." One understands the reference to ping pong as it is described as "quite unusual—being the world's only hinged flag. While unconventional, it does make flag-folding ceremonies more efficient" (Cilauro et al. 2004, p. 25). Other examples of puns will be noted below.

In the guide to San Sombrèro, we find more parody of a religious heritage:

> In stark contrast to the grandeur of many of Nicotiño's religious buildings, this humble convent is small and **plainly decorated**. Still operating today, it is home to the Ursulites, the first order of catholic nuns to wear **high-heeled shoes**, in the belief that this form of **footwear** would take them closer to heaven. (Cilauro et al. 2006, p. 160)

The idea of nuns wearing high-heeled shoes is another instance of humor based on an incongruous image. The author of this chapter also wonders whether the justification for wearing high heels is a reference to an expression attributed to recording artist k.d. lang, i.e., "The higher the hair, the closer to God," as the justification for

the stereotypical "big hair" associated with some evangelical Christian women in the southern parts of the USA.

A tradition associated with Catholicism in some Latin countries, the *quinceañera*, is also found in the guide to San Sombrèro:

> A direct legacy of their Spanish-speaking heritage, *Las fiestas de quince* represents a special **birthday** party for 15-year-old girls. Parents will save money from the day their daughter is born in order to create a **memorable** occasion. It's the day on which she may openly begin her sexual life without societal recrimination or having to use the family car. The event is usually marked by mass during which the girl receives Holy Communion and her first cell phone. (Cilauro et al. 2006, p. 30)

Here, there is an incongruity between the religiosity of the event and getting "her first cell phone." Concomitantly, there is an incongruity between the rite of passage and openly beginning "her sexual life" at the age of 15. Nonetheless, such pairings of religion and sex are common in these parodic travel guides, as seen in the inclusion of "naked men" in the following description of a Molvanîan saint:

> St Cvorbcek is the locally born saint and protector of Jzerbo, and images of this heavily bearded figure can be seen throughout the city. She was born in 1398, a simple peasant girl, but soon developed a reputation as a devout mystic who would regularly fall into a deep trance and have visions, many of them involving naked men. Devotion to St Cvorbcek reached a peak early last century when a statue of her outside Jzerbo apparently began to weep. Thousands of believers braved the hazardous journey and high ticket prices to make a pilgrimage to this holy shrine, and numerous miracles were attributed to the saintly image. Crowd numbers dropped off in the 1980s when scientific investigations revealed that the statue's tears were triggered by a coin-operated pump but, even today, worshippers still visit this blessed monument. (Cilauro et al. 2003, p. 155)

In a similar vein, the heritage of the village of Sjerezo, Molvanîa includes an element of religion, sexual deviance, and ineptitude, all within the presentation of the importance of the Bishop of Lutenblag:

> The village of Sjerezo first came to prominence in the 9th century when the disgraced **Bishop of Lutenblag**, Karzj Wenlecze, was caught in a compromising position with a parishoner's mule and, as punishment, exiled to this western outpost for the term of his unnatural life. Bishop Wenlecze immediately set about attempting to unify and protect the town. Fearing attack from Turkish invaders, he commissioned his best artisans to build a **massive wall** around the entire city, 25 m high and 6 m thick. This task was soon completed, but for some reason they forgot to put in a **gate** and the residents of Sjerezo were cut off from the rest of Molvania for almost a year before a small entrance (known by locals as the 'katflaap') could be carved out. (Cilauro et al. 2003, p. 132)

In addition to the parody of Christian and Buddhist heritage, a parody of Santería is found in the guide to San Sombrèro:

> Santeria, or saint worship, has been deeply entrenched in San Sombrèran culture for 300 years. This **cult** emerged during the slave era when African religious practices were banned as 'pagan'; worshippers simply took their **tribal** gods and dressed them up as **traditional** Catholic figures. Hence, St. Peter has horns and a rather long trunk, while the 12 Apostles frequently appear as winged baboons. (Cilauro et al. 2006, p. 35)

Again, the humor is based in incongruity. It is difficult to imagine Christian saints and apostles having horns, trunks, or wings even though other religions have avatars with these features, and further difficult to imagine Catholic acceptance of their saints in tribal form.

As Echtner (2002, p. 420) notes: "The tourist is repeatedly reminded of the history behind these places and attention is firmly concentrated on the past." As in nonparodic guidebooks, there is a great emphasis on the past in the Jetlag Travel Guide series. The past is often presented as a series of mishaps and destruction, as seen in the following examples from the Molvanîan towns of Lutenblag and Sventranj:

> With the advent of more peaceful times, Lutenblag flourished as a city of merchants and craftsmen, becoming one of the great adult book printing centres of Europe. In fact, the world's first ever **pornographic lithograph** was published here in 1506. After a fire in 1654 much of the town was rebuilt in the baroque style. After another fire in 1951 it was rebuilt in concrete. (Cilauro et al. 2003, p. 46)
>
> One of the most important **commercial centres** in southern Molvania, the city of Sventranj was established in the 16th century as a trading post. Being a frontier town, a series of heavily-fortified **battlements** were built soon after to guard against possible Turkish attack from the south. Unfortunately, the Turks attacked from the east and the village was razed before extensive re-building during the 18th century saw it emerge as a major regional centre. (Cilauro et al. 2003, p. 65)

The parody of heritage in the above examples centers on the ineptitude of the Other to create beautiful architecture, as seen in the rebuilding of Lutenblag in concrete, or well-designed battlements, as seen in Sventranj. One can argue that the Western parody of these arguably non-Western (definitely peripheral) locations constructs an *Other* for the places to be visited. The heritage presented is bizarre, unreasonable, dull, stupid, etc.—all negative qualities easily ascribed to an Other and rarely to the Self. The heritage presented is to be mocked rather celebrated, as seen in the following example from the guidebook for Molvanîa:

> Lacking the stark natural beauty of villages to the west, Lublova still has much to offer the intrepid traveller prepared to negotiate the difficult journey across the barren plateau to this fascinating **frontier town**. Here you'll find yourself back in the Middle Ages, certainly in terms of transport and accommodation, surrounded by **old worlde** [sic] **charm** at every turn. Yes, parts of the modern city are less than attractive, with their jumble of factories and high-rise apartment blocks, but the funny thing about Lublova is that just when you're about to despair you'll come around a corner and see a church or hidden town square that will take your breath away. Speaking of pollution, the city authorities have gone to considerable lengths in their battle to improve Lublova's general **air quality**. To this end, diesel generators and coal stoves may now only be operated between the hours of 6 am and midnight. Despite these drastic measures the Old Town's face has been irreparably stained by emissions from the nearby steelworks in the outlying suburb of **Drabb**. (Cilauro et al. 2003, p. 99)

In the above example, not only is the past a source of humor but so is the present. Likewise, the following example from the guidebook for Molvanîa pokes fun at

the introduction of stability as well as "late-night shopping" by cruel members of a dynastic family:

> Inhabited at various times by a mix of Slovak, Croatian and Hungarian tribes, it was **Zjabdre I** (1609–1665), the first Duke of Bardjov, who realized that the only way to bring peace to his kingdom would be by uniting the various warring factions through marriage. To this end, he arranged for his half-Prussian son **Leostk** to marry the grand-daughter of Slovakian Emperor **Theuzdo** and his Budapest-born wife **Zzagma** in the hope they would produce an heir to unite the region. Instead, Zzagma poisoned her husband at the wedding feast and stole gifts before declaring war on the city. Internal conflicts continued to rage for decades before Bardjov fell under the control of the **Zvetmir dynasty**. Although at times cruel, this ruling family introduced stability to the region (as well as **late-night shopping**) and are still remembered with an annual holiday on which locals enjoy elaborate picnics, and municipal jails are thrown open. (Cilauro et al. 2003, p. 91)

The themes of royalty/aristocracy and historic incompetence are taken up again and again in the guides to Molvanîa and Phaic Tăn; the parody in San Sombrèro lacks a royal/aristocratic element. Even objects having belonged to the royals/aristocrats are subject to parody, as seen in the following example:

> The main attraction here is, of course, the **Molvanian Crown Jewels** and, despite the collection having been somewhat depleted over the years by Turkish raiders, Nazi troops and unscrupulous cleaning staff, there is still much to see. One of the most fascinating items on display is the *zmittenblag*, a fearsome, jagged sword used by palace officials from the early 14th century onwards for performing circumcisions and trimming hedges. (Cilauro et al. 2003, p. 116)

The description of the *zmittenblag* provides another incongruity, i.e., performing circumcisions and trimming hedges; one cannot easily imagine the same instrument being used for both.

From their general descriptions one surmises that Molvanîa, Phaic Tăn, and San Sombrèro represent three different Third World[1] countries. Heritage tourism in Third World nations often focuses on the colonial past (see Crick 1995; Echtner 2002; Timothy and Nyaupane 2009, *inter alia*). In the Jetlag Travel Guides, the colonizers, particularly the French and Spanish, are portrayed as the Other. In the following example from the guide for Phaic Tăn, the French are mocked in terms of their impact on Phaic Tănese heritage and the way in which they were finally expelled:

> The French then went on to rule for almost 200 years, and their legacy remains to this day in Phaic Tanese architecture, fashion and a 12% service charge throughout the hospitality industry. In 1797 a **mass uprising** led by Kundrup Phung, a young peasant farmer from the north, temporarily drove the colonial government out. (Cilauro et al. 2004, p. 21)
> On the evening of June 28, 1913, Kru Kut led an **uprising** that saw the government garrison stormed. 750 French soldiers were killed, many of them seriously, and the city was at last free from colonial rule. (Cilauro et al. 2004, p. 153)

[1] The designation "Third World" is controversial within tourism studies. The term is used here as it is still more common than Dallen J.Timothy and Gyan P. Nyaupane's (2009, p. 4) distinction of *more-developed countries (MDCs)* vs. *less-developed countries (LDCs)*, for example.

The Spanish colonizers are likewise mocked for their contributions to San Sombrèran heritage and the way in which they left the Central American country:

> With his remaining conquistadors, Diaz set about building a **settlement** on the lush shores of what is now known as Riscota Bay. Once again, the Spanish **settlers** were greeted with friendliness by indigenous tribes of the area, who gave them a rare form of **pink orchid**…. In return, the Spanish gave them a rare form of gonorrhea. (Cilauro et al. 2006, p. 20)
>
> In 1892, a **massive rally** on the foreshore in Cucaracha City saw 120,000 protestors assemble, calling for freedom of expression, universal suffrage and property rights. After **several hours** of drinking and eating, public toilets were added to their list of demands. The rally was addressed by **local author** Ingo Cadiz who decided to galvanize the crowd by reading them one of his **lengthy poems**. This recitation has the desired effect; the crowd united against Cadiz and threw him into the **harbour**. Fired up, they then continued on to Government House, over-running its now-depleted **defences** and taking control. (Cilauro et al. 2006, p. 25)

One final feature of the parody of heritage in all three guidebooks is that of local music. Once again, the musical styles, composers, musical instruments, and local musicians are all constructed as an exotic *Other*. The following example from the guidebook for Molvanîa offers information about a local composer:

> No trip to Sjerezo would be complete without a visit to the **grave** of local composer **Viktor Chezpak**… A child prodigy, he could play piano, violin, flute and cello by the age of 10. Mysteriously, this ability largely deserted him a few years later and by the age of 14 all he could manage was a few tunes on the harmonica. Despite such setbacks he continued writing and performing music, including the classic *Yoj Molva!*, a rite-of-passage **anthem** often sung at national gatherings. The massive marble mausoleum stands at the end of an avenue of silver birch trees and is unique, as much for its intricate architecture as for the fact that Chezpak is not actually yet dead. According to an inscription on the door the **cenotaph** was simply financed and constructed by local music lovers in anticipation of the long-awaited event. (Cilauro et al. 2003, p. 140)

The lack of musical talent in a local composer is also the subject of parody in the guide for Phaic Tăn:

> Interestingly, King Tralahng prides himself on being something of a musician and composer. In fact, the country's national anthem (the *Rong Ki*) was actually written by him and whenever it is played Phaic Tanese will immediately stand and respectfully place one hand over each ear. (Cilauro et al. 2004, p. 26)

Adding to the parody in the above example is yet another pun. The title of the national anthem, *Rong Ki*, references the English phrase "wrong key." The idea that this anthem is written in the wrong key is reinforced by the description of the locals' placing their hands over their ears when it is played.

In the guidebook for San Sombrèro, there is no such description of a popular yet untalented composer of local music. Instead, there is the following description of a local musical duo:

> One of the San Sombrèro's most enduring and well-known musical duos, Los Popolos, was formed in 1974 by brothers Pepi and Luis Valleta. Dedicated to traditional folk music, Los Popolos use a plethora of instruments including guitars, claves, guiro and, indeed, a plethora. Their music has often been described as "timeless", a reference to their frequent inability to maintain a beat. Over the decades Los Popolos have played for no fewer than 12

> different presidents and their rousing anthem "Atumba! Tre!" became the unofficial theme song for General Faruz Gustamo's 1997 military coup. At their farewell concert in May 2005 Los Popolos were awarded three standing ovations, one of them voluntary. (Cilauro et al. 2006, p. 48)

Not only is the duo's inability to keep time a source of humor but the use of the term "plethora" as a type of local musical instrument is also a source of humor. Claves and guiros are thus further exoticized. The parody of the exotic nature of certain instruments is likewise found in the following description of folk music in Phaic Tăn:

> Phaic Tanese folk music (*Twing-Twang*) employs string and bamboo instruments along with **metal cymbals**, and has for centuries been used in folk ceremonies, religious festivals and to extract confessions from **political prisoners**. The most commonly heard instrument is the *klangpaan*…, a saucer-shaped pewter bell generally beaten with a mallet, as is the player should he stray too far off the beat. Few words can describe the captivating, frenetic, thunderous, **rhythmic sounds** produced by a *klangpaan*. Certainly not "melodic" or "soothing". Imagine a monkey wrench striking a radiator, and then imagine that sound lasting for several hours. Originally designed as a **solo instrument**, the *klangpaan* is often accompanied by the sound of people rapidly moving away. Interestingly, there is no written music for the klangpaan, its repertoire having been passed down, like herpes, through oral transmission. (Cilauro et al. 2004, p. 54)

Puns once again play an important role in the parody: *Twing-Twang* references a stereotypical onomatopoetic representation of Southeast Asian music to Western ears, and *klangpaan* references the English words "clang" and "pan," as in the noise of clanging pans together. The parody further exoticizes local music.

Conclusion

Through the above CDA of the parody of heritage tourism found in the guide books for the fictitious nations of Molvanîa, Phaic Tăn, and San Sombrèro, this chapter establishes that not only does tourism has a discourse of its own but, more specifically, heritage tourism in guidebooks has a discourse of its own. Evidence of the existence of a guidebook heritage tourism discourse is found in the successful parodies of the Jetlag Travel Guide series; without an established genre, parody cannot exist (Bakhtin 1981; Bex 1996; Chatman 2001). The analysis presented here also supports the existence of a hegemonic discourse in heritage tourism writing.

The analysis presented here, however, can and should be substantiated with more work in the area. The above claims could be strengthened through the use of corpus linguistics, which can allow for the quantification of sociolinguistic data in a text by counting the number of appearances of certain words, phrases, and collocations (see Biber et al. 2004). The use of this methodology would allow for a less impressionistic account of the terms used both in guidebooks and parodies of them. For example, one could see which adjectives appear with which nouns most frequently in various texts. This methodology would not replace the nuances gained in a CDA approach but would, rather, enhance the final analysis; quantification itself gives no real insight into hidden power structures or hegemony.

Bloomaert (2001, p. 28) states: "We should be looking at how the linguistic generates the economic, social, political, as well as how the economic, social and political generate the linguistic." Perhaps a way to examine the relationship of the linguistic, economic, social, and political in tourism is through nexus analysis, "a form of ethnography that takes social action as the theoretical center of study, not any *a priori* social group, class, tribe, or culture" (Scollon and Scollon 2004, p. 13). The CDA approach to the discourse of heritage tourism in guidebooks and their parodies would be complemented by a nexus analysis; in Scollon and Scollon's (2004, p. 8) words:

> A nexus analysis entails not only a close, empirical examination of the moment under analysis but also an historical analysis of these trajectories or discourse cycles that intersect in that moment as well as an analysis of the anticipations that are opened up by the social actions taken in that moment.

Such an analysis could offer a better understanding of the multifaceted variables that constitute heritage tourism discourse and its parody.

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Chapter 10
Contemporizing Kensington: Popular Culture and the "Enchanted Palace" Exhibit

Julian Hartman, Caitlin Carson, Cele Otnes and Pauline Maclaran

Introduction

How can a heritage organization responsible for managing and delivering historic sites draw upon elements of popular culture to create compelling, contemporary experiences for tourists from around the world? In this chapter, we offer a case study of the "Enchanted Palace" exhibit, designed as a bridge between the typical walk-through experience at London's Kensington Palace in London's Hyde Park to one focusing on interactivity and delivering emotional resonance. For Historic Royal Palaces (HRP), the organization that maintains and manages five unoccupied palaces in and around London, it was described as the "most radical presentation project ever undertaken" (Marschner and Hill 2011, p. 3).

Our case study leverages primary archival materials from HRP, an interview with HRP Chief Executive Michael Day, reviews of the exhibit in traditional and interactive media, and field notes from a visit to the Enchanted Palace itself in April 2011. We demonstrate that while integrating popular culture to inform history may prove problematic for some visitors, it may also help organizations attract new audiences and achieve long-term goals. We offer a brief history of Kensington Palace (henceforth, Kensington) and then discuss the conceptualizations, strategies and tactics that infused "Enchanted."

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History

Nottingham House, Kensington's original core, was built between 1605 and 1620 by Sir George Coppin, a "businessman, politician, and minor landowner" (Impey 2003, pp. 13–14). William and Mary were unhappy at Whitehall Palace; central London's pollution aggravated William's asthma; and they deemed Hampton Court too far from the city (Impey 2003). So, William III and Mary II occupied Kensington. During their reign it was never really important to the royal court—likely because the couple was reticent to entertain (Brown and Kersting 1958). Nevertheless, Kensington required significant remodeling and expansion to suit their needs. So, Sir Christopher Wren, Surveyor of the King's Works, took control of the project. Improvements completed before Queen Mary's death included four new three-story pavilions, a new entrance, the Queen's Gallery, and a Guard Chamber (Historic Royal Palaces n.d.c, Kensington Palace 1689–1702). In 1695, William commissioned his last major addition—a King's Gallery connecting the two southern pavilions and enclosing a space now known as White Court. He died at Kensington in 1702 (Impey 2003).

Kensington's reputation slowly rose during Queen Anne's reign (1702–1707), but it also saw less royal use than before. She focused on improving its grounds, particularly the gardens, and added a summerhouse and a greenhouse/banquet hall, the orangery (Historic Royal Palaces n.d.d, Kensington Palace 1702–1714). Room interiors were improved for her and her consort Prince George.

London's urbanization also spurred George I's move to Kensington (Impey 2003). After a family quarrel in 1717 tarnished the royals' reputation among the aristocracy, he hosted events at the palace to regain popularity (Worsley 2010). In 1718, he commissioned a badly needed renovation, replacing what remained of Nottingham House with three staterooms. Yet, the ongoing renovations and George's dislike of court activities in general meant he used Kensington infrequently (Historic Royal Palaces n.d.e, Kensington Palace 1714–1727).

Kensington's heyday occurred during George II's reign. At his wife Queen Caroline's behest, in 1728 the grounds and gardens were significantly revamped. Kensington saw two distinct patterns of use during his reign. First, Caroline made it her principal home, and it "buzz[ed] with life and activity" (Brown and Kersting 1958, p. 23). After her death in 1737, the King held court there more frequently (Impey 2003).

In 1760, George III moved both his home and court to Buckingham Palace, reserving Kensington for his wife when they became estranged. By 1804, "Farmer George" was spending weekends at the more rural Windsor Castle, and Kensington's profile began a several-hundred year decline. It became a house for minor royals, such as Augustus, Duke of Sussex, Queen Victoria's fourth daughter Princess Louise, and George V's in-laws (Historic Royal Palaces 2010). Indeed, Edward VIII, who abdicated in favor of his younger brother Albert (George VI) so as to marry Wallis Simpson in 1936, had applied the term "aunt heap" to Kensington, reflecting the use of its "grace and favour" apartments as retirement locales for minor

royals (Alderson 2002). Kensington's public visibility has paralleled its privileging by royals, with highs and lows.

The only important resident in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was Princess Victoria, who lived there from her birth in 1819 until 1837. After her father the Duke of Kent died unexpectedly, the heir-apparent Victoria and her mother remained, virtually penniless, at Kensington (Historic Royal Palaces n.d.f, Kensington Palace 1760–1837). Her lonely childhood was relieved only by her main companions—her governess Louise Lehzen, her older sister Fedora (who married in 1828), and her childhood collection of 132 dolls (Impey 2003). Happily, though, she first met her cousin and future husband Prince Albert at Kensington when he visited at the behest of their uncle, King Leopold of Belgium.

In May 1837, 1 month after turning 18, Victoria became queen. Her first decree was to have her mother's bed removed from the bedroom they had shared; soon after, she moved the household to Buckingham Palace. Yet, Victoria retained an attachment to Kensington, and in 1899, after two years of renovation, opened it to the public (Worsley 2010). From 1912 to 1914, the state apartments housed the London Museum. Damaged by bombs in World War II, Kensington reopened in 1949, and 1 year later became home to the London Museum for 25 years (Historic Royal Palaces n.d.h, Up to the Present).

