Visual Narratives of The Old West:

How Arizona Old Western Towns

Communicate History to Contemporary Tourists

by

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ABSTRACT

The history of the American Old West has frequently been romanticized and idealized. This dissertation study explored four Arizona towns that developed during the era of the American Old West: Tombstone, Jerome, Oatman, and Globe. The study broadly examined issues of remembering/forgetting and historical authenticity/myth. It specifically analyzed historic tourist destinations as visual phenomenon: seeking to understand how town histories were visually communicated to contemporary tourists and what role historically-grounded visual narratives played in the overall tourist experience. The study utilized a visual methodology to organize and structure qualitative data collection and analysis; it incorporated visual data from historic and contemporary photographs and textual data from observations and interviews. Through a careful exploration of each town's past and present, the research proposed a measure to assess how the strength of visual connections between past and present impacted tourist impressions of each town. The analysis suggested that, due to a general lack of historic knowledge, tourist impressions were more closely connected to contemporary experiences and prior expectations of the American Old West than to historically-grounded visual narratives.

Keywords: American Old West, Arizona tourism, Old Western town, historic photographs, visual methods, qualitative research

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The American Old West – generally defined as the time period of the late 1800's when many Americans ventured westward across the country – conjures images of valiant explorers, lone gold miners striking it rich, or brave cowboys fighting off "savage" Indians. During this time period, the West was seen by numerous White Americans as an unknown wilderness filled with opportunities including land and animals, and a wealth of gold, silver, and other natural resources waiting to be claimed. Yet, while life was often harsh, dangerous, and unstable, the American Old West is frequently romanticized and idealized within modern-day movies, books, television shows, tourist destinations, and popular imagination. Stories of fictional life on the Western frontier have been spread around the world by writers such as Louis L'Amour and countless Western movies featuring actors including John Wayne. Together, all of these different stories perpetuate images and beliefs in the myths of the Old West. I am fascinated by the connection between past and present – of how history is portrayed and remembered within modern-day spaces.

I will begin with a quick example. Ed Schieffelin was famous for his discovery of gold and silver in the hills of Tombstone, Arizona. After leaving town in search of new opportunities, he went on to travel to and prospect many other areas. As legend has it, he was found dead in a small cabin in Alaska with a journal entry that read, "Found it at last. Richer than Tombstone" (Sosa & Nelson, 2009, p. 57). Yet, the location of his new discovery remained a mystery and it fueled great speculation about a lost gold mine of incredible wealth waiting to be re-found. Legends like this help to exemplify the hope

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and aspirations of many men who ventured westward. They tell a story of unimaginable amounts of gold and silver lost in the hills that, if discovered, would change the prospector's life and fortune forever. Perhaps not much different than a modern-day dream of winning the lottery, striking it rich would transform a life filled with hard labor into one of lavish leisure. Yet, in reality, the number of individuals who win the lottery today is just a fraction of the population. And the number of prospectors who actually struck it rich was minimal. Nevertheless, it was the hope of wealth and conquest that seems to underlie many of the stories of the American Old West.

In fact, a growing number of tourists appear interested in the history and stories of the modern-day places they are visiting. In Arizona (whose early history stems from the days of the American Old West), it is estimated that 59% of all visitors tour historic sites – even more than the number of visitors who come to the state for sports events (Shilling, 2000, p. 6). Tourists travel to the numerous Old Western tourist destinations throughout the state oftentimes seeking both education as well as entertainment. In some destinations they can find historically-grounded portrayals of life during the days of the American Old West. In other destinations, they find misrepresented, exaggerated, or romanticized versions of that history. And finally, in still other destinations they find a conglomeration of both fact and fiction. I wonder then, what is it that dictates what historical narratives are told and how they are told to tourists? And, if history is told incorrectly or even forgotten completely, what are the implications?

Research Overview

In order to broadly examine issues of remembering/forgetting and historical authenticity/myth, I explored four contemporary towns in Arizona that developed during the era of the American Old West. Each year, a large number of tourists travel to Arizona's historic and historic-themed Old Western towns (Shilling, 2000). These tourists are exposed to visual and textual narratives about the American Old West – specifically of life in the Arizona Territory from 1863 to 1912 and of the early days of statehood post-1912. However, existing research analyzing tourist destinations as visual phenomenon is quite limited. I wanted to better understand how town histories were visually communicated to contemporary tourists and whether the visual narratives were rooted in the history of the location or if they emerged from more modern-day conceptualizations of the American Old West.

I employed a visual methodology to organize and structure qualitative data collection and analysis. Rose (2001) outlined three sites where the meanings of visual images are created: the site of the image itself, the site of the image production, and the site of the audience. For the purposes of my study, the "image" was defined as the visual appearance of the Old Western town. Of course, given the three-dimensional, multifaceted nature of Old Western towns, the image here could not be imagined as a single photograph, but instead encompassed all of the various visual components that made up each town. Therefore, while Rose's (2001) visual methodology served as the organizational structure for my study, the qualitative research methods of observation, interview, and photographic analysis were also employed to help more fully explain the visual narratives being communicated within these multifaceted and complex spaces.

I proposed three specific research questions:

RQ #1: What does the contemporary Arizona Old Western town look like? Specifically, what narratives are visually communicated to present day town visitors?

RQ #2: What did the historic Arizona Old Western town look like? Specifically, how is the town's history visually communicated within the contemporary town?

RQ #3: How do visitors to Arizona Old Western towns interpret the narratives they are seeing? Specifically, how do they understand the connection between past and present?

Each of the three questions was addressed during a distinct phase of research. First, addressing RQ #1, I engaged in ethnographic-type field observations, documenting each study location with researcher-generated digital photographs. I also collected contemporary photographs that had been posted on the website Pinterest by visitors to each Old Western town. Second, addressing RQ #2, I collected historical photographs from photographic archives documenting what each town looked like as it was being constructed and developed. And third, addressing RQ #3, I conducted interviews with visitors/tourists, residents, local business owners, chamber of commerce members, and area historians. I asked specifically about preconceived notions of the American Old West held by visitors/tourists as well as their interpretations and understandings of the historical narratives visually communicated to them.

In chapter two, I review the paradigmatic approaches, theories, and existing literature that helped ground and contextualize my research. In chapter three, I provide a detailed methods section, describing the specific steps and procedures I undertook during data collection and analysis. In chapter four, I summarize study findings, offering

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answers and insights into the three research questions. In chapter five, I discuss and analyze the overall implications of study findings. I conclude by proposing a measure for assessing how the strength of visual connections between past and present impacts visitor impressions of historic tourist destinations.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter two reviews existing literature in several related areas of study. I begin with a brief summary of the historical development and criticisms of the field of intercultural communication. Then, I outline theories and literature that are particularly relevant to the examination of Arizona Old Western towns. First, I give an overview of how the American Old West has been conceptualized and imagined in contemporary America. Second, I describe the Communication concepts of "collective memory" and "sites of memory." Third, I review the Tourism concepts of "authenticity" in historic destinations and "cultural heritage tourism."

Historical Development and Criticisms of Intercultural Communication

The field of intercultural communication has only quite recently emerged as a cohesive area of academic inquiry in the U.S. According to Leeds-Hurwitz (2010), key underpinnings of the field can be traced back to the work of anthropologists in the 1930's-1940's and also the U.S. Department of State's Foreign Service Institute (or FSI) in 1946. Yet, despite a wealth of scholarly research in the field from the 1950's-1970's, much of the American work was fairly aparadigmatic. It was not until the 1980's that the field came to associate with a functionalist/post-positivist paradigm in an effort to be seen as more academically credible (Martin, Nakayama, & Carbaugh, 2012). The functionalist paradigm emphasized the examination of culture as a variable, often impacted primarily by national identity. Only since the 1990's have American scholars begun branching out into the interpretive and critical paradigms (Martin, Nakayama, & Carbaugh, 2012).

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There are a number of articles that criticize core assumptions and tendencies that emerged historically within the field of intercultural communication. For Leeds-Hurwitz (1990), early decisions made by the FSI (and anthropologist Edward Hall) clearly shaped present day understandings of culture, the relationship between culture and communication, and the research approaches to studying culture. Additionally, Cooks (2001) argued that, "Hall's approach (and that currently employed by most researchers in the field) rarely offers an analysis deeper than a superficial focus on the details of cultural interactions" (p. 340). Such "superficial" studies often focused solely on comparing and contrasting diverse cultural groups, failing to adequately address the rich complexities of intercultural interactions. Chuang (2003) explained that the emphasis on either/or binaries such as high-context/low-context or individualistic/collectivistic has only served to reinforce differences between cultural groups.

Interestingly, it is the work of an anthropologist outside the field of intercultural communication who offered an explanation for the restricted emphasis on comparing and contrasting cultural differences found within the field. Dahlen (1997) analyzed how interculturalists (defined as the professional group of intercultural consultants and trainers) conceptualized culture with the specific intentions of packaging, marketing, and selling their services. Much like Leeds-Hurwitz (1990), Dahlen (1997) looked to the historical emergence of the field for an explanation of current practices. He found that the goals of the Foreign Service Institute (FSI), the Society for Intercultural Education Training and Research (SIETAR), and a number of large intercultural training consultancies all lead to the development of a "… vested professional interest in accentuating difference" (p. 13). In fact, Dahlen (1997) believed that many

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interculturalists relied on outdated anthropological definitions of culture because they were easier to market than more contemporary conceptualizations of culture. In contrast, more recent anthropological understandings of culture often rely on the work of Clifford Geertz (1973) whose understanding of culture was significantly more dynamic and complex than the one historically drilled into many interculturalists.

There appear to be very few scholars in Communication who study what happens at the *point* of intercultural interaction – who move away from comparing and contrasting cultural differences and instead examine specific instances of truly *inter*-cultural interactions. The examples that do exist are often from interpretivist scholars. First, Carbaugh's (1990) book, *Cultural Communication and Intercultural Contact,* offered a collection of ethnography of communication studies (an approach first proposed by Dell Hymes in the 1960's). The studies each examined communication patterns within a specific cultural context. They emphasized that cultural identity is performed through communication and explored the point of contact where different communication patterns interact. Second, Casmir (1999) identified the historic focus on difference (and either-or endstates) as a significant constraint to research in the field. As an alternative, he recommended the emic examination of third cultures that develop when people from two separate cultural groups interact with each other. And third, Hecht et al.'s (2005) Communication Theory of Identity also drew from an interpretive perspective. They saw identity and communication as inter-related, where identity was created and perpetuated through communication. Overall, interpretive scholars understand culture as a socially constructed and dynamically changing concept that is in motion, being defined by our communicative practices.

In addition to criticisms of the field's emphasis on cultural differences and its often-superficial analyses, there are also criticisms of intercultural communication scholarship for its biased and non-inclusive tendencies. In 2002, Collier facilitated a dialogue with four other scholars to discuss issues and problems within the field. What emerged was a deep-seated concern with how the field tended to serve the interests of White Americans and how it had become "… politically unconscious, ahistorical, disembodied, and Eurocentric" in focus (Collier et al., 2002, p. 234). In order to address these problems, the authors suggested that intercultural communication scholars should consider the larger contexts of their work, highlight counter-hegemonic knowledge, and work to deconstruct existing divisions and categorizations of culture, ethnicity, and race. Consistent with Collier et al.'s (2002) dialogue, Allen (2007) argued that most White people take race for granted whereas non-Whites are taught to consider it as part of their identity. And Cooks (2001) argued that scholars must redefine intercultural communication from the perspective of marginalized cultural groups "in the borderlands" rather than from the privileged center. Consequently, the last several years have seen a growing number of scholars turning to a critical perspective for the examination of intercultural issues (see Moon, 2010 and Cooks, 2010 for overviews of contemporary critical scholarship).

As a result of criticisms and calls to action, the interpretive and critical paradigms have emerged as new and significant approaches to studying intercultural communication. I locate my research within the interpretivist paradigm: "Interpretivism takes understanding as its principal topic and methodological wellspring" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 31). Anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973) was instrumental in

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elucidating an interpretive approach. He wrote that there exists "… a multiplicity of complex conceptual structures, many of them superimposed upon or knotted into one another, which are at once strange, irregular, and inexplicit, and which [the researcher] must contrive somehow first to grasp and then to render" (p. 10). Thus, as an interpretive researcher, I seek to make (however microscopic) forays into unpacking culture and finding meaning in human interactions.

Imagining the American Old West

The American West, the American Frontier, the Old West, the Wild West… there are many labels for the period of time during the late 1800's when some Americans ventured westward, expanding the fledgling country while seeking wealth and opportunity. According to historians Hine and Faragher (2000), "*Frontier* and *west* are key words in the American lexicon, and they share an intimate historical relation" (p. 10). However, defining exactly what these terms mean is quite difficult. The exact location, the date, and the story of the frontier are ephemeral and have been defined in numerous ways (Hine and Faragher, 2000). Historian Frederick Turner (1894/2014) proposed that the frontier closed in 1890 when no large tracts of land remained for American conquest. What came to be called the "Turner Thesis" influenced generations of historians. However, the 1890 date is highly debated (Athearn, 1986). Furthermore, the story told by Turner (1894/2014) is often contested. For example, Limerick (1987) introduced the concept of a New Western History that analyzed the American West not as a process, like Turner, but as a place filled with a multitude of diverse stories. She argued against the commonly accepted "Turner Thesis," writing that, "English speaking white men were the stars of [that] story: Indians, Hispanics, French Canadians, and Asians were at best

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supporting actors and at worst invisible" (Limerick, 1987, p. 21). Overall, historical accounts of the American Old West are extremely varied.

The American Old West, no matter how it is labeled and described, has been mythicized, romanticized, and idealized throughout history (Athearn, 1986; Slotkin, 1998; Murdoch, 2001). In fact, even while the American frontier was open for exploration, it was falsely imagined as an ideal way of life that embodied freedom, justice, progress, and prosperity (Athearn, 1986). Indeed, "Travelers long had found fascination in looking for what they conceived to be the West – a land of cowboys, gunslingers, and 'red' Indians – only to be disappointed when they found black broadcloth suits, real-estate agents, tramways, and gaslit streets" (Athearn, 1986, p. 17). The myths of the American Old West glossed over the true hardships and failures of the American frontier and focused almost exclusively on the dreams.

The myths of the American Old West continue to exist even today. The popularity of "Wild West" shows and Western dime novels were instrumental in perpetuating the cowboy and Indian as iconic images of the American West (Athearn, 1986; Slotkin, 1998; Murdoch, 2001). And, as Athearn (1986) explained, while "… there were increasing efforts to set the record of the West straight… those who sought to realign their historical sights made little impression upon the public" (p. 167). Battle stories of cowboys versus Indians are still abundant in recountings of the American Old West. For example, the town of Tombstone often begins its history with tales of roving bands of Apache Indians including the now legendary Geronimo who fought against Mexican and American troops for several decades before surrendering (Sosa & Nelson, 2009). In fact, John Clum, an influential resident of early Tombstone, has been credited by many as the

only man to ever capture Geronimo. Yet, while Clum's efforts were lauded by many historians, the fact that Geronimo's mother, wife, and children had been killed by Mexican soldiers (Sosa & Nelson, 2009) appeared much less frequently discussed. Of course, it was the White American that prevailed in the end and laid claim to the American West. Thus, it was also White Americans who recorded the history of the area.

A culturally-biased perspective on the American Old West is clearly visible in numerous Western movies and television shows of American cinema (see Georgakas, 1972; Aleiss, 2005; Rollins & O'Connor, 2003; Shohat & Stam, 2009; etc.). For example, negative portrayals of Native Americans have been attributed to the fact that native populations are frequently described throughout the course of history by White European civilizations who have conquered them (Berkhofer, 2009). These narratives often portray native populations as undeserving and unworthy. A long record of stereotypical misrepresentations and creative freedoms has propelled historically negative images of Indians even into more modern-day Western films.

Sites of Memory

Another issue in the (mis)communication and (mis)remembrance of history is an inherent problem with human memory. Dating at least to the writings of Plato and Aristotle, memory has been seen as a dilemma of human existence. Plato described memory as a block of wax in our heads where some things make impressions (and we remember them), and other things do not make impressions (and we forget) (Phillips, 2010). Every person's block of wax has idiosyncratic qualities and thus every person may retain different memories. However, a primary concern of Plato was not so much in forgetting as much as misremembering, or having false memories (Phillips, 2010). He

focused not on the memories themselves but on human inability to recall memories accurately. Following Plato, Aristotle further clarified distinctions between memory, recollection, and remembering (Phillips, 2010). Aristotle also problematized the role of imagination in accurately attempting to recall our memories of the past. Significantly, "…what makes memory so important is the prospect of its failure" (Phillips, 2010, p. 213).

"Collective memories" are memories held by a community rather than an individual; they are linked to a larger group consciousness that dictates how the individual remembers and understands his/her past (Halbwachs, 1950/1992). Oftentimes, communities construct museums, monuments, and memorials which communicate collective memories. These physical locations are know as "sites of memory" or "places of memory" (depending on the translation of Pierre Nora's (1984/2001) book on national French memory titled *Lieux de memoire*). Sites of memory communicate stories of the past and give voice to historic narratives. Overall, sites of memory function in a number of different ways, depending primarily on the reason for their construction. For example, modern-day sites have been analyzed as sites of memory – ranging from grocery stores (Dickinson & Maugh, 2008) to airports (Wood, 2003). Oftentimes, such modern-day sites were not constructed with an explicit desire to reference the past. Nevertheless, they provide links to the past. In contrast, many historic sites have also been analyzed as sites of memory (and in much greater numbers), including museums (Katriel, 1994; Dicks, 2000; Dickinson, Ott, & Aoki, 2005; Dickinson, Ott, & Aoki, 2006; etc.) and memorials (Blair, Jeppeson, & Pucci, 1991; Gallagher, 1995; Blair & Michel, 2000; etc.). Such historic sites were constructed with an explicit desire to reference the past. They

communicate historic narratives through tour guides, audiovisual shows, signage, brochures, exhibits, architectural layouts, etc.

While numerous Communication articles have addressed the topics of collective and public memory (see Phillips, 2010), there are only a couple articles that have specifically examined sites of memory that communicate the history of the American Old West. First, Dickinson, Ott, and Aoki (2005) explored the Buffalo Bill Museum in Cody, Wyoming. They argued that the museum, in attempting to communicate the history of the American Old West, actually "… [privileged] images of masculinity and Whiteness" and served to "… carnivalize the violent conflicts between Anglo Americans and Native Americans" (p. 87). The museum perpetuated myths of the American Old West while passing them off as "real" history. Second, Dickinson, Ott, and Aoki (2006) also explored the Plains Indian Museum in Cody, Wyoming. The museum "… [invited] visitors to respect and even celebrate Plains Indian culture and traditions, but without asking them to consider the social and political implications of Western conquest" (p. 30). It told an ethnocentric and one-sided version of history.

Alongside sites of memory, there are several references to how re-created historical spaces served as simulacra. While the ideas of simulation and simulacra are not new, these references referred specifically to Jean Baudrillard's (1981/1998) conceptualization of the concepts. Baudrillard, a French postmodern theorist, analyzed the consumption of commodities and the meaning associated with them in modern-day mass production. He argued that, although the term "representation" implied a direct link between a sign and reality, "simulation" implied a false link between a sign and reality. Even though a representation might begin as a reflection of reality, the repeated

reproduction of it perverts and mask reality until it becomes hyperreal and there is no relation between the sign and reality at all. This is the construction of the simulacrum (Baudrillard, 1981/1998). The concept of the simulacrum has been referenced in Dickinson's (1997) description of Old Pasadena, California, in Dickinson, Ott, & Aoki's (2005) discussion of the Buffalo Bill Museum in Cody, Wyoming, in Boje's (1995) organizational study about Disneyland, etc. Yet, given an overall scarcity of research on Old Western tourist destinations as sites of memory or as simulacra this area appears open for further investigation.

Authenticity in Tourist Experiences

In order to better understand the construction of tourist experiences, MacCannell (1973) proposed a reformulation of Erving Goffman's work on the presentation of self. Of significance to MacCannell's work, Goffman (1959) explained that when an individual interacts in a social situation, he attempts to present a carefully staged version of himself in order to manage another person's impressions of him. However, the other person is simultaneously attempting to see beyond the staged presentation and form a true, unstaged impression of the first individual. Goffman (1959) used the analogy of a performance where the actors give a carefully managed front stage show to the audience while existing in a very different manner back stage where the audience cannot see them. The concept of front and back stage can be applied to numerous social establishments and interactions.

MacCannell (1973) suggested that while tourists are often presented with a carefully planned front stage presentation of local culture, they often seek an intimate, back stage presentation instead. Tourists who believe they have accessed the back stage

can take comfort in having experienced the real, or "authentic," culture of the area. Yet,

MacCannell believed that finding an authentic tourist experience was difficult:

> In touristically developed areas, the tourist is caught in a covert, but all-embracing
> "tourist space," constructed by the tourist establishment, in which authenticity is
> staged for the earnest but unsuspecting seeker. His high motives are, hence,
> ultimately doomed to frustration. (Cohen, 1979, p. 20)

Additionally, MacCannell (1973) pointed out that, ironically, many tourist establishments

now offer access to a back stage that is equally as staged as a front stage – for example,

guided tours that promise to "get off the beaten path" or to "get in with the natives" (p.

594). Thus, he proposed the term "staged authenticity" to describe the carefully

constructed presentation of real cultural traditions to unsuspecting (or at least forgiving)

tourists. For him, Goffman's dichotomy between front and back stage regions was too

rigid and should instead be viewed as a continuum of six regions (see Figure 1) ranging

from front to back, but including staged versions of each.

Figure 1. Stages of the tourist experience (MacCannell, 1973, p. 598).

1. Stage One: Goffman's front region; the kind of social space tourists attempt to overcome, or to get behind.

2. Stage Two: a touristic front region that has been decorated to appear, in some of its particulars, like a back region…

3. Stage Three: a front region that is totally organized to look like a back region…

4. Stage Four: a back region that is open to outsiders…

5. Stage Five: a back region that may be cleaned up or altered a bit because tourists are permitted an occasional glimpse in…

6. Stage Six: Goffman's back region; the kind of social space that motivates touristic consciousness.

Discussions of authenticity and staged authenticity in tourism were initially given little academic attention in the 1970's and 1980's due to a number of criticisms of MacCannell's (1973) work. Initially, Cohen (1979) criticized MacCannell's work, saying that the proposed six regions were hard to distinguish in real life. And, while MacCannell (1973) believed that all tourists seek authentic experiences, Cohen (1979) argued that it was too overgeneralized to be true – tourists were capable of looking for and discerning what was real and what was staged; they could accept both possibilities (see Figure 2). Pearce and Moscardo (1986[a]) expanded MacCannell's model to consider that authenticity could be achieved through not only environmental experiences but also people-based experiences. They suggested that all tourist sites could be classified into

four types based on the authenticity/inauthenticity of both the environment and the people

within it (see Figure 3). Furthermore, as Pearce and Moscardo (1986[a]) explained, there

also existed a general belief during the 1970's and 1980's that "… tourists' behaviour

and tourists' experiences [were] superficial and peripheral to modern industrial society"

(p. 121). Since the tourist experience was inherently a set-up experience, it was

considered trivial.

Figure 2. Types of tourist situations (Cohen, 1979, p. 26).

	TOURISTS' IMPRESSION OF SCENE	
Nature of scene	Real	Staged
Real	A Authentic and recognised as such.	C Suspicion of staging, authenticity questioned.
Staged	B Failure to recognise con-trived tourist space.	D Recognised contrived tourist space.

Figure 3. Classification of tourist scenes (Pearce and Moscardo, 1986, p. 125).

1. Authentic people in authentic environment, defined as backstage people
   in a backstage region.

2. Authentic people in inauthentic environment, defined as backstage people in a
   front stage region.

3. Inauthentic people in inauthentic environment, defined as front stage people in a
   front stage region.

4. Inauthentic people in authentic environment, defined as front stage people in a
   backs

These four tourist scenes may be further subdivided into nine tourist experiences on the

basis of people's perceptions of which element or elements are important.

Despite initial hesitations, the subject of authenticity in tourist experiences has

come to be seen as an important area of social behavior worth examining. More recently,

the subject of authenticity "… has become an agenda for tourism study" (Wang, 1999, p.

349). Discussions about the subject can be found in abundance in the journal *Annals of

Tourism Research* from the late 1980's through the 2000's. Many of the articles argued

whether tourists actually sought authentic experiences and, if they did, what those

experiences looked like. The arguments were made using examples from a wide variety

of different tourist destinations: Pearce & Moscardo, 1986[b] within Australian historic

theme parks; Taylor, 2001 within representations of indigenous Maori culture; Chhabra,

Healy, & Sills, 2003 within Scottish heritage tourism; Kim & Jamal, 2007 within Renaissance Festivals; etc. As Taylor (2001) explained, tourism sites "… are positioned as signifiers of past events, epochs, or ways of life. In this way authenticity is equated with the 'traditional'" (p. 9). Yet, modern-day tourism is also driven by concerns for commodification and economic profit. Thus, while historic tourist sites may strive for historic authenticity, they inherently struggle to achieve it.

Research on authenticity in historic tourist destinations is abundant. Yet, research analyzing tourist destinations (specifically Old Western tourist destinations) as visual phenomenon is significantly more limited. Sontag (1973) considered that "… photography [developed] in tandem with one of the most characteristic of modern activities: tourism" (p. 9). And Urry (1992) stressed that tourist experiences, primarily through the activity of sightseeing, were inherently visual: "The tourist experience involves something that is visually different and distinguished from otherwise mundane activities. The tourist gaze endows the tourist experience with a striking, almost sacred, importance" (p. 173). And, through this process, the tourist collects photographs to document what he/she has seen. Chalfen (1979) analyzed the connection between type of tourist and type/content of photographs taken. Yet, in referencing MacCannell's (1973) work on authenticity, Chalfen (1979) wrote: "Regarding the motivations of tourist photographers, it is uncertain how much they rely on their cameras to document or 'prove' that they have experienced some degree of authentic native life" (p. 438). Instead, Chalfen (1979) concluded that there were few rules or norms that could be applied to understanding tourist photography. Years later, Chalfen (2011) said, "Arguably, tourism is a visual phenomenon as we observe people using sight to see sites. Most travelers have

a curiosity for 'how local people look,' how 'others' live and what a particular location in the world looks like" (p. 35). And while many tourists record their experiences with a camera, the resulting photograph only provides "… evidence of 'having been there,' as personal witness" to the experience (Chalfen, 2011, p. 36). While these studies support the value and importance of examining tourist destinations as visual phenomenon, the area still has great potential for further investigation.

Cultural heritage tourism. A significant portion of discussions about authenticity focus on the type of tourist interacting with the space. In other words, some tourists may seek authentic experiences in historic destination while others may not, and each tourist may define authenticity in a different way. There have been numerous tourist classification systems proposed by scholars, depending on the motivation and intentions of the individual tourist (see Cohen, 1972 and Cohen, 1979 for early examples). More recently, sustainable tourism has been divided into: ecotourism, cultural tourism, heritage tourism, and cultural heritage tourism (Shilling, 2000). Ecotourists seek experiences of the natural world. Cultural tourists seek cultural attractions primarily in the area of the arts. Heritage tourists are interested in the history of the sites they visit. In other words: "Heritage tourism offers opportunities to portray the past in the present. It provides an infinite time and space in which the past can be experienced through the prism of the endless possibilities of interpretation" (Nuryanti, 1996, p. 250). And, finally, cultural heritage tourists (as mentioned in chapter one) are interested in not only the history, but also the stories: "… a place's history and heritage, the 'story' of its people" rather than the natural environment, sports, fine art, or pure entertainment (Shilling, 2000, p. 4).

These last two categories of tourists frequently stay longer than other tourists and spend more money in each destination.

Thus, given the increasing recognition of the economic value of cultural heritage tourists, many Arizona institutions and Old Western towns are considering cultural heritage tourism practices. For example, the Arizona Humanities Council and the Community Heritage Group offer guidance on creating tourism experiences firmly grounded in authenticity, quality, and uniqueness (Shilling, 2000). These groups include "historic authenticity" as an essential component of the cultural heritage experience. It is a necessity given the educated and discerning nature of these tourists: "…cultural heritage travelers want an authentic experience. They do not want a romanticized portrait of your history, nor a watered-down version that skips over the blemished chapters in your community's story (and every town has them)" (Shilling, 2000, p. 6). Shilling (2007) later advocated the concept of "civic tourism" as a place-based approach to tourism that carefully balances the goals of both tourists and local residents. In this approach, authenticity means that towns "Dispel myths and stereotypes" and "Don't knowingly misrepresent [their history]" (Shilling, 2007, p.107). Civic tourism practices can offer a sustainable, long-term, and highly profitable effort that improves the quality of life for locals while boosting the town's economy. This is not to say that every Old Western town in Arizona is entirely a cultural heritage site or that it desires to be. Nevertheless, it does point out the potential benefits of communicating historically grounded narratives within historic tourist destinations.

Conclusion

Through the above review of theories and literature that are particularly relevant to the study of Arizona Old Western towns, I have laid a conceptual foundation for my research. My dissertation relied on many key assumptions of an interpretive intercultural communication approach. It clearly avoided the traditional, functionalist examination of culture as a variable defined primarily by national identity. It instead explored Arizona Old Western tourist destinations as local cultural spaces and focused on the (re)construction of culture through the visual communication, and remembrance, of the past.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

My research utilized the visual methodology proposed by Rose (2001) who outlined three sites where the meanings of visual images are created: the site of the image itself, the site of the image production, and the site of the audience. A visual methodology emphasizes the significant role that visual images play in our lives. It encourages a more complete understanding of the complex social constructions of the visual world around us. In my study, Rose's (2001) visual methodology provided the overall structure – informing a three-phased approach to analyzing the visual narratives communicated within Arizona Old Western towns. Additionally, within the three phases, the qualitative methods of observation, interview, and photographic analysis were utilized to gather relevant data.

In chapter three, I begin by broadly describing both qualitative and visual inquiry. First, I selectively review the development and assumptions of qualitative inquiry. I describe an interpretivist approach to qualitative research as well as one view of criteria for what constitutes a "good" qualitative study. Second, I briefly review the development and assumptions of visual inquiry, locating my research within the larger field of visual research. And third, I describe my concrete process of selecting study sites, collecting data, and analyzing findings.

Qualitative Inquiry

Qualitative inquiry is the broad term for a cluster of research methods seeking to understand the *how* and *why* of human behavior. Qualitative methods explore and analyze a specific context or situation with great detail through the collection of data directly

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from the study site and from study participants (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In qualitative inquiry, the researcher can be the instrument of data collection, recording information through observations and interviews conducted over a long period of time (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Qualitative interpretive researchers strive to understand the multi-vocal experiences of study participants and the locally-constructed meanings of a study site.

Contemporary qualitative research reports pay substantial attention to predispositions and assumptions that may impact the interpretation of study findings. Significantly, there is generally an assumption is that all researchers have some sort of agenda (either acknowledged or not), and that reflecting on this agenda can lead to stronger research (Tracy, 2013). Thus, as the instrument of data collection in my research, I systematically sought disconfirming evidence by coding and re-coding data. Furthermore, by juxtaposing both visual and textual data, I engaged in triangulation in order to enhance study validity (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002).

Within contemporary qualitative research, there are five common paradigms: positivism, postpositivism, critical theory, constructivism/interpretivism, and participatory/postmodernism (Lincoln, et al., 2011). The paradigms differ based on a broad range of ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions. However, I choose the camp of the constructivists/interpretivists because I believe that reality is multifaceted and socially constructed. It is created and reproduced largely by individuals and their social interactions. Specifically speaking about the study of visual materials and visual culture, Stuart Hall (as cited in Rose, 2001) wrote:

Since there is no law which can guarantee that things will have 'one, true

meaning', or that meanings won't change over time, work in this area is bound to

be interpretative – a debate between, not who is 'right' and who is 'wrong', but

between equally plausible, though sometimes competing and contesting,

meanings and interpretations. (p. 2)

Thus, I take an interpretivist approach to qualitative inquiry. I fully recognize the

potential for multiple meanings and interpretations of the visual narratives present in Old

Western towns. It is, in part, the complex layering of meanings that I believe makes my

research interesting.

Nevertheless, there are no universally agreed upon criteria for judging what

constitutes a "good" qualitative study – interpretative or otherwise. In fact, over 25 years

ago, Lincoln and Guba (1985) first wondered, "How can an inquirer persuade his or her

audiences that the research findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to?" (p.

290). Since then, numerous sets of criteria have been suggested and debated over how

best to judge a qualitative study as "good" and worthy of publication. For example, Tracy

(2010) offered an eight-point conceptualization that can be used to evaluate the merits of

qualitative research: "(a) worthy topic, (b) rich rigor, (c) sincerity, (d) credibility, (e)

resonance, (f) significant contribution, (g) ethics, and (h) meaningful coherence" (p. 839).

While all eight of the criteria are important measures of a "good" qualitative study, I

believe that four of them are most salient for judging an interpretive approach to

qualitative research. First, it is essential to have a *worthy topic* that will lead to significant

and insightful findings. The research must move beyond the "that's obvious" and venture

into the realm of "that's interesting" (Tracy, 2010, p. 841). Interpretive studies should be

not only descriptive, but also provide interesting and useful insights. Second, interpretive studies must be characterized by *sincerity* – by the inclusion of "… self-reflexivity, vulnerability, honesty, transparency, and data auditing" (Tracy, 2010, p. 841). Third, going hand-in-hand with the sincerity of the researcher, the research itself must be *credible*. One way in which interpretive studies can achieve credibility is by recording in-depth descriptions within the fieldnotes in order to more accurately explain a study site. And finally, it is imperative that the research makes a *significant contribution* to larger discussions on both theoretical and practical levels – it must be useful to a larger audience in some way. Overall, I believe that studies that achieve these four criteria in particular can be judged as "good" exemplars of qualitative, interpretive research.

Ethnography. Ethnographies are qualitative studies that utilize observations and interviews to record and interpret a cultural space or group of people. According to Van Mananen (2011), "An ethnography is written representation of a culture (or selected aspects of culture). It carries quite serious intellectual and moral responsibilities, for the images of others inscribed in writing are most assuredly not neutral" (p. 1). Ethnographies, in attempting to describe one culture for another culture, typically involve researchers situating themself alongside study participants for a long period of time. In traditional anthropological work, the ethnographic researcher would live within a community for years at a time, attempting to gain an insider perspective on what was happening and why. For example, Geertz (1973) analyzed the Balinese cockfighting ritual by living alongside the local Balinese people. And while he did not want to become a native himself, he strove to engage with natives in order to gain an emic understanding of how they interpreted their own cultural practices. As a result, Geertz (1973) was able

to articulate the hidden meanings and functions of the ritual that were not apparent to most cultural outsiders and begin to generate interpretive theory.

Today, ethnographies are undertaken in a wide variety of different ways. Newer approaches range from completely rethinking traditional understandings of ethnography (e.g. the creation-centered approach suggested by Gonzalez, 2000) to incorporating new perspectives (e.g. the critical vision of ethnography offered by Conquergood, 1991). Additionally, ethnographic reports can be written in different formats (e.g. Van Maanen, 2011) and presented to different audiences (e.g. Goodall, 2004). Consequently, a broader definition of ethnography is quite useful here. As Pink (2007) wrote, "I shall define ethnography as a methodology (Crotty 1998: 7); as an approach to experiencing, interpreting and representing culture and society that informs and is informed by sets of different disciplinary agendas and theoretical principles" (p. 22). As such, ethnography refers not just to the use of qualitative methods like observation and interview, but it is instead an overarching process of gathering and making sense of the world based on reflexively examining the experiences and perspectives of the researcher alongside the study participants.