In 1960, Kensington saw increased interest when the newlywed jet-setters Princess Margaret and Antony Armstrong-Jones moved into "Apartment 1-A" (actually 20 rooms). Margaret lived there until her death in 2002 (Historic Royal Palaces 2010). Yet, Kensington's resurgence is almost solely attributable to Princess Diana, deemed by many to be the most glamorous woman of the twentieth century (Historic Royal Palaces n.d.h, Up to the Present). By 1988, with her marriage to Prince Charles crumbling, Diana was living mainly at Kensington, while Charles stayed at Highgrove (Smith 2012). Diana resided at Kensington until her death in Paris on August 31, 1997. The next day, floral bouquets began to appear in front of the south gate, and over several days, some one million arrangements accumulated to a depth of up to five feet. To accommodate approximately 136,000 mourners wanting to sign condolence books, the palace remained open for 24 h straight on September 6 (Historic Royal Palaces n.d.a, Diana).

In October 2013, the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge (aka: "Will and Kate") moved into the renovated Apt. 1A. This move has again drawn attention to the palace, and has elicited comparisons between Diana and Kate (Kay and Levy 2011). Yet, the couple's decision to make Kensington its London base has not been the only newsworthy event. In March 2012, the queen officially reopened the palace after HRP spearheaded a £ 12 million/$ 18 million refurbishment and restoration. Although it is occupied once again, HRP will continue to manage the part of the palace open to tourists. New exhibits focus on Queen Victoria's youth (Kennedy 2011), Princesses Diana and Margaret, and the early monarchs who had lived there (Historic Royal Palaces n.d.g, New Exhibitions). HRP also restored the palace gardens, and added a courtyard terrace and café (Historic Royal Palaces n.d.b, How we are transforming the palace), hoping to boost yearly visitors from 250,000 to 350,000 (Walker 2011).

HRP's decision to not close Kensington during the two-year renovation period afforded it the opportunity to create a liminal exhibit—one that could help it transform the touristic experience in a permanent, meaningful way—through staging an experience it called the "Enchanted Palace" exhibit (henceforth: Enchanted). In the rest of this chapter, we explore the ways it relied on aspects of popular culture to do so.

Goals and Themes

Enchanted served three purposes during its two–year existence. First—and quite practically—HRP sought to keep income flowing and provide financial stability for Kensington during the renovation. HRP Chief Executive Michael Day worried that if the palace closed down completely, it would have to reopen at a much-reduced price, or even for free, to attract visitors. Obviously, this scenario was not financially appealing. Second, Enchanted offered HRP the opportunity to reposition perceptions of Kensington as stately, quiet, and modest. Previously, its touristic experience had been passive and predictable (Day described it as "dreadful…all the significant moments in history were lost"). He saw the renovations "as an opportunity to experiment" with contemporizing the palace (Michael Day, interview by Cele Otnes, June 17, 2012). HRP's position was that Kensington's residents had not lived quiet nor stately lives, so why should the exhibit support that perception? HRP wanted to change people's perceptions of the palace, and saw the hiatus as an opportunity to do so while still attracting visitors: "We wanted to create an experience that was sensual, emotional, and social" (Marschner and Hill 2011, p. 19).

Through rebranding, HRP sought new audiences comprised of families and local community members. Day noted that HRP specifically wanted to capture the audience segment it called the "cool–rejecters" (Michael Day, interview by Cele Otnes, June 17, 2012), those who typically eschew touristic experiences based on three aspects—cost, location, and a dated atmosphere. Along with new types of customers, HRP wanted repeat visitors, and to appeal to learners and people of all ages.

Third, the exhibit aligned with HRP's mission of preserving Kensington's place within the cultural landscape. HRP's goal always seeks to maintain the majesty, pageantry, and grand traditions of its royal residences. Yet ironically, Enchanted does not align clearly with this goal, as we discuss below.

Finally, HRP sought to evoke and enhance its visitors' emotional engagement. The exhibit tried to enable visitors to share the loves, losses, jealousies, and joys felt by the seven princesses whose stories it told: Mary, Anne, Caroline, Charlotte, Victoria, Margaret, and Diana (Fig. 10.1). Day notes that when lecturing on museum experiences, he asks people:

> …to think of one fact…they can remember [from] reading a label or a graphic panel at museum or an historic site. And nothing ever sticks. And then I say, "Think of the most evocative stand-out experience in an historic site you've ever had." Almost always, it's some kind an emotional response to the space or the story, and it's very personal, and it will stick with people for years and years afterwards. (Michael Day, interview by Cele Otnes, June 17, 2012)

Fig. 10.1 Enchanted Palace poster. (Courtesy Cele Otnes)

Conceptualization and Core Texts

Kensington's long history meant HRP could have imbued its exhibit with myriad stories. But its goal was to create a powerful experience for visitors, so it chose to create a coherent theme around the tales of the princesses who had lived within the palace walls over the past four centuries. Each narrative was conceived to connect their histories with issues experienced by contemporary audiences, such as "the desire for love, the bitter end of friendship, willful rebellion, sweet marriages and sad ones, lonely childhoods, battles between youth and age, betrayal of trust, thirst for knowledge" (Marschner and Hill 2011, p. 21).

HRP's initial idea was to convert the palace into a fairy tale castle replete with archetypal stories of the princesses and their troubles, but in more of a "Brothers Grimm" manifestation than as a Disneyesque one. This idea developed into the Enchanted Palace exhibit (Marschner and Hill 2011). HRP chose WildWorks, an international theatrical company based in Cornwall, to collaborate in creating the exhibit, although at first "neither partner knew the exact destination, but both agreed on the direction of travel" (Marschner and Hill 2011, p. 16). WildWorks focuses on

site-specific theater events—that is, ones not produced for the stage but for unique sites such as quarries, harbors, and (after working with HRP) palaces.

WildWorks suggested two key guidelines for Enchanted. First, it should rely on the real stories that occurred in the royal residence. Second, the renovation itself should be incorporated into the exhibit, with the idea that the "vibration and disturbance were shaking the stories out of the walls of the palace with the dust, and that they were somehow running free in the State Apartments" (Marschner and Hill 2011, p. 18). The designers wanted to incorporate story telling throughout, along with navigation that could be either self-directed or social (e.g., with the assistance of staff). Visitors would wander mostly unguided through rooms dedicated to the princesses whose spirits lived within Kensington's walls. This would ensure that visitors could not be passive observers but would become involved in the performances.

To accomplish this goal, Day noted that HRP and WildWorks "drew up a list of things not to do in a palace—make a noise, fall asleep on the floor, sit on a throne, kiss, play ball games, go barefoot, and so on. We were determined to see how many of these we could accommodate" (Michael Day, interview by Cele Otnes, June 17, 2012). Breaking the stereotypes of palace museum patronage was key to the conceptual development of the exhibit.

One way Enchanted's conceptualization was made tangible and coherent was through the creation of key texts. In 2009, Mercedes Kemp of WildWorks penned a poem for each princess, which served as catalysts to communicate their tales through other key elements that could blend imagination with historical fact. In truth, however, the team privileged creating a modern space that could connect the audience to the princesses on an emotional, human level over any straightforward, fact-based presentation. As Kemp notes, "Fairytales are not works of fantasy but, rather, works of imagination. At the centre of each story there is a powerful image and a question: *what if?* The poems of the seven princesses at Kensington Palace started just like that" (Marschner and Hill 2011, p. 22). Each poem was included in a storybook that was placed in each of the "princess rooms."

Many of these women did not live "happily ever after," and Enchanted was deliberately designed to reflect and even highlight that fact. One collaborator notes:

> Imagining a line with Disney's *Cinderella* at one end and Tim Burton's *Sleepy Hollow* at the other, we decided we wanted to explore the darker end of the continuum, truer to both the original historical stories and the fairy-tale theme itself. 'Strange and beautiful…' were the two words that most closely summed up our aspirations for [the exhibit]. (Marschner and Hill 2011, p. 27)

Central texts were just the first elements used to communicate the essence of each narrative. As we discuss below, atmospherics, art, performances, and fashion played equally important roles. Furthermore, HRP wanted visitors to actively participate in and experience the exhibit at their own pace and in their direction. It eschewed rules of traditional displays and encouraged interactivity, helping to enhance visitors' curiosity while connecting the princesses' emotions to their own.

Atmospherics

Kensington's rooms were typically well lit for easy viewing, yet Enchanted featured darkened rooms to elicit different moods among its visitors. Windows were shut or tinted, with light directed toward key areas in the rooms so visitors could learn the stories. These settings created a strange, spooky atmosphere. In addition, sound effects typically conveyed a melancholy feeling to help evoke the princesses' own emotions.

The mysterious atmosphere extended beyond sensory aspects of the experience to the actual names of the rooms themselves. These included evocative labels such as the "Room of Beginnings," the "Room of Lost Childhood," the "Room of Palace Time," and the "Room of the World, World in a Room." These monikers both added to the mystique of the exhibit and adhered to the strategy of not revealing too much information but encouraging guests to discover the history themselves. Consider the emotional potential the name "Room of a Sleeping Princess" offers, when compared to a name such as "Victoria's Bedroom."

Art

At the WildWorks workshops in Cornwall, designers Bill Mitchell, Myriddian Wannell, and Sue Hill collaborated to fabricate the exhibit installations to HRP's exacting standards (Marschner and Hill 2011). Although these would differ from traditional museum elements, they still needed to communicate dignity and to project quality worthy of such a site. Most importantly, they had to adhere to a standard to ensure that the palace would incur no damage, enabling HRP to adhere to its overarching goal of preserving Kensington for posterity.

The art objects and installations in each room elicited emotions related to the princesses' tragedies. For example, in the "Room of Royal Sorrows" (Fig. 10.2)

Fig. 10.2 The Room of Royal sorrows. (Courtesy Steve Tanner)

Table 10.1 Art installations in the Enchanted Palace Exhibit. (Marschner and Hill 2011, pp. 38–39)

Room	Installation
Room of Beginnings	A guiding tree with branches pointing the way
Room of Royal Sorrows	A lachrymal of tear catchers; tags recording the last time visitors cried
Room of enlightenment	"Hats of the Divine Geometer," floating above busts of great thinkers
Seat of Power	The "Peoples Throne," broadcasting visitors' wishes for all in the room to hear
Room of Palace Time	A musical clock surrounded by a metallic "Dresses of the Colour of Time"
Room of the World, World in a Room	"A Dress of the World" and the "Cabinet of Curiosities"
Room of Dancing Princesses	A birch forest surrounding dresses representing Princess Margaret and Diana
Room of a Sleeping Princess	Life-size, exaggerated dolls and a chair
Rooms of Lost Childhood	Delicate toys that may not be touched
Gallery of War and Play	Toy soldiers and games of men and boys
Room of Royal Secrets	A shrine to Peter, the Wild Boy
Room of Fish and Beer	A display of domestic palace life
Room of the Quarrel	Broadcast of the last fight of Queen Anne and Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough
Gallery of Dancing Shadows	Shadows of princesses dancing on the ceiling

visitors saw a display of dozens of antique "tear catchers," decorative bottles used to capture falling tears during mourning. When the tears had evaporated from the bottles, the mourning period was over. A body representing both Queen Mary II and Queen Anne, who had failed to produce heirs to the throne, is represented by fabric suspended in the air. Visitors looking closely saw it was imprinted with rain falling down windows; even closer scrutiny revealed faint pictures of babies in wombs. Another room consisted of 18 empty chairs, representing Queen Anne's miscarriages and loss of children.

Engaging visitors in ways that exceeded presenting facts called for a plethora of art installations throughout the exhibit. These varied widely (some might say wildly) in their content and style, and were often designed in collaboration with fashion designers who created gowns for the princesses, which we discuss later. Yet, their common goal was to draw visitors into the inner lives of palace residents as imagined by the exhibits' creators. Table 10.1 summarizes the art installations included in the Enchanted Palace exhibit; we discuss a few in detail below.

Although confined in their daily lives, in their imaginations and dreams the princesses could be free. This concept was essential to the configuration of Princess Victoria's bedroom, which was transformed from a simple room into a wonderland where she could escape in her dreams. A bed piled high with mattresses watched over by a chair with absurdly elongated spindly legs accentuated the strangeness of

Fig. 10.3 A dress of the world. (Courtesy Steve Tanner)

the larger-than-life figures in the room. Designer Paul Costelloe created renditions of Victoria's dolls partially suspended by puppet strings and dressed in his take on nineteenth century fashion. The figures loomed over visitors and communicated the imposing, controlled world that encased the Princess, just as her mother had dominated her young life (Marschner and Hill 2011).

Likewise, the "Rooms of Lost Childhood," staged next to Victoria's bedroom, evoked the loneliness of a royal child who is "precious but not loved" (Marschner and Hill 2011, p. 40), through the sheer lack of inaccessibility and interactivity. These rooms featured toys that could not be played with, and unattainable and clearly unusable baby accessories trapped behind protective glass; in other words, trappings of a normal childhood but without its spirit.

Two major art installations graced the "Room of the World, World in a Room." Both reflected how the stories of regular people intertwine, in the same way as royal ones do. "The Dress of the World" (Fig. 10.3), created by Echo Morgan, is a white Georgian court dress with extremely wide panniers known as a mantua. It rested on a rolling cart, and the light glowing from within illuminated the figures and cutouts on its surface, projecting its stories outward into the room. The Cabinet of Curiosities, though outwardly plain and imposing, possesses a rich and vibrant inner life. Morgan also collaborated on the cabinet, describing it as "a modest king who keeps everything inside and the dress is the show-off queen who uses the world's color to decorate her beauty" (Marschner and Hill 2011, p. 56). The wardrobe opens to reveal artwork featuring the spiritual and emotional journeys of generations of women to London and contains articles from all over the world that reflect those journeys (Marschner and Hill 2011).

Performance

HRP wanted performance to be integral to the exhibit, and the team relied on both WildWorks' actors and palace employees to "incite curiosity, to point the way, to

tell the stories" (Marschner and Hill 2011, p. 11). To facilitate such interactivity, WildWorks trained employees to serve in one of two roles throughout the exhibit: Detectors and Explainers. Following through on the concept that the renovations were shaking the stories out of the palace, Detectors acted as servants who had lived in Kensington with the princesses. These servants were inspired by "Mrs. Elliot," a housekeeper whose portrait hangs in the Queen's Apartments. Detectors told visitors how they had always lived in the palace, and they were charged both with detecting changes within the rooms, and with sharing stories from the past. Bill Mitchell, WildWorks' Artistic Director, explained that Detectors "collect the things the construction vibration is shaking loose. They don't understand what's happening [and] constantly try to invent ways to hold time back, ceaselessly look[ing] for their beloved princesses" (Marschner and Hill 2011, p. 30). Visitors were supposed to perceive them as living extensions of the exhibit.

WildWorks also relied on HRP's Warders, staff who know all of the palace's stories, and who typically work behind the scenes. In the past, Warders could not always share knowledge with visitors who perused the palace via audio guides. Through rigorous workshops, WildWorks transformed Warders into storytellers known as Explainers, who then initiated conversations with visitors and answered questions about the exhibit.

Visitors also engaged in their own performances as well. In the "Room of Royal Sorrows," they wrote down the last time they had cried on small slips of paper and tied them to the guard rails, connecting them to Mary's sadness. (As the Appendix shows, not all visitors picked up on this option.) One art piece that literally trumpeted visitors' participation was a modern throne of red, blue, and gold, its back emblazoned with a brilliant sun, in the "Seat of Power" room. Visitors were encouraged to sit on it and voice their innermost desires, which would then be broadcast throughout the room.

Another example was the "Room of War and Play." Designed as a respite from the princess theme that dominated the exhibit, it provided visitors the opportunity to play with toy soldiers and military games as previous palace children had done, while hearing tales about William III's military campaigns. Interactivity also fostered community connections; on one entrance wall, HRP invited local children and teens to draw ideas of what a princess might dream of at night. This activity drew local residents to view the fruits of their children's labor.

Fashion

To further connect the princess' histories to contemporary audiences, HRP commissioned a dress for each princess to represent her life in the palace. Fashion designers collaborated with WildWorks' artists and Kensington's curators to understand the princesses' stories and craft a magnificent dress that captured the essence of each narrative. To inspire and stimulate ideas, HRP created "tantalizing dress names" to guide their conceptualization (Marschner and Hill 2011, p. 42).

For example, William Tempest created "A Dress for Dreaming of Freedom In," made from thousands of handcrafted origami cranes, to represent Princess Victoria. Her childhood was highly regulated; through her mother's Kensington system, "every cough, every piece of bread and butter consumed, every stamp of the tiny foot was under constant surveillance" (Williams 2009, p. 164). Tempest's dress drew on two sources to represents Victoria's wish to escape her mother's control and achieve her freedom. First, he incorporated the Japanese legend that says if a person folds 1000 origami cranes, he or she will be granted a long life, freedom, or recovery from illness. Second, he alluded to Victoria's wallpaper pattern, which had featured birds.

Vivienne Westwood created "A Dress for Rebellion" (Fig. 10.4) to reflect the life of Princess Charlotte, the only child of George IV and Caroline of Brunswick. Their marriage was very unhappy, and family arguments were a common feature of Charlotte's childhood. Separated from her mother and forced to live with her father, she became unruly and rebellious. Westwood's red silk taffeta dress repre-

Fig. 10.4 A dress for rebellion. (Courtesy Steve Tanner)

sents Princess Charlotte's rebellious attitude and eagerness to escape her childhood by marriage. Positioned at the top of the famous "King's Staircase," which depicted servants and courtiers who had lived in Kensington (Worsley 2010), the gown depicts Charlotte running down the stairs and away from the palace, toward her life with her husband.

Reactions

As Day's earlier quote averred, most visitors find it difficult to become passionate about museum exhibits; when prompted for an opinion about their experiences, they often provide vague and noncommittal responses. Yet, reactions to Enchanted were anything but bland or ambiguous. Day noted "the spectrum of responses was much greater than we had previously known. Much higher than the best we'd ever had, and much lower than the worst we'd ever had. And in numerical terms … most of it was at the positive spectrum. But of course, the criticisms always hurt more" (Michael Day, interview by Cele Otnes, June 17, 2012). Online reviews ranged from glowing five-star comments to expletive-laden diatribes—both representing unusually strong sentiments for visits to an old palace. But, as we hopefully have made clear, this exhibit was untraditional in every sense.

In that vein, the exhibit achieved its goal of inverting the traditional museum experience, and positive reactions to Enchanted reflected that fact. Those who spent time with the Explainers felt adequately provided with historical knowledge. One visitor noted, "We spent about two hours in there, chatting to the detectors and the other staff, who were friendly and endlessly informative about anything from the obstetric minutiae of Princess Charlotte's childbirth ordeal, to the military strategy behind the childhood games of the little Duke of Gloucester" (Trip Advisor n.d.). Even those disappointed with their experience admitted the staff was helpful and informative.

Likewise, travel sites advised potential visitors that Enchanted is truly wonderful "if one lets go of any preconceived ideas and just goes with the exhibit" (Time Out n.d.). One reviewer who thoroughly enjoyed the experience summed it up best: "If you're coming to KP to see the state rooms, don't bother. It's that simple" (Trip Advisor n.d.).

The saying "to make an omelet you have to break a few eggs" seemed germane to the thinking behind HRP and Wildworks; their version could be captured as "to create an exhibit like Enchanted, you have to upset a few people." And upset people it did. Angry customer reviews on the Web ranged from lambasting Enchanted as a children's exhibit to a blatant means for HRP to continue collecting during Kensington's renovations. Disappointed customers clearly had expected a traditional museum experience and were upset when they encountered what they perceived as an ill-conceived art project. Another visitor complained of the darkness, noting, "I can only assume [the Enchanted theme] is meant to appeal to children. However, I can easily see children being frightened by the… almost creepy vibe that the exhibit puts off" (Yelp, Kensington Palace).

Fig. 10.5 Princess Margaret and Diana. (Courtesy Steve Tanner)

Others, however, were quick to defend HRP on the charge that visitors had not been prepared for an unusual twist on a traditional palace perusal. Trip Advisor noted the absence of a traditional tour "is made very clear at the entrance to the palace, before you buy your tickets" (Trip Advisor n.d.). Furthermore, although WildWorks had originally thought keeping the untraditional nature of the exhibit a surprise would enhance the experience, HRP increasingly began to forewarn visitors to expect the unexpected. Day noted, "over the two-year life of Enchanted, we did much, much more context setting" (Michael Day, interview by Cele Otnes, June 17, 2012).

Still, many reviewers felt they were tricked into the experience. "At the end of the tour, I received a sticker for finding all of the princesses [sic] names! I realized this is the biggest tourist trap in London," one Canadian visitor complained (Yelp n.d.b, Enchanted Palace). Furthermore (and as is somewhat the case in our own visit; see Appendix), visitors did not always understand their roles, or the messages Enchanted's artists were trying to convey. One noted, "it's very geared towards your daughters; fantasizing the lives of princesses with only a few facts thrown in. They really try to play up the enchanted princess stereotype" (Yelp n.d.a, Kensington Palace) (Fig. 10.5). Ironically, this assessment was actually the direction the creators tried to de-deemphasize, in favor of darker aspects of the fairy tale.

Discussion

What role did popular culture play in the creation of Enchanted? First, the entire exhibit plays on an existing literary genre that has been kept alive in both more "innocent" form (e.g., classic "Disney" versions), but also in ways more emotionally evocative and challenging (e.g., the "Tim Burton" versions). Second, by incorporating art installations that featured common objects such as toy soldiers, dolls, origami cranes, and ballet shoes, Enchanted plays up the sometimes problematic postmodern notion of pastiche—using artistic representations to evoke other artistic efforts and symbols. Third, its most blatant popular-culture elements—namely, the

gowns created by popular British designers—evoke not only the traditional perceptions of princesses and their lavish lifestyles but serve as poignant and ironic pointers that even princesses in lavish gowns can endure pain and suffering. In short, for HRP and WildWorks, popular culture becomes a mechanism to make Enchanted accessible by incorporating new twists on the familiar. As we hope this chapter demonstrates, merging heritage and popular culture poses risks for heritage managers who must balance visitors' desire for an "authentic" historical experience with organizational objectives to create experiences that offer lasting impact. Yet, ultimately, Michael Day was proud of HRP's "organizational courage to be bold" in reshaping visitors' expectations in their visit to Kensington, and in reframing their expectations inasmuch as some of the spirit and artifacts of Enchanted remained after the palace reopened in 2012.

Appendix

Cele Otnes Field Notes, Enchanted Palace Exhibit Visit, March 29, 2011

Pauline [Maclaran] and I…got to Kensington about 11:45…We had to ask directions…because the first entrance was closed; sign said "due to construction." I knew something was up at the palace, but wasn't aware of the extent of the renovation/rebranding—turned out to be quite something, as the following attests! Things got interesting as we approached. Lots of signs assured visitors the palace was "still open." As these abated, signs and promotions for the "magical palace" took over; as well as one for a dog show at the Palace (which seemed bizarre!).

As we were almost to the entry, there was a hole in the fence where we could see workers digging gardens, and some fantasy-like images on posters promoting the exhibit, apparently named "Enchanted Palace," hinting that royal secrets would be revealed. We talked about the metaphors this evoked: Mardi Gras, Tim Burton, Alice in Wonderland…and also its feminist images. After leaving the foyer and ticket counter areas, photos were prohibited.

When we approached the entry hall to the exhibit, we learned we couldn't proceed until we listened to an explanation of what we were about to see. We were told the exhibit is about discovering the seven princesses who had lived in the palace over the last 300 years, and is meant to symbolize their stories. The "hostess" providing the orientation offered lots of information about the narratives in the palace. She took us through the map inside our guidebooks that was drawn almost childishly, like a treasure map. This graphic immediately made me realize this would not be like a traditional palace tour [i.e.; stodgy]…The "hostess" emphasized there would be people in livery (e.g., the uniforms of different palace servants) who could explain the rooms for us. Either she or the brochure (or both) used the term "Explainers" for these folks. There were others in period costumes, which we learned about later. The hostess described the palace during the Georgian and Tudor eras (1669–1760), the setting for many key stories and residents. She said the rooms on

our maps with the red crowns housed the more personal stories of the seven princesses, and that these stories were the common thread of the exhibition.

We walked up an empty stairwell painted peacock blue and arrived in a low-lit room. We commented on its haunted-house feel. It was called the "Room of Royal Sorrows." Off the bat, it was very bizarre, and not what one would expect in a palace exhibit. For example, blue light bulbs in the chandeliers produced little illumination; it was very shadowy and almost depressing. Also, the typical guard rope that restricts people from prohibited areas was laced with small tags (like price tags) where people had written their names and comments.

This room (as did many, we learned later) contained a bound notebook with a calligraphy-type poem that was eerie/mysterious/cryptic about the princess who had lived in the room. This one began: "There is a Maid of the Royal Tears/There is a Woman of the Royal Sorrows…." It went on for a few pages in similar form, but it was difficult to discern what it was really talking about. Later, we learn it was about Princess Mary losing a baby, but I think we had to get that from the guidebook and not from the poem.

Each "princess room" also contains a disembodied dress by a famous designer, each posed in a way a human form would be. In this room, the "princess" (dress) looks longingly in a mirror. The gown's placard identified the designer (I think this one was by Bruce Oldfield). Other key aspects of this room convey sorrow. We learn the glass bottles are "tear-catchers" to save people's tears when they are in mourning. Mary apparently had several miscarriages. The fabric on the bedposts looks decorative, but on closer inspection, actually features abstract fetuses.

Next, we walk into a wide gallery-type room with large busts of Sir Isaac Newton, Sir Francis Boyle (of Boyle's law), and another scientist (couldn't tell who). The ambience is still dark and mysterious. An Explainer is stationed behind an old wood writing desk with a hinged top. I don't know if we asked her a question, or if she just launched into her spiel with the statement "All scientists belonged to our queens." She talked about how Princess/Queen Caroline loved science and Isaac Newton, but that she (the Explainer) personally loved Boyle because he did thus and so. She was very friendly and obviously extremely well-trained. She said the dress in this room represents something "different from the scientists." I didn't quite understand that, and it didn't seem as effective as the dress portraying Mary in the previous room. She mentioned that the train on the dress was added to indicate that even after a queen's reign, "something always remains."

She opened the desk and whipped out laminated pictures of pieces of the British Royal Family Tree and explained how some were related to Queen Charlotte. At one point I wondered if we would be "trapped" by Explainers in every room, or if we could escape if we wanted, which happily turned out to be the case. In the end, the exhibit didn't feature that many rooms; clearly the organizers were aiming for quality of experience over quantity.

Pauline and I discussed how well trained the Explainers were with respect to the narratives they shared. She noted they seemed trained to inject personal angles into the stories (e.g., our Explainer had noted, "Queen Caroline—I loved her and I

hated her…because she was a strong woman, but also thought a man should reign and not a woman").

In the next room, a really long title of a poem was suspended from the ceiling—something written in the 1600s called "Epithalamium to a Princess." We learned it was to commemorate Princess Charlotte's wedding. Again, we still perceived the haunted house feel. We turned and saw a Vivienne Westwood dress poised atop a long staircase; it represented the miserable Princess Charlotte running through the palace and trying to escape.

We moved next into the "Gallery of War and Play." It was my favorite for a few reasons. First, I knew Mark [husband] would have loved it. Also, we engaged in some good role-play interaction with a "Detector," explained below. The room was a huge picture gallery with toy soldiers set up on fake hills and dales; there were seemingly tons on the floor, swarming like ants. In the middle was a full-size British officer's red uniform and regalia. Military cadences and music played in the background. We commented how it was like a piece of installation art.

Then a man came up to me in kind of a workman's outfit and said (which I LOVED), "Pardon me ma'am, if you're planning a naval campaign against the French over the weekend, I would not advise it." He pointed to a piece of weather equipment on the wall (he identified it; I forgot the name) and said it wasn't working, and wouldn't be a reliable indicator of the weather across the Channel. Pauling and I laughed at this, and I made a smart remark like, "Oh well, there go my plans to invade France." We wander away, and Pauline asks me what he was supposed to be. I say "no idea," and suggest we go back and ask him, which we do. He says he is a servant and a "Detector," and he's been here since the palace was built 330 odd years ago. He added, "When you're over 300 years old, it's not possible to remember everything". He said his job is to take measure of activities in the palace since the time of William of Orange, and to make sure the ambience is what it should be in order to please the court.

He and an Explainer hover around a table featuring games from the time of William III. These are military-strategy games; one features pieces that look like origami cranes. We don't ask about the rules (not really interested), but we are interested that they are there. Our Detector tells us the soldier installation on the floor is supposed to simulate William of Gloucester playing with his Uncle, William of Orange. He says he tells visitors from France to pretend they're from Switzerland because King William always seems to want to invade France (or vice versa; couldn't quite tell).

The next room features guard rails decorated with flowers, and poems piped through a speaker. It contains a cradle and seems to be a child's nursery; there didn't seem to be much going on in there. In fact, we thought we were in the "Room of the Quarrel," but that actually ended up being later. We had our "treasure map" mixed up (it was kind of hard to follow).

Pauline comments on the intertextuality of the whole experience, and I agree. We enter Victoria's bedroom, with five life-size figures that look like huge marionettes. We meet James the Explainer (quite friendly). He begins quite a long treatise about

how Victoria couldn't have any friends while growing up, because royal children could only play with royal children and there weren't any around. So she made dolls and they were her friends. These are represented as life-size to capture their importance to her. This was also the room where she was awakened to learn she had become Queen at 18. Once again, we commented on how the Explainer was excellent, beautifully trained, and courteous.

James tells us the exhibit will be over at the end of 2011. He noted the staff makes a big effort first thing in the morning to discuss whether visitors seem to understand what they are about to see. We talk about the edgy nature of the exhibit and he says, "It's a risk," but that it definitely is appealing more to younger adults and teenagers. He said the purpose is to awaken curiosity and spur visitors to go learn more about the monarchs. The Explainers are trained to know "the more obscure stories," but these tend to be very interesting.

We comment on the feminist aspect of the exhibit, because there is a lot about empowerment. James observes that at the same time, many of these women had to marry princes much older than they were, so it captures the tragedy and joys of womanhood. As a result, it's empowering and sobering at the same time—hard to pull off, and thus, intriguing.

We enter something that looks like a banquet hall, containing artifacts representing global connections and women. There is a tapestry made by a "children's centre" with threads running across it. James comes in; he also explains in this room. He tells us the cabinet containing the tapestry and dress "denotes the emotional and geographical journeys of women." He says the staff contributed some items; e.g., dresses and photos from their childhood. A "Stitches in Time" tapestry contains different countries quilted on and connected by pink ribbons.

Next is the "Room of New Beginnings." It contains two dresses in different glass cases—one (or both; unsure) represents Princess Margaret. There is a beautiful ball gown, but with red shoes (a bit unexpected). Pauline observes there is a very moralist series of books featuring red shoes that her grandmother used to read her. She thinks the shoes are in fact kind of sinister (note the intertextuality). In the case, the gown, red shoes and long white evening gloves are suspended with no body. The other case features a gown like the one Nicole Kidman wore to the Academy awards (more intertextuality), and also floating feathers.

The next room is a ballroom. It features the image of a woman dancing in shadow and projected on the ceiling. I assumed this is supposed to represent Princess Diana. I thought this was the only reference to Diana in the whole exhibit, which is very different from 2005, when her gowns were on display and there were lots of Diana postcards in the gift shop. We exit and head to the shop. Afterward, we then go to the Orangery for tea (four pages of same on the menu)! It was built in 1704 during Anne's reign, and is definitely part of the palace consumption experience. We wondered how Diana fans would view the exhibit. Pauline noted she thought it was a great way of "diluting Diana" by contextualizing her with the other six princesses, and marginalizing her in a subtle way.

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Chapter 11
Collecting London 2012: Exploring the Unofficial Legacy of the Olympic Games

Anna Woodham

Until you have been to an Olympic and Paralympic Games—you cannot imagine how big a deal pin badge collecting is (LOCOG 2009)

Introduction

According to the former president of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) Juan Antonio Samaranch, collecting [of Olympic Games memorabilia] can be considered as the "sport of the spectator" (British Library 2012). When it comes to an Olympic Games we know that spectators are not in short supply. With 11 million tickets purchased for the London 2012 Games (DCMS 2013) and an estimated 3.6 billion people internationally having watched coverage of the games (IOC 2012), the number of spectators of the games (and therefore potential collectors of Games memorabilia) marks the practice of collecting as a significant means of understanding the contribution of the games at an individual, societal, and cultural level.

This chapter presents my ethnographic fieldwork and qualitative investigations on the Olympic and Paralympic Games in London during which a veritable obsession with purchasing London 2012 memorabilia was observed. The London 2012 Olympic and Paralymic Games (hereon, London 2012) is used as a case study of collecting and commemoration. Pin badges are considered in particular as a window into the larger topic of materializing memory. Trading of pin badges at the Olympic Games has an established history, and being small, attractive, and relatively inexpensive, the practice of collecting and trading these items is a popular phenomenon which can reveal much about the stories and memories individuals connect with the games.

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The discussion that follows takes as a theoretical starting point the idea that objects are not superficial displays of consumerism, but rather that they connect us to the world and are "…companions to our emotional lives or…provocations to thought" (Turkle 2011, p. 5). To use the subtitle to Turkle's (2011) book, objects are "…things we think with." According to Muensterberger (1994), the practice of collecting allows for a slightly unsettling window into our own psychologies. Instead of viewing the mass produced stuff of the games as merely ephemeral artifacts destined to descend into Thompson's category of "rubbish" (1979), this chapter argues that multiple ethnographies surround the collecting and owning of Olympics memorabilia, and to quote Miller "…things make people just as much as people make things" (2010, p. 135). Pin badges have a broader appeal than may be gleaned from popular reporting around the subject, and display a variety of different uses. I suggest that we can view this "personal" legacy as opposed to "official" London 2012 legacy put forward by governments as an under-recognized and little understood way of understanding the rich and diverse impacts of mega events.

Olympic Legacies

Olympic legacy is an expression frequently heard about the games. Hiller (2003) points out that the term "legacy" is often used to describe only positive outcomes for the host city, rather than any unintended and potentially negative consequences of hosting the games. However, research elsewhere demonstrates that legacies of an Olympic Games are not always overwhelmingly positive (see, e.g., Mangan 2010 on Olympic venues deemed as "white elephants"). They can be viewed negatively such as the potential for displacement of homes and businesses (Powell and Marrero Guillamón 2012) although some criticism is accused of being based on anecdotal "shaky" evidence (Grix 2012, p. 4).

In English, "legacy" means a bequest or something "left over." Despite being a problematic concept "legacy" is seen as useful term by some because of its ability to bridge accounting narratives (How much did it cost and was it worth it?) and the more creative narratives based around the Olympic values (MacRury and Poynter 2009). MacAloon (2008) describing "legacy discourse" as increasingly part of the accumulated value or "brand" of the Olympic Movement. "Legacy" appeared in the UK's bid to host the London 2012 Games right from the start, and was considered an integral aspect of what made the London's bid distinctive and ambitious to the IOC (see MacRury and Poynter 2009). In the words of the popular BBC sports reporters Francis Keogh and Andrew Fraser, for London 2012 "legacy was the word" (Keogh and Fraser 2005). In the run up to the games, the UK government Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) published four legacy themes (see Table 11.1). These are the four areas that government was expecting to see a legacy resulting from hosting the Olympic and Paralympic Games.[1]

[1] This assessment of games impact is known as the London 2012 Metaevaluation, the outputs of which can be found at: https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/department-for-culture-media-sport/series/london-2012-meta-evaluation.

Table 11.1 The four legacy theme (Source: DCMS, 2011)

1	Sport—harnessing the UK's passion for sport to increase participation, particularly among young people, and encouraging the whole population to be more physically active
2	Economy—harnessing the UK's passion for sport to increase participation, particularly among young people, and encouraging the whole population to be more physically active
3	Community engagement—harnessing the UK's passion for sport to increase participation, particularly among young people, and encouraging the whole population to be more physically active
4	East London regeneration—ensuring that the 2012 games and the Olympic Park in particular become key drivers of regeneration in East London

What is notably missing from this legacy strategy is any reference to the intangible benefits or even community experiences of hosting the Olympic Games, with which this study is concerned. Indeed, host cities pay far less attention to the softer legacies of the Olympics than to the material domains. At an IOC symposium in Lausanne in 2002 entitled "The Legacy of the Olympic Games 1984–2000" Morgas et al. commented that there had been "… too little consideration given to the emotional legacy of the games, as to how a community deals with the aftermath of what for many was the most memorable event of their lives" (Morgas et al. 2003).

Although the IOC's official assessment of impact—"The Olympic Games Impact Study" (OGI) has 23 socio-cultural indicators, none adequately refers to these softer, emotional legacies (see UEL (2010). This chapter seeks to build on the work of Morgas et al. (2003), Cashman (2006), and more recently Gammon et al. (2013) to extend the exploration of the more intangible "unofficial legacies" with the hope that although we may not be able to quantify them in the same way as ticket sales, hotel occupancy, or numbers volunteering, we can start to recognize that Olympic legacies have nuanced cultural dimensions with the potential to be personally meaningful for a greater number of people.

Pin Badges and the Olympic Games

Arguably and at the most basic level, badges embody many of themes characteristic of discussions of popular culture by being mass produced examples of material culture. Studying pin badges inevitably also leads to a consideration of broader popular culture discourses such as the object's role in the dissemination of ideology and class distinctions. Take, for example, the use of Mao badges during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (Schrift and Pilkey 1996) or Martin's discussion of Trade Union badges (2002). The badge in its various forms has long been associated with communicating a political or social statement often connected with counter culture and antiestablishment movements. In an ironic association with high cultural forms, the badge also can be seen increasingly as an art medium and worn as an accessory

or piece of jewelry (Lucas 2007). However, the popularity of badges is thought in part to be due to practical reasons: their adaptability and relatively low production and sale costs allow for a wide appeal (Lucas 2007). My interest lies in considering the function of these mass produced items in terms of social practices, particularly, as outlined above, what the practice of collecting them can tell us about individual and group responses to large-scale public events.

Badges (although not necessarily the "pin badge" style) have been a feature of the modern Olympic Games since their inception in 1896. Although official descriptions of the evolution of this relationship are limited, Pecharich (1994) provides a useful and widely referenced summary of the development of this relationship in the run-up to the 1996 Atlanta Games (see LOCOG 2009; see websites such as insidethegames.biz and Londonpins.co.uk).

At the 1896 Olympic Games, badges were simple colored cardboard discs pinned to the lapels of judges, officials, and athletes and acting as official identification (Pecharich 1994). By the 1904 games in St Louis, badges were made of metal and by the 1908 London Games a variety of styles had been created to identify a wider range of affiliated groups including the Press, the IOC and the National Olympic Committees (NOCs) (Pecharich 1994). The 1912 Stockholm Games are considered as the first games where pin badges were created to be sold as souvenirs to the public, rather than as items issued exclusively to a participating group and Pecharich (1994)'s history describes Stockholm as the first time that the sale of pins was used to raise funds for the organizing committee. It is less certain when the practice of *trading* Olympic pin badges first occurred, although it is considered that in the early history of the modern Olympics the badges functioned as forms of accreditation and as such are unlikely to have been traded, as they were required in order to gain entry to the Olympic venues. There is an important distinction to make between trading and selling Olympic pin badges. Pin badge trading in the context of the Olympic Games does not involve purchasing pin badges from a seller, rather offering a badge or a collection of badges (depending on their perceived rarity or value) in exchange for a different pin badge or collection of pin badges that a trader has. Figure 11.1 shows a typical pin trading event.

Aside from the wider economic and political landscape, two main factors arguably affected the growth of pin badge trading: the creation of pin badge designs that were worn in addition to an official identification and the establishment of the Olympic Village, which occurred for the first time at the Paris Games in 1924. The creation of a dedicated space, the Olympic or athlete's village, also allowed for greater interaction between athletes and officials and the exchange of pin badges followed (Pecharich 1994).[2]

Other developments in the explosion of pin badge varieties came at the Winter Games in 1960 in Squaw Valley (US), with the first sponsor produced pin. It is also at this time that the commercial value of Olympics merchandise was recognized

[2] The Olympic village is still used today as a place of exchange, whether of merchandise or ideas, see, for example, the UK Department for Environment, food, and rural affairs (DEFRA) "One Planet Centre" set up in the Athlete's village during the London 2012 games.

Fig. 11.1 Pin traders at the Anniversary Games, London July 27, 2013. © Tom Gregory

by the organizing committees who started to sell manufacturing rights to private companies.

The Lake Placid Winter Games of 1980 are considered as the games where pin badge collecting and trading escalated towards the level of popularity currently seen (Pecharich 1994). Merchandise also was available to purchase in the run up to the games for the first time, which meant visitors could come to the games already equipped with pin badges to trade. The confined size of the village of Lake Placid (in New York State) meant that everyone mingled in the same spaces, boosting the opportunity for pin badge trades to take place.

By the Los Angeles Summer Games in 1984 there were around 17 million pin badges produced in 1300 different designs. Pin collecting also was extending beyond the 2 weeks of the games, with established pin collecting clubs organizing pin shows in the weeks and months after the games (Pecharich 1994). Coca-Cola established its on-going connection to pin badge trading at the 1988 Winter Games in

Calgary, Canada, by sponsoring the official Olympic Pin Trading Centers.[3] Pin trading centers were, from the outset, extremely popular, attracting over 10,000 people per day (LOCOG 2007). Pin trading centers are now an established and anticipated part of the Olympic Games experience. In London, the main trading centers were located in Hyde Park and the Olympic Park.

The geography of a city has the potential to impact on pin trading. For example, the dispersed location of the Winter Games in Albertville, France, was solved by Coca-Cola's creation of "Pin-Mobiles." These were two mobile pin trading vans which toured around the spread-out venues. Challenges to pin badge trading also occurred at the Barcelona Summer Games in 1992. As trading in the street was illegal, pin trading here was more spontaneous, taking place in cafes, restaurants, and other off-street locations (Pecharich 1994).

Since the 1996 Atlanta Games, pin trading has continued to be an enduring feature of the Olympic Games. The collecting of Olympics memorabilia is a practice which the IOC has awareness and appreciation of, as suggested by the existence of an IOC for Olympic Philately, Numismatic, and Memorabilia Commission. The practice appears to be welcomed as a way of promoting and sharing the Olympic values, as Gerhard Heiberg, chairman of the aforementioned commission, suggests: "The IOC recognizes that Olympic collecting is a means by which knowledge and understanding of the Olympic Movement can be widely communicated" (Heidberg in British Library, 2012, taken from Heidberg's Welcome address to the opening of the Olympex 2012: collecting the Olympic Games exhibition).

In a paper entitled "Olympic Collectibles, a Major Contributor to the Olympic Games" presented by Manfred Bergman at an IOC symposium in Lausanne, 2002, a case is built for the economic benefits of producing pin badges. The paper gives minimum collector's contributions for stamps, coins, and pin badges and suggests that pin badge production is a profitable market (Bergman 2002). The paper also mentions that records are kept by organizing committees monitoring the sales and production of pin badges and recommends overall that the IOC marketing department also should monitor pin programs (Bergman 2002). Clearly this suggests both the IOC and the organizing committees have an interest in developing and monitoring pin badge sales because of their revenue generating potential, but also as suggested in the quote by Heidberg above, because these small portable objects have ideological value for disseminating the ideas and values associated with Olympism. By examining LOCOG's guidance on pin collecting published before the 2012 games we can see the potential for pin badges to act as marketing tools for a variety of different causes beyond raising awareness of Olympic values, such as promoting national and cultural identity. LOCOG's reply to its own question "Why do people collect pins?" is the following:

- To celebrate their favorite sport, or something they love about the host country's history and culture
- To meet people around the world

[3] The date of this differs between sources. LOCOG (2007) suggests that the first official pin badge trading center was actually set up in 1984.