Grounded theory. Grounded theory is an inductive approach to analyzing qualitative data while it is being gathered in order to yield a ground-up understanding of specific social processes and contexts (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). According to Charmaz (2006), "Grounded theory methods consist of systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analyzing qualitative data to construct theories 'grounded' in the data themselves. The guidelines offer a set of general principles and heuristic devices rather than formulaic rules" (p. 2). When employing a grounded theory approach, researchers

begin gathering data without making hypotheses or assumptions about what they will find. They begin simply with the question of "what is going on here?" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987). Thus, a grounded theory approach can help to (at least partially) ensure that study findings and emergent theories develop directly from the data rather than from the presuppositions of the researcher.

While ethnography and grounded theory are separate and distinct approaches, they can also be used in conjunction to strengthen each other. Charmaz and Mitchell (2001) proposed,

> Grounded theory and ethnographic methods have developed somewhat differently; however, these approaches can complement each other. Using grounded theory methods can streamline fieldwork and move ethnographic research toward theoretical interpretation. Attending to ethnographic methods can prevent grounded theory studies from dissolving into quick and dirty qualitative research. (p. 160)

Overall, utilizing a grounded theory approach to collecting, organizing, and analyzing data can aid in clarifying otherwise vast and often messy ethnographic data. Charmaz and Mitchell (2001) succinctly described how grounded theory could be utilized by an ethnographer – from collecting data, coding data, writing analytic memos, conducting theoretical sampling, and writing the final research report.

Visual Inquiry

Visual inquiry as a distinct discipline is a relatively new area of study. However, visual inquiry within other, more established disciplines has a longer history. Specifically, researchers within the areas of sociology, cultural studies, and anthropology

have worked to define the role of the visual in their work for the last several decades. As Wagner (2011) summarized:

> From the 1960s through the 1990s, the primary expression of visual studies appeared as an offshoot of other, more organized and well-established forms of scholarship… Beginning in the mid to late 1990s, some elements of these offshoots began coalescing around visual studies as a branch of empirical inquiry in its own right. (p. 49)

While some researchers have eagerly accepted visual methods, a greater number have historically questioned the role and credibility of visual research within traditional scientific methodologies (see Pink, 2007).

Early sociological and cultural studies work relied extensively on word-based research. These studies often utilized traditional, text-based methodological frameworks rather than incorporating visual ones (Pink, 2007). It was not until after the 1990's that sociology and cultural studies experienced a noticeable shift towards viewing visual inquiry as equally significant as textual inquiry. Today, visual inquiry is increasingly being allowed to stand credibly alongside more traditional forms of inquiry: "While images should not necessarily replace words as the dominant mode of research or representations, they should be regarded as an equally meaningful element of ethnographic work" (Pink, 2007, p. 6).

Additionally, in early anthropological work, researchers debated whether or not images could serve as objective and valid research data. For example, Collier (1967/1986) argued for a number of visual research methods he considered useful for anthropologists seeking to record their observations. He considered the use of a camera in

the field and paid particular attention to the insights that could be uniquely gleaned from photographic data. Additionally, Worth, Adair, and Chalfen (1972/1997) conducted collaborative ethnographic film work with Navajo Indians in the southwestern United States, considering questions of cultural differences within the visual realm. However, while well known today, Collier's (1967/1986) and Worth, Adair, and Chalfen's (1972/1997) work have been extensively criticized. Pink (2007) explained that the early anthropological publications were "… a response to the demands of a scientific-realist twentieth-century anthropology" (p. 10). And Prosser (2011) noted that the works "… were the forerunners of what is the most influential and abused methodological genre in contemporary visual research" (p. 484). These studies treated visuals as objective, unbiased representations of the truth when they were anything but.

Today, much like the field of qualitative inquiry evolved to include concerns about the biases and assumptions of the researcher, the field of visual inquiry has also evolved to include considerations of the subjectivity of images. Sekula (1983) explained that, "Photography constructs an imaginary world and passes it off as reality" (p. 195). Indeed, while historic photographs are often considered truthful documentation of the past, the very notion of a single truth privileges a positivist perspective of the world. It fails to acknowledge multiple viewpoints or perspectives. Furthermore, documentary photographs and films, while once considered impartial recordings of history, have more recently come to be understood as subjective representations – as reflections of the photographer's version of reality (Solomon-Godeau, 1991). Nevertheless, even when acknowledging that photographs are subjective, many individuals still give a certain level of credibility to them. The "myth of photographic truth" refers to the assumption that a

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photograph is objective when, in fact, it is highly subjective (Sturken & Cartwright,

2009). Questions about the nature of photographs have been (and will likely continue to

be) discussed by multiple scholars (Sontag, 1973; Barthes, 1981; Sekula, 1983; Solomon-

Godeau, 1991; Tagg, 1993; Goldstein, 2007; Morris, 2011; etc.).

Despite continued concerns about the credibility of images, modern-day visual

researchers have a rapidly expanding range of methods available to them for exploring

the visual. Visual methods are still developing within a variety of disciplines, including

"… sociology, anthropology, psychology, communication, media studies, education,

cultural studies, journalism, health, nursing, women's studies, ethnic studies, global

studies, cultural geography, art and design, etc." (Margolis & Pauwels, 2011, p. xix).

Yet, in many of these fields, visual researchers are making names for themselves and

their unique contributions. As a result of this recent proliferation of visual research,

several scholars have proposed unified frameworks for organizing existing and future

visual studies (see Pauwels, 2011 and Chalfen, 2011).

Furthermore, it is important to note that there are a number of different

overarching approaches that can be used to analyze and interpret visual images. There are

increasing numbers of scholars who have attempted to systematically break down and

analyze the visual language of the world around us. For example, Kress and Leeuwen

(1996) sought to understand the norms and conventions of western visual representation

and meaning. They labeled their work as an analysis of visual grammar. Sturken &

Cartwright (2009) further explored how we use and understand images – emphasizing

how significantly context impacts image meaning. They labeled their work as an

introduction to theories of visual culture. Rose (2001) outlined three unique sites where

the meaning of an image is constructed. She labeled her work as an overall methodology for studying visual culture. And, a growing number of scholars work under the label of visual rhetoric (see Olson, Finnegan, & Hope, 2008). Regardless of the name, each source provides specific tools for understanding and analyzing the meanings constructed and created by images.

Photo-elicitation. The use of photographs during the interview process was first described by Collier and Collier (1986) who termed the method photo-interviewing. They wrote, "Normally, interviews can become stilted when probing for explicit information, but photographs invited open expression while maintaining concrete and explicit reference points" (p. 105). Collier and Collier (1986) used photographs to jog interview participants' memories and to encourage discussion. This method has since been described as photo-elicitation (see Harper, 2002; Pink, 2007; Lapenta, 2011; etc.). In practice, photo-elicitation varies based on who takes the photographs, what they depict, and how/when they are shown to interview participants.

Rephotography. Rephotography is visual method used to point out and understand change across a particular period of time. According to Klett (2011), "A repeat photograph, or 'rephotograph' is a photograph specifically made to duplicate selected aspects of another, pre-existing photograph" (p. 114). There are two general approaches to rephotography (Klett, 2011). First, the rephotograph can duplicate the same spatial location as the original photograph. For example, Klett's (2011) *Third View Project* recreated the same spatial location of Western American survey photographs in order to analyze changing perceptions and mythologies of the American West. And, specifically in Arizona, Dutton (2002) and Mondon (2013) both juxtaposed historic and

contemporary photographs of Arizona to visually reveal how the state's towns and landscapes had changed throughout history. Second, the rephotograph can duplicate the same general context as the original photograph. For example, Rieger (2011) used rephotography to document social change via places, people, activities, and processes. Either way, rephotography can be used to compare and contrast the past with the present.

Study Locations and Participants

Within the United States, an estimated 40,000 ghost towns dot the landscape (Thomsen, 2012). Ghost towns are locations that once housed populations but have since seen residents leave in search of new opportunities. Of course, ghost towns vary considerably from one another based on the reasons they were initially constructed as well as the reasons for their decline. Nevertheless, many ghost towns are popular historic tourist destinations today largely because of the stories they tell about American history. In this study, I specifically focused on ghost towns in Arizona whose origins lay in the era of the American Old West. I refer to these locations as "Old Western towns" rather than ghost towns to specify that they originate from a particular historic time period and location and are still inhabited today.

Despite using the label of Old Western towns rather than ghost towns, existing categorizations of ghost towns helped to inform my work. Gary Speck (as cited in Thomsen, 2012) categorized ghost towns into five classes ranging from completely uninhabited with almost nothing remaining to well-populated areas with historic significance. Furthermore, Clint Thomsen (2012) modified these categorizations to include the "true ghost" town that is mostly abandoned, the "living ghost" town that has a minimal population, the "preserved ghost" town that is purposely protected, and the

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"revived ghost" town that has seen a resurgence of activity. Arizona contains examples of all these classes and categories of ghost towns, making it quite appropriate for investigation.

Since I was interested specifically in the visual communication of history to modern-day tourists, I carefully selected four Arizona Old Western towns as my proposed study locations. I relied heavily on Phillip Varney's (2008) book that listed 75 Arizona ghost towns and mining camps that modern-day tourists can visit. Additionally, I added a few larger, more thriving modern-day towns to the list (e.g. Prescott and Kingman). From all of the potential locations, I eliminated those towns that did *not* fit the following four criteria:

1. Developed during the time period of the Arizona Territory from 1863 to 1912 and during the early days of statehood from 1912-1930
2. Has a present day population of 100 residents or more (no "true ghost" towns)
3. Has historic and/or historic-themed buildings remaining today
4. Is a popular Arizona tourist destination in the present day due at least partially to its history rather than nearby attractions such as monuments or outdoor activities (this eliminated remote Old Western towns that see few visitors)

Figure 4 shows basic information for the towns judged as most relevant to this study.

Figure 4. Overview of Arizona towns that most closely matched the study criteria.

TOWN NAME	YEAR	REASON FOR GROWTH	HISTORIC PEAK POP. (YEAR)	PRESENT DAY POP.	OTHER NOTES
Prescott	1863	Gold mining	5,000 (1920)	39,843	The capital of the Arizona Territory from 1864-1867. Has 637 buildings in the National Register of Historic Places, more than any Arizona community its size.
*Jerome	1876	Copper mining	15,000 (1920)	444	History is closely linked to nearby Clarkdale.
Wickenburg	1862	Gold mining	5,000 (1920)	6,363	The Vulture mine is a nearby, privately owned town.
Kingman	1882	Railroad station	??	28,068	A popular site for filming movies/TV.
*Oatman	1915	Gold mining	10,000 (1913)	150	Known for wild donkeys in the streets.
Clifton	1872	Cooper mining	5,000 (1910)	3,311	Described as a quieter version of more populous Jerome and Bisbee. Morenci is a nearby mining camp.
*Globe	1876	Silver and copper mining	12,000 (1910)	7,474	Also known for having links to Geronimo and the Apache Kid. Nearby Miami was a cooper boomtown but is much smaller today.
Bisbee	1880	Gold, silver, and copper mining	20,000 (1913)	6,177	The "Queen of the Copper Camps" remained active longer than most mining areas.
*Tombstone	1879	Silver mining	15,000 (1890)	1,380	Known internationally. Sees 450,000 visitors/year.

*Study locations

The nine towns included in the above table could be roughly grouped into four geographic regions of Arizona: northwest (Kingman and Oatman), central (Prescott, Jerome, and Wickenburg), eastern (Clifton and Globe), and southern (Bisbee and Tombstone). Each town could also be distinguished based on its connection to history. For example, the towns of Jerome and Bisbee contain many historic buildings but have become present-day art communities; Wickenburg is now a popular dude ranch destination; Globe has renovated parts of its' downtown in order to attract tourists; Oatman and Tombstone both create tourist experiences with manufactured Old Western attractions and shows; etc. I narrowed down my proposed study locations to reflect a sampling of regions and also historical connections. The selected research locations were: Tombstone, Jerome, Oatman, and Globe (see Figure 5). During pilot site visits to all four towns, I also visited nearly ten additional towns nearby.

Figure 5. Study site locations.

Data Collection

Below, I describe each research question, the site of meaning that it will address, and the methods I used for data collection from Tombstone, Jerome, Oatman, and Globe.

Phase One: Site of the image itself. First, the site of the image itself details the subject matter and the relationship of various image components (Rose, 2001). Here, I asked,

> *RQ #1: What does the contemporary Arizona Old Western town look like?*
> *Specifically, what narratives are visually communicated to present day town*
> *visitors?*

In order to understand what the present day Old Western towns looked like, I began my research by engaging in ethnographic-type field observations. Overall, I acted as a focused participant-observer, participating as a visitor to each town while simultaneously seeking to collect specific data that would be relevant to the study questions. Since Old Western towns are public spaces with a large number of people present throughout day, I initially played the role of a visitor wandering down the streets, strolling through the shops, and photographing the area. I attempted to blend into the space in order to unobtrusively observe both the location and its visitors.

I conducted preliminary observations of each town in order to determine the best days and times for formal observations. Then, I spent a significant amount of time within each town recording all observations through a combination of handwritten jottings, headnotes, audio recordings, and photographs. Handwritten jottings "… translate to-be-remembered observations into writing on paper as quickly rendered scribbles about actions and dialogues" (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995, p. 20). I scribbled jottings into

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a small, hand-held notebook while walking around the towns. Additionally, I also relied heavily on headnotes and also audio recordings of my observations. Headnotes are "… focused memories of specific events, as well as impressions and evaluations of the unfolding project" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 159). Audio recordings served as a quick way to document my thoughts as I walked around and also immediately upon returning to my car. After exiting each town, I returned home and typed a complete set of formal fieldnotes. According to Emerson et al. (1995), "… the distinctive and unique features of such fieldnotes, brought forward into the final analysis, create texture and variation, avoiding the flatness that comes from generality" (p. 14). In total, I compiled 84 pages of typed, single-spaced notes. Furthermore, I took 622 digital, researcher-generated photographs throughout my observations in order to document the visual appearance of the Old Western towns. The photographs provided reference for writing thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) of each study site, were used to illustrate key visual components of each town, and allowed for a comparison of the historic appearance versus the contemporary one.

A final component of analyzing the site of the image included the collection of contemporary photographs that had been taken by visitors to each study site. I gathered contemporary photographs by searching the website Pinterest. According to Wikipedia, "Pinterest is a pinboard-style photo-sharing website that allows users to create and manage theme-based image collections such as events, interests, and hobbies. Pinterest users can browse other pinboards for images, 're-pin' images to their own pinboards, or 'like' photos" ("Pinterest," 2013). While it has been reported that a majority of the over 70 million Pinterest users are women, the age distribution of users is reported to follow

the general age distribution of Internet users. Thus, it offered a quick snapshot of the most popular images of each specific Old Western town. I also considered searching the website Flickr, "… an image hosting and video hosting website" with 87 million registered users ("Flickr," 2013). However, while Flickr offers higher quality photographs than many of the Pinterest photographs, they were often grouped by photographer rather than topic. Thus, if a single photographer put up a collection of images from Tombstone, AZ, then all of my top searches came from that photographer. Instead, I relied on Pinterest images in order to see what a variety of people were posting and sharing about each town.

I searched for each town by name, e.g., "Tombstone, AZ" and scrolled through the entire first page of images. In the cases of Tombstone, Jerome, and Oatman, I found an extensive page of results. In the case of Globe, the page was substantially shorter. I went through each photograph on this first page and pinned any image that met my predetermined image criteria (detailed below). All together, I collected 330 photographs that were then coded, analyzed, and compared to the historic photographs collected during phase two of research.

Contemporary photographs that I deemed "acceptable" for inclusion in my study were limited to recent images taken in the last 10 years that showcased the overall town, the street, and/or the exterior of buildings and adjacent landscapes. Images also included documentation of people interacting with the site and/or engaging in special events that had taken place.

Figure 6 shows an example of an "acceptable" image I included in my collection of contemporary photographs. This image, taken by a visitor to the town in 2012, shows a

stagecoach available for hire on the main street of the Tombstone. It reveals the town's

exterior visual appearance through the inclusion of two buildings in the background.

Figure 6. An "acceptable" image. (Retrieved from www.pinterest.com)

And here is an example of an "unacceptable" image I did not include in my

collection of contemporary photographs. Figure 7 shows several individuals inside a

building in Tombstone and provides no information about the visual appearance of the

street or town.

Figure 7. An "unacceptable" image. (Retrieved from www.pinterest.com)

Phase Two: Site of the image production. Second, the site of the image

production details the how, when, where, and why an image was produced (Rose, 2001).

Here, I asked,

> *RQ #2: What did the historic Arizona Old Western town look like? Specifically,*
>
> *how is the town's history visually communicated within the contemporary town?*

In order to understand the production of Arizona Old Western towns, I gathered

information about the historical development of each area. Specifically, I collected

historical photographs documenting what each town looked like – of the creation, boom,

and sometimes bust of the town. I defined historic photographs according to "… a

conventional historians' definition of 'historic' photographs as being 50 years or older"

(Margolis & Rowe, 2011, p. 337). I gathered historic photographs from historic

collections, historic groups, and town-specific websites such as local Historic Society and

Chamber of Commerce pages. I also reviewed multiple town-specific books in the series

Images of America (Eppinga, 2003; Larkin, 2013; Steuber, 2008; and Haak & Haak,

2008). Finally, I relied heavily on the Arizona Memory Project (n.d.) website:

> The Arizona Memory Project provides access to the wealth of primary sources in
>
> Arizona libraries, archives, museums and other cultural institutions. Visitors to
>
> the site will find some of the best examples of government documents,
>
> photographs, maps, and objects that chronicle Arizona's past and present.
>
> On the Arizona Memory Project website, I searched for each town by name. For

example, a search of "Jerome" and either "AZ," "Ariz.," or "Arizona" yielded 88 search

results. I narrowed down the results to include only photographs dated from the days of

the Arizona Territory, 1863 to 1912, and from the early days of statehood 1912 to 1930. I

went through the remaining 44 search results and saved only images that met my predetermined criteria for an "acceptable" image (detailed below). For Jerome, this process produced 18 photographs from the Arizona Memory Project website. I also searched the Jerome Historic Society website and collected 11 images that met my predetermined criteria. Additionally, I received a handful of images directly from the local historic society as well as from the photographic collection of Jeremy Rowe. Together, for all towns, I collected 124 historic photographs that were then coded, analyzed, and compared to the contemporary photographs from phase one of research.

Historic photographs that I deemed "acceptable" for inclusion in my study were limited to images that showcased the overall town, the street, and/or the exterior of buildings and adjacent landscape. Images could include people interacting with the site and/or engaging in special events if the photograph also revealed information about the exterior appearance of the town. While many available historic photographs documented the mining histories of each town, I focused only on exterior photographs of the town itself. Additionally, I gathered related background information about the photographs including when, where, why, and by whom it was taken, seeking to determine what each Arizona town looked like historically: How and when were the buildings constructed? What did the streets look like? What types of activities took place in them? Since I could not personally experience the history of the towns, I relied on historic photographs as primary source documentation of each town during the American Old West. Historic photographs allowed me to explore the relationship between the history of the Old Western towns and the present day narratives that are told about that history.

Here are two examples of "acceptable" images (see Figures 8 and 9) I included in

my collection of historic photographs. Both images were retrieved from the Arizona

Memory Project website. They show the exterior appearance of the main street – the first

in Tombstone and the second in Jerome. They document the visual appearance of the

street and buildings including types of signage, technology, residents, etc.

Figure 8. An "acceptable" image. (Courtesy of Arizona State Library –

azmemory.azlibrary.gov)

Figure 9. An "acceptable" image. (Courtesy of Arizona State Library –

azmemory.azlibrary.gov)

And here are two examples of "unacceptable" images (see Figures 10 and 11)

I did not include in my collection of historic photographs. The first image shows Wyatt

Earp and Doc Holiday (two famous outlaws from Tombstone) but provides no

information about the exterior appearance of the town. Additionally, although I found

numerous photographs of mining activity around the towns, I deemed the photographs

unacceptable if they did not showcase any part of the town itself (as in the image in

Figure 10).

Figure 10. An "unacceptable" image. (Retrieved from www.visittombstone.org)

Figure 11. An "unacceptable" image. (Courtesy of Arizona State Library –

azmemory.azlibrary.gov)

Phase Three: Site of the audience. Third, the site of the audience details who the

audience is and the social and cultural position from which they are viewing the image

(Rose, 2001). Here, I asked the question:

RQ #3: How do visitors to Arizona Old Western towns interpret the narratives

they are seeing? Specifically, how do they understand the connection between

past and present?

In order to understand how visitors interpreted what they were seeing in Old Western towns, I interviewed visitors/tourists, residents, local business owners, chamber of commerce members, and area historians. The overall interview process began with the creation of two interview guides (see Appendix C) that were used to loosely direct interviews while still allowing for new information to emerge on the spot. The first guide was created for visitors/tourists. The second guide was created broadly for residents, local business owners, chamber of commerce members, and area historians. Additionally, verbal probes and follow-up questions were used to seek additional details and clarifications. This semi-structured interview approach helped me to guide the conversations, but did not lock them into a specific structure nor time limit. Additionally, I strived to adopt a stance of deliberate naiveté, or an absence of presuppositions and judgment while remaining open to unforeseen findings (Tracy, 2013). I believe that this was important because I did not want my own opinions and expectations to overshadow the voices of participants.

I attempted to take an empathetic *verstehen* approach to understanding the first-person perspective of visitors (Weber, 1968). I wanted to learn about how visitors understood and interpreted the visual narratives of the Old Western town. I utilized purposeful (and selective) sampling to recruit willing interview participants from each town (Tracy, 2013). I placed no restrictions on age, race, or gender. Instead, all visitor/tourist interview participants were approached on location based on their availability and willingness to respond to my questions. Participants were verbally informed of my study intentions, shown a written Participant Information Letter (see Appendix B) explaining their voluntary participation, and (if they consented) interviewed

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on-the-spot or shortly thereafter in a face-to-face conversation. I continued recruiting interview participants until theoretical saturation was reached (when new interviews did not reveal new insights nor information). With permission, I audio recorded interviews for later transcription and analysis.

Interview participants primarily included visitors/tourists to each town. I sought out individuals or small groups that were walking through the main street, stopping to see the sights, and photographing the town. I conducted 27 group interviews with a total of 55 visitors/tourists since many were group interviews consisting of several family members at the same time. Interviews ranged from 5-20 minutes each, depending on participant availability. Interview participants were predominantly White with an average estimated age of 55 years old.

I began by asking about any preconceived notions of the American Old West that individuals had prior to visiting (from movies, books, television shows, previous travel experiences, etc.). I then asked about visitors' own experiences and interpretations of the town they were visiting. They were prompted by questions about the town's visual appearance, historical connections, and the amount of historical information that they learned during their visit. And finally, when time permitted, I employed photo-elicitation (Collier & Collier, 1986); I showed interview participants several historic photographs gathered during the previous phases of research. The photos helped address questions about the past/present connection that might (or might not) be evident to visitors.

Additionally, I interviewed residents, local business owners, chamber of commerce members, and area historians. I conducted six individual interviews with "area experts." Each interview ranged from 60-90 minutes, depending on participant

availability. Interview participants were predominantly White with an average estimated

age of 50 years old. During interviews, I was able to ask more direct questions about the

history of the town and how that history was visually communicated to visitors. Many of

the "area experts" were also local residents of the town they worked in and thus I asked

them about life in the town and their reactions to tourism.

Figure 12. Summary of data collected for analysis.

OBSERVATIONS				
I documented my observations of each town with fieldnotes. 84 pages of typed, single-spaced fieldnotes.				
PHOTOGRAPHS			**INTERVIEWS**	
Researcher-generated photographs	**Contemporary photographs**	**Historic photographs**	**Interviews with visitors/ tourists**	**Interviews with area experts**
I took researcher-generated photographs to document the visual appearance of each modern-day town.	*I gathered contemporary photographs from the Pinterest website.*	*I gathered historic photographs from the Arizona Memory Project website, town historic societies, and historians.*	*I spoke with visitors who were walking around the main street of each town.*	*I scheduled one-on-one interviews with local business employees/owners, chamber of commerce members, and area historians.*
622 photos	330 photos	124 photos	27 group interviews (with 55 people)	6 individual interviews
Tombstone - 142 Jerome - 193 Oatman - 128 Globe - 63 Other towns - 96	Tombstone - 139 Jerome - 65 Oatman - 103 Globe - 23	Tombstone - 29 Jerome - 39 Oatman - 10 Globe - 46	Tombstone - 13 Jerome - 22 Oatman - 12 Globe - 8	Tombstone - 2 Jerome - 1 Oatman - 1 Globe – 1 Other - 1

Data Analysis

Given that I collected several forms of data, I utilized two different forms of data analysis: First, I coded and analyzed all typed fieldnotes and interview transcripts. Second, I coded and analyzed all contemporary and historic photographs. Finally, I juxtaposed the textual data with the visual data in an effort to seek new and/or disconfirming information.

Textual coding and analysis. I analyzed all typed fieldnotes and interview transcripts using an iterative process which alternated between emic and etic readings of the data (Tracy, 2013). I sought to understand the "native" experience of each Old Western town from tourist and also resident perspectives while simultaneously seeking to apply existing theories to my discoveries. I actively reflected on and re-visited all fieldnotes and transcripts multiple times in order to determine what was being revealed.

All fieldnotes and transcripts were coded in three phases using the qualitative data analysis software program *Nvivo*. During the first phase of coding, I created initial, line-by-line codes of what was occurring in the fieldnotes and transcripts. Initial codes revolved primarily around my general research questions and also the interview questions I was asking. For example, I began each visitor interview asking what brought the individual/family to the town. Thus, I coded many sections of the interview transcripts under "reason for visit." I started with more than 30 initial codes and then worked to combine similar concepts and to form broader categories. I combined initial codes including "shopping," "eating," and "gunfights" into the broader category of "activities" since these were all activities that visitors could choose to engage in. All together, after reviewing and combining, I created eight more focused codes including: "demographics,"

"reason for visit," "reaction to town," "activities," "other towns visited," "historical knowledge," "description of town," and "Old Western appearance."

During the second phase of coding, I created axial codes that sought to define the underlying connections and reasons for the initial codes. I compiled a unified codebook which organized all data based on key codes, definitions, and examples (Tracy, 2013). Using a constant comparative method, I modified code definitions as needed and began lumping the data back together again in new, and more informative ways (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987). During both the first and second phases of coding, I also crafted a series of analytical memos about findings as they began to emerge. All together, I created five axial codes including: "comparisons," "consumerism," "authenticity," "justifications," and "expectations."

During the third phase of coding, I referred to my codebook as I revisited all fieldnotes and transcripts and reapplied each code. This helped me to ensure that I was consistently applying each code based on my codebook definitions. It also helped me to seek broader, theoretical understandings of my data. A final review of my textual data ultimately served as the link between data analysis and the study findings that are detailed in the chapter five.

Visual coding and analysis. It is important to note that I gathered both researcher-generated as well as found images (Pauwels, 2011). Data analysis initially focused on the found images to help reduce personal subjectivities that might arise from only taking my own photographs. Indeed, recognizing my own cultural perspective was essential to my work. However, as analysis progressed, I also focused on the researcher-generated photographs since they provided a more extensive visual record of each town.

Overall, I analyzed two sets of images – the found and generated contemporary photographs and the found historic photographs in order to compare and contrast the past with the present, seeking to understand how the history of Arizona Old Western towns was visually communicated to visitors.

There are a number of photographic analysis methods that can be applied to the study of photographs – for example, compositional analysis, content analysis, semiotics, audience analysis, and discourse analysis (from Rose, 2001). Any of these methods or approaches can prove useful in the analysis of both the historic and contemporary photographs. They can also be used in combination with one another to yield a more complete discussion. Indeed, Margolis and Rowe (2011) suggested that incorporating multiple approaches could result in a more complete understanding of a photograph. They suggested a combination of postpositivistic approaches such as photographic forensics as well as hermeneutic approaches such as grounded theory.

First, photographic forensics involves careful, educated research of a photograph's source and larger context. According to Rowe (2002), "Photographic research is based on obtaining as much information as possible about an image, then building a logical context for a possible identification of the image." It involves the collection of data at three levels of analysis: evidence, interpretation, and speculation (Rowe, 2002). Furthermore, Morris (2011), in his analysis of two historic photographs taken by Roger Fenton, wondered "Do I think that a number of things could be determined by just looking at a picture? Yes. But we need to know things about it to add information to the scene." With historic photographs, the objective information is often separated from the photograph or inaccurately connected to it; it thus becomes the task of

the researcher to verify information in order to reach a justified and credible understanding of the image (Rowe, 2002).

Second, a hermeneutic approach such as grounded theory takes a more interpretive stance. Strauss (1987) explained that, "Grounded theory is a *detailed* grounding by systematically and intensively analyzing data, often sentence by sentence, or phrase by phrase of the field note, interview, or other document" (p. 22). Utilizing a grounded theory approach can allow for emergent understandings to be realized during the research process. Konecki (2009) described how a grounded theory process could be specifically applied to visual images by examining important image components as the researcher would lines of text. And Margolis (2004; 2005) provided several examples of applying a grounded theory approach for understanding a large collection of photographs.

While I did consider and record objective information about each photograph (when, where, why, and by whom was it taken), I primarily followed a grounded theory approach to content analysis – collecting data (in this case, photographs), coding data, writing analytic memos, conducting theoretical sampling, and writing the final research report (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987). Similar to my analysis of the textual data, this approach emphasized an emergent approach to research; it provided a systematic yet flexible approach that developed based on research findings.

I utilized the software program *ACDSee Pro* to organize and code all photographs. While the *Nvivo* software used for textual data does allow photographs to be included in the data (see Bassett, 2011), the program is not designed for large amounts of visual data and I found it cumbersome to work in. Thus, I reviewed several other options for coding visual data and determined that *ACDSee Pro*, although not created as a tool for

qualitative coding, worked quite well for this purpose. I went through each contemporary and historic photograph and copied in basic information about its date, location, subject, and source. I then utilized the labeling and color-coding options in *ACDSee Pro*. First, broad labels of "historic image" or "contemporary image" were applied. Second, I began creating more specific content categories. For example, a main category of "people" included subcategories of "men," "women," and "kids." A main category of "transportation" included subcategories of "animals," "bicycles," "cars," and "horses/buggies." Thus, I created four main categories with a total of 33 subcategories. I could then click through each category/subcategory to view all images (from all towns) to which that label had been applied. I sought shared themes and key differences in the images across the contemporary and the historic photographs. Again, I also wrote a series of analytical memos about study findings as they began to emerge.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided an overview of both qualitative and visual inquiry as applied in my study. First, I selectively reviewed the development and assumptions of qualitative inquiry. I described an interpretivist approach to qualitative research as well as one view of criteria for what constitutes a "good" qualitative study. Second, I briefly reviewed the development and assumptions of visual inquiry, seeking to locate my dissertation research within the larger field of visual research. And third, I described my concrete process of selecting study sites, collecting data, and analyzing findings. In the next chapter, I will describe and discuss study findings.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS: SEEING A PAST AND A PRESENT

In chapter four I discuss my study findings as revealed through observations, interviews, and photographs in Tombstone, Jerome, Oatman, and Globe. This chapter is divided into three sections: a present, a past, and a connection between past and present. As I engaged in data collection, I quickly realized that there were numerous voices that all contributed to the history of each town. Furthermore, a multitude of interpretations of both past and present existed within each town. Thus, I will label these sections "a present" and "a past" rather than *the* present or *the* past to recognize that my account of the towns is just one possible understanding of them. Within these sections, I will answer my three research questions:

RQ #1: What does the contemporary Arizona Old Western town look like? Specifically, what narratives are visually communicated to present day town visitors?

In addressing the first question, I include a description of each modern-day town from my own observations and photographs as well as those of visitors to each town. I label this section "a present."

RQ #2: What did the historic Arizona Old Western town look like? Specifically, how is the town's history visually communicated within the contemporary town?

In addressing the second question, I include a brief history of each town as well as historic photographs. I label this section "a past." It is important to note that the complete history of each town is complex and beyond the scope of my dissertation. In fact, history is filled with contradictions, multiple interpretations, and various viewpoints (Limerick, 1987). I often found inconsistent accounts of

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each town's history. Nevertheless, I attempt to provide a brief overview of each town's past in order to give context to the historic photographs. I rely heavily on information from each town's historic society and chamber of commerce as well as the books that they recommended. And while it may be argued that historic information from such sources is questionable given their commitment to promoting and marketing their town, my observations demonstrated that these were the narratives most frequently communicated to visitors. Thus, they are relevant for inclusion here. And finally, I discuss the visual connections between the contemporary and historic photographs in the section labeled "a connection between past and present."

RQ #3: How do visitors to Arizona Old Western towns interpret the narratives they are seeing? Specifically, how do they understand the connection between past and present?

In addressing the third question, I include details from my interviews with visitors/tourists, residents, local business owners, chamber of commerce members, and area historians. This information is also included under "a present."

Methodological Notes

In my collection of contemporary and historic photographs I recorded information about the photographer, date, and location. I did not examine the source, format, broader context, nor other interpretations of each photograph. Rowe (2002) and Morris (2011) both provided examples of how such information could be leveraged for researching historic photographs. However, I was more concerned with the symbolic nature of the photograph and the visual appearance of each town as shown via the photograph. Thus,

I loosely followed a grounded theory approach to content analysis. I coded all photographs into emergent categories, adding and changing categories as I proceeded through the data. Margolis (2005) provided an example, using a grounded theory approach in his analysis of photographs of schools from the Farm Security Administration. However, in my research, I had two separate sets of photographs. Therefore, I offer a discussion of the contemporary and historic photographs and then discuss them jointly via a comparative analysis of their visual content.

The 330 contemporary photographs taken by visitors were gathered from the website Pinterest. I used a keyword search for each town's name and copied photographs that matched my previously discussed study criteria for an "acceptable" photograph (see chapter three). By searching the popular photo-sharing website, I gained a sense of the most photographed aspects of each town. The 124 historic photographs were gathered from historic collections, books, and the website Arizona Memory. Again, I used a keyword search and copied "acceptable" photographs. Through coding and comparing all the contemporary and historic photographs, I sought to determine shared connections and common symbolic meanings. However, it is important to note that my interpretation and reading of the photographs is certainly not the only possible understanding.

A Present

I include here a description of the visual appearance of modern-day Tombstone, Jerome, Oatman, and Globe. I consider how the appearance serves to visually communicate each town's history. Each description is based on my own observations and photographs as well as those of visitors to each town.

Tombstone. The main historic stretch of Tombstone is called Allen Street. Today, it is blocked off from cars so that only pedestrians and horse-drawn carriages can enter the road (see Figure 13). Allen Street is bounded on both sides by a continuous line of buildings. The buildings are a combination of adobe, wood, and brick. Each building has a covered, wooden walkway shading its front from the bright Arizona sun as well as a large sign announcing its purpose. Yet, each building can be clearly distinguished by different colored paint as well as uniquely shaped rooflines. While many of the buildings are single-story, they appear larger due to the false-front architectural style that is often associated with Old West boomtowns (see Figure 14). A false-front was meant to visually reference the larger and more established buildings of the east coast while still being quick to construct and easy to take down (Quay, 2002). They gave a sense of permanence when the buildings were, in fact, hastily built.

Figure 13. Allen Street, Tombstone in 2013. (Researcher-generated photograph).

Figure 14. Allen Street, Tombstone in 2013. (Researcher-generated photograph).

When I first visited Allen Street in July of 2013, I had a sense of stepping away from the noise of cars and back to the days of horse drawn carriages. The architectural style of the buildings and the presence of people dressed in period clothes contributed to a general feeling of stepping back in time. However, this sense of history was marred by the modern-day visual characteristics of the town. For example, despite the historically-grounded architecture, the wooden walkways appeared new and in good shape. The buildings all had fresh paint. Even the street (a mix of dirt and pavement) appeared smooth and polished (see Figure 15).

Figure 15. Allen Street, Tombstone in 2013. (Researcher-generated photograph).