Table 11.2 Pin badge groups and themes. (Source: http://www.insidethegames.biz/collecting/info)

Groups	Themes
Commemorative/souvenir (usually on sale to public)	Logo
Media	Mascot
National Olympic Committee (NOC)	Countdown/milestone
National Paralympic Committees (NPC)	Handover (from one host city to another)
International Olympic Committee	Olympic venues
Sports federations/national governing bodies	Sport
Government including police and law enforcement	Ceremony
Partner/sponsor/corporate	Cultural
Officials/volunteers	Pictograms
Internal (for staff of the Organizing committee and VIPs)	Host city regions/areas
Bid city	Torch relay
	Torch bearer

- To make money; games pins have the potential to appreciate greatly in value
- As a souvenir of their time at the games. (LOCOG 2009, p. 2)

During London 2012, Honav, the licensed pin producer for the games, produced around 8 million pin badges, in 2012 retail designs (the designs on sale to the general public) and 650 bespoke corporate designs (designs commissioned by games sponsors and other organizations). Table 11.2 outlines the main groups commissioning pin badges and the common design themes.

Collecting Olympic Pins as a Cultural Practice: The Author as Collector

I was interested to find out the cultural significance of pin collecting, what motivated people to collect pins. The practice of collecting Olympic pin badges (and no doubt other forms of collecting) is popularly associated with obsessive behavior. The BBC news website, for example, published a story in the run-up to the games entitled "London 2012: Olympic pin badge collectors reveal addiction," where collectors were referred to as "pinheads" (Bushby 2012). Did collecting pin badges say something about the collectors themselves? How did they go about collecting them? What functions do the pins have for those who collect them? What drives pin badge collecting? Do the motivations for collecting pins align with the reasons given by LOCOG in the previous section of this paper? And is pin badge collecting associated with collecting other forms of Olympic memorabilia or memorabilia from other large-scale public events?

To answer these questions I conducted interviews and fieldwork with pin badge collectors after the games and collated information from a survey of pin badge collectors who used the website http://www.londonpins.co.uk. The survey received 71 responses from the UK, Europe, USA, Canada, and Australia. Before, during and after the London 2012 Games I was in contact with several different groups of pin

badge collectors and traders in different contexts, as groups of people working on the games and members of the public who collected and traded them. In addition, I was employed in the run-up to the 2012 games as a civil servant in the DCMS, the government department with overall responsibility for the coordination of the games.

I was given a London 2012 pin badge by my employer to mark the department's role in the games. Indeed, during my employment in DCMS I noticed that pin badges could be used in several interesting ways within this official context. In the past the department had been known colloquially as the "Ministry of Fun," perceived as a weak and unpopular department by critics (Hawkins 2013). The responsibility for overseeing the Olympic Games was a chance for the department to raise its profile across government and improve its public image. The giving of pin badges in this context was symbolic of this status and aspiring corporate identity. At the time I was given this first badge I was not employed in an area related to the Games so the gesture was one of figuratively involving all staff regardless of area of work, in a project that would be the department's main priority for several years to come. I, like others, wore this pin badge on my coat, although my memory is that after a while the number of people doing this seemed to diminish, the feeling being that it was a little too "corporate." There was also a wider lack of confidence in London's ability to host successful games, so perhaps not wanting to wear a London 2012 logo and therefore associate oneself with the games was an expression of this uncertainty. This raises the suggestion that monitoring the display of symbols connected to the games such as the wearing of pin badges could well be an important barometer of public opinion.

Closer to the games I moved into an Olympic-focused job. Wearing a London 2012 pin depicting the logo was more common across the team and became part of an unofficial uniform, particularly when meeting people from external organizations. During my time working on the games I received London 2012 badges on a number of other occasions in the run-up to the games. I was seconded to LOCOG for a short time and upon joining was given a small silver-colored logo pin at the end of the induction training. It was therefore symbolic of being an "official" member of staff working in the organizing committee. I remember being pleased to receive this pin, as were other coworkers. We appreciated the pin because of its perceived rarity in particular. Government staff who were not seconded to the LOCOG would not own this badge (unless they were able to acquire one unofficially), and so it was exclusive to the identity of a particular group. Within the organizations working on the games, pin badges had various levels of exclusivity and therefore desirability. The silver pin mentioned above was exclusive to an extent, but was still owned by a few thousand people. There existed a class of pin badge which took exclusivity to a different level. Honav, for example, was commissioned to make a small number of London 2012 badges of a penguin holding a pint of beer. This pin was limited to one group of LOCOG employees who socialized together in the pubs and bars around the Canary Wharf area of London, where LOCOG's headquarter was located.

I also received pins as gifts from coworkers. For example, when I worked on the sustainability legacy projects of the games a coworker gave me the pin badge

that had been produced to promote this aspect of the games. I appreciated the gift as again it was a fairly rare pin. I also was given a London 2012 logo pin with the design of a teapot to celebrate, in a tongue-in-cheek way, becoming a member of the team's tea club! It is worth nothing that, apart from a badge of the London 2012 logo, I did not wear any of the pins I collected and neither did the majority of my coworkers. However, this did not reduce their desirability and suggests that, although they were designed as badges, their value, for some did not lie in them functioning as badges. For the official organizations involved with the games and the staff working in these organizations, pin badges acted on one level as symbolic identity markers, to associate a person, a team, or a whole department with this vast project or an aspect of it. There also was awareness that the objects had a value and the potential to be desirable to collectors. For some they were treated as something to keep for the future, whether to release a monetary value at some later stage, or a potential symbolic value by associating their owner with the games.

Collecting Pin Badges: The Production–Consumption Interface

It was clear to Honav, the pin manufacturer, that the games sponsors had a good awareness of how pin badges could function to promote their business with different audience groups. The portability of pins was key, if a company can encourage people to wear a pin with your logo on it, it means that your brand is getting exposure to places and people it otherwise may not reach. Official games sponsors could commission pin badge designs and some companies used this as a way of engaging their own staff internally, much as described above at DCMS. One supermarket sponsor, for example, had an internal competition for a pin design which resulted in a pin worn by staff both on the checkout and behind the scenes. For the sponsors, pins functioned as a different way of conceptualizing and promoting the company's identity through association with the Olympic Games. Another company found that when they sent a pin badge to some customers along with a letter that required a response from them those who received a pin were more likely to respond than those who did not. This interesting use of material culture tells us that "stuff" clearly has power over us, as demonstrated here; stuff can influence our actions and behaviors.

In my research with pin traders and collectors, one of the first areas of exploration was to understand pin badge trading. As noted above, a pin badge "trade" does not involve purchasing a pin badge but swapping it for another pin badge, or sometimes more than one badge. It was interesting to discover that not all London 2012 pin badge collectors trade pin badges. When asked the question "Do you trade pin badges with other collectors," over one quarter of the users of the website http://www.londonpins.co.uk who took part in my research replied that they did not, and 33 % mentioned that they only traded pin badges sometimes. Therefore, it is important to note that if a person collects pin badges, it does not necessarily follow that they will also trade them. Trading pin badges can be daunting as the trader needs to

understand the principles of exchange in order to know whether the trade they have proposed is sensible. Not all pins are of equal value because some designs are produced in small edition sizes and others in large numbers, therefore to obtain a rare pin badge may require trading another rare pin or a collection of pins that together are deemed a good trade. My discussions with pin traders suggested that the more experienced traders are very aware that the practice can seem intimidating at first and try to encourage new traders rather than be dismissive of naïve trades they may be offered. Pin traders commented on the common "language" of pin trading which, once learnt, allowed them to go from one Olympic Games to another and quickly make friends with other traders, even though they may not actually share a common language. In this way, pins and the practices and rules surrounding the trading of them facilitate the creation of social bonds and connections.

There are fewer opportunities to trade pins than there are to purchase them, as trading usually takes place at an organized pin trading event such as the official trading centers. The opportunity to purchase pins is arguably more plentiful as they are commonly listed on Internet auction sites and online shops. A recent search of Ebay.co.uk, for example, using the term "London 2012 pin badge" returned 1754 results. A dedicated pin trader would resist purchasing pins, however they may resort to this if there is a pin they cannot find through trading. The fact that pin badge trading takes place without money changing hands can be a strange idea for some. Pin traders at the "Anniversary Games" held on the 1-year anniversary of London 2012 mentioned that it is common for members of the public to ask how much the pins cost to purchase. It is highly unusual to find a practice like this taking place as part of a large-scale public event that we associate with being highly commercialized such as the Olympic Games. At the time of the games, the practice was reported with some surprise as though the reporters had made a new anthropological discovery. *Guardian* journalist Esther Adderley (2012), for example, called it a "… curious but frenzied new barter economy." This reportage again confirms the idea that pin badge traders are seen as "other," taking part in practices of exchange that do not conform to the standard method of acquiring goods that we are used to.

The history of pin trading presented above demonstrates that the practice has a spatiality beyond the official pin trading centers, with popular areas within a host city also attracting pin traders. One trader mentioned that during the Athens Olympics in 2008, some traders set up along the streets of the busy tourist areas, requiring nothing more than a pavement and a piece of cloth on which to display their pins. A criticism of London 2012 was that the dispersed geography of the city and the venues did not lend itself to this more informal trading. The Olympics Act 2006 also prohibited street trading in the vicinity of all Olympic venues; therefore, pin trading was conducted around the Olympic park, although not involving the sale of goods in the traditional sense, as that would doubtless have been restricted. From discussions with pin traders who had been Games Makers (games volunteers), I learned that those whose job it had been to help control the movement of people around the immediate vicinity of Olympic venues and enthuse the crowds were often positioned up on high chairs, rather like an umpire at a tennis match. This meant that the keen pin badge trader had excellent views over the badges that people were

wearing as they moved around. Being made of shiny metal, pins stood out to the trained eye and the situation opened up more opportunities for pin trading. We will see later that the games volunteers as a group were immersed in collecting Olympics memorabilia generally.

My investigations confirmed that, for most respondents, collecting London 2012 pin badges was only one type of object they collected relating to the Olympics, for many their collections spread into other forms of Olympics memorabilia. Nearly half of the respondents collected objects related to other events, particularly previous Olympic Games, with some also collecting objects from the Queen's Diamond Jubilee. The fact that collecting pins from previous Olympic Games was mentioned confirms that this as an established Olympic tradition.

Interestingly, some respondents did not call the activity they were engaged in "collecting." Their reasoning was that they had not (initially at least) deliberately sought to acquire the badges. Rather, like myself, they had been given pin badges because they had taken part in activities or events where pins had been given free, such as volunteering at the games, working for the organizing committee and other organizations. Display, but not on their person, was an important activity for many of the group who exhibited some of their collection in their homes, with the most common method of display being in frames hung on the wall. Interestingly the home was not always the chosen site of display. One member kept his collection on display at a rifle club where he was a member so that other members could look at them. Again, we see status value attached to owning pins. Another respondent kept his collection in portable display cases which could be taken to schools and events at which he had been asked to speak about the collection.

Interestingly, practices of collections management that we might expect in museums were employed by the majority of the members who had some form of catalog record of their collection. For many, care of their collection through appropriate storage also was important. Stewart (1993) makes the distinction between objects that are souvenirs and those that form collections. Collections have boundaries, are often physically kept in spaces that define their limits such as we have in this example, the frame or the box. The collection represents classification rather than history and its purpose is forgetting rather than remembering because the assemblage of a collection, according to Stewart, wipes the slate clean; meaning is now created through the relationship between objects rather than the meaning of individual objects themselves. This understanding is present in many of the pin collections I viewed during my fieldwork. Pins were displayed thematically with sponsor pins next to other sponsor pins, sports pins next to other sports pins. However the pins, I believe, also fall into the category of souvenirs. When asked the question "Why do you collect London 2012 pins?" answers fell into two main categories. Some referred to the actual experience of collecting, such as one response that mentioned "the thrill of the hunt," another that by collecting pins it was like being a participant in the games (see also Dennis et al. 2013), another that it was a good way to meet people. The second category of answers was more narrative driven, pins provided a memory of involvement in the games, they helped commemorate and remember an experience. For example, the following responses: "Because London 2012 [was]

an amazing and historic event"; and "British history to hand down to children—[a] once in a lifetime event. [They] maybe valuable in future, although this is a secondary consideration." This second category recalls Stewart's description of souvenirs as "…by definition always incomplete" (1993 p. 136). By this she means that souvenirs always allude to something such as the Olympic Stadium or Buckingham Palace but can never define it entirely as there is something which the possessor must add, a narrative, a myth, and a meaning. This is why someone else's souvenirs never mean quite the same to another person. To demonstrate this further I asked the collectors to tell me about their favorite pin. The following are just a few of the responses:

> I like my media pins most as I want to become a journalist when I am older. I just like the media pins for that reason.
>
> The internal pins from the Olympic Delivery Authority depicting all the venues. These were among my first pins, and they remind me of the construction of the part and the anticipation of what was going to be.

Many of the responses were from people who had worked on the games, particularly Games Makers who linked their collection of pins and other memorabilia very strongly with a sense of nostalgia for their experience: "My Games Maker pin badges [have] memories of what I did during the games attached to them." As well as a uniform, a bag and other official items given out at the end of their training, Games Makers were given a bronze, silver, gold, and multicolored pin badge. Each one was given to them when they registered for their shifts at various stages throughout the games. In this way, pins were used as a reward to incentivize volunteers to return each day. Unlike any other group considered in this research the Games Makers also developed a culture of wearing their pins in a particular way as it became a common sight to see volunteers displaying their pins on the lanyard of their accreditation or pinned to the front flap of their official volunteer bags. As noted previously, for other collectors, and also, it should be said for some Games Makers as well, pin badges were not really items that you wore. However, it is with the Games Maker group that there was a more committed desire to display their pin badges, often not just one or two examples but many as Fig. 11.2 shows.

Rumor has it that LOCOG at first wanted to restrict the wearing of pin badges on Games Maker uniforms. The details about why this was are unknown; however, it is not hard to imagine that it may have subverted the image of a neat and tidy volunteer workforce. Despite any misgivings from the organizing committee, the practice persisted and it is through the display of pins in this very public way that a sense of personal enthusiasm and immersion in the Olympic experience was communicated to others. Games Makers wore their badges with pride, their display symbolically marking the wearer as having processed through the various stages of application, training and now experiencing the games themselves, rather like the display of pilgrim badges (see Houlihan 2000; Barker 1977; Blick 2007). As noted by Cashman (2006) for the Sydney Olympics, I think it is also the case with London 2012 that volunteers as a group played a significant role in keeping the Olympic

Fig. 11.2 A London 2012 volunteer (Games Maker) seated outside the ExCel Arena, London. Note the pin badges attached to her lanyard. (Image by Steve Bowbrick, downloaded from Creative Commons 2.0 website with public domain Attribution 2.0 Generic)

memory alive. Arguably, for the Games Makers in particular the material culture of the games plays a key role in facilitating this process of remembering.

Pin Badges and the Objectified Self

A number of pin badge collectors were interviewed in more depth. The following case study acts as a final example of the legacy of Olympics "stuff," particularly exploring why these things matter for people on a personal level. Figure 11.3 shows

Fig. 11.3 Mary with her pin badge collection © Tom Gregory

Mary with her small but highly personal pin badge collection, which is kept in an official London 2012 pin badge case. The case contains fabric "pages" to which the pin badges are attached and which can be turned like the leaves of a book. This particular collector described the significance of the ordering of the badges on each of these fabric pages. On each page were different pins, each having an association with each other, but not necessarily an association that anyone else would realize without explanation. Mary described the logic of the ordering of her badges to me—there were two pages of London Olympic games related pins, with a sense of chronological ordering starting with a pin that belonged to her grandmother who worked on the 1948 London Olympics, followed by a "back the bid" pin badge issued to promote London's bid to host the games. Another page contained Mary's own Games Maker pin badges. Interestingly, Mary had a page of pin badges from other Olympic Games and non-Olympic sporting competitions she had attended, most notably the Athens games of 2004 and the Commonwealth Games in Manchester in 2002. She explained that it was during their visit to Athens that her husband proposed to her. Mary likened her pin badge case to a photo album starting in 1948 with her grandmother's pin and working through to her own volunteering pins via Greece and Manchester. Interestingly, the journey was not finished, with several empty pages ready for the next pins.

This example supports almost perfectly Stewart's (1993) idea that there exists a category of souvenirs that function to describe individual experience. Typically, though, a souvenir of individual experience would be more ephemeral, such items as you would find collected in a scrapbook. What these objects do when gathered together in one place, as they are in this example, is to map the life history of an individual with its various rites of passage. Stewart suggests that this "…memento becomes emblematic of the worth of that life and of the individual's capacity to generate worthiness" (1993, p. 139). We should not overstate the meaning of Mary's pin badge collection in terms of defining Mary's identity. Nevertheless, I think we can say that it supports the retelling of this identity. Other authors have considered that this usage of objects as "external props" are a necessity for us in order to accurately remember past events and also help to give permanency to future hopes (Csikszentmihalyl 1993, p. 22). Csikszentmihalyl explores the different ways that objects help to objectify the self, emphasizing their role in maintaining the continuity of self. I think it is possible to read Mary's pin badge collection and the way it has been curated by her in these terms: the pins progress from the past, the last time London hosted an Olympic Games, through to the recent past and, with room to add more pins, there is the suggestion of the future as well.

"Trade a Pin, Make a Memory"

It seems fitting to end this discussion with the slogan that appeared inside the pin trading center in Hyde Park during London 2012, as I think it sums up one of the key ways that mass produced memorabilia of events like the Olympics is valued.

There are, as I have suggested, a number of different levels on which we can view the practice of collecting Olympics pin badges. For some it is about the economic value, although these were in a minority of those surveyed here. For others, it is about experience, the hunt for the pin badge that will complete a set, or for a particularly rare example. For yet another group it is the hobby of collecting and the social practices that go with this that are valued. However, for a large proportion of collectors the significance lies in the capacity for pin badges to memorialize experience and emotion. I argue that there is something in particular about the size, shape, variety, and materiality of pin badges that aids this function. I believe that their miniature size and potential to be kept near or on the body, the self, actually gives these items a deeper personal significance to act as symbolic extensions of that person. While I hope to have demonstrated that personal legacies of mega events are numerous and varied, we are still far from completely understanding the role that memory plays in the legacy of mega events. Does the personal significance invested in these items fade over time? Will the practice of collecting London 2012 pin badges change the farther away from the games we move? And as one of the respondents quoted here suggested: Can the memories contained by these objects actually be handed down to another generation and how do they become mediated and distilled during this process?

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Chapter 12
"Democratizing" Genealogy and Family Heritage Practices: The View from Urbana, Illinois

Noah Lenstra

Introduction

Historians have recently directed our attention to the development of American genealogy through the colonial period (Wulf 2012), antebellum period (Morgan 2010a), Gilded Age (Morgan 2010b), early twentieth century (Hering 2009) and into the age of genetics (Weil 2013). By the early twentieth century, twinned processes of commercialization and professionalization had led to a democratization of genealogical research among the upper middle classes (Weil 2013, pp. 143–179). However, this historical research leaves relatively unexplored the particular processes through which genealogical research became accessible and appealing to many Americans of diverse class and ethnic backgrounds in the second half of the twentieth century.

Ethnic heritage is at the heart of recent scholarship on genealogical research in popular culture. Paul Basu (2007), Catherine Nash (2008), and Katharina Schramm (2012) analyze genealogists of Scottish, Irish, and West African descent who traveled to the lands of their ancestors. Carla Almeida Santos and Grace Yan (2010) focus on the meaning of genealogical travel among visitors to a research library in the USA. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998), Mike Wallace (1996), and Joanne Maddern (2004) examine New York City's Ellis Island Immigration Museum as a site of genealogical tourism.

Another large research area focuses on genealogy in commercial, popular media, as exemplified in how genealogical practices are represented in television programs such as *Who Do You Think You Are*, Henry Louis Gates Jr.'s *African American Lives*, Alex Haley's *Roots*, and websites like *Ancestry.com*, *FindMyPast.co.uk*, and *FamilyTreeDNA.com* (Davison 2010; Fishbein 1983; Holdsworth 2011; Nightingale 2011; Nordgren 2010; Jacobson 2006).

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These two research foci leave unaddressed the more mundane, local, and everyday genealogical practices that reside at the heart of family heritage as a popular cultural phenomenon. Jeanette Edwards's (1998, 2009, 2012) of local genealogists in a postindustrial city in northern England thus offers a dramatically different perspective on this popular practice. She finds working-class genealogists using research to perform claims to the place in which they were "born and bred" and to contest claims to the area made by recent middle-class migrants. These practices receive support from local institutions.

> Like the small public libraries in this region of England … The Nat has had a new lease of life with the rising popularity of family history research. Visitors now come on a Thursday evening when the library and museum are open to the public to consult the back run of the local newspaper … to look at old photographs, books and maps, and to consult records that have been deposited at The Nat over many years. The new photo librarian is an avid 'family tree-er' (her words) and is delighted to help people with their research. She has designed and launched a web page which reports on her own research but also, significantly, and for the first time, promotes The Nat outside Alltown. (Edwards 2009, p. 8)

To be a genealogist, to do genealogy, requires sources of information. These sources do not emerge naturally, but rather come to exist as part of ever-evolving information infrastructures. Infrastructures do not exist on their own, but emerge out of, and in relation to, organized practices and existing social arrangements. Conceiving of information systems as infrastructures has become a key intellectual project in the interlinked fields of information science and science and technology studies. Leigh Star (1999) and Geoffrey Bowker (1994) developed the concept to demonstrate the importance of closely studying "boring things" (Star 1999, p. 377) such as classification systems. When infrastructures work well, they tend to disappear, becoming invisible to those that rely on them. Information infrastructure does not emerge in a particular time and space as a bounded object. Rather, infrastructures are ongoing social processes (Star 1999, p. 380) adapted, reconfigured, appropriated, and codesigned in relation to ever-changing local, national, and global trends. Understanding genealogical information infrastructure as situated social process constitutes the theoretical goal of this chapter.

Here I analyze the development of a local genealogical infrastructure from 1958 to 1978 at a small public library in Urbana, Illinois, in the US Midwest. This library is not known nationally for its genealogical services and thus is not a locus of tourism, unlike the library studied by Santos and Yan (2010). During this time period, the library's genealogical services were used almost exclusively by local citizens. Simultaneously, this local infrastructure connected in critical ways to national (and even international) infrastructures emerging from different directions. This infrastructure also emerged in relation to changing popular interests in the past, organized around changing gender, religious, place-based, racialized, and ethnic identities. By foregrounding infrastructure as an ongoing social process indissolubly connected to other social processes, I offer a new perspective on the "democratization" of genealogy and popular family heritage practices in the period following the World War II.

Local Context: Urbana, Illinois

The Urbana Public Library is embedded in its eponymous town. Between 1940 and 1980, Urbana (and its twin city Champaign) nearly tripled in size, growing from a combined population of approximately 35,000–95,000 (US Census Bureau Decennial Census 1940–1980). This enormous growth reflects the expansion of the University of Illinois, the local health sector and a nearby air force base. The African-American population also grew proportionally during this time period, from 6% in 1940 to 11% in 1980. In contrast, the rural-farm population in Champaign County decreased from approximately 16,000 to 5500.

Keiko Ikeda's (1998) ethnography of the 40th class reunion of a Champaign-Urbana high school class of 1942 helps us to locate these demographic facts in class-based social realities. She found "university kids" at the top of the social hierarchy, with further class divisions emerging from one's location in the area. Being a farm child led to being located lower in the local hierarchy. Within the cities themselves, those who lived in neighborhoods on the south side of town were seen as more elite, and those who lived on the north side were more working class. These class divisions contained within them racial divides. During this time period Champaign-Urbana was starkly segregated by race: virtually all African-Americans lived in a particular neighborhood known as the North End until the late 1960s (Lenstra 2011). However, both nationally and locally these class-based social realities were far from permanent (Ortner 2003). Ikeda provides the poignant narrative of "Hal," a member of the Champaign-Urbana high school class of 1942 who grew up poor and white on the north side of town, but who eventually made his way into the upper middle class, equaling the status of his affluent high school friend "Dirk," whose father taught at the University of Illinois.

The depression of the 1930s continued to perpetuate the class stratification of American society, so well portrayed in Hollywood films of the era, whether comedy or drama. Some members of this generation (Mannheim 1928) created a working-class front (Denning 1998). Others blamed themselves and their families for their inability to make it into (and to stay within) the middle classes (Frisch 1979). In the period of national affluence following the World War II those who sought middle-class success moved to the suburbs and enrolled in centers of higher education, such as in Urbana-Champaign (Cohen 2003; Gumprecht 2009). But growth in higher education also led to growth in the working classes as more and more manual laborers were needed to sustain construction and service industries in the area (Rothman 1984; Elazar 1970).

It is in this context that genealogical infrastructure emerged at the Urbana Free Library. This infrastructure grew out of library services dedicated to local heritage. On October 13, 1958, the library board gave Nelle Carpenter, a 57-years-old cataloger with a high school education and with no ties to the University of Illinois, responsibility for a new Archives Room located in the library's basement. She began work at the library in 1946. Although the head librarian at the time was reluctant

to hire someone without library training she recognized that trained librarians were scarce.

Prior to the emergence of the Archives Room, the library had haphazardly collected local heritage material. When Carpenter took control of this collection, it contained a heterogeneous assortment of artifacts, local histories, papers of local elites, and administrative records from the library. Carpenter dedicated herself to this material. When she retired in 1976, she was known as "one of the best storytellers around" for her management of what a newspaper called "Nelle's Archives Room."[1]

Despite the personal stamp that Carpenter left on the archives, a growing number of local genealogists challenged her authority over the space. In 1960, the archives began providing genealogical services through a partnership with the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR). The DAR is a patriotic group that requires members to prove the existence of an ancestor who contributed to American victory in the American Revolution. The local DAR chapter decided to take advantage of the new archives by moving its lineage books from the open stacks of the Champaign Public Library to the secure space in Urbana. Almost immediately, tensions flared around the question of who controlled the archives. These tensions had class dimensions. Carpenter had working-class origins in contrast to the members of the DAR elite hereditary society. The DAR members felt they had the privilege to enter the archives whenever they wished, but the library board insisted that access be made available only during the room's limited hours.

Tensions between the Daughters and the library morphed into a general struggle over the identity of the archives. When a wealthy local DAR member passed away in 1962 her large private genealogical library—one of the largest in the state—was donated by her family to the Urbana Free Library in 1964. Based on this new collection, the DAR chapter formed a genealogy group that began meeting at the archives. In January 1965, the DAR held a genealogical workshop open to the general public. Twenty-nine married females attended the workshop. Interest in genealogy rose and inspired more and more to visit the archives. A surviving sign-in book from the 1960s illustrates that annual patronage of the archives more than tripled between 1963 and 1965, from approximately 150 to 550. Annual patronage increased to nearly 1000 by 1970.

These trends are not unique to Champaign-Urbana. Beginning in the late 1960s, librarians across the country noted an increased presence of elderly patrons searching for genealogical information. These findings prompted professional debate about how public libraries should support this growing popular informational interest. Some argued that since most genealogists were senior citizens, and since senior citizens pay taxes, they deserved services equal to those provided to other demographic groups. Just as children have children's libraries, so the argument went,

[1] In the interest of space constraints, references to library board meetings, local geneaological society meetings, other organizations' notes, personal notes, newspaper clippings, and so forth are gathered below in *Archival sources* rather than cited endnote by endnote. Any reader wishing specific information pertinent to the text may contact the author.

senior citizens should have genealogical services. This argument, which depends on a cultural assumption that all old people have interest in doing genealogy, received some traction in the profession. In 1968, the American Library Association (ALA) formed a Genealogy Committee and 400 people attended its first meeting.

Back in Urbana, Carpenter resisted the increasing incorporation of her local history archives into this emerging national genealogical infrastructure. She promoted the archives as first and foremost about local history. During National Library Week in 1966 the archives held a special reception to celebrate the donation of the "Old City Building cornerstone." The genealogical collections hardly received notice in the event's publicity. Nonetheless, local interest in genealogical research did not abate, and the library slowly began more proactively responding to these trends. The DAR and the Urbana Free Library jointly sponsored a three-session genealogical workshop in early 1967. The workshop was so overenrolled that the library decided to repeat the workshop, at triple the cost for attendees, later that year. Even at the higher cost, the workshop filled to capacity. All funds generated from the workshops returned to the archives. In response to this overwhelming popularity, Carpenter reoriented National Library Week programming in both 1967 and 1968 around genealogy.

As more and more genealogists used the archives for research, some began volunteering to increase reference and materials processing support. Ten of these volunteers met in each other's homes on weekdays to provide mutual aid for their research. Calling themselves "The Peanut Butter Girls" because they ate peanut butter sandwiches during these meetings, the women were of diverse class backgrounds. Jean Evans, world traveler and wife of the Dean of the College of Education at the University of Illinois, exemplifies one end of the spectrum; Jean Gordon, life-long Urbana resident and wife of a wage-labor movie projectionist, exemplifies the other. In between were descendants of well-to-do local farm families. This class diversity appears to have had no effect on the group's cohesiveness. Rather, the impetus for this new group came from the realization that genealogical research was no longer the purview of elite groups like the DAR, but was quickly becoming more popular across classes. A second trend propelling the emergence of the new group was the high geographical mobility in Champaign-Urbana society after the World War II. Jean Evans noted in a June 1973 group newsletter that over one-half of the membership lacked kinship ties in the local area. Constructing "portable roots" in the "temporary society" of mobile America (Bennis and Slater 1968) interested the women (and men) who made up the new genealogy group more than researching family heroes who fought in the American Revolution. In any case, these individuals recognized growing local interest in genealogy, and responded to this trend by organizing a public meeting in April 1969 to discuss forming an official genealogical society: the Champaign County Genealogical Society (CCGS). None of these individuals had any advanced library or archival training. Their primary qualifications were that they were dedicated genealogists and had passion for the archives.

In the 1960s and 1970s, popular genealogy lost some of its historical associations with lineage and hereditary societies, such as the DAR. In this period of transformation (Farber 1994; Bodnar 1993), doing genealogy became a hobby rhetorically

open to all. This shift required new institutional supports. Local genealogical societies formed throughout the USA, beginning in the early 1960s. In 1968, members of these local societies formed the Illinois State Genealogical Society as "a clearing house for information" to help in coordinating local projects across the state. These local and state groups were organized at the national level in 1976. These new genealogy groups dedicated themselves to building local, state, and national supports for genealogical information-seeking of all types. These trends are not distinctively American. As Raphael Samuel (1985) discusses, during the 1960s family history societies formed throughout the UK, and by 1974 these local groups coalesced into the Federation of Family History Societies (FFHS 2007). When the "Peanut Butter Girls" called a meeting in 1969 to form a new local genealogical society they mirrored state, national, and even international trends.

In Champaign County, the newly formed genealogical society achieved modest popularity. By 1971, the group had more than 100 dues-paying members, and the membership gradually rose to 160 by 1980. Biographical information on the founders of the group shows that these women and men were born before or during the 1920s. Many founders either grew up on farms, or were within one generation of agricultural life, suggesting modest middle- and working-class backgrounds. By the early 1970s, the DAR disappears from records of the Urbana Free Library Archives, replaced by the new, more democratic genealogy society.

Laboring Genealogy: Building Infrastructure

The genealogy society dedicated itself to mutual aid among local genealogists. This work emerged out of volunteer and paid labor at the Urbana Free Library Archives. The society provided reference support, raised funds, hosted guest speakers, recorded data from area cemeteries, and provided many other services at the archives. One of the most interesting projects began in July 1976, when the group started a card catalog in which members could create entries for books located in their private collections. Patrons of this catalog could ask book owners to check indexes for names and even loan titles. This "library without walls" illustrates how this group, composed of individuals with almost no professional archival or library training, developed innovative information infrastructures based on their mutual interest in genealogical practices.

Through the labor of the genealogical society the Urbana Free Library Archives became a node in national genealogical infrastructures. Members attended major state and national genealogy conferences and reported back to the membership. The group participated in projects led by organizations such as the Illinois State Archives, Chicago's Newberry Library, the U.S. National Archives, and the Church of the Latter-Day Saints (Mormon Church). Beginning in the mid-1970s, members of the society transcribed Champaign County census returns onto IBM worksheets and sent them off for aggregation into the Newberry's new digital system.

The society closely monitored local, state, and national trends related to access to governmental records used in genealogical research. Members of the group facilitated a partnership between the Urbana Free Library and the Champaign County government focused on enhancing access to local governmental records. In the late 1970s, members of the society mobilized to protest proposed Illinois legislation that would close access to vital records across the state, attending the hearings for the bill. They even spoke before the state legislature. Groups like the CCGS worked to ensure public access to governmental records for genealogical research. These groups have had a real, if largely unacknowledged, impact on governmental information infrastructure.

The Mormon Church also appears prominently in these developments. Throughout this time period, genealogy workshops taught at the archives relied on fill-in-the-blank family history sheets produced by Everton Publishers in Logan, Utah. Members also actively involved themselves with developments within the Church, even though none of the founding members (and few active members) of the genealogical society were members of the Mormon Church. Among the 7000 attendees of the World Conference on Records organized by the Mormon Church in 1969 was a member of the CCGS, who shared with the local society his amazement at the digital genealogical infrastructure emerging in Utah. A similar sentiment of awe appeared in a member's report on the Mormon Church's developing branch library system. In February 1973, the Mormon Church established a branch library in Champaign. Anyone from the general public could access the Mormon Church's microfilm card catalog at this library. Some society members even volunteered at the Mormon Church's branch library to increase its services. Sociologist Armand L. Mauss (1994, pp. 130–131) has argued that as the Mormon Church's branch library system expanded throughout the country in the 1960s and 1970s, "non-Mormon genealogy buffs" used the library system more than members of the Mormon Church itself. Since both Mormons and non-Mormons expressed great interest in genealogy in this time period, shared genealogical practices helped bring Mormonism more fully into mainstream American society. In other words, shared interest in using, creating, and sustaining genealogical infrastructures represents one dimension of the cultural assimilation of American Mormons.

Family and Local Heritages in the 1970s

Despite this shift in focus to genealogy, local heritage did not disappear from the Urbana archives. Rather, the development and strengthening of local history information services at the archives depended on growing popular interest in genealogy. As ever more people came to the archives in search of genealogical information, they created the context for increased administrative funding and support for local history collections. The genealogical society also involved itself in local heritage activities, participating in bicentennial events, oral history projects, and a

committee to establish a county museum. Especially popular was an initiative to commemorate Champaign County's "pioneer" farm families. This project, which combined genealogy and local heritage, mobilized the membership around an effort to commemorate the cultural legacies of farm families in the local area, many of whom were the ancestors of those active members with kinship ties in the local area. These practices caused local heritage to become a dimension of popular genealogical practices.

When Fred Schlipf was hired as the director of the Urbana Free Library in 1974, he gave strong administrative support to the archives. He saw great potential in the space, and believed previous administrators did not adequately support it. Like Nelle Carpenter before him, Schlipf focused his energies on local heritage. In 1978, Schlipf rebranded the archives the Champaign County Historical Archives to clarify its focus beyond the city of Urbana. He also increased library funding for the archives, published local history books, and expanded the archives' space. Nonetheless, Schlipf left much of the day-to-day operations of the archives to genealogists. He reflected in an interview I conducted with him that "library administrators had the greatest interest in local history, but the users were most interested in genealogy" (personal communication, April 18, 2012). What the archives symbolized depended on context. Some people certainly came to the archives in search of local heritage. But most came to do genealogical research. Star (1999) argues that infrastructures do not symbolize only one thing. Members of diverse social worlds use shared infrastructures for diverse meaning-making processes. The social world of the library administration did not match the social world of the library users. But both social worlds collaborated around building an information infrastructure that would serve diverse popular interests in local and family heritage information.

Gender and Genealogical Identities

Although women had done almost every task necessary to create the CCGS, men initially provided the public face of the group. When the CCGS formed in 1969, men took charge of its leadership. All speakers at the first organizational meeting were men. Half the founding officers, including the president, were men (Fig. 12.1). The female officers recognized themselves through the names of their husbands. Nonetheless, membership lists reveal that throughout the 1970s females constituted the vast majority of the group. As the decade advanced these gender norms softened, but did not disappear. In 1973, Jean Evans (still identified as Mrs. Rupert Evans) was elected as the group's first female president. But she reported as Jean Evans upon her reelection in 1974 and in that year all officers, except one, were women.

Gender identities also played a role in how members framed genealogy's social and cultural significance. Male charter members of the CCGS identified genealogy as just one of many antiquarian hobbies, which included playing old-time fiddle

Fig. 12.1 Founding officers of the Champaign County Genealogical Society (CCGS), June 19, 1969. Back row, l to r, Robert Bills—vice president, Robert Behrens—treasurer, John Bresee—president. Front row, l to r, Barbara Jean Evans—board chairman [sic], Barbara Roberts—secretary, Jean Gordon—membership chairman [sic], and Marjorie Roberts—project chairman [sic]. Photograph in folder "CCGS Newspaper Clippings." Box 635. CCGSR. Image courtesy Champaign County Historical Archives, Urbana Free Library, Urbana, Illinois

music, researching the Illinois militia, and learning about old churches and covered bridges. Men also served as the connective glue among local, state, and national genealogical infrastructures. All officers in the Illinois State Genealogical Society who came from Champaign County in the 1970s were men.

In contrast, female members of the society focused their genealogical pursuits on the family. For instance, in October 1977, Phyllis Vokes came to the archives to research her genealogy. After assisting Vokes with her research, Barbara Roberts realized that Vokes was, in fact, one of her cousins, indeed one of three cousins she met while at work at the archives. This story was published in the CCGS newsletter to remind members that doing genealogy can help one build family in the present as much as in the past. Emblematic of how many women in the group approached genealogy as part of the work of "doing" family is how a community oral history workshop, held in summer 1976 as part of America's bicentennial festivities, was received. The workshop presented basic procedures on developing community-based oral history projects. In a postevent editorial in the *Urbana Courier*, one of Urbana's newspapers at the time, Mary Melton translated the workshop into the idiom of the family: "Oral histories forge valuable links to past … But for those people who want only to record the histories of their own parents and grandparents as a heritage gift for their children, the process can be simpler" (Editorial, *Urbana Courier*, July 8, 1976). Melton then discusses how to incorporate oral history into genealogy and family heritage practices. For many female genealogists, the family was of central importance in ways that does not appear in the records of male genealogists.

Popular Genealogy: Pathology or Past Time?

Throughout the 1970s, the society sought to expand local interest in genealogy among both men and women. In 1970, the group organized a "Young Peoples" workshop at the archives for youth between the ages of 12 and 18. The two organizations also collaborated with a community college to develop annual adult education classes on genealogy. Outreach efforts accelerated after the 1977 airing of *Roots*. Local newspapers called upon both the society and archives to meet a perceived mass interest in genealogy. In May 1977, the society, the archives, and a local shopping mall sponsored a two-day event entitled "You, Too, Have Roots." Featuring a beginner's workshop, exhibits and one-on-one consultations, the event encouraged members of the general public to begin their own genealogical research. Between April 1977 and April 1978, usage of the archives increased by 37%, to 3200 visits.

This framing of genealogy as socially useful, even necessary, coexisted with a counter discourse of genealogy as a contagious disease of obsession. Describing their hobby in the local media, society members deflated romantic conceptualizations of genealogical research. Martha Tummelson wrote a letter to the editor of the *Urbana Courier* (June 15, 1977) entitled "Fair Warning: Stop While You're Ahead: Confessions of a Genealogy Buff." Reflecting on 20 years of genealogical research, Tummelson noted her addiction saying, "I've got the 'bug' and can't quit. It's almost like being on drugs, you gotta keep on." She then produced a litany of occupational hazards faced by those who do genealogy, including: an indifferent government bureaucracy, personal injury, swampy cemeteries, financial loss, going blind from reading microfilm, even divorce. No longer merely a means to the end of entering a hereditary society like the Daughters of the American Revolution, genealogy became a postmodern (Harvey 1991) leisure pursuit with no stable meaning. In the context of American ambivalence towards leisure, genealogy became dangerous. As a contagious popular hobby subject to obsession and desire, "users" often framed it in pathological terms.

Again, trends in Champaign-Urbana mirrored national trends. In post-*Roots* America public librarians around the country were inundated with requests for genealogical support. In 1981, the ALA organized a preconference workshop on "Genealogy and Local History Reference Services" as part of its annual conference in San Francisco. Although apparently balancing genealogy and local history, the workshop in fact focused entirely on genealogy. The impetus for the workshop came when the director of the Genealogical Society of Utah wrote to the Executive Director of the ALA to point out that many Americans made unnecessary genealogical research trips to Utah. Reference staff in local public libraries could handle these basic information needs, if librarians received adequate training. The workshop stated that librarians needed to be prepared to serve novice and experienced genealogists. These national efforts to boot-strap genealogical services in America's public libraries parallel grassroots efforts by groups like the CCGS to build local genealogical infrastructures.

The inclusive rhetoric of everyone having genealogical roots, and national/local infrastructural attempts to address this desire, hid disturbing truths about the limits of the genealogical imagination. Although *Roots* told the story of a single African-American family across time and space, historian Matthew Frye Jacobson has argued that the narrative captivated so many because it presented a template for doing genealogy that anyone could follow. The utilization of this template led "hundreds of thousands of white Americans [to descend] on local libraries and archives in search of information, not about slavery or black history, but about themselves and their own ethnic past" (Jacobson 2006, p. 43). This image of individualized consumption blind to structural inequalities in American society matches the use of the "roots" discourse deployed in Urbana. The advertising material for the "You, Too, Have Roots" event held in May 1977 featured a tree of all-white faces peering down at their collective "roots" (Fig. 12.2). No mention is made of the African-American context within which the "roots" discourse originated, despite Champaign-Urbana having over 10,000 African-American residents in 1977.

Although the records at the Urbana Free Library offer no traces of how the local African-American community made sense of these trends, Sundiata Cha-Jua (then Rodney) remembers with anger the experience of growing up Black during the democratization of genealogical research in nearby Decatur, Illinois. He recalls a formative genealogical experience he underwent during the 1960s:

> [My seventh-grade teacher] had us do this genealogy assignment and made as the standard for an 'A' that you had to trace your [family to] before the Civil War. None of the four of us [African-American students] could do that. But what made it worse was that you also had to give the origin and definition of your last name. So a black student finishes his little report. Then [the teacher] said,–'You didn't identify for us the origin of the name.' The student said,–'Well, it is German.' So [the teacher] said,–'Rodney, are you German? How do you think you came about a German last name?' (cited in Karp 2007)

The records of the society suggest a similar type of blindness to local racial divides in east central Illinois. At the same time, the records also suggest a growing awareness that the practice of genealogy was becoming increasingly available and interesting to a growing number of African-Americans during the 1970s (Blockson and Fry 1977; Smith and Smith 1977; Walker 1977). A 1971 meeting featured a report from an ALA conference discussion on "Black Genealogy." The October 1977 newsletter announced an "Ethnic Fair" sponsored by the Chicago-land South Suburban Genealogical and Historical Society, which featured genealogical instruction for those of the following backgrounds: "Black, German, Ireland, Iron Curtain Countries, the Netherlands and Scandinavian countries." Throughout the 1970s more and more African-Americans began doing genealogy, a trend represented by the formation, in 1977, of the national Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society, and in the publication of books like *Black Genealogy: How to Begin* and *The Beginner's Guide to Black Genealogy*. Although the genealogical infrastructure in Urbana shows no signs of including local African-Americans, actors in this infrastructure nonetheless were aware of national trends pushing the democratization of genealogical and family heritage practices beyond that which took place in this time period in the local context.