Although Tombstone was first constructed as a silver mining town, it has a long history as a tourist destination. The first railroad came through Tombstone in 1903 (Sosa & Nelson, 2009). The railroad, coupled later with the automobile, allowed visitors easy access to the town. And, with often sporadic mining in the town during the 1900's, tourism became a sought after source of income (Sosa & Nelson, 2009). Today, it is marketed as both "The town too tough to die" and "The most famous Western town in the world" (Tombstone Chamber of Commerce, 2008). In fact, the exterior appearance of Allen Street today is the direct result of efforts to promote and maintain tourism in the town.

The town's Historic Districts Commission is responsible for enforcing a series of rules and regulations regarding the exterior appearance of Allen Street. According to Tombstone city code ("Historic Districts Commission," 2012), building materials, architectural style, and colors must match local "historic precedent." Historic photographs housed in the town archives can serve as proof of "… what would have

been readily available during the period of historic significance" ("Historic Districts Commission," 2012). However, while the terms "historic precedent" and "historic significance" are used repeatedly throughout the city code, they are never clearly defined. The city code is completely void of any photographs or visual diagrams to indicate exactly what is meant by these terms. Thus, building owners work closely with the Historic Districts Commission and the town's Historic Archives in order to decide what is visually appropriate and what is not. Overall, the rules are meant to ensure that Allen Street maintains its' historic appearance (Sosa, N. 2013, December 23. Interview).

In addition to the appearance of the street, tourists are also visually exposed to history through the shows, activities, and museums in town. According to a Tombstone Chamber of Commerce (2008) brochure, "Tombstone is still drawing thousands of people each year who wish to look back on its wealth of romantic and factual history." Yet, my interviews in Tombstone revealed a division between business owners who accepted the visual communication of a romanticized version of the town's history and local historians who lamented the factual misrepresentation of history.

Steve and Gloria Goldstein are local business owners, longtime residents, and influential members of the Chamber of Commerce. They believe that even though some of the historic facts about the outlaws, the infamous gunfights, and the businesses in town might be "blurred" a bit, visitors are still able to see and experience the "flavor of the Old West" (Goldstein, S. 2013, July 27. Interview). This flavor does not have to be historically exact. The Goldsteins told me that most tourists don't care what exact type of gun a cowboy carried, exactly how many shots were fired in a fight, or specifically what a building looked like. Instead, they want to gain a general sense of life in the American

Old West. Tombstone affords them this experience (Goldstein, S. 2013, July 27. Interview). The Goldsteins estimated that only 5-10% of people who come to Tombstone focus on the historic details. Everyone else enjoys it because of its overall Old Western appearance and flavor (Goldstein, S. 2013, July 27. Interview).

Nancy Sosa, the Vice Chairwoman of the Historic Districts Commission in Tombstone, a historian by training, and a longtime resident of Tombstone, takes a different view. She said of the many museums and shows in town, "They rely a great deal on stuff that happened in Hollywood" (2013, December 23. Interview). In fact, "Tombstone has been the subject of dozens of movies, two prime-time television shows and countless comic books and western novels" (Eppinga, 2003, p. 117). As a result, much of the visual appearance of the town, and many of the tourist activities, are the product of Hollywood representations of the American Old West. Sosa (2013, December 23. Interview) said that since the movie *Tombstone* in 1993 and *Wyatt Earp* in 1994, the narratives told to visitors have changed. They have moved away from emphasizing the extensive mining history of the town to focusing more heavily on the gunfight at the OK corral. Consequently, in her work with the Historic Districts Commission, she strives to preserve "… the actual history of the town as opposed to what you get from Hollywood" (Sosa, N. 2013, December 23. Interview). For her, "actual history" is based on town records and documents. During my own visit to the Birdcage Theatre in town, I was told stories about rampant prostitution and gambling games that ran for years. I also saw bullet holes in the building walls. Yet, Sosa (2013, December 23. Interview) later told me that no town records exist to corroborate any of these stories and she therefore believes that the tourist experience is packed with myths, misrepresentations, and embellishments.

The location of the gunfight at the OK corral is another example of historic misrepresentation. Figure 16 shows the entrance to the OK corral today. Yet, the gunfight that took place in 1881 occurred in the street behind the modern-day reenactment of it. I was told about the discrepancy in two separate interviews (Goldstein, S. 2013, July 27. Interview. and Sosa, N. 2013, December 23. Interview). However, while the locals I spoke with were aware of the discrepancy, no visitors that I asked knew about it. Thus, visitors assumed that the gunfight took place in the same location as the reenactment. While the misrepresentation may not have a significant impact on their understanding of the event, it does highlight the multiple versions of history communicated to visitors.

Figure 16. The OK Corral on Allen Street, Tombstone in 2013. (Researcher-generated photograph).

There are numerous mock gunfights, tours, attractions, and museums in Tombstone. But, I found that only 4 of 13 visitors I interviewed in December of 2013 believed that they had learned new historical information from the gunfights and attractions. Mary, a visitor in her late 50's from Tucson, Arizona, told me, "It's just kind of an interesting little town, you know? And [it's] where everybody just seems to want to go to get a little feel of the Old West." Indeed, visitors expressed that their visit was "fun," "cool," and "enjoyable." They appeared to wish that they knew more about history, but were completely fine with their own historical ignorance. John, a visitor in his late 60's from Missouri, explained, "I always like the history behind it... the [historic] dates… how they died… what happened after the gunfight… but really I just like watching the shootout!" He said this with a smile and a laugh. It didn't really matter to him that the historic story of the gunfight at the OK corral was embellished because this vision of the Old West, this flavor, was sufficiently intriguing for him.

The popularity of Tombstone as a tourist destination is evident in the large number of visitor photographs of Tombstone. I collected 139 images from Pinterest of Tombstone – more than any of the other towns in my study. The Pinterest images roughly fell into four categories – see Figure 17 for a few examples. First, images of the overall street showcased the road and multiple buildings. Second, images of specific buildings most often depicted the Birdcage Theatre, the Grand Hotel, or the Crystal Palace. Third, images of horse drawn carriages driving down the street showed a common tourist activity. Fourth, photographs of the numerous re-enacted gunfights generally depicted the gunfight at the OK corral. Overall, I expected to find numerous photographs of both the street view and the specific buildings since my image selection criteria gave privilege to

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images of the overall town, the street, and/or the exterior of buildings and adjacent landscapes (see chapter three). However, the significant number of photographs of horse drawn carriages and gunfights on the street indicated the popularity of these activities with tourists to Tombstone. Indeed, Sara, a visitor in her 60's from Rio Rico, Arizona, told me, "My grandkids loved the gunfight even though the littlest one cried." And Don, in his 30's from Washington said of his family, "We started our visit with the OK corral gunfight just to make sure we didn't miss it."

Figure 17. Contemporary photographs collected from Pinterest of Tombstone.

Street views	Buildings	Horse drawn carriages	Gunfights
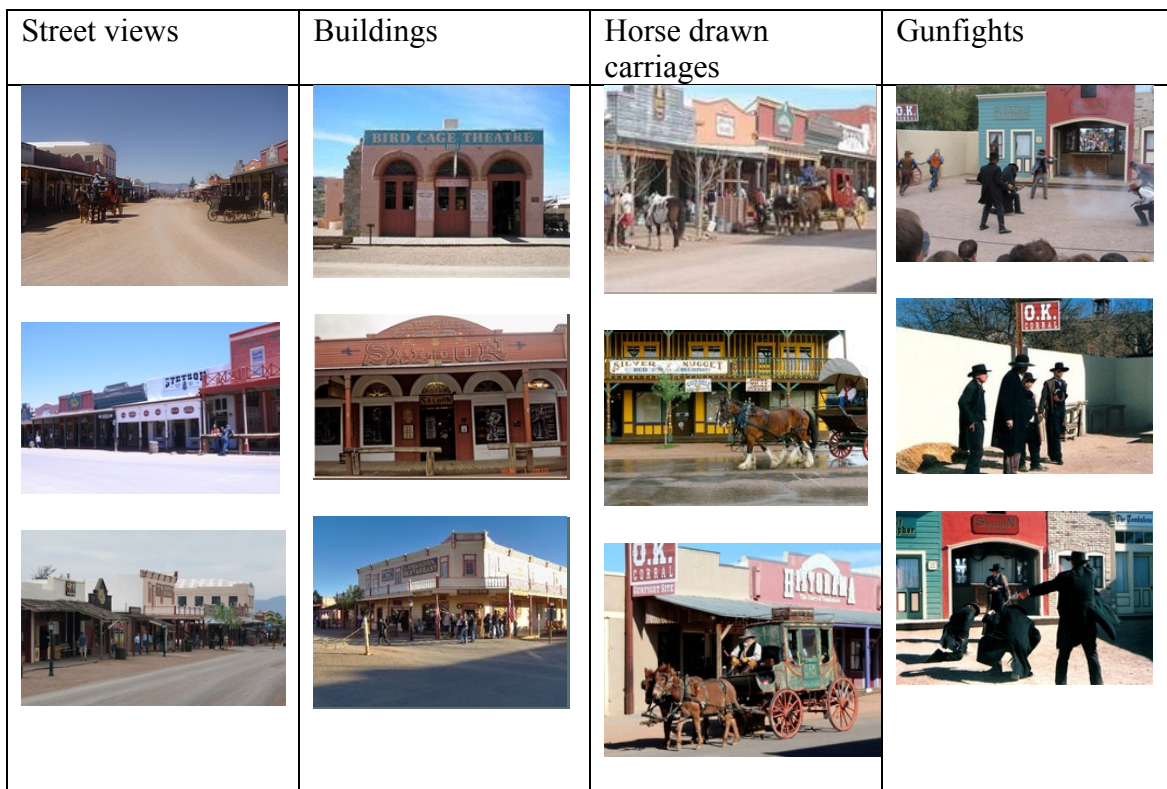
Jerome. Today, Jerome is a small artists' colony and a popular tourist destination in central Arizona. The main road through town twists and turns with buildings, cars, and motorcycles perched on either side (see Figure 18). As Varney (2008) described it: "Jerome clings precariously to the side of a mountain, seemingly defying gravity" (p.10). When I first visited Jerome in June of 2013, the narrow road and congested area felt noticeably different than driving into Tombstone. In contrast to the false-front architectural style found in Tombstone, the buildings in Jerome are mainly two-story and built of brick and concrete (see Figure 19). The front of Jerome's buildings are dotted with colored fabric awnings to shade the numerous pedestrians. I observed that Jerome does not have a fenced off area for touristy shows and gunfights as does Tombstone. Instead, visitors in Jerome can walk all throughout the town at no charge.

Figure 18. Main Street, Jerome in 2013. (Researcher-generated photograph).

Figure 19. Main Street, Jerome in 2013. (Researcher-generated photograph).

The visual appearance of Jerome's main street is overseen by the Jerome
Historical Society. This organization was formed in 1953 to protect and preserve town
buildings that would have otherwise been destroyed (Kinsella, J. 2013, November 22.
Interview). Today, the Historical Society also works to preserve a large collection of
historical artifacts, records, and photographs. Jay Kinsella, general manager of the
Jerome Historical Society and local resident for 32 years, explained that their work
provides the historical foundation for educating both locals and tourists about the town's
history (2013, November 22. Interview). Yet, he believes that the history of Jerome is
often twisted and over embellished. For example, Kinsella said that the Travel Channel,
the Discovery Channel, and other filmmakers have often latched on to stories of violence
and supernatural hauntings that are not grounded in any historical information (Kinsella,
J. 2013, November 22. Interview). Although these types of shows attract large numbers
of visitors to Jerome, they give visitors a misguided understanding of history that then

needs to be corrected by the historical society. According to Kinsella (2013, November 22. Interview), "We take our history very seriously… we are steadfast in explaining the truth." In comparison to Tombstone, where the Chamber of Commerce runs much of the town, in Jerome the Historical Society has more influence over how history is communicated to visitors (Kinsella, J. 2013, November 22. Interview. and Goldstein, S. 2013, July 27. Interview).

I interviewed 10 Jerome visitors in October of 2013 just outside the entrance of the Historic State Park Museum in the Douglas Mansion. All 10 visitors expressed a general interest in history. Gerald, a visitor in his 70's from the United Kingdom, said, "I was surprised to learn how fast the population declined after the mining boom… I also enjoyed seeing the old mining technology that was used." And Mary, a visitor in her 40's from San Francisco, California, explained, "I like the [historic] photos in the main room… it's neat to see how towns looked back in the day – I had no idea!" Visitors like Gerald and Mary recognized that history was important even though they were not historic experts themselves.

The 10 interviewees, as well as 12 additional interviewees in the downtown area of Jerome, consisted predominantly of couples who were visiting other nearby towns including Prescott and Sedona. They explained that they stopped in Jerome to have lunch, drinks, and to shop. Almost all visitors I interviewed had heard something, however vague, about the visual appearance of the town – it was built on a steep hillside, its buildings were sliding down the hill, or (less frequently) it was a town from the early 1900's. Bill, a visitor in his 40's from Surprise, Arizona, commented, "Oh, you can just tell which [buildings] are authentic by looking at them!" He pointed out the old

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appearance of the Hotel Connor which was built in 1898 (see Figure 20). His daughter said, "[The town] looks historically authentic because of the buildings and the small-town, compact layout." There were only a few visitors, including Ginger from Phoenix, Arizona, who were hesitant to label the town historically-grounded. She said, "Well, I don't really know enough about the history to say… but it does have a time-gone-by feel that I really like."
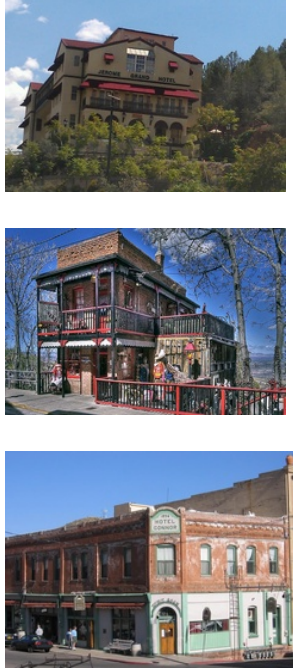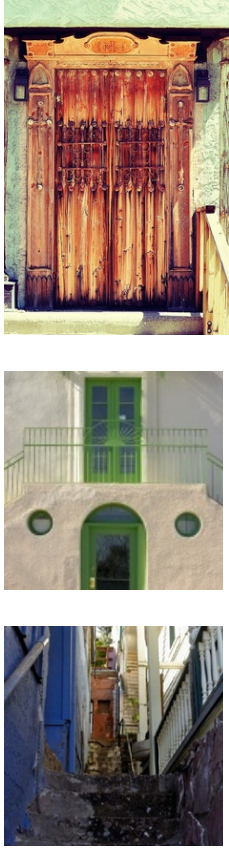
Figure 20. The Hotel Connor on Main Street, Jerome in 2013. (Researcher-generated photograph).

For Jerome, I collected 65 images from Pinterest. The Pinterest images roughly fell into four categories – see Figure 21 for a few examples. First, images of the overall street showcased the road and multiple buildings. Second, images of specific buildings most often depicted the Jerome Grand Hotel, the House of Joy, and the Hotel Connor. Third, images of shop signs appeared frequently – not a specific shop, but just an emphasis on the names of shops that were in town. Fourth, many images artistically depicted architectural details such as the crumbling buildings, narrow walkways, or door

and window frames. This last category corresponded with several comments I heard

during interviews that Jerome was a destination for photographers. Suzanne, a visitor in

her 40's from Eugene, Oregon, said, "I came with my camera because I'd seen

photographs of the old buildings and wanted to take my own." And Mark, a 50 year old

man from Phoenix, Arizona, commented, "I love [photographing] the little walkways…

I've come here many times and each time the light is a bit different in these."

Figure 21. Contemporary photographs collected from Pinterest of Jerome.

Street views	Specific buildings	Shop signs	Architectural details

Oatman. The visual appearance of modern-day Oatman is more similar to Tombstone than Jerome. Many of the buildings on the main street of Oatman also follow the false-front architectural style. They are built out of wood and shaded by large covered walkways (see Figure 22). I observed that visitors to both Oatman and Tombstone can stroll from shop to shop, seeking the "perfect" tourist trinket. They can also pause to watch live, re-enacted gunfights throughout the day. Yet, when I first visited Oatman in July of 2013, it felt more run-down and less well maintained than Tombstone. Whereas Tombstone is neat and polished, the walkways and buildings in Oatman are crooked and sometimes unfinished (see Figure 23). Additionally, the streets of Oatman are filled with excrement from the herd of wild donkeys that wanders through town. Thus, visitors stroll slowly, carefully watching their step the whole way.

Figure 22. Main Street, Oatman in 2013. (Researcher-generated photograph).

Figure 23. A covered walkway on Main Street, Oatman in 2013. (Researcher-generated photograph).

What visitors may not see is that the visual appearance of modern-day Oatman is the result of its historic development. The street is built on deeded land and old mining claims and is surrounded by a mix of federal and state lands. Many of the buildings reside on the original foundations dating back to the 1900's (Fox, M. 2014, January 14. Interview). Thus, Oatman cannot ever expand beyond its current size (Fox, M. 2014, January 14. Interview). Furthermore, there is no official, incorporated city of Oatman. It is, instead, simply a community of like-minded individuals. According to Mike Fox, local entertainer and resident for 24 years, residents know that tourism is their only source of revenue. They maintain the historic look and feel of Oatman out of common sense rather than rules outlined by a historic districts commission. It makes sense to locals to preserve the Old West appearance of the building and streets. It makes sense to keep the wild donkeys roaming through the street because they entice visitors to stop (Fox, M. 2014, January 14. Interview). While the visual appearance of Tombstone and Jerome are

carefully managed by historic districts commissions and city regulations, Oatman remains unregulated. Nevertheless, despite a lack of regulation, the historic preservation of the town is considered important enough to be maintained for modern-day visitors (Fox, M. 2014, January 14. Interview).

I interviewed 12 people in Oatman in January of 2014. I found that visitors often had only a cursory knowledge of the town's history – 8 visitors knew before coming that it was a stopping point along the historic U.S. Route 66 and 10 knew that it was home to a herd of wild donkeys (see Figure 24). Yet, beyond tidbits of information, visitors knew little about Oatman's history. And while I did observe numerous visitors pausing to read the informational plaques throughout the town, Fox (2014, January 14. Interview) told me that the plaques are historically inconsistent and often provide more fictitious stories than documented history. Additionally, one of the gunfight performers told me that the daily gunfight show is not based on any historic event. Instead, it simply dramatizes "… a common Old West story of the good sheriff versus the evil bank robbers" (2014, January 14. Interview).