Fig. 12.2 Promotional flyer for "You Can Find Your Roots" event held at Urbana's Lincoln Square Mall in May 1977. The event was titled "You, Too Have Roots" in other promotional materials. Clipping located in Urbana Free Library Scrapbook. 1977. Box 12. UFLR. Image courtesy Champaign County Historical Archives, Urbana Free Library, Urbana, Illinois

Conclusions

This chapter has attempted to convey some of the infrastructural means by which genealogy entered American popular culture, and in the process transformed what genealogical practices mean to those who undertake them. Through publicly funded organizations like the Urbana Free Library, genealogical instruction and information resources became available to increasing numbers of people of diverse backgrounds. These trends facilitated the later emergence of more high-profile (and commercial) representations of genealogy in popular culture, such as the Ellis Island Immigration Museum and Alex Haley's *Roots*.

As local genealogical infrastructures expanded across the USA after the World War II, they connected into both existing infrastructures, such as the one maintained by the Church of the Latter-Day Saints, and newly emergent ones, such as the one at the Urbana Free Library Archives. As part of these interlinked processes, new genealogical identities emerged that differed from older ones premised on the primacy of heredity (Dulong 1986). Some made genealogy part of the work of family; others incorporated genealogy into expanding leisure time heritage pursuits. Still others used genealogy to symbolize their entry into, and association with, American middle-class culture. Women of diverse class backgrounds used genealogy as a way to conduct professional, scientific labor outside the home. Genealogical practices never signify just one thing. But this polysemy should not blind us to the fact that these multiple meanings rely on a shared infrastructure (Star 1999).

The findings in this chapter emerge from in-depth archival research about one place. They need to be elaborated with other case studies on the democratization of genealogical practices in other places. These processes do not end with the United States' borders, but spill over into diverse global contexts. One easily finds traces of Yemeni genealogists tracing their lineages from diasporic residences in Singapore (Aljunied 2013), Aboriginal Australians using state archives to research family histories (Australian Institute 2013), Chinese librarians partnering with Utah-based companies to digitize traditional Chinese genealogy books for global markets (Powell 2008), Europeans using genetic genealogy testing to determine how much of them is "Viking" or "Neanderthal" (Zall 2012), Afro-Brazilians discussing the pains and pleasures that come from genetic genealogy testing (BBCBrasil 2007), and Black South Africans using genealogy to construct diasporic networks and identities (South African Government Information 2008). Now that genealogical practices are global, what do these practices mean to their diverse practitioners? How do these diverse practices, motivated by diverse meanings, relate to shared global information infrastructures? More work is needed to understand both the spread and appropriation of these practices in diverse global contexts. In this chapter, I have attempted to offer an example of how infrastructure offers one lens through which to productively apprehend and analyze these trends.

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Chapter 13
Uneasy Heritage: Remembering Everyday Life in Post-Socialist Memorials and Museums

Sara Jones

Introduction

The collapse of state socialism in 1989 meant the end of dictatorial rule in Central and Eastern Europe, a gradual transition to liberal democratic structures and, for several Eastern European nations, integration into the European Union. State socialism and the division of Europe were a thing of the past; however, the past continued and continues to cast its shadow over the present. Historical legacies remain in economic, political, social, and cultural spheres. In the early 1990s, economic and infrastructural recovery was the first priority for many post-socialist citizens and elites. Indeed, some would have preferred to draw a line under the state socialist era, in which they had often been active or complicit in repressive measures or the maintenance of dictatorial power. On the other hand, the victims of state repression demanded recognition, compensation, and the punishment of those responsible for human rights abuses.

Moreover, memories of repression were not the only things enduring from more than 40 years of authoritarian rule: the material culture of the past regime was also left behind, not only in public spaces—statues, official buildings—but also in the form of everyday objects associated with state socialism. As the website of the GDR Museum in Berlin announced prior to its opening, "the spirit of an epoch is not just reflected in pictures and books, but also in pots and frying pans" (Arnold-de Simine 2011, p. 105). As the initial euphoria following the revolutions of 1989 has given way to the realities of the market economy—price rises, mass unemployment, and more visible criminality—these everyday objects have acquired increased significance as markers of identity. Nostalgia for the apparent securities of the state socialist era is rife in the region (Light 2000b, p. 158). A recent survey suggested that 53 % of Romanians, for example, would support a return to state socialist rule

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despite the fact that the Ceauşescu regime had been one of the most brutal in the region (Ziare.com 2012). A survey conducted amongst German school pupils in 2007 indicated that young Germans—particularly young eastern Germans—are reluctant to characterize the GDR as a dictatorship (Schroeder and Deutz-Schroeder 2009). Nostalgia also has, in the German context at least, been described as an "identity of defiance," that is, a response to the perceived colonization of the East by the West and the definition of what kind of society the GDR was from without (Cooke 2005, p. 8). While we should be cautious to equate remembrance of the everyday with nostalgia for the East per se (Saunders and Pinfold 2012, p. 5), Blum sees the rapid increase in the consumption of East German goods shortly after unification as evidence that these everyday items are functioning as signifiers of a "group identity for their former consumers" (2000, p. 231)—an identity that is based on a rejection of "an increasingly unified Western consumer society that does not acknowledge and value the fundamental otherness of those who grew up and lived under a socialist system" (Blum 2000, p. 242).

My interest in this chapter is, however, not with consumer practices but with the institutionalization of state socialist heritage—particularly of the everyday consumer items that we might associate with the popular memory of this era. I want to consider if and how post-socialist governments in Romania, Hungary, and Germany are willing to incorporate this aspect of state socialist culture into state mandated heritage institutions[1]—notably sites of public history such as memorials and museums. Steven Hoelscher argues that "questions of politics lie at the core of heritage. Such could hardly be otherwise, for debates about the past always occur within a larger socio-cultural framework, leading discussion of heritage eventually to a consideration of power" (2006, p. 206). An important part of this power is the ability to shape collective remembering and, in turn, national conceptions of the self. In this context, Duncan Light states that, through tourism, Central and Eastern European "countries are seeking to affirm that they have departed from state socialism" (2001, p. 1054). While this seems correct in principal, this chapter argues that post-socialist identities are multiple and multifaceted not only across the region but also within the nation, and that state-mandated strategies to contain these alternative identities exist in uneasy dialogue with variant interpretations of recent history as well as with the expectations of the international visitor.

Such alternative post-socialist identities are based not only on present difference in terms of gender, class, and ethnicity but also on divergent experiences of the state socialist period itself. Exploration of this complexity can therefore contribute to broader discussion of heritage management and its relationship with individual memories and collective memory politics.[2] An important part of this is the role of popular culture or the everyday in the (re)construction of national identities after moments of transition. It is at such moments that heritage policy frequently functions to (re)define those aspects of the past that are worthy of remembrance and

[1] I take the term "state-mandated" in reference to heritage from Beattie 2011, who attributes the concept to Sabine Moller.

[2] For an overview, see Benton 2010.

representation and those that are "unmemorable"—that is, "well-known and shared by many individuals at the same time, but wrapped in silence; present in the mind, but hidden from view" (Vukov 2008, p. 312). Sharon Macdonald notes that "one of the most important accomplishments of heritage is to turn the past from something that is simply there, or has merely happened, into an arena from which selections can be made and values derived" (2013, p. 18). Twenty-five years after the transition from authoritarianism to liberal democracy we can observe some of the processes of conflict, negotiation, and dialogue that determine, to paraphrase Macdonald, which aspects of "the past" will become "The Past" (2013, p. 18).

Romania

The first context I will consider is that of post-socialist Romania. In 2010, I toured the capitals of Central and Eastern Europe in an effort to determine how the state socialist past was being refracted in different national contexts. What struck me in Bucharest was the absence of any central museum or memorial dedicated to the history of state socialism or to the victims of Ceauşescu's particularly authoritarian regime. Although a museum of Communism located in Romania's capital city has since been proposed by four representatives of the Liberal Democratic Party (PDL), the suggestion was rejected in April 2013 by the Chamber of Deputies (Zachmann 2013). A survey conducted in 2010 demonstrated that 51 % of Romanians would be in favor of such a museum—a split that has been interpreted variously as indicative of divided opinion (Ciocoiu 2013), popular support for the initiative (Bogdan 2013), and a sign that "only half of the population is in agreement with the opening of the museum" (Arun 2013).[3] What is clear, however, is that the idea of a central Bucharest-based museum dedicated to the state socialist period remains contentious at both an elite and popular level.

This tension between the expectations of the "commie tourist" (Diener and Hagen 2013, p. 489)—as which I might identify myself—and the heritage on display in Bucharest is also noted by Light (2000a, 2000b, 2001). Light (2000a, p. 157, 2000b, p. 171, 2001) observes that even at the Palace of the Parliament (*Palatul Parlamentului*)—conceived by Ceauşescu and one of the most monumental pieces of state socialist architecture—visitors are given little if any information about the building's history. The focus instead is on Romanian craftsmanship and the site's contemporary use as the locus of parliamentary democracy.

There is also no exhibition on state socialism in the Natural History Museum, which ends its narrative of Romanian history in the 1920s (Light 2000a, p. 156; Stan 2013, p. 216). Light (2000a, pp. 154–156; 2000b, p. 171; 2001) sees this as evidence of a desire in Romania to forget the experience of state socialism in favor of a new national identity based on a "return" to (Western) Europe and pluralist democracy. Indeed, Romania has been slow to address the legacy of state socialism

[3] Unless otherwise stated, all translations from German and Romanian are my own.

at political, judicial, and cultural levels. The continuation in positions of power of leading Communists after 1989, and particularly under Ion Iliescu until 1996, meant that transitional justice measures—lustration, opening the Securitate files, property restitution, truth commissions—were not enacted until several years after the revolution and were inconsistent, unstable, and contested (González-Enríquez 2001; Stan 2013).

Nonetheless, the situation is perhaps rather more complex than Light suggests. Post-socialist identities are not only "fluid, unstable and sometimes fragile" (Light 2000b, p. 173), they are also plural and evolving: where some would prefer to forget, others assert the importance of remembrance. Civil society groups, often constituted of victims of the former regime, have erected a large number of monuments and memorials around the country (Cristea and Radu-Bucurenci 2008, pp. 281–286; Stan 2013, p. 218). Since 1993, the Civic Academy Foundation runs the Memorial to the Victims of Communism and to the Resistance on the site of a former political prison in Sighetu Marmaţiei on the Ukrainian border (Cristea and Radu-Bucurenci 2008, pp. 297–303; Mark 2010, pp. 69–74; Stan 2013, pp. 216–218). In May 2013, the Sighet Memorial permanent exhibition space was opened in Bucharest: on the Sighet website this event is described as "striking, because it proved that Sighet does exist, despite the absurd canard propagated by the press, according to which Romania 'has no museum of communism'" (Memorial Sighet 2013). In Timişoara, the Association Memorial of the Revolution has founded a documentation center and a series of memorials dotted around the city. Both sites have achieved a certain degree of state recognition: the memorial in Sighet was established as a national historical site in 1997 and the complex in Timişoara in 2000. Moreover, there were reportedly plans to extend the memorial headquarters in Timişoara into a Museum of the Revolution by the end of 2014 (Iedu 2013; Panduru 2012). The Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes in Romania and the Memory of the Romanian Exile not only has played a central role in the recent charges of crimes against humanity brought against former prison head Alexandru Vişinescu and labor camp commander Ion Ficior, it is also aiming to develop memorial museums in prisons in Jilava and Râmincu Sărat (see http://www.iiccr.ro/en/). From September 2013, visitors to Târgovişte, 70 kilometers northwest of Bucharest, can view the barracks where the Ceauşescu couple was held before their execution (Ciocoiu 2013).

However, these sites are firmly dedicated to the victims of state socialism, those who died in the revolution that overthrew the Ceauşescu regime, or, in the case of Târgovişte, the fatal end of the dictator himself. What about those whose post-socialist identities are founded not on repression and control but rather on everyday life? Where can one find their memories represented in the capital? The legacy—or even heritage—of state socialism is not only that of monumental buildings and sites of repression but also the everyday experiences of life under authoritarianism, including its material culture. The visitor to Bucharest—and indeed the Romanian citizen—will have to search hard to find this aspect of the socialist past. In terms of state-supported sites, perhaps the closest we might come is the small—and easily missed—permanent exhibition in the basement of the Museum of the Romanian Peasant (*Muzeul Ţăranului Român*), formerly the History Museum of

the Communist Party and Revolutionary and Democratic Movement of Romania (Cristea and Radu-Bucurenci 2008, p. 286). Here, the visitor can view a collection of Lenin and Stalin busts, portraits of Communist leaders, newspaper clippings, original documents, photographs, cartoon strips, and objects representing the history of collectivization.[4]

Although this exhibition—with the title "The Plague" (*Ciuma*)—might be interpreted as a representation of the everyday life of the Romanian peasant under (the early years of) state socialism, this would be to ignore the evident focus on repression and state intervention (Cristea and Radu-Bucurenci 2008, p. 293). Despite the proliferation of "communist kitsch" (Cristea and Radu-Bucurenci 2008, p. 294), this exhibition clearly is *not* about popular material culture. Moreover, it is situated in the context of an ethnographic museum that seeks to present the life of the Romanian peasant as the epitome of "traditional man" (Cristea and Radu-Bucurenci 2008, p. 292). In contrast, as Cristea and Radu-Bucurenci (2008, p. 293) note, the exhibition on state socialism is placed explicitly within history and, thereby, excluded from the museum's narrative about "timeless" Romanian national traditions.[5] In a number of ways, this lacuna in cultural representation of state socialist legacies mirrors official discourse, and, in particular, the narrative constructed in the 2006 report of the Presidential Commission for the Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania. As Tileaga notes, "the report […] seems to be proposing a specific method of reasoning about society, history and memory that constitutes communism as Other, not 'us.' The narrative of Communism is not self-condemnatory or self-blaming, but rather Communism is distanced from (the national) self" (2012, p. 471).

Hungary

A comparable treatment of everyday life and material culture under state socialism can be seen in the city of Budapest's House of Terror (*Terror Háza*). Built with the support of right-wing Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, and "one of the most controversial Hungarian cultural institutions" (Rátz 2006, p. 246), the narrative attached to the displays construct the national self as both victim and heroic resister of an ideology imposed from without (Horváth 2008, p. 271; Jones 2011, p. 104; Kerékgyártó 2006, p. 302; Mark 2010, pp. 66–67). This reflects the political rhetoric of the ruling party, Fidesz, whose anti-Communist narrative constructed socialists as "not fully Hungarian," but as "national traitors who had allied themselves with an 'eastern ideology'" (Mark 2010, p. 9). The section "Life under Communism" permits little

[4] Details of the exhibition are taken from field notes made during a visit to the museum in August 2010. The description of the exhibition is based on its features at this time.

[5] See also Mark 2010, p. 90. Light (2001, p. 1068) notes that the history of state socialism is also bracketed in narratives attached to the Palace of the Parliament, with a direct line being drawn from Romania's pre-war democracy to its post-socialist political system.

room for normality: Party ideology is described as spreading "its tentacles over the economy, cultural life, education and daily life".[6] Indeed, Rátz argues that "the House of Terror is not a real museum in the general understanding of the term," (2006, p. 247) because it displays only a relatively limited number of authentic objects from the represented period. Instead, it is perhaps better described as an institution of political education or, in the words of Horváth "a memorial representation with a teleological function, whose main purpose is the affirmation and confirmation of a political identity" (2008, p. 270). Once again, although the focus here is on life under state socialism, the emphasis is on a particular aspect of that life, and it is principally not a museum of material culture.

Neither, it might be argued, is the second site in Budapest that represents the legacy of state socialism, and which I wish to discuss further here: the Memento Statue Park (*Szoborpark*) situated in the suburbs of the city. Memento Park is the new home of the socialist-era statues that were once located in the center of the capital. Designed by architect Ákos Eleöd under the title "One Sentence about Tyranny," the site has the double task "to call forth the atmosphere of dictatorship and to simultaneously provide the opportunity for this to be processed and critically analyzed" (Réthly 2010, p. 4). These monolithic monuments and statues are not perhaps that which first springs to mind when we think of popular material culture. However, as the back cover of the visitor's guide informs us, the statues were once "the well-accustomed apparatus of the 'living socialism', and a part of the everyday life of millions" (Réthly 2010; see also Light 2000, p. 169). Moreover, the site's shop, the "Red Star Store," caters to the visitor in search of Communist kitsch through the sale of:

> Soviet souvenirs, watches, flasks, lighters and other personal items. Fun T-shirts, mugs, postcards and posters decorated with the faces or slogans of the "wise men" of communism. Model trabants, Lenin-candles, authentic household items, retro souvenirs of the 1950s, 60s and 70s, Revolutionary music and military songs, Red Army medals, posters, books, the era's most successful films and documentaries on DVD as well as lots of other interesting things. (Réthly 2010, p. 56)

The Statue Park thus combines play through the remembrance of material culture with a somber message about the nature of state socialism, which is described in the visitor guide as a "totalitarian" political system (Réthly 2010, p. 4). This combination of light-hearted and serious engagement is also promoted by the positioning of the statues. The visitor can touch, mimic, sit, or lie on the monuments, allowing a sense of mockery and fun in the park but simultaneously highlighting the dissolution of the authoritarian regime they represent and thereby legitimizing the democratic system that followed it. This ambivalence is perhaps best reflected in the visitor guide's designation of the site as "a historical era theme park where everyone will be able to learn about the history of the era represented" (Réthly 2010, p. 5).

Moreover, the absence of any textual narrative attached to the statues and monuments directly (other than text originally part of the object) means that the visitors are guided by the spatial layout of the site but are nonetheless relatively free in their

[6] The description of the exhibition is based on material gathered during a visit in August 2010.

interpretation (James 2005, p. 34). This reflects the aim of the designer to highlight the benefits of democracy as the only political system that provides "the opportunity for us to think freely about dictatorship, or about democracy, come to that, or about anything" (Réthly 2010, p. 6). The architect explicitly claims these objects—and the political system they represent—as "a part of the history of Hungary" (Réthly 2010, p. 6), which the democratic system allows us to remember in all its ambivalence and complexity. This might, therefore, permit space for the plurality and fluidity of post-socialist identities and a multiple (re)appropriation of these objects by different remembering groups. As James argues, the Statue Park "is postmodern in that it is a polysemic collage/montage, where bits and pieces of the Communist past provide the raw material for countless possible narratives" (2005, p. 26).

However, Horváth (2008, p. 264) notes that this relatively open approach to state socialist heritage is no longer favored by the Hungarian government: "whereas […] the House of Terror benefited from exceptionally generous government funding, the unfinished and deteriorating Statue Park barely scrapes by" (see also Kerékgyártó 2006, pp. 299–300). Furthermore, the position of the park on the outskirts of the city removes the significance the statues might have had as presentations of national heritage had they remained in central locations (Light 2000, p. 168; Williams 2008, p. 190). The situation of the park in the suburbs of Budapest along with the brick walls and wire fences that mark the park's boundaries also can be viewed as "symbolically [segregating] communism from the flow of everyday life" (James 2005, p. 32). This excludes, or contains, the monuments and the memories they might evoke and can therefore be related to a presentation of Hungarian identity, in which the ideology of Communism no longer has a place (James 2005, p. 32; Williams 2008, p. 193). Moreover, through their increasing significance as sites of "ironic consumption by international visitors," it has been argued that the focus, in fact, becomes "the triumph of capitalism over communism" (Nadkarni in Sayner 2011, pp. 145–146; see also Horváth 2008, p. 273; James 2005, p. 33), and not nuanced reflection on complex histories.[7] This sheds a different light on the objects of material culture available in the Red Star Store: rather than being emblematic of an alternative political system which failed, but in which many believed, the commodification of the symbols and artifacts of the former regime emphasizes the victory of one ideology over another.

Germany

This commodification of state socialist material culture is perhaps seen at its most extreme in post-socialist eastern Germany. Following an initial rejection of East German material culture and in the context of high unemployment and a sense of Western colonization, Germany saw "a general flowering of things eastern" (Bach 2002, p. 546)—including East German theme parties, an Ostcafé in East Berlin and

[7] For an alternative interpretation, see Sayner 2011, p. 146.

the sale of numerous objects in the image of the now-famous East German "traffic-light man." This became part of what is known as "Ostalgia," a term that encompasses both a longing for the securities of the socialist past and the ironic consumption of eastern products by westerners and easterners alike (Bach 2002, p. 546).

The revalorization of the material culture of the GDR also has been reflected in the heritage landscape of the united Germany. Since 1990, a number of exhibitions of everyday life in East Germany have sprung up around the country, the largest and most well-known of which is the DDR Museum in Berlin (Arnold-de Simine 2011, pp. 103–107). Smaller displays in the eastern districts present collections of consumer goods from the GDR, often without any overarching political, social or cultural concept or narrative (Ludwig 2011, pp. 44–45; Zündorf 2012, p. 99). With the exception of the Documentation Centre of Everyday Culture in the GDR (*Dokumentationszentrum Alltagskultur der DDR*) in Eisenhüttenstadt (Arnold-de Simine 2011, pp. 101–03; Ludwig 2011, pp. 49–50), which is in fact underpinned by a well-founded museological conception, these sites are privately funded (Zündorf 2012, pp. 98–99). The Documentation Centre itself is at risk due to recent uncertainty relating to the funding contribution of the city government (Rennefanz 2012).

Indeed, the representation of the everyday and material culture of the GDR has not formed a significant part of the heritage policy of the united Germany. Mary Fulbrook commented in 2007 that only 80% of the former population of the GDR was represented in museums and memorials in Berlin. Leading officials and prominent intellectuals were, according to Fulbrook, overrepresented at the expense of the "middle level" of society (Großbölting 2010, p. 35). This seemed set to change at least partially following the publication of the most recent edition of the Federal Memorial Concept of 2008. The concept—which lays out the criteria for public financial support of memorials and museums relating to Germany's National Socialist and state socialist pasts—recommended the inclusion of "everyday life in the GDR" in state-funded museums and memorials "in order to counteract decisively the distortion and trivialization of the SED dictatorship and all forms of 'Ostalgie'" (Deutscher Bundestag 2008, p. 9).

It is clear, however, as this quotation illustrates, that any representation of material culture in state-mandated heritage sites must be firmly situated in the context of the GDR as an authoritarian—or, in this view, totalitarian—dictatorship. This is a particular inflection of the term "everyday life," which aims to show that the SED was able "to infiltrate ideologically people's lives in all areas" (Deutscher Bundestag 2008, p. 9). The Memorial Concept itself—alongside the numerous judicial, political, and cultural efforts to deal with the legacy of dictatorship carried out since 1989 (see, e.g., Bruce 2009; McAdams 2001; Müller 2001)—highlights the fact that the Federal Republic has not shied away from addressing its recent past. However, even here, the state socialist dictatorship is constructed as "other," as the second dictatorship on German soil whose ideology was fundamentally at odds with the current liberal democratic system and national self-understanding. Revival of totalitarian theory in the 1990s—also reflected in the Memorial Concept—allowed the delegitimization of the GDR as an alternative political system through comparison

or even equation with the Nazi dictatorship (Brie 1994; Fritze 2006; Ross 2002, p. 19) and leaving very little space for "normal" life (Fulbrook 2004, 2005, 2007).

Concretely, the Memorial Concept names four sites in relation to the history of the "everyday": the Forum for Contemporary History in Leipzig (*Zeitgeschichtliches Forum*), the German Historical Museum in Berlin (*Deutsches Historisches Museum*), the House of History of the Federal Republic of Germany in Bonn (*Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*), the Documentation Centre in Eisenhüttenstadt and two sites that were, in 2008, in planning: the Palace of Tears (*Tränenpalast*) at the former border crossing station on Friedrichstraße in Berlin, and an exhibition in the Kulturbrauerei in the Berlin district Prenzlauer Berg (Deutscher Bundestag 2008, pp. 9–10). It is to the first of these two that I will turn my attention here.

Opened in September 2011 under the heading "Border Experiences: The Everyday of German Division," the exhibition in the Palace of Tears—so-called because it was where loved ones from East and West had to say their goodbyes—comprises "biographical examples, 570 objects and 30 media stations" with the aim of showing "the German everyday in regard to division and borders" (Haus der Geschichte 2012). The information pamphlet advertising the exhibition similarly promises "dramatic and everyday real-life stories" (Haus der Geschichte 2013). Thus, material culture is indeed on display here: the visitor can view objects relating not only to the border regime itself—warning signs, uniforms, "propaganda bombs"[8]—but also objects individuals left behind in their flight to West Berlin or associated with the stories of couples and families divided by the Berlin Wall. These objects are, for the most part, accompanied by first-person testimony explaining their significance or use and situating the object in the context of the individual's experience of the Berlin Wall and German division.

In many respects, it is, in fact, these personalized stories that represent the aspect of the "everyday" in the title of the exhibition. These individual accounts of "ordinary" people in the GDR are brought together in what I have described elsewhere as a "mediated remembering community"—a group of individuals who appear to remember together, but whose community is in fact constructed in a particular medium and which does not exist outside of that medium (Jones 2012). This grouping allows the different narratives to overlap, support, and authenticate each other, and suggests that individual experience is collective shared experience. This exhibition is, in this regard, using authentic objects coupled with first-person narratives to represent a very specific interpretation of the "everyday" that allows it to be absorbed into the dominant representation of the GDR as totalitarian dictatorship. Everyday life here is not used in the understanding of the term as popular material culture but as the extraordinary experiences of ordinary people. The Berlin Wall, crossing the border between East and West, and saying goodbye to loved ones living on the other

[8] Leaflets encased in a metal container, which was fired across the Berlin Wall. Details of the exhibition are taken from field notes made during visits to the museum in August 2012, and February and August 2013.

side of the divide were not, after all, experiences that most former citizens would have encountered regularly and repeatedly.

In this way, the Federal government has simultaneously made moves to incorporate the lived experiences of a broader range of former GDR citizens and yet positioned popular culture within its interpretation of East Germany as a totalitarian dictatorship. A somewhat different approach has been taken in the exhibition in the Kulturbrauerei opened in November 2013 under the management of the House of History and focusing explicitly on everyday life in the GDR. The display incorporates 800 objects as well as 200 documents and audio-visual recordings, and includes consumer items and articles from areas of life such as work and school: material culture thus forms an important part of the design[9]. In his review of the exhibition, Ensikat (2013) suggests that this approach reflects the memories of those who lived their lives in the East German state: "Whoever lived through it [the GDR], occasionally feels rather strange [in the exhibition]: Have they just forgotten to conserve me in formaldehyde?" Nonetheless, an article in the House of History's magazine reveals that the designers in fact aimed to use similar strategies to those seen in the Palace of Tears to contain popular heritage. The author, Ulrike Zander, asserts that the GDR "did not only consist of the Sandman, Spreewald gherkins and idyllic dacha" (Zander 2011). She opposes the "trivialisation" of the dictatorship—represented perhaps by these objects of everyday life—with the "reality" that the exhibition portrays (Zander 2011). Indeed, in reviews published immediately after the opening of the site, journalists point towards the repeated thematization in the display of the intrusion of the SED and the state into the private lives of GDR citizens (Ensikat 2013; Kaden 2013; Kliemann, 2013; Walter 2013).

Conclusion

To bring these disparate contexts together, I would like to argue that nearly 25 years after the end of state socialism, post-socialist governments have an uneasy relationship with the material culture of the previous regime. Different strategies are used to contain the everyday objects that might form the focus of nostalgia, but these strategies exist in dialogue with multifaceted post-socialist identities and with the expectations of the international tourist.

In Bucharest, the state socialist past is excluded almost completely from state-mandated institutions. Where it is included, it is bracketed off from the history of the nation and represented as alien to national culture. As argued by Light (2000a, 2000b, 2001), here it is perhaps the "communist heritage tourists" who most disrupt the efforts to contain history as they actively seek representations of the political "other." Nonetheless, the numerous memorials and sites of remembrance founded by victims of the regime, and gradually receiving state recognition in shifting po-

[9] Details of the exhibition are taken from field notes made during a visit to the museum in July 2014. The description of the exhibition is based on its features at this time.

litical environments, also challenge any efforts towards silence and point towards a dialogue between state and civil society. Indeed, if we understand the Communist heritage tourist as a kind of "dark tourist" (Sharpley 2009a), it is these two groups—victims and tourists—who drive the efforts towards memorialization in this context. That yet other visions of the past exist within the Romanian population itself was demonstrated by a temporary exhibition displayed in 2004 in a gallery in Bucharest. The display, designed by the anthropologist Gabriele Cristea under the title "Domestic Red" (*Roşu domestic*), and presented as part of the Biennial of Young Artists, was devoted to representing the domestic space of the era. It included objects ranging from tooth paste and egg-cups to an abortion kit (Cristea 2004; Iancu 2004). Cristea (2004) stated that she envisioned the representation of domestic space as complementary to the public space seen in the Sighet memorial—again indicating a dialogue between different forms of remembering.

In Hungary, material culture is, in the major national museum representing the state socialist period, embedded within a firmly anti-Communist narrative of repression and terror, which does not permit any space for normality. On the other hand, the Statue Park exists as a potentially pluralistic interpretation of Communist heritage, which might challenge the singular narrative of the House of Terror. Nonetheless, its focus on play perhaps risks a commodification of the past and an assertion of the victory of capitalism, rather than allowing space for alternative post-socialist identities. A similar mode of remembering can be seen in the Marxim café in the centre of the city: it is decorated with state socialist memorabilia and the Lonely Planet Budapest City Guide describes this eatery as "a joke that is now two decades old and kinda not funny" (Lonely Planet 2009, p. 128).

It is perhaps in Germany, where East and West meet within one state, that the process of dialogue is most apparent. Initial exclusion of state socialist heritage in official memorial policy was challenged by private initiatives—described by a expert commission set up to review public history of the GDR as "uncritical collections of the GDR everyday" (Sabrow et al. 2007, p. 35). The commission, along with the Memorial Concept that followed it, responded to this by calling for the incorporation of everyday life into state-mandated representations, in order to situate these memories within the context of the dictatorship. As we have seen, this has sometimes meant a quite specific (re)interpretation of the "everyday" to mean the extraordinary experiences of ordinary people. In a democratic museum landscape, moreover, these state representations continue to exist alongside private exhibitions which present a different view on the past and, in the case of the DDR Museum in Berlin at least, are very successful and a great draw for international tourists (Arnold-de Simine 2011, p. 104).

Indeed, this process of negotiation, contestation, and dialogue in the three countries is an important marker of the transition to democracy, in which there cannot and should not be a singular narrative about the national past. However, it also demonstrates the highly politicized nature of these representations and the strategies used, nonetheless, to contain certain memories. As Sharpley notes:

> For any event, for any "past," recent or distant, there is no single story or interpretation, but new or alternative interpretations […] there are frequently multiple stakeholders in the

> heritage of past events […]. Therefore, the particular interpretation of the past may create an "inheritance" for one group of stakeholders, the inevitable outcome of which is the "disinheritance" of other stakeholders. (2009b, p. 150)

Post-socialist heritage managers and policy makers thus risk disinheriting certain groups—be it victims, perpetrators, fellow travelers, or ordinary citizens—if they do not make efforts to represent and interpret the divergent memories of these individuals. In this respect, I see the recent developments in Germany to be a positive step in the management of heritage "dissonance" (Sharpley 2009b, p. 151). But it remains to be seen if the presentation of the everyday will respond to or seek to contain such alternative visions of history.

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Chapter 14
Trees as Reappropriated Heritage in Popular Cultures of Memorialization: The Rhetoric of Resilient (Human) Nature

Joy Sather-Wagstaff

Introduction: Seeing the Trees for the Forest

> When a forest burns, the landscape shows its scars. Among the remains and smoking ground, it's not uncommon to find a single stand of trees untouched making one wonder why it was spared from the fire. The forest is alive. And indeed, it has a memory. (Svendson and Campbell 2005, p. 1)

While humans have long engaged with their dead in diverse ways over time and space, a popular culture of commemoration of the victims of tragedies large and small has proliferated significantly over the last two decades. From makeshift shrines that arise spontaneously at sites of calamity to formal memorials of scale, popular materials used to create these memoryscapes vary from the manufactured—candles, stuffed animals, photographs, monumental architecture—to the organic. Both formal memorial landscapes and informal memorial assemblages make intensive use of natural materials, both living and inanimate, from flowers and trees to stones and water. Humans have long imbued such organic materials with powerful symbolic meanings that are dynamic, transforming over time and space as societies change. Under specific sociohistorical conditions, negative connotations may become positive or new meanings are mapped onto old ones, sometimes displacing them, sometimes coexisting with their predecessors. Extant meanings are appropriated from other cultural and temporal contexts and into new ones while in some present cases, symbolism is completely invented.

I posit here that organic materials, specifically trees, are (re)symbolized through (re)appropriation for contemporary popular cultures of memorialization. Throughout this process, a rhetoric of resilient (human) nature is deployed, playing a central role in the cultural construction of a commemorative "heritage that hurts." This rhetoric encompasses popular and organizational discourses on memorial tree symbolism, the development of sustainable green spaces, the corecovery of devastated

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ecosystems with human well-being and the consumption of commemorabila, all in the context of past and present meanings accorded to trees as potent symbols. A powerful rhetoric of resilient (human) nature thus emerges from and simultaneously constructs, paradoxically, a meeting ground where popular cultures of memorialization, consumption, and "going green" converge.

Why focus on *trees* in particular? First, I have spent the last 12 years studying formal and informal memorials to disasters of scale with a specific focus on the memorialization of the victims of September 11, 2001 (Sather-Wagstaff 2011). This ranges from informal or local, community-based memorials around the world to the official national memorials of scale including the September 11 National Memorial in Manhattan, the National 9/11 Pentagon Memorial in Washington, DC, and the Flight 93 National Memorial in rural Pennsylvania. In this chapter, I comparatively address other late twentieth/early twenty-first century memorials to other tragedies and in particular I will address the Oklahoma City National Memorial and Museum commemorating the victims of the 1995 Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building bombing. While I typically focus primarily on the social construction and consumption of these sites by tourists rather than the civic and governmental institutions that produce them, it has become clear to me that in the production of these landscapes for visitors, nature—specifically trees—has become a canonical symbol for contemporary memorial landscapes. For most of my fieldwork I did not fully acknowledge the role that memorial trees play for commemoration until I caught myself, along with other visitors, picking up and pocketing fallen acorns at the September 11 National Memorial in 2012. Now I truly see the trees in the forests that are parts of memorial landscapes. Second, Paul Gough once asked "whether tree planting may have replaced memorial building in the rhetoric and culture of commemoration" (1996, p. 73). I find that trees have yet to replace monumental architecture in most national memorials of scale but they have, through a (re)appropriation of nature for memory, become a landscape requirement in contemporary popular cultures of commemoration.

As of 2010, over 680 community-based memorial landscape sites to September 11 have been identified in the Northeastern part of the US alone and many more are in the planning or production stages (Svendson and Campbell 2005). The Pentagon and Manhattan September 11 memorials are open and complete while the Flight 93 National Memorial site is partially open but has significant construction and landscaping to be completed. The Oklahoma City National Memorial has been open since April 2000. At each and every one of these particular sites, trees are the focal green landscape features, chosen for their old and/or new symbolism, indigenous status in the area, and/or aesthetic reasons. The National 9/11 Pentagon Memorial features 85 crape myrtle trees clustered around memorial bench units commemorating individual victims, providing shade for visitors in an open space that would be unbearably uncomfortable in summertime. The 400 white swamp oaks of the September 11 National Memorial in Manhattan also provide such much-needed shade. This memorial and the Oklahoma City National Memorial both share a particular commemorative phenomenon in the form of official "Survivor Trees." In Oklahoma City (OKC), flowering trees surround the OKC Survivor Tree, constituting

a significant element of the landscape called the Rescuers' Orchard. These trees are quite obviously "active coconsituents in memorialization" (Cloke and Pawson 2008, p. 107) but what influences the production of these particular landscapes where trees are core symbols for commemoration, regeneration, and memory? To get at this we must first pay a brief visit to pre-twentieth century memorial landscapes in Western cultural contexts.

The Greening of Deathscapes

Cemeteries and War Memorials in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

The intentional greening of memorial landscapes, including cemeteries, is often thought of as a most ancient practice yet this is relatively new in human history. While in some manner or another humans have indeed viewed the natural world as symbolic of the cycle of life and death, for most of our existence, inanimate matter has predominated modern landscapes for the dead in the Western world, modified stone in particular. In the US, a move to significant intentional landscaping emerged with the first rural cemeteries in the 1800s. Likewise, the English garden cemetery movement was born at this time, and the trees of Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris influenced both US and English cemeteries. With a need to find new spaces for the dead and land just outside urban areas abundant, rural cemeteries were designed with scenic landscaping that would be attractive to city dwellers. Landscapes were designed to invoke a preurban past, representing a connection to nature as a form of appropriated heritage in that for many city-dwelling Americans at the time, planting flowers and trees symbolized a nostalgia for the morality, virtues, and idyllic serenity of a presumably more peaceful and pastoral, rural life of the past.

One of these US cemeteries, Mount Auburn, was often remarked upon in terms that likened it much more to a pleasurable garden than a place of the dead. These spaces also served as the first recreational park system—nature was made orderly and welcoming through winding paths, trees, hills, and columnar trees such as evergreens along with graceful weeping willows. Certain trees were chosen because they would not cast shadows on headstones (an aesthetic function) while shade trees located away from headstones provided shade for picnickers as a comfort function. Some of the trees used embodied long-standing symbolism and in some cases, they attained new meanings by being popular for these deathscapes. For example, yews became a symbol of death, grief, and sorrow through this process in contrast to ancient Celtic associations with faith and resurrection (Powell 1979). The move towards a tamed nature for landscapes of death mirrored a general cultural shift towards optimism about the afterlife as tombstones were no longer engraved with ominous, skeletal death heads but beatific angels and elements from nature. Specific to the discussion later, such engravings includes oak leaves, representing

immortality, and acorns representing life and renewal. The demise of the rural cemetery with the emergence of city parks in the 1850s (and later the large military cemeteries following the US Civil War) led to even more controlled and standardized "natural" landscaping. This included vast lawns, lakes, and headstones flush with the ground or identical, especially in the case of military cemeteries, elements that in some ways erase the dead from the landscape as well as make fallen soldiers "everyman" rather than individuals.

Indeed, war changes everything. Paul Fussell, writing on the World War I trench poetry and gardening soldiers, notes that "if the opposite of war is peace, the opposite of experiencing moments of war is proposing moments of pastoral. Since war takes place outdoors and always within nature, its symbolic status is that of the ultimate antipastoral" (1975 [2013], p. 231). Wars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries stimulated a memorial mania of sorts, one that on the one hand, embraced monuments for the fallen and on the other, appropriated the pastoral for heroes' groves and treed boulevards around the world in lieu of monumental architecture. The German tradition of rural heroes' groves as a form of military cemetery in the late 1800s, *heldenhaine*, used oak trees for their symbolic value representing strength, valor, and memory. Typically, one oak tree stood in for every fallen soldier in lieu of a buried body and boulders were often the only other landscape element given that they were considered "apt as a monument, singled out as [also] symbolic of primeval power" (Mosse 1990, pp. 87–89). George Mosse observes that these groves, as an emerging military cemetery form, were influenced by both the nineteenth century park cemetery movement in the US and the garden cemetery movement in England; the US and England movements were in turn shaped by the *heldenhain* (1990*,* p. 89).

Not unlike the German *heldenhain,* the memorial landscape schema of one tree for every soldier in lieu of monumental architecture is now quite common in many other places including Australia and the US. A key difference is that these memorial groves are most often incorporated into everyday urban landscapes rather than in rural or semirural areas. In my town of Fargo, North Dakota, a memorial grove of elm trees was planted in 1937 on the North Dakota State University campus (then North Dakota Agricultural College—NDAC). NDAC's President John Worst proposed the memorial. Thus, it was named President Worst's Memorial Grove. One elm, a tree common to this region, was planted for every NDAC student who served in the 1898 Spanish American War and the grove was marked with a large stone engraved with this information. Likewise, since the end of the World War I, honor groves and avenues have been a key form of war memorial landscaping in Australia and New Zealand, establishing numerous living "arboreal memorials" in lieu of monumental memorial architecture (Stephens 2009, p. 126; see also Dargavel 2000; Gough 2013; Inglis and Phillips 1991; Richards 2003).

Memorial Trees as Embodiments of Power and Memory

Paul Cloke and Eric Pawson (2008) observe that "*memorial trees* have been used as a seemingly blank canvas, to be colored by the paintbox of memory." Yet, as

they argue and I do here as well, trees are not blank canvases anymore than they are installed for purely aesthetic purposes. The sheer physicality of trees instead "impinges directly on the meaningfulness of place and how it is experienced and performed" (Cloke and Pawson 2008, pp. 109–110). Trees in memorial spaces are an intrinsic part of the apparatus of social memory, something that resonates with the phenomenon identified by M. Christine Boyer as "rhetorical topoi" where "civic compositions that teach us about our national heritage and our public responsibilities assume that the urban landscape itself is the emblematic embodiment of power and memory" (1996, p. 321). Cloke and Pawson (2008, p. 110) argue that

> memorialisation is wrapped up in questions of how spaces of heritage translate complex processes (cultural, political, and symbolic) into the popular imagination. In turn, spaces of heritage are often characterised by devices—artefacts, installations, inscriptions, signifiers—to implant memory in landscape so as to prompt imagination of historical times, events, and values.

However, two criteria must be met in order for trees to embody power and memory in the popular imagination, be accorded such powerful symbolism and play a central role in popular cultures of memorialization.

First, the symbolism of that which is literally embedded in the landscapes under discussion here—trees—must reflect context-specific heritage be it local or national, ethnic or historical in order to be socially salient and have affective power. For example, in Green Park, London, the Canadian Memorial to the Dead of World Wars I and II incorporated bronze maple leaves into the water feature of the monument (Gough 1998) as the maple is Canada's national tree and its leaf the national symbol. Likewise, olive trees were placed in the limestone maze of the Valley of Communities Holocaust Memorial in Jerusalem, symbolizing "hope and peace, deriving from the biblical myth about Noah and the ark in which the branch of the olive tree brought to Noah by the dove signified the end of the deluge and the beginning of new life" (Egoz 2002, p. 180). For Australians, pines symbolize troops lost in the 1915 Battle of Lone Pine in Gallipoli thus in Albany, Western Australia, the Desert Mounted Corps Memorial features a single pine tree and the ANZAC Peace Park plans to incorporate an entire grove of pines (Stephens 2014). As will be discussed further on in this chapter, the use of pines in numerous Gallipoli memorial landscapes is a keen example of how "societies appropriate and reproduce the symbolism of significant places into the everyday social environment" (Stephens 2014, p. 15).

Second, any rhetoric of nature appropriated for contemporary popular cultures of commemoration is only effective insofar as it resonates with, reflects and co-constructs popular values in the present, even those constructed from sometimes nostalgic or mythical conceptualizations of the past. Trees, as actively symbolized in every culture, "materialize the living process at three levels: that of individuals, that of communities and social groups, and that of life itself," life in the form of the cosmic tree of life/*axis mundi* (Rival 1998, p. 24). Trees appear to be eternally living, constantly propagating and outliving most human life spans thus it seems natural for humans to grant them a primary symbolism of life and vitality, often in contrast to or as a denial of death. It thus makes sense that planting a tree "is a

common response to insecurity and trauma" (Zelter 1998, p. 223) in the present[1] but the motivations for this response are far more complex. For trees to be regarded as precipitates for memory and powerful symbols for popular cultures of commemoration, we must consider both the interpretative possibilities inherent with symbolism and symbolizing as well as the popular rhetoric of "greening" in the present as a desirable social value and action.