In describing the visual appearance of Oatman, one man in his 50's from Oregon said, "Yes, the buildings look authentic… until you go inside, ha, ha!" And Jenny, a visitor in her 40's from California, said, "It looks old, but it's so commercialized. There are too many stores to be truly historically authentic… I wish there was gold panning and more horses in the street… I don't know, I just came for the donkeys!"

Figure 24. Feeding the wild donkeys, Oatman in 2013. (Researcher-generated photograph).

For Oatman, I collected 103 images from Pinterest. The Pinterest images roughly fell into four categories – see Figure 25 for a few examples. First, images of the overall street showcased the road and multiple buildings. Second, images of specific buildings most often depicted the Oatman Hotel. Third, the largest group of images showed the herd of donkeys that roams through the town. Many of the images also included people feeding the donkeys or simply posing next to them. Fourth, photographs of the re-enacted gunfight generally depicted gun smoke and "dead" men laying on the street. The significant number of photographs of donkeys corresponded with multiple comments I heard during interviews. Marsha, a visitor in her 60's from Minnesota, exclaimed, "Our guidebook said Oatman had shopping and wild donkeys!" And another visitor in his 40's from California said of him and his wife, "This is our fourth trip here… we keep returning to feed the donkeys." Indeed, the donkeys appeared to be a larger draw to Oatman than the historic appearance of the town or even the mock gunfight.

Figure 25. Contemporary photographs collected from Pinterest of Oatman.

Street views	Buildings	Donkeys	Gunfight
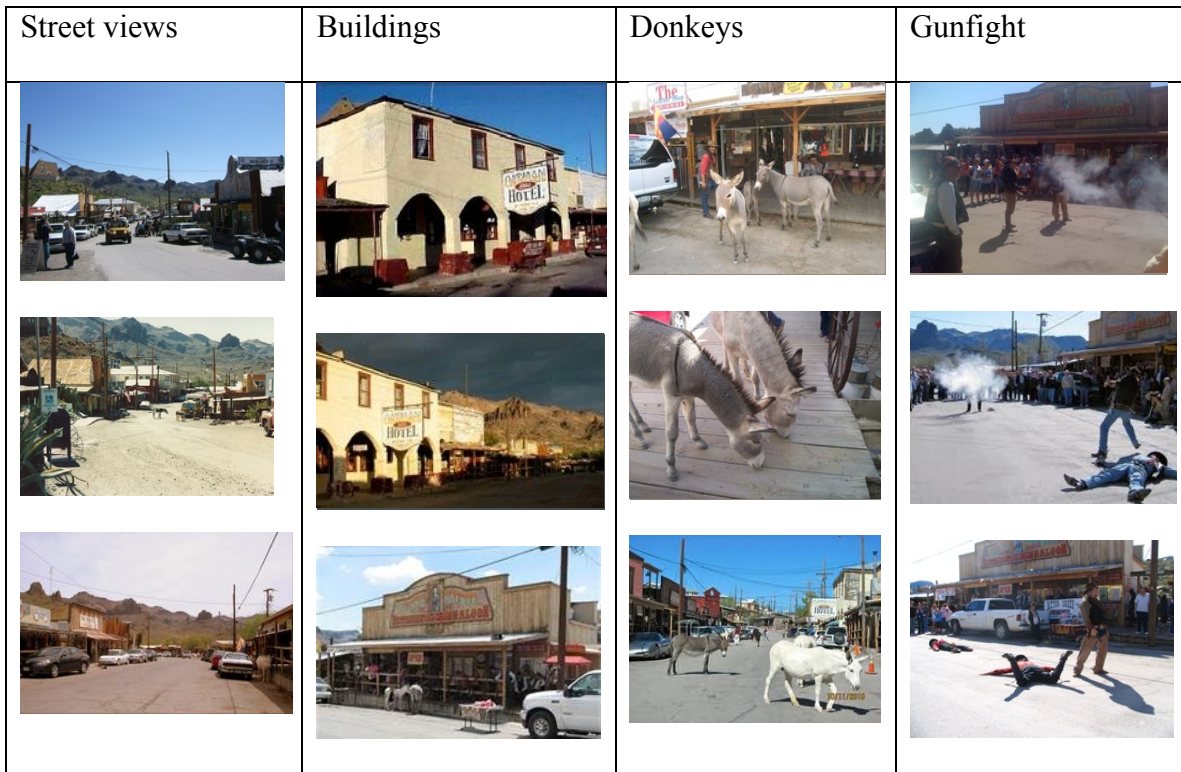
Globe. Unlike Tombstone, Jerome, or Oatman, the town of Globe is still a mining town today. Driving into Globe in July of 2013, I could see large open pit mines tucked just off the highway. I also saw evidence of mining in the town itself – from mining offices to signs advertising the sponsorship of school and community events. The historic main street of Globe, called Broad Street, has large, multi-story buildings built out of brick and concrete. Many do not have awnings or covered walkways. As a result, the façade of the buildings appears large and flat (see Figures 26 and 27). While the buildings may look old, they are filled with modern-day businesses to support a thriving mining town. Broad Street itself is a wide, paved street lined with modern-day automobiles, stop signs, and street lamps.

Figure 26. Broad Street, Globe in 2013. (Researcher-generated photograph).

Figure 27. Broad Street, Globe in 2013. (Researcher-generated photograph).

The Gila County Historical Museum and the Globe Chamber of Commerce work together to preserve the historic appearance of the town (Anderson, D. 2014, January 17. Interview). Here, both groups recognize the important role that tourism can play in the town and thus work together to protect its history and attract visitors. Donna Anderson, Executive Director of the Gila County Historical Museum and local resident for 51 years explained, "Tourists like historic things" (2014, January 17. Interview). The fact that tourism is not the primary source of revenue (mining and ranching are) helps to relieve some of the pressure felt in other towns to *look* historic. Nevertheless, the historic buildings in town must adhere to strict city ordinances set by a historic districts commission. Even buildings that are not considered historic, but reside in the historic district, have rules about what types of signs, colors, and materials can and cannot be used (Anderson, D. 2014, January 17. Interview).

During my visits to Globe, I found few visitors walking around the historic district. Instead, the downtown had a handful of local residents hurrying between business appointments. In January of 2014 I interviewed eight people, three of whom were locals. Bob, a 50-year old local, told me, "We see a lot of visitors in the antique shops or during a festival… but they never really crowd the streets." The visitors I was able to speak with were either passing through on their way elsewhere or visiting the town's antique shops. None of them had been to any local museums or taken any guided tours of the historic buildings. Maggie, a visitor in her 30's from Scottsdale, Arizona, pointed down the way to a nearby antique shop and said, "I'm dragging my husband there so we can find an end table for our bedroom… I don't really know anything about the

history of the buildings." And one local resident told me, "I moved here six years ago and when I first arrived, it took me by surprise… I had no idea there was so much history!"

In contrast to Tombstone, Jerome, and Oatman, I found a much smaller number of images of Globe posted on Pinterest – 23 images versus 65+ images for each of the other towns. For Globe, the Pinterest images roughly fell into three categories – see Figure 28 for a few examples. First, images of the overall street showcased the road and multiple buildings. Second, images of specific buildings showcased a variety of different architectural styles. The images did not focus on a single building as was the case in the other three towns. Third, images of trains and rail lines appeared often. Given the small number of visitor images on Pinterest, it is difficult to make any definitive statements about what attracts visitors to the town. Nevertheless, the very fact that there were so few images suggests that Globe, unlike the other towns, is not as popular of a tourist destination.

Figure 28. Contemporary photographs collected from Pinterest of Globe.

Street views	Buildings	Railway

A Past

According to historian Patricia Limerick (1987), "One skill essential in the writing of American history is a capacity to deal with multiple points of view... Seldom are there only two parties or only two points of view" (p. 39). Limerick (1987) introduced the concept of a New Western History that analyzed the West not as a process, like previous historians, but as a place filled with a multitude of diverse stories. She argued against the commonly accepted "Turner Thesis" of the American West, writing that, "English speaking white men were the stars of [that] story: Indians, Hispanics, French Canadians, and Asians were at best supporting actors and at worst invisible" (Limerick,

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1987, p. 21). More recent historic writing, such as Sheridan's (2012) history of Arizona, continues to promote a New Western History by incorporating a diverse group of cultural and racial groups into its recounting of the American Old West.

Nevertheless, I encountered primarily White American visitors within each of my study sites. I interviewed one couple from the United Kingdom, one group of Japanese tourists, and several Latinos. The large number of White American visitors today appears a bit ironic given that the earliest days of ranching and mining in the Arizona Territory were dominated by Spaniards and Mexicans (Sheridan, 2012). Furthermore, during my research and observations, I noted that a one-sided and often ethnocentric vision of the frontier was still the more popularly told history within Arizona Old Western towns today. I found that the White man's history often took center stage in tourist activities, shows, and museums (personal observations, 2013). One of the few exceptions that I saw was the Historic State Park Museum in Jerome. According to an exhibit there, there were several ethnic communities in the town during its' copper mining boom, including a Mexican district and a Chinese town ("Historic State Park Museum," 2013). Additionally, immigrants came from England, Ireland, Yugoslavia, Russia, Italy, and Germany (Varney, 2008). Yet, many of the minority groups maintained separate identities and generally refused to assimilate into the larger cultural group of White Americans ("Historic State Park Museum," 2013).

The histories of Tombstone, Jerome, Oatman, and Globe are anything but simple and straightforward. Their histories span multiple decades and encompass thousands of people and their stories. Consequently, while I attempt to provide here a brief overview of each town's history, I do so only to give a bit of context to the historic photographs

that will subsequently be compared to the contemporary ones. Thus, I do not wish to imply that this section outlines the only (or an all encompassing) account of history. Rather, just like my careful selection of historic photographs, my historic accounts are careful selections and interpretations of the past. They are based heavily on information from each town's historic society and chamber of commerce as well as the books that they recommended since these are the narratives most frequently communicated to visitors. Of course, as a volunteer from the Tombstone Chamber of Commerce explained, "Everybody's version of history is different – while you can argue certain points, it's hard to know what's truly factual since you weren't there" (2014, January 17. Interview).

Tombstone. The California gold rush began around 1848, and mining opportunities in the Arizona Territory began to draw prospectors to the area a few years later. The earliest reports of mining in southern Arizona began in 1857 with Frederick Brunckow mining silver ore along the San Pedro River (Sosa & Nelson, 2009). However, Mexican rebels killed Brunckow and raiding Apaches in the area deterred many other prospectors. Thus, although Ed Schieffelin did not come to the area until 1876, he is often considered the earliest prospector in the area (Sheridan, 2012). Schieffelin was warned that the only thing he would find in the area was his own tombstone. So, when he placed his first mining claim, he named it "Tombstone" (Sheridan, 2012).

Word of the area's high-grade gold and silver ore spread quickly and by 1878 the Tombstone Gold and Silver Mill and Mining Company was incorporated. By 1879, the village of Tombstone officially became incorporated as well as. Buildings and homes popped up with rapid speed, a large mill was built, and the area's population quickly boomed to between 10,000 and 15,000 residents (Sosa & Nelson, 2009). Figures 29 and

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30 show the town during its heyday – the early 1880's when its population peaked. However, several problems including flooding and fires in the mines caused production to slow by the mid 1880's. Additionally, the price of gold and silver began to fall. Despite government efforts to prop up the price of silver, by the early 1890's many area-mining operations were shut down (Sosa & Nelson, 2009). A cycle of success and struggle would continue to plague the area for the next century, with alternating periods of profitable mining and stalled production. Figure 31 depicts Tombstone during one of its quieter periods in 1920. By 1990, all mining in the area had stopped completely (Sosa & Nelson, 2009). As Sosa and Nelson (2009) described: "It was a century of tremendous achievements, of disastrous fires, of fabulous riches for a few, of backbreaking labor for most" (p. 88). A history of boom and bust underlies the present day town, shaping the stories told to town visitors.

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Figure 29. Overview of Tombstone circa 1880. (Courtesy of Nancy Sosa/History Raiders Collection).

Figure 30. Fremont Street, Tombstone in 1883. (Courtesy of Nancy Sosa/History Raiders

Collection).

Figure 31. Tombstone in 1920. (Courtesy of Arizona State Library –

azmemory.azlibrary.gov).

Despite having over 100 years of history, the town of Tombstone is still intrinsically linked to one particular story. That, of course, is the gunfight at the OK corral that occurred on October 26, 1881 – the gunfight lasted 30 seconds and resulted in the death of merely three men (Varney, 2008). However, the legend of the gunfight has fascinated many: "It is that episode that has fed the seemingly insatiable hunger of the world's population for 'Old West Gunplay' or 'Frontier Justice', or whatever term one chooses to utilize" (Sosa & Nelson, 2009, p. 99). Consequently, there are numerous articles, movies, shows, and books that offer multiple opinions on what really happened in that 30 seconds. Even newspaper reports from 1881 differ significantly: some side with Doc Holliday and the Earp brothers Virgil, Morgan, and Wyatt whereas others side with Ike and Billy Clanton as well as Tom and Frank McLaury (Sosa & Nelson, 2009). The gunfight at the OK corral has been re-enacted multiple times a day for tourists for several decades (see Figure 32). Of all the historic events that occurred in Tombstone, the gunfight appears to be the most well known by tourists and also the most sought after attraction in the town.

Jerome. The history of Jerome has been traced to 1583 when Spanish explorers

first discovered copper and silver in the area (Varney, 2008). However, the Spanish were

searching for gold, and thus the immense wealth of copper in the hills surrounding

Jerome was not realized until 1876. By 1882, a group of eastern investors (including the

town's namesake Eugene Murray Jerome) gathered together to found the United Verde

Copper Company (Varney, 2008). The town initially struggled because of its remote

location (see Figure 33). Nevertheless, the completion of several connecting rail lines as

well as the investments of William Clark enabled Jerome to expand rapidly (Steuber,

2008). A series of fires necessitated the continual rebuilding of the town. Figure 34 shows

Jerome in 1900 and Figure 35 shows the same stretch of town in 1915 after a significant

amount of development. The town population peaked at 15,000 residents during the

1920's when World War I had significantly increased the demand for copper. Phelps

Dodge bought out the United Verde Copper Company in 1935 and continued to operate

the mines until their closure in 1953 (Varney, 2008). By this time, the largest mine in

Jerome had already produced "… two and a half billion pounds of copper, 50 million

ounces of silver, a million ounces of gold, and many millions of pounds of zinc, with a

gross value in excess of $1 billion" (Steuber, 2008, p. 7). After closure, Jerome sunk to

ghost town status for the next few decades until hippies, artists, and eventually tourists

filtered in and repopulated the town (Kinsella, J. 2013, November 22. Interview).

Figure 33. Overview of Jerome in 1896. (Courtesy of Jerome Historical Society).

Figure 34. Main Street Jerome in 1900. (Courtesy of Jerome Historical Society).

Figure 35. Main Street Jerome in 1915. (Courtesy of Jerome Historical Society).

Oatman. The area surrounding Oatman was first explored by the U.S. government in order to establish a wagon trail across the desert to California. In 1857, led by Lieutenant Edward F. Beale, the first trail was constructed (Varney, 2008). It was not until about 1895 that gold was discovered in the area. Yet, by 1907, more than $3 million in gold had already been mined. The town went through several names including "Vivian" (Varney, 2008) and "Blueridge" (Rowland, 2006). It was finally designated "Oatman" in honor of a young White girl named Olive Oatman who spent fours years in captivity with the Mohave Indians (Rowland, 2006). Olive Oatman's story is recounted in the book "Captivity of the Oatman Girls" and also appears throughout the modern-day town (personal observations, 2013).

Oatman continued as a gold mining town with a boom population of nearly 10,000 residents (see Figures 36 and 37) until the mines were shut down by the government in 1942. The town's population plummeted to 20 residents. The town served only as the last major stopping point before entering California along U.S. Route 66 (Varney, 2008). In 1952, the highway was redirected and Oatman was virtually abandoned for several decades. Finally, in the 1980's, tourism began to take root and the population grew again (Rowland, 2006). However, the current population remains small at about 150 residents (Fox, M. 2014, January 14. Interview).

Figure 36. Oatman in 1915. (Courtesy Collection of Jeremy Rowe Vintage Photography

– Vintagephoto.com).

Figure 37. Oatman in 1915. (Courtesy Collection of Jeremy Rowe Vintage Photography

– Vintagephoto.com).

Globe. The first residents of "Globe City" were prospectors and miners working the area's silver claims. Legend has it that the town was actually named for the globe-shaped, silver nuggets found along the nearby river. In 1878, the town's name was shortened to "Globe" (Haak & Haak, 2008). It quickly expanded as businesses flourished (see Figures 38 and 39). Even when several of the silver veins ran dry around 1885 the town continued to thrive by mining copper. In fact, demand for copper at the time surpassed that of silver or gold because of its multitude of household uses (Sheridan, 2012). Unlike many other Arizona mining towns, Globe never shrank to ghost town status. In fact, its most successful mine, the Old Dominion Mine (see Figure 40), operated for nearly 50 years before being shut down. By 1910, the town's population reached 12,000 residents and Globe was known informally as the "Queen City" (Haak & Haak, 2008). By 1920, Globe was producing more than 30% of the states' copper production ("National Register of Historic Places: Globe," 2013). In fact, "It was in the period from 1900 through 1920 that the majority of the commercial buildings in downtown Globe were constructed" ("National Register of Historic Places: Globe," 2013, p. 12). Although Globe's history is filled with stories of recessions and natural disasters, the presence of bountiful mines and a railroad kept it as a town of central importance in the Arizona territory.

Figure 38. Overview of Globe in 1910. (Courtesy of Arizona State Library –
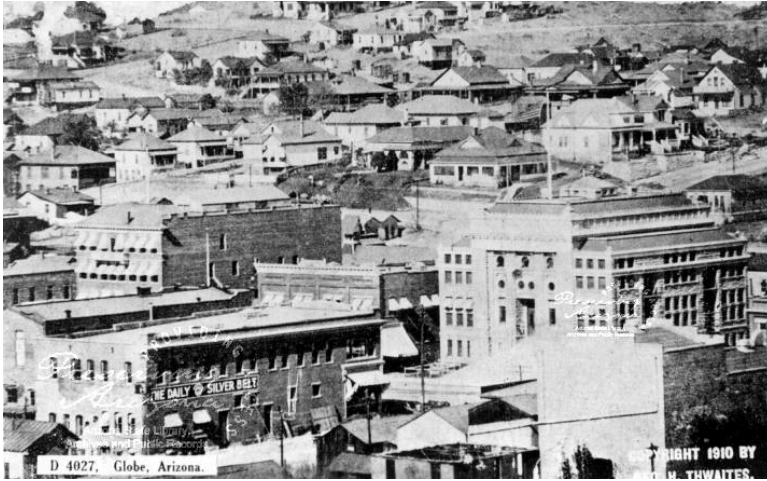
azmemory.azlibrary.gov).

Figure 39. Broad Street in Globe circa 1900. (Courtesy of Arizona State Library –

azmemory.azlibrary.gov).

Figure 40. The Old Dominion Mine Commercial Center circa 1900. (Courtesy of Arizona State Library – azmemory.azlibrary.gov).

Discussion of historic photographs.

There is a magic created by historical photographs – they draw us in, link us with our pasts, and help us see how our communities have evolved and changed. Whether depicting our families and relatives, or nostalgically transporting us to days gone by, these images have a unique power to engage and entice viewers young and old. (Jeremy Rowe, in Mondon, 2013, p. 6)

The historic photographs of each of the four Arizona towns tell a variety of different stories. Sometimes they support the textual history and other times they add new layers of information. Yet, viewed together, the historic photographs that I collected can be broadly grouped into three categories. In this section, I will describe photographs depicting the exterior of a single building, photographs depicting multiple buildings on

a street, and photographs depicting an entire town from a distance. Each of the categories

reveals a different level of visual information about the town. Of course, due to study

criteria for selecting "acceptable" photographs for inclusion (see chapter three) I found

numerous historic photographs that were not included. For example, the Arizona Memory

website displays photographs of mines, mining activities, town residents, and daily life.

Yet, many of the images did not show information about the exterior appearance of the

town and were thus excluded. Additionally, I only collected photographs that dated from

the days of the Arizona Territory, 1863 to 1912, and from the early days of statehood,

1912 to 1930. In total, 124 historic photographs were collected and analyzed.

First, there were 39 photographs depicting the exterior of a single building.

Close-shot images revealed specific details about architectural styles as well as types of

businesses in each town. Generally photographed face-on or at a slight angle, the

building's front façade (often with a store sign) and sometimes side wall were visible.

Close-shots indicated a wide variety of building appearances both within each town as

well as across the towns. For example, Figure 41 shows the Noquin Mercantile Co. in

Globe, 1900; it was a large, two-story building built of brick. There was a single

entryway on the front centered between large display windows. The windows on the

ground level had canvas awnings, but the awnings were pulled up away from the street.

A horse drawn carriage was stopped in front of the building. In contrast to this, Figure 42

shows the Tombstone Epitaph in 1915. The building was also two-story, but significantly

smaller. It was built out of adobe with a wooden balcony shading the front entry way.

An automobile was parked in front of the building. While both of the buildings were

downtown commercial businesses, there was a significant difference in their visual

appearance.

Figure 41. The Noquin Mercantile Co. in Globe in 1900. (Courtesy Arizona State Library

– azmemory.azlibrary.gov)

Figure 42. The Tombstone Epitaph in Tombstone in 1915. (Courtesy Arizona State

Library – azmemory.azlibrary.gov)

Although photography was first developed in 1840, amateur photography did not

become popular until the 1890's with the introduction of inexpensive, hand-held cameras

(Margolis and Rowe, 2004). Thus, historic photographs taken before and around the

1890's were likely quite carefully staged and, perhaps, commissioned. Unlike the

prolific, often random photographs taken by tourists today, close-shot historic

photographs were likely taken for a specific purpose. Given that 39 of the 124 historic

photographs that I collected depicted a single building, close-shot photographs appeared

quite common. It seems reasonable to suggest that they documented that a business was

up and running successfully. These photographs were physical evidence of a business'

prosperity in Old Western mining towns that often sprouted and receded quickly from the

Arizona desert.

Second, I assembled 63 photographs depicting multiple buildings on a street.

Medium-shot photographs comprised the largest category of historic photographs

collected and consequently these images will be used later in my comparison of historic

and contemporary towns. Medium-shots exposed a broader view of each town. Whereas a

single building could have a notably different appearance from the building next to it,

seeing multiple buildings together revealed the overall look of the street. Street view

photographs showed the town as a visitor might have seen it. They depicted details such

as people and animals on the street, whether the road was dirt or paved, if there were

power lines along the street, etc. For example, Figure 43 shows Fremont Street in

Tombstone in 1883. Here, the buildings were predominantly false-front, 2-story wood

buildings with large covered walkways along the street. The lines of the buildings were

straight and boxy. In the photograph, the open expanse of street, emphasized by a lone

man in a horse drawn carriage, downplayed the fact that in 1883 between 10,000 and

15,000 people actually resided in Tombstone (Sosa & Nelson, 2009). In contrast, Figure

44 shows the Main Street of Jerome in 1920. Here, the buildings were predominantly

2- and 3-story, brick buildings with just a few awnings along the street. There was more

variation in the shape of the buildings and windows than in the Tombstone photograph.

Additionally, a number of automobiles and people portray a busy day in downtown

Jerome.

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Figure 43. Fremont Street, Tombstone in 1883. (Courtesy of Nancy Sosa/History Raiders Collection).

Figure 44. Main Street, Jerome in 1920 after the road through town is paved. (Courtesy of Jerome Historical Society)

Tombstone experienced its heyday (the time frame of its peak population) in 1880. This was forty years prior to Jerome's heyday in 1920. Additionally, Globe peaked in 1910 and Oatman in 1913. According to the "Turner Thesis," the frontier of the American Old West closed in 1890 when no large tracts of land remained for American conquest (Turner, 1894/2014). While the 1890 date is highly debated (Athearn, 1986), it helps to highlight the significance of the time difference between Tombstone and the other three towns. Tombstone was the only town of the study sites to peak prior to 1890. A comparison of historic photographs depicting a street view from each town's heyday indicates significant differences in the visual appearance of each town. Some of the differences are certainly due to the unique histories of each town. But, the most predominant differences appear to come simply from a difference in the time period of the towns' heydays. For example, Figure 43 (above) depicts the Main Street of Tombstone during its heyday. Here, a horse-drawn wagon is being pulled down a dirt road. In contrast, Figure 44 (above) depicts the Main Street of Jerome during its heyday. Here, several automobiles drive down a paved road with concrete sidewalks. While both of these medium-shot photographs are visual documentation of what the towns looked like during their heyday, the forty year time difference significantly altered the visual appearance of the main street.

Third, there were 22 long-shot photographs depicting an entire town from a distance. Long-shots revealed multiple streets and numerous buildings. They showed the overall size, layout, and density of a town. The photograph in Figure 45 depicts the town of Globe in 1900. There are a large number of buildings scattered across the Arizona desert. The buildings are clustered closely together in the bottom of the image and

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gradually grow sparser at the edge of town, near the center of the image. The photograph in Figure 46 depicts the town of Jerome in 1930. The buildings stretch horizontally across a hillside with a large "J" on it. Long-shot photographs probably served as documentation of the growth – the boom – associated with Old Western mining towns.

Figure 45. Overview of Globe in 1900. (Courtesy of Arizona State Library – azmemory.azlibrary.gov).
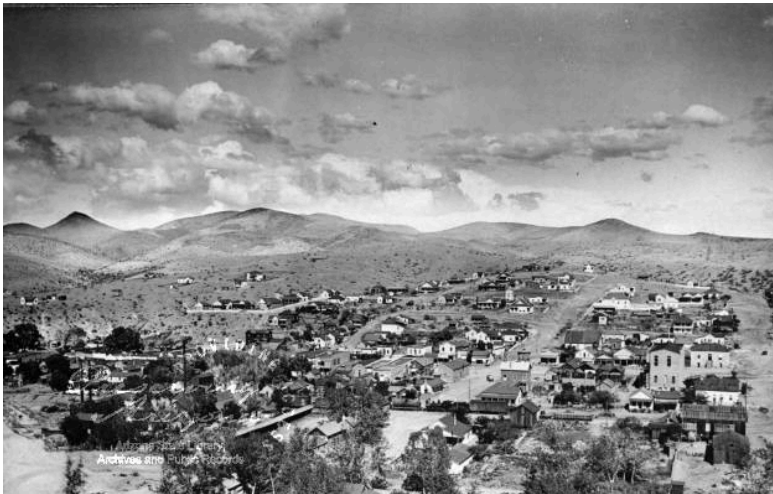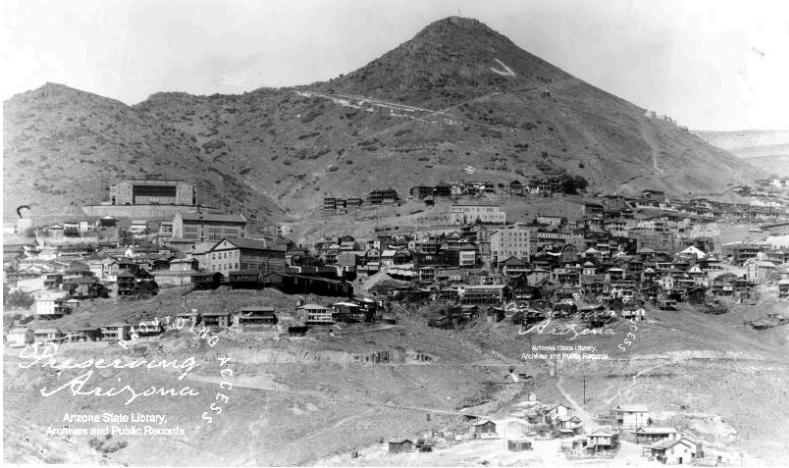
Figure 46. Overview of Jerome in 1930. (Courtesy of Arizona State Library – azmemory.azlibrary.gov).

A Connection Between Past and present

Having described "a present" and "a past" of each of four Arizona Old Western towns, I now turn to understanding the connections between the visual appearance depicted in the contemporary and historic photographs. Significantly, three of the contemporary downtown districts – Tombstone, Jerome, and Globe – are listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Each town has multiple buildings listed as historically significant. Downtown Tombstone consists of many buildings rebuilt after a fire in 1882 ("National Register of Historic Places: Tombstone," 2013). Downtown Jerome, while a mix of original and rebuilt buildings, "… retains much of its 1890's appearance and atmosphere" ("National Register of Historic Places: Jerome," 2013, p. 2). Downtown Globe still has many of the original commercial buildings dating to between 1900 and 1920 ("National Register of Historic Places: Globe," 2013). Downtown Oatman

is the only town of the study sites that is not listed on the National Register of Historic Places. However, I was told by a local resident that many of the buildings were rebuilt on original foundations dating to the early 1900's (Fox, M. 2014, January 14. Interview). Consequently, the appearance of all four contemporary towns is rooted in the past.

Yet, records of what the towns looked like in the past are problematic. In fact, although historic photographs are often perceived as objective documentations of "the truth", they are anything but. There has been much debate over whether a camera can record an objective reality or merely a subjective version of reality based on the decisions of the photographer (Sontag, 1973; Barthes, 1981; Sekula, 1983; Solomon-Godeau, 1991; Tagg, 1993; Goldstein, 2007; Morris, 2011; etc.). The "myth of photographic truth" refers to the assumption that a photograph is objective when, in fact, it is highly subjective (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009). Certainly, historic photographs are often considered truthful, accurate representations of the past. They are often used as evidence – for example, to show that a person visited a certain location, that an event actually took place, or that something looked a specific way. Indeed, I have used them in this chapter to show what each town and its buildings looked like. Yet, it is difficult (if not impossible) to determine the intentions and agendas of the photographer (e.g. Morris, 2011). It became evident during my study of photographs that many histories were being recorded – each town was photographed at various points in time, from numerous viewpoints, and for multiple reasons. No collection of photographs can ever accurately represent an entire town nor its' history.
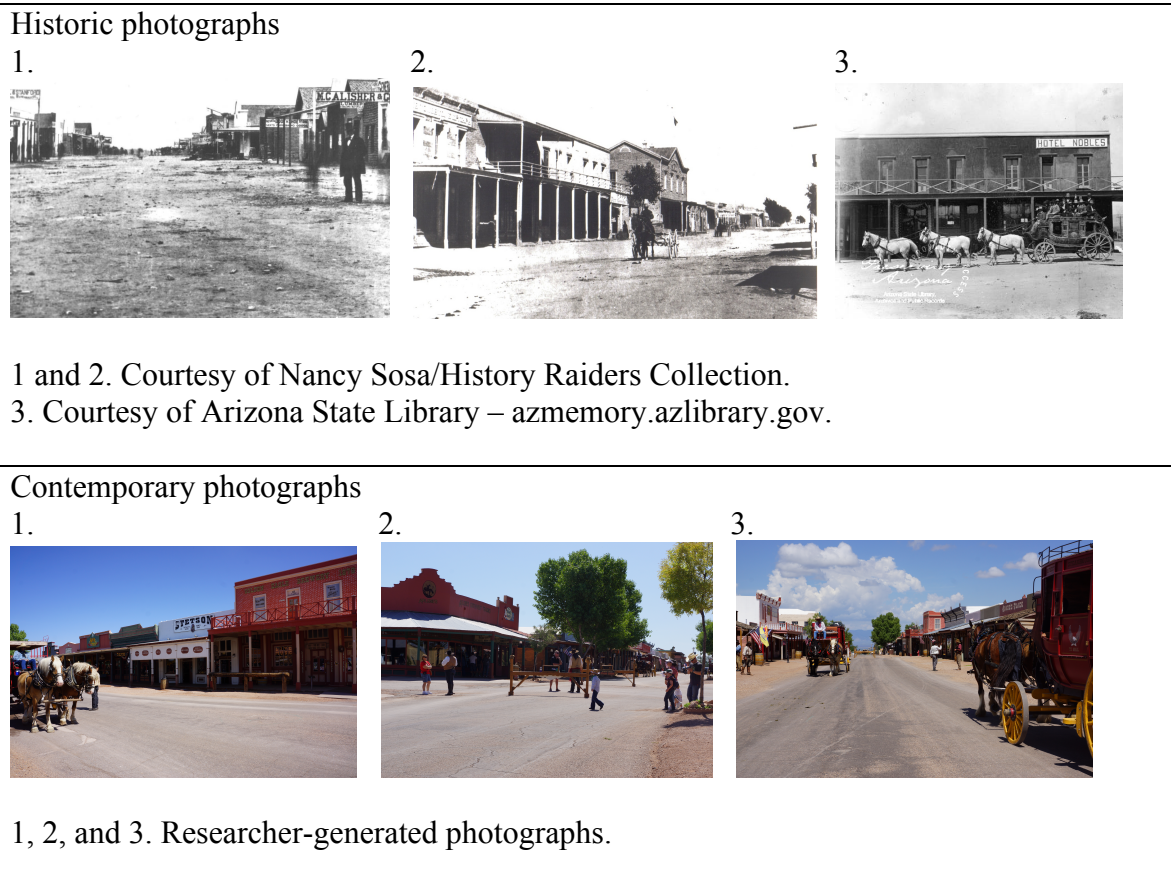
Consequently, when discussing the connection between the historic and contemporary towns depicted in photographs, I use the term "historically-grounded"

rather than historically "accurate" or "authentic." I define a "historically-grounded" contemporary town as one that includes strong visual references to the historic town depicted in my photographs. However, visual references may take several forms: modern buildings that have been built to look like the historic ones or original historic buildings that have been updated yet maintain their historic appearance. Both references are rooted, or grounded, in the past.

In order to compare the historic and contemporary towns, I narrowed down my image selection criteria considerably: First, for both historic and contemporary photographs, I included only medium-shot, street-view images (as opposed to single building, town from a distance, or other images). While I did not intentionally set out to create rephotographs (Klett, 2011), I later realized that I had rephotographed several of the same physical locations that were shown in the historic photographs. Indeed, this strengthened my ability to compare the images. Second, I included only historic photographs within 5 years of a town's heyday rather than from all points in history. I defined a town's heyday as the year of its' peak population.

Tombstone. In Figure 47, I show historic photographs from within 5 years of Tombstone's heyday in 1880 next to contemporary photographs of Tombstone from 2013.

Figure 47. Historic and contemporary photographs of Tombstone.

Historic photographs
1.   2.   3.

1 and 2. Courtesy of Nancy Sosa/History Raiders Collection.
3. Courtesy of Arizona State Library – azmemory.azlibrary.gov.

Contemporary photographs
1.   2.   3.

1, 2, and 3. Researcher-generated photographs.

Street view photographs of Tombstone from its heyday are relatively scarce. As Margolis and Rowe (2004) noted, amateur photography did not become popular until the 1890's with the introduction of inexpensive, hand-held cameras. Thus, historic photographs from the 1880's that are available of Tombstone were likely taken by professional photographers. I include here three historic photographs from (left to right) circa 1880, 1883, and 1885. Image 1 was taken looking down Allen Street. The most obvious visual is the rocky, dirt street. It is lined on either side by single-story buildings with covered, wooden walkways out front. The roofs appear to be A-frame structures
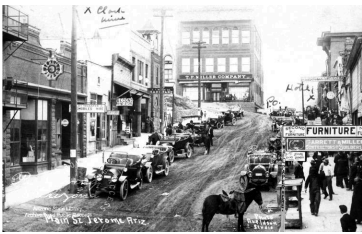
with wooden shingles. Image 2 was taken looking down Fremont Street (just one block over from Allen Street). In contrast to image 1, it shows two-story buildings in the forefront of the photograph. It is difficult to tell from the image if the buildings were actually two-story or simply false-fronts (which become more easily visible in later photographs). The buildings are also fronted by covered, wooden walkways. In the background of image 2, several single-story buildings similar to those shown in image 1 appear. Image 3 depicts a large two-story building with a covered, wooden walkway out front. The walkway is supported by single posts and topped with a simple railing. Overall, the historic buildings appear simple and symmetrical. They lack ornamentation and have modest signs out front. The streets in all three images are dirt with only a few people and/or horse-drawn carriages traveling down them.

The contemporary photographs I made show Allen Street in 2013. Based on a comparison of these photographs, the appearance of the historic and contemporary buildings in Tombstone is historically-grounded. The single-story buildings in contemporary image 1 appear visually consistent with those in historic image 2. They both show a continuous, connected row of buildings with covered, wooden walkways out front. Furthermore, the building in the far right of contemporary image 1 seems to be the same building as shown in historic image 3 – the windows, materials, covered walkway, and railing all appear identical. However, the single-story contemporary buildings have false-fronts hiding the A-frame structure of the historic buildings. The roof line of the contemporary buildings is thus more varied, giving each building a unique appearance. Additionally, many more people fill the contemporary street scene. The contemporary buildings have been embellished with numerous shop signs and advertisements.

The street is smooth and paved. It is blocked off from cars and has benches as well as

trash cans on either side. While the buildings remain fairly consistent, the differences hint

at how the town has changed over time – it has shifted to a modern-day tourist town.

Jerome. In Figure 48, I show historic photographs from within 5 years of

Jerome's heyday in 1920 next to contemporary photographs of Jerome from 2013.

Figure 48. Historic and contemporary photographs of Jerome.

Historic photographs

1, 2, and 3. Courtesy of Jerome Historical Society.
4. Courtesy Collection of Jeremy Rowe Vintage Photography – Vintagephoto.com.

Contemporary photographs

1, 2, and 3. Researcher-generated photographs.

Jerome's heyday was decades later than that of Tombstone and thus historic photographs are easier to locate. I include here four historic photographs from (left to right) circa 1915, 1919, 1920, and 1920. All four images show Main Street. Yet, the street appears different in the first two images from the second two because the road through town was paved in 1920. Image 1 was taken looking up the hill towards the TF Miller Company mercantile store (which is today the town's firehouse). On the left and right sides of the street are small, one- and two-story buildings built out of concrete and brick. Each building has glass windows, a single door, and a shop sign hanging perpendicular to the building. There is a concrete sidewalk on both sides for pedestrians and a dirt road in the middle for cars and horses. Image 2 looks down on the center of Main Street. It shows a bit of surrounding landscape and the town appears less densely built than in image 1. However, a large number of people crowd the street for a Fourth of July celebration. The buildings are mainly brick with canvas awnings on the right-most building. Image 3 reveals the same stretch of street as image 1. Yet, taken 5 years later, it includes a few taller buildings and a paved road. Additionally, wooden balconies and two canvas awnings are visible. Image 4 includes a larger variety of buildings: from a 1-story building with an exaggerated roof line to a 2-story building with a small balcony. A number of canvas awnings are visible and the street is busy with cars and pedestrians.

The contemporary photographs I made show Main Street in 2013. Based on a comparison of these photographs, the appearance of the historic and contemporary buildings in Jerome is historically-grounded as well. The same one- and two-story concrete and brick buildings appear. Indeed, historic image 2 shows the identical intersection as contemporary image 3 and the same buildings still sit at the intersection.

The relatively flat, brick exteriors of the buildings are broken only by the occasional canvas awning – historic images 2, 3, and 4 and also contemporary images 1 and 3 all reveal canvas awnings on several of the buildings. Both historic images 3 and 4 and all of the contemporary photographs show cars on a paved road. But, in the historic photographs, the style of car is obviously dated and a few horses are visible. Additionally, several of the historic buildings were completely lost during landslides – for example, the left side of contemporary image 1 reveals an empty stretch of street where historic buildings once stood (see the far right side of historic image 1). The historic street actually has more shop signs visible, more people, and a few larger buildings.

Oatman. In Figure 49, I show historic photographs from within 5 years of

Oatman's heyday in 1913 next to contemporary photographs of Oatman from 2013.

Figure 49. Historic and contemporary photographs of Oatman.

Historic photographs
1.   2.   3.

1, 2, and 3. Courtesy Collection of Jeremy Rowe Vintage Photography – Vintagephoto.com

Contemporary photographs
1.   2.   3.

1, 2, and 3. Researcher-generated photographs.

I include here three historic photographs all showing the main road through town

from about 1915. Image 1 depicts a rubble-strewn road with people and cars navigating

crooked paths through the debris. On the right side of the road are one-, two-, and three-

story buildings built out of wood. Most of the buildings have a covered, wooden walkway

and balcony. A row of power lines is visible. Image 2 reveals a large wooden building on

the right side that is crowded with people. While no sign is visible on the building, there
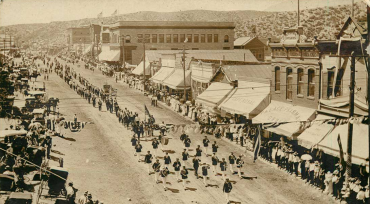
are several shop signs on the smaller buildings on the left side of the road. The smaller buildings also have covered wooden walkways. Image 3 shows a closer shot of the far end of the street. Several larger buildings and numerous shop signs are visible on the sides of the buildings. Again, a large number of cars and people crowd the dirt street.

The contemporary photographs I made show Main Street in 2013. Based on a comparison of these photographs, the appearance of the historic and contemporary buildings in Oatman varies quite a bit and is not historically-grounded. Both the historic and contemporary photographs show wooden buildings with covered, wooden walkways. A wooden balcony is visible in contemporary image 1. Power lines, people, and cars are seen in both sets of photographs. However, the historic photographs show more buildings, larger buildings, and many more people. The road is dirt with visible rubble. In contrast, the contemporary photographs show a smooth, paved street and a herd of donkeys. Additionally, a few adobe buildings are visible. The contemporary town appears to have been rebuilt considerably from the historic one. For example, at the far back of historic image 1 and on the right side of contemporary image 2, the Oatman Hotel is visible. Yet, while the size of both buildings appears similar with two-stories of four windows across, many of the details have changed. The historic building appears to be wood with a large sign across the top of its face. In contrast, the contemporary building appears to be adobe with a covered walkway in the front. There is a hanging sign perpendicular to the building with the date of 1902. Given previous comments about Oatman being the only study site not currently listed on the National Register of Historic Places, it is not surprising to note considerable differences between the historic and contemporary buildings.

Globe. In Figure 50, I show historic photographs from within 5 years of Globe's

heyday in 1910 next to contemporary photographs of Globe from 2013.

Figure 50. Historic and contemporary photographs of Globe.

Historic photographs
1.   2.

3.

1 and 3. Courtesy Collection of Jeremy Rowe Vintage Photography – Vintagephoto.com.
2. Courtesy of Arizona State Library – azmemory.azlibrary.gov.

Contemporary photographs
1.   2.   3.

1, 2, and 3. Researcher-generated photographs.

I include here three historic photographs from (left to right) circa 1905, 1908, and 1910. All three images show Broad Street. However, the first two images show a dirt road whereas the third image shows a paved road. Image 1 depicts a Fourth of July parade through town. It shows a large stretch of street lined by people and horse-drawn buggies. On the right side is a row of connected buildings. Some of the buildings are false-front whereas others have an A-frame roof line visible. At the far end of the street are larger, 2-story buildings. Everything is built of brick and many of the buildings have canvas awnings out front. Image 2 reveals a large section of Broad Street. The dirt road is wide and empty. On the left side is a continuous row of connected, mostly single-story buildings. Many have a canvas awning either completely down or pulled-up but still visible. Additionally, a row of power lines and a concrete sidewalk are visible. Image 3 shows a cleaner, paved road lined with cars. Here, several store signs are visible hanging perpendicular to the buildings.

The contemporary photographs I made show Broad Street in 2013. Based on a comparison of these photographs, the appearance of the historic and contemporary buildings in Globe is historically-grounded. The same large, multi-story buildings appear with brick being the most predominant building material. The relatively flat exteriors face the street with canvas awnings and signs breaking the straight lines of the buildings. In the contemporary photographs, the road is paved but there are fewer cars visible. Moreover, there are more two-story buildings, stop signs, and trees.

Discussion. Based on a comparison of historic and contemporary photographs, I can further answer my second research question about how the town's history is visually communicated within the contemporary town. Indeed, the modern-day main

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streets of Tombstone, Jerome, Oatman, and Globe provide a number of visual references to their historic heydays while also containing noticeable differences. There were similarities in the overall architectural style (single/multi-story, false-front/complete structure, covered walkways, canvas awnings, etc.), the building materials (wood, brick, adobe, or concrete), building signage, street materials (dirt or paved), and street layout. Yet, sometimes the size and structure of buildings had changed or the extent of shops, people, and cars was different. The contemporary main streets often had modern-day cars, tourist shops, advertisements, store signs, paved roads, lights, stop signs, etc. Overall, I found that the visual similarities were often visible in the buildings whereas the differences were often depicted in the overall appearance of the street.

In the next chapter, I will tie together my discussions of a present, a past, and the connection between the two. I will propose a measure for assessing how the strength of visual connections between past and present impacts visitor impressions of each town.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION: VISUAL NARRATIVES OF THE OLD WEST

My research was undertaken to better understand connections between past and present – how history is portrayed, remembered, and communicated within modern-day spaces. Yet, many communication rhetoricians have emphasized human inability to recall memories accurately (Phillips, 2010). In other words, the act of remembering the past has proven to be quite difficult despite numerous sources that highlight the importance of remembering it (for example Limerick, 1987; Sosa & Nelson, 2009; Sheridan, 2012). While this is certainly not a new predicament, I believe that it continues to be a fascinating one.

In studying Arizona Old Western towns, I specifically examined how the histories of the American Old West were visually communicated to tourists. Historians of the American Old West have recounted a variety of different versions of the same time period (Limerick, 1987). Additionally, many of these tales are often highly romanticized and mythicized (Athearn, 1986; Slotkin, 1998; Murdoch, 2001). In fact, even while the American frontier was open for settlement, it was falsely imagined as an ideal way of life that embodied freedom, justice, progress, and prosperity (Athearn, 1986). The myths of the American Old West glossed over the true hardships and failures of the American frontier and focused almost exclusively on the dream. Thus, modern-day Old Western towns, which tap into these myths, generally communicate a blend of both fact and fiction. They communicate a reinterpretation of the past.

Nevertheless, Old Western towns often succeed as tourist destinations because they appeal to a deep-seated sense of nostalgia, or a yearning for days gone by. They

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serve as sites of memory, or physical locations that aid in the remembering of collective memories (Nora, 1984/2001) of the American Old West. Like Dickinson's (1997) description of Old Pasadena, California, these Arizona Old Western towns are "…determined to embed visitors in a warmly remembered past, a past that can cover the confusions of the present" (p. 7). There is an aura of adventure and freedom associated with the American Old West that much of present day society lacks. Consequently, numerous modern-day tourists are interested in experiencing and seeing the past. In fact, in Arizona, it is estimated that 59% of all visitors tour historic sites – even more than the number of visitors who come to the state for sports events (Shilling, 2000, p. 6).

My research focused on the four Arizona towns of Tombstone, Jerome, Oatman, and Globe. These towns reflected a sampling of the many Old Western towns throughout the state. They all developed during the time period of the Arizona Territory, 1863 to 1912, and during the early days of statehood, 1912-1930. They all have a substantial present day population (over 100 residents). And, they are all popular Arizona tourist destinations at least partially due to their histories.

In each of the four towns, I utilized observations, interviews, and photographs to answer my three research questions. The first question asked about the appearance of the *contemporary* Old Western towns. The second question asked about the appearance of the *historic* Old Western towns and how their pasts were visually communicated to visitors. The third question asked about visitor interpretations of the connection between past and present. In this chapter, I will discuss the study findings and also propose a measure for assessing how the strength of visual connections between past and present impacts visitor impressions of each town.

Visual Narratives of the Old West

While my initial research questions were based on Rose's (2001) three sites where the meanings of visual images are created, I realized that within Arizona Old Western towns there was a division between physical appearance and visitor understandings of that appearance. The division could be explained by using Chalfen's (2011) two dimensions of looking versus seeing. While Chalfen was far from the first to make this distinction (see Jay, 1993), he quite succinctly described it: The first dimension of "looking" refers to the biological process whereby images are formed on the human retina, as in: "Did you see how she looked?" (Chalfen, 2011, p. 27). The second dimension of "seeing" refers to the perceptual process of making sense of our surroundings, as in: "They just don't understand – they don't see it the same way we do!" (Chalfen, 2011, p. 32). In my study, I examined both dimensions. First, my collection and analysis of historic and contemporary photographs presented examples of what each town "looked" like. Second, my interviews with residents and tourists highlighted how they "saw" each town.

My research demonstrated that the contemporary towns of Tombstone, Jerome, Oatman, and Globe visually communicated a variety of different historic narratives to present day visitors. That is to say, each town "looked" different from the others. Tombstone and Oatman are predominantly tourist towns today. They would have probably perished long ago if tourism had not taken a firm root and provided a source of economic revenue. In an effort to cater to the desires of tourists, they have come to rely on a number of stereotypical images of the American Old West. Both towns have false-front, wooden buildings shaded by large, covered walkways. The dusty streets are filled

with animals – horse-drawn carriages in Tombstone and a herd of donkeys in Oatman. Both towns offer visitors live gunfight shows. Additionally, Tombstone has numerous tours, attractions, and museums designed to tell tourists stories of town gambling, prostitution, and outlaws.

Jerome and Globe rely less heavily on stereotypical images of the American Old West. Both towns are also tourist destinations, but they allow visitors to experience more of the modern-day town than the staged versions shown in Tombstone and Oatman. Both Jerome and Globe have buildings built out of brick and concrete. A few canvas awnings provide a bit of shade. The streets are filled with paved roads and cars. Neither town offers gunfight shows nor the plethora of tourist attractions available in Tombstone. Instead, Jerome offers art galleries and ghost tours. Globe is still a mining town but has also become a destination for antique shopping.

Residents and historic groups in all four of the towns seemed to recognize the importance of preserving their historic appearances. The downtown districts of Tombstone, Jerome, and Globe are all listed on the National Register of Historic Places ("National Register of Historic Places," 2013). In order to maintain this status, the historic look of the buildings is carefully regulated by city code and historic groups. For example, in Tombstone, buildings materials must match "… what would have been readily available during the period of historic significance" ("Historic Districts Commission," 2012). The downtown of Oatman, while not regulated, is preserved by residents who believe the historic look attracts more visitors (Fox, M. 2014, January 14. Interview).

Indeed, in Globe, I was told that, "Tourists like historic things" (Anderson, D. 2014, January 17. Interview). I collected 330 visitor photographs from Pinterest with a significant number depicting the overall street as well as specific buildings in each of the four towns. Additionally, for Jerome, I found a large number of photographs capturing specific architectural details on the crumbling buildings, narrow walkways, and door/window frames. For Tombstone, I found a large number of photographs of horse-drawn carriages traveling down the street. Overall, contemporary photographs corroborated that visitors were interested in the look of the buildings and street that had been carefully maintained for them.

In addition to the appearance of the street, tourists were also visually exposed to history through town shows, activities, and museums. Yet, tourist attractions frequently relied on historic embellishments and misrepresentations. Indeed, even within other "credible" historic museums, the histories told of the American Old West have been found to be ethnocentric and one-sided (Dickinson, Ott, & Aoki 2005; 2006). So, perhaps it is not surprising that the Old Western towns explored in my study frequently relied on hyped-up fiction more so than credible historic research: In Tombstone, the story of the gunfight at the OK corral took center stage despite being a 30-second event in more than a century of history (Sosa & Nelson, 2009). The Vice Chairwoman of the Historic Districts Commission in Tombstone explained of the town's museums and shows, "They rely a great deal on stuff that happened in Hollywood" (Sosa, N. 2013, December 23. Interview). In Oatman, one of the gunfight performers told me that the show dramatizes a completely fictitious story of "… the good sheriff versus the evil bank robbers" (2014, January 14. Interview). And, in Jerome, the general manager of the Jerome Historical

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Society told me that unfounded stories of violence and supernatural hauntings often dominate films and documentaries about the town (Kinsella, J. 2013, November 22. Interview). The line between communicating embellished history for the enjoyment of tourists and providing historically-grounded information appeared to be a difficult one.

Of course, it is impossible to really know what a town looked like historically or what types of activities actually took place within it. History is fraught with contradictions, multiple interpretations, and various viewpoints (Limerick, 1987). Additionally, although historic photographs are often perceived as objective documentations of the truth, they are actually quite subjective – they are carefully created by the decisions of the photographer (Sontag, 1973; Barthes, 1981; Sekula, 1983; Solomon-Godeau, 1991; Tagg, 1993; Goldstein, 2007; Morris, 2011; etc.). As a result, while residents and historic groups in all four towns made efforts to communicate their histories in a variety of different forms, the very decisions that they make about those histories are highly subjective.

As I collected and examined historic photographs, I found three broad categories of images that portrayed the "look" of the towns: photographs depicting the exterior of a single building, photographs depicting multiple buildings on a street, and photographs depicting an entire town from a distance. Each of the categories revealed a different level of visual information about the town ranging from specific architectural details, to types of businesses, to the overall size and layout of each town. This information allowed me to compare the historic visual appearance of the towns to the contemporary town modern-day tourists look at. While my interpretation of photographs was equally as subjective as the decisions made by town residents and historic groups, I believe that a comparison

of historic and contemporary photographs offered important insights into how history was visually communicated within Old Western towns.

Indeed, my comparison of photographs had some methodological parallels to rephotography. Rephotography is used to point out and understand change across a specific period of time. A rephotograph is "… a photograph specifically made to duplicate selected aspects of another, pre-existing photograph" (Klett, 2011, p. 114). While I did not intentionally set out to create rephotographs, I later realized that I had rephotographed several of the same physical locations that were shown in the historic photographs. Additionally, my photographs also captured the same general context as the historic photographs. They recorded the main street of each town, revealing