The Greening of Disaster: Interpretive Possibilities

The symbolic meanings accorded to particular trees are not static. They are instead heavily influenced by the broader, dynamic cultural contexts through which they are socially constructed, reconstructed, and often contested. Memorial trees are no different and perhaps they are exemplars of how trees, and nature itself, are subject to constant semantic contestation and creativity. This is particularly salient when trees are a central design element for memorial landscapes. Contested meanings are perhaps the rarest and the best example of this in the context of memorial landscapes can be found in the case of the original design for the Flight 93 National Memorial in Somerset County, Pennsylvania. The 2005 design by Los Angeles-based Paul Murdoch Architects incorporated a landscape element called the Crescent of Embrace. This element was to consist of a grove of red maple trees planted in a semicircular shape embracing the roughly circular area where Flight 93 crashed. When the design was made public in 2008, outrage fomented in some sectors over the perception that the red trees, if planted in the planned semicircle, represented the Islamic crescent thus the memorial was for the terrorists, not their victims.[2] An immediate redesign of the grove designated the circular area the Field of Honor. It is fully encircled by the 40 Memorial Groves (one grove for each victim), 1600 red and sugar maple trees planted with two breaks bisecting the circular space to mark the trajectory of the plane as it crashed.[3]

[1] Of interest here is the proliferation of full-service online businesses that sell memorial trees for various occasions including deaths, weddings, graduations, and much more. Whether a single tree or a grove, they take care of everything from planting (even internationally) to sending elegant, often framed commemorative cards to recipients.

[2] The following is a very small sample of the anti-Muslim webpages and blogs in response to the original Flight 93 National Memorial design:

http://www.crescentofbetrayal.com/
http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/flight-93-crescent-memorial-the-other-ground-zero-mosque/
http://michellemalkin.com/2005/09/10/flight-93-memorial-seeing-is-believing/
http://www.zombietime.com/flight_93_memorial_project/.

[3] For a video overview of the current design, see http://www.nps.gov/flni/photosmltimedia/virtualtour.htm.For a video overview of the current desisgn, see http://www.nps.gov/flni/photosmltimedia/virtualtour.htm.

There will always be individual and subjective interpretations of commemorative landscape elements as they are experienced by site visitors. However, memorial trees are good examples for how trees as symbols, and by extension the landscapes in which they are emplaced, become officially symbolized in through processes of landscape design and interpretation over time. The OKC National Memorial landscape's more formal title is the somewhat unsubtle "Outdoor Symbolic Memorial." Official interpretations for each of the site's elements are available via visitor brochures, explanatory signage and the National Park Service employees who oversee the site. This includes the two Gates of Time, one marked with 9:01 a.m. and the other 9:03 a.m., framing the moment of the 1995 bombing at 9:02 a.m. via the Reflecting Pool that lies between the two gates. The Field of Empty Chairs consists of nineteen small chairs for the child victims and 149 larger chairs representing the adult victims. The chairs are arranged in nine rows corresponding to the nine floors of the Murrah Building with each victim's chair placed on the "floor" row where they died. The landscape is lush and green, with grass in the Field of Empty Chairs the Rescuers' Orchard. The Rescuers' Orchard is a grove of flowering trees that surrounds a large American elm growing from a raised dais in a near semicircular embrace. These trees are, in the interpretive materials, personified as the rescue workers who rushed in to save victims. The signage for the Orchard reads: "To the courageous and caring who responded from near and far, we offer our eternal gratitude, as a thank you to the thousands of rescuers and volunteers who helped."

The large elm tree is known simply as the Survivor Tree (Fig. 14.1). The Survivor Tree represents a critical component to the successful rhetoric of resilient nature and nature as recovery, a component now codified in popular cultures of memorialization. This tree is an impressive decades-old American elm that was damaged but remained standing in the destroyed parking lot of the Murrah Federal Building after the bombing. It was nursed back to life in place and is now the centerpiece of landscape and serves as the iconic image for the Memorial and Museum's logo and other materials. The Survivor Tree not only symbolizes surviving the bombing as a tree but is also personified as having borne witness to the death and destruction

Fig. 14.1 The Oklahoma City National Memorial Survivor Tree. (Courtesy of the Oklahoma City National Memorial and Museum, © 2012 Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation)

that followed. Signs at the tree admonish visitors not to harm the tree by removing bark or otherwise marring the trunk. The official inscription tells visitors that by the resilience of this tree represents that “the spirit of this city and this nation will not be defeated; our deeply rooted faith sustains us” thus further personifying the tree as a human community of faith and renewal.

A Callery pear tree is the official Survivor Tree of the September 11 National Memorial. It was found in the rubble of the World Trade Center Plaza, basically a burned trunk and broken branches and roots, and over several years it was nursed back to life in the Bronx by the New York City Parks Department. While in recovery, it also survived being uprooted several times during storms, thus further demonstrating its tenacity and resilience. It is the only tree at the September 11 National Memorial that is not a swamp white oak and it is planted separately from the neat rows of oaks. It presently stands surrounded by a protective fence and supported with cables to ensure strong root growth and protect it from potential wind damage. The fence serves as a vehicle for informal commemorative assemblages as it is often covered with photos, messages, flowers, and other memorial material culture (Fig. 14.2).

Fig. 14.2 The September 11 National Memorial Survivor Tree with commemorative assemblage. (© 2012 Joy Sather-Wagstaff)

In an interesting form of gift exchange, saplings grown from grafts and seeds from the OKC Memorial's Survivor Tree have been exchanged between New York City and OKC. The Living Memorial Grove, located adjacent to City Hall in Lower Manhattan a few blocks from the World Trade Center site, is host to one of the OKC Survivor Tree offspring. In 2006, the young elm tree was planted in the small grove alongside five trees grown from grafts of trees previously growing in the World Trade Center Plaza. The plaque at the site reads:

> This tree, a gift from the People of Oklahoma City, is the offspring of the Survivor Tree which remained standing in the wake of the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building on April 19, 1995. It is planted here among the trees that survived the September 11, 2001 attacks upon the World Trade Center to symbolize our common bond, resiliency and renewal. May it forever represent hope and strength to endure.
> The gifting of the OKC Survivor Tree descendant symbolically represents the shared experience of disaster and loss while through a shared memorial landscape in Manhattan, physically creating a formally bonded relationship between the two cities that experienced such loss.

Likewise, saplings from seeds and cuttings from the OKC Survivor Tree are grown by volunteers in nurseries throughout Oklahoma with the intention of preserving and disseminating the progeny of the Survivor Tree as a "living piece of history." Around 200 saplings are distributed to the public every year on the April anniversary of the bombing. Thousands of Survivor Tree descendants now grow across the US, both at private homes and in public spaces including, but not limited to, official memorial parks of some kind. The mobility of the carefully nurtured offspring of these sacralized trees is not without precedent elsewhere. Paul Gough notes that pine seedlings grown from pinecones brought back from the World War I battlefields of Gallipoli "have been swapped between various Australian cities for decades" (1998, p. 214). In particular, descendants of the "Lone Pine" tree, the only pine standing on a key Gallipoli battlefield after all others were cut to build trenches, are found today throughout Australia in landscapes commemorating all of the soldiers who died at Gallipoli. Nearly 500 seedlings are produced from the first descendant each year in the present and distributed for memorials, parks, and other public landscapes in Australia (Smith 2011).

Back in New York, 40 sweet gum trees intended for the September 11 National Memorial were donated to the Flight 93 National Memorial in the summer of 2011 when it was decided that they would not be used at the Manhattan site. It is possible that this is because the brilliant red, orange, and purple fall colors of the these trees would be aesthetically jarring in the stark design of the Manhattan memorial landscape—oak trees have much subtler fall colors—or that the unusual spiky seed balls produced by the trees would be a maintenance and safety issue on the concrete pedestrian walkways of the site. The number of trees is significant—there were 40 victims on Flight 93—and the National Park Service declared the gift to be a "symbol of ties between the memorials for the victims of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks" (CBS News 2011) thus linking the two 9/11 memoryscapes together in the popular imagination.

The Semantics of Green Commemorabilia in Popular Cultures of Memorialization

For the Roman goddess of love, Venus, the pear was an aphrodisiac while in Victorian-era florigraphy, the language of flowers, the pear tree signifies comfort (Powell 1979). Despite these particular symbolic characteristics, pears are fiercely tenacious trees that can, and do, grow back from a mutilated stump. It is thus not terribly surprising that a Callery pear tree survived the World Trade Center destruction. This tenacity informs symbolizations of trees, both pears and others, as embodying memory, renewal and heritage as well as thinking about relationships between consumption and a rhetoric of resilient nature. For example, Moraga, California was once the Bartlett pear capital of the US and now close to hundred century-old trees remain, pruned by volunteers who also gather the fruit every year for distribution to noncommercial food pantries. These trees, along with one winter pear planted in the 1800s who survived being cut down to the roots by producing suckers that grew into an enormous five-trunked tree, have been designated as "heritage trees" by the Moraga Historical Society.

The rationale for appropriating these trees for the town's heritage was that "since Moraga has *so few historic buildings*, it has been necessary to *memorialize ancient trees planted by our antecedents"* (Moraga Historical Society 2012, emphasis added). For the past 15 years, Moraga has hosted an annual Pear Festival centered on this memorial heritage. One of the festival organizers views the importance of pears for Moraga's heritage and identity as "related to whatever attention the festival generates," (Richards 2012) an ironic comment given the importance of the festival for local tourism and economic well-being, particularly since local wineries have been added to the festival. Heritage, memory, and identity are not exempt from practices of consumption but rather in some cases, consumption is critical to both memory and memorializing.

I thus now turn to the mimetic, inorganic popular culture of memorialization, specifically that of commemorative memorabilia—or commemorabilia—in the form of souvenirs and mementos representing the trees of our living memorials. Here I expand upon Edward Casey's definition of commemorabilia as the various texts, rituals, or narratives through which we recall the past (2000[1987]). Casey writes that "the primary participation [remembering the past] is in the *commemorandum,* the commemorated object, person, or event. This participation occurs via the mediating presence of various *commemorabilia,* material or psychical; we remember *through* these translucent media" (2000[1987], p. 247). While Casey focuses largely on commemorabilia in its intangible or performed aspects, I look to the tangible/intangible nexus of consumer souvenirs, mementos and keepsakes that do the sociocultural labor of mediating commemoration and precipitating memory in the everyday. Such objects can be found in the visitor's center shops at memorials and memorial museums and they may range from predictable souvenirs such as t-shirts or hats to various decorative or practical everyday material culture.

September 11 tree commemorabilia can be purchased at the September 11 National Museum Store on Vesey Street (formerly the 9/11 Preview Site) or the Museum's online store.[4] Jewelry is one of the more unusual selections available that represents the Memorial's trees. Earrings, brooches, and necklaces feature the leaves, blossoms, and buds of the Callery pear Survivor Tree. Leaves, blossoms, and buds from the actual tree were used to make molds that were then miniaturized for casting the pewter components. The jewelry is finished with fine hand-painted enamel and silver or bronze finishes and one necklace features a single delicate enamel pear blossom adorning a simple string of pale green peridot beads. That the Survivor Tree is used primarily for women's jewelry suggests that these items not only symbolize survival but also renewal and rebirth (buds and flowers) and possibly comfort, harkening back to Victorian-era symbolism. Survivor Tree leaves are also used to make casting molds for pewter keychains and hanging ornaments as are the leaves of the swamp white oaks that populate the Manhattan memorial landscape and the sweet gum trees of the Flight 93 National Memorial.

Along with the Callery pear Survivor Tree, 400 swamp white oaks, called the 400 Memorial Trees, constitute the remaining entirety of the September 11 National Memorial tree plantings. Oaks are perhaps the most powerfully symbolic and prolific memorial trees and they are the most venerated tree in of all in human history, particularly in Greek, Roman, Celtic, and Germanic cultures; the oak is thought to have been considered sacred by just about every culture that has encountered the tree (see Jordan 2001; Lehner and Lehner 2012; Powell 1979). Not only are the trees venerated but also their leaves and acorns as symbols of renewal, life, and rebirth. Common symbolism accorded to oaks over time and space center on virile, heroic, and masculine characteristics of strength, dominion, liberation, protection, triumph, warrior status, sacrifice, or guardianship. For example, Roman citizens who "had slain an enemy, won a battle, or saved the life of a Roman" were awarded a crown of oak leaves which "symbolized bravery and humanity" (Powell 1979, p. 107). Other past and present common oak symbolism includes attributes such as longevity, prosperity, life, success, status, and stability along with nostalgically representing "traditional" woodlands and the pastoral values associated with such (see Daniels 1988). In the contemporary Western imagination, the oak is a key symbol of strength, longevity, and endurance. Oaks also carry significant contemporary national heritage weight for many societies including the US where, in 2004, the mighty oak, by popular vote, became the National Tree.

The swamp white oak was chosen for the September 11 National Memorial landscape as a normative, contemporary symbol of longevity and life but with an added and interesting symbolic adaptation in its appropriation for 9/11 commemoration. The memorial oak leaf key chains and hanging ornaments (some including tiny acorns) for sale as commemorabilia are described on the online Museum Store's website as

[4] The full array of commemorative items available can be viewed here: https://www.911memorial.org/catalog.

> … molded from the leaf of a memorial tree, specially selected from within a 500-mile radius of the World Trade Center site as well as locations in Pennsylvania and Washington, D.C. to symbolize those areas impacted on September 11, 2001. The trees serve as *graceful and hopeful* symbols of life and longevity. [emphasis added]

Interestingly, the descriptions for the oak leaf pendants, earrings, and pins (all women's jewelry) do note that the leaves are molded from the oak trees but otherwise focus solely on the finish and size details for the items, *not* the tree symbolism. More importantly, the oak's standard symbolic attributes of life and longevity have been modified to include that which is not typically used for oak symbolism. Given the virile, heroic, and masculine symbolism long accorded to oaks across time and space, "graceful and hopeful" is a new, kinder, and gentler modification of the more enduring "life and longevity" symbolism.

The memorial sweet gum leaf key chains and hanging ornaments are described on the same site as follows:

> As an expression of shared commitment, forty Sweet Gum trees selected from within a 500-mile radius of the World Trade Center site were presented by the 9/11 Memorial to the Flight 93 National Memorial near Shanksville, Pennsylvania. The leaves of these trees change to colors of brilliant red and gold in autumn. These ornaments are molded from the leaf of one of these Sweet Gum trees, themselves *graceful and hopeful symbols of life and longevity.* [emphasis added]

While the oak's standard symbolic attributes of life and longevity were modified to include that which is not typically used (graceful and hopeful), in this case a tree which has had no significant symbolic meanings past or present, the sweet gum tree, is endowed in the present with the very same symbolism as the oaks in the September 11 National Memorial. The symbolic attributes for the trees in two of the three September 11 memorials have been expanded for the oak and *completely invented* for the sweet gum as a part of the appropriation of nature for popular cultures of 9/11 commemoration. This shared, invented symbolism further bonds the two memorials together in the popular imagination. More critically, resymbolizing is necessary to an effective rhetoric of (human) nature as resilient, a modified rhetoric that through the addition of "graceful and hopeful," reflects these sentiments from the September 11 National Memorial's mission: *May the lives remembered, the deeds recognized, and the spirit reawakened be eternal beacons, which reaffirm respect for life, strengthen our resolve to preserve freedom, and inspire an end to hatred, ignorance, and intolerance.*

All of these trees are also featured on commemorabilia such as shirts, hats, men's ties, umbrellas, mugs, and paperweights. The OKC Survivor Tree is also featured on many similar mementos in the OKC National Memorial Museum shop. The elm traditionally represents strength as a common symbol in time and space as well as at different times, dignity, life, and willpower. As discussed above, in the case of OKC, the Survivor Tree elm symbolizes resiliency, faith, and hope. An icon of the Survivor Tree is also the logo used on the website, all public relations materials, and advertising for the memorial. Memorial and Survivor Tree consumer souvenirs, mementos, and keepsakes are powerful mimetic forms that mediate commemoration and precipitate memory in the everyday for those who engage with them. Such

tree-themed commemorabilia indeed relies upon and makes manifest a rhetoric of (human) nature as resilient and enduring for popular cultures of commemoration.

Conclusions: From Rhetoric to Restoration and Renewal

Memorials themselves are considered to be "rhetorical artifacts" and contemporary memorials in particular articulate a dominant discourse of renewal (Veil et al. 2011, p. 165). The features that constitute both old and new commemorative sites, be they architectural or organic, are heavy with signification. Such signification derives from the rhetoric deployed through naming specific features (Survivor Tree, Field of Honor), old, new, and invented symbolism assigned to such and the commemorabila that represents memorial landscape features. In the cases presented here, a rhetoric of resilient nature dominates all fields of signification. For this rhetoric to be effective for memorializing and signifying power it must resonate with, reflect and coconstruct popular values in the present, even values constructed from sometimes nostalgic or mythical conceptualizations of the past for the present. One challenge to memorial design is indeed making "an event of the past… relevant to the needs and desires of the memorial's own present" (Blair and Michel 200, p. 33) and the values we (re)appropriate for nature play a central role in making memorials salient in the present.

In the present, discourses on urban ecology, the community stewardship of green spaces/greening spaces, and the reclamation of endangered habitats all inform the current rhetoric of nature in popular cultures of commemoration. They do so in ways that center on ideas about resilience, renewal, and human/earth well-being that emerge from and coconstruct an interface between culture, ecology, and economics. This interface is, I argue, the key hallmark of the rhetoric of nature as it directly reflects a contemporary popular consumer culture of "going green" and eco-consciousness. This eco-culture is evident in popular everyday practices, from recycling, wearing sustainably produced clothing, and buying organic goods to slow food movements, bike-to-work days, seed-saving and community gardening. While these are all done for the sake of a healthier earth, they are all consumption-based aspects of eco-culture given that a combination of both leisure time and money are necessary to maintaining many of these practices.

Hurricane Katrina caused massive devastation to the rural and urban landscapes in and surrounding New Orleans and beyond first by flooding and wind and then recovery and rebuilding efforts. The physical recovery of the landscape required community efforts to replace trees, shrubs, and flowers as well as community gardens. However, these efforts were not just about healing a wounded landscape but also about the recovery of individuals and social relations as well as building future community resilience through greening practices. One detailed analysis of 9/11 Living Memorial Projects in several New York City boroughs and post-Katrina urban forestry projects New Orleans, reveals that the memorialization mechanism and feedback process for resilience:

> begins immediately after a crisis, when a spontaneous and collective memorialization of lost ones through gardening and tree planting ensues, following which a community of practice emerges to act upon and apply these memories to social learning about greening practices. This in turn may lead to new kinds of learning, including about collective efficacy and ecosystem services production, through a kind of feedback between remembering, learning, and enhancing individual, social, and environmental well-being. (Tidball et al. 2010, p. 591)

This rhetoric of "social–ecological resilience" (Tidball et al. 2010, p. 601) and its associated stewardship praxis for communities aims to "reconnect natural and human systems in attempts at recovery" (Svendson and Campbell 2005, p. 1) In the case of living memorials, this also generates an understanding of such memorials "in the context of urban natural resource management" and social–ecological life cycles rather than as related solely to a specific tragic event (Svendson and Campbell 2005, p. 5). This holds true for the green aspects of the memorials of scale to the victims of September 11 be they urban or rural.

The Flight 93 National Memorial, in a rural setting, has an extensive plan for the reclamation and healing of the ecosystem at and around the site where Flight 93 crashed thus extending the memorial landscape for social healing. While the formal memorial itself involves groves of trees, the "Plant a Tree at Flight 93" project aims to reforest up to 50 acres of the landscape surrounding the site that has been destroyed by many years of surface coal mining. The plan is to reintroduce a vibrant ecosystem by planting nearly 50,000 seedlings representing an appropriate diversity of species for the area. This project also includes reintroducing chestnut trees engineered to resist the blight that in the past, compounded by fragility caused by nutrient depletion and mining toxicity, nearly eradicated the area's native chestnut trees. From 2012 into the present volunteers have planted thousands of trees around the site. The reforesting effort provides protection for the 40 Memorial Groves and renews wildlife habitats while also creating what may arguably become one of the largest living memorials in the world as reforestation continues into the near future.

The September 11 National Memorial in Manhattan features sustainable "urban forestry" practices through reclaiming rainwater for irrigation, protecting trees from the stresses of urban living.[5] This is part of broader urban greening and cultural revitalization projects in Lower Manhattan including the past and future renovation of several parks and plazas to include more vegetation and trees as well as sustainable management of such. In contrast to the restoration and revitalization cases discussed here, other memorial site ecosystem projects focus on the recreation of original landscapes for purposes other than restoring environmental robustness and diversity. In the 1990s, a plan at Auschwitz–Birkenau in Poland was set in motion to recreate the ecological landscape of the death camp as it was in 1943–1944 in order to "preserve historical authenticity" (Charlesworth and Addis 2002, p. 240). While fruit and birch tree stands dating to the 1940s were preserved, it was decided that no new trees would be planted as symbolic memorial features as a means to most authentically "recreate the environment as seen by the prisoners and the SS

[5] See http://www.911memorial.org/sustainable-design for a brief description of the sustainable design elements of the memorial landscape.

in 1943/1944" (Charlesworth and Addis 2002, p. 244). Yet despite having a goal of time-bound landscape authenticity rather than ecosystem recovery and renewal, the general greening of Auschwitz–Birkenau is an acknowledgment that the organic elements of memorial landscapes are critical for commemoration and remembrance.

That Holocaust memorials rarely have natural elements such as memorial trees as a key feature reflects the general mission of Holocaust memorials: to generate discomfort rather than comfort thus engendering an uneasy, painful remembrance that manifests in the prevention of such atrocities in the future. In contrast, the arboreal memorials of Australia and the US are intended to both comfort and precipitate remembrance through a rhetoric of trees as symbolizing hope, resilience, endurance, and renewal. The phenomenon of trees as resymbolized, (re)appropriated memorial landscape elements for recent tragedies of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century derives from a set of contemporary popular social values centered on ecosystems recovery and stewardship as is intersects with human well-being, memorialization and the consumption of commodities. A powerful rhetoric of resilient (human) nature thus emerges from and simultaneously constructs, paradoxically, a nexus between popular cultures of memorialization, consumption, and "going green."

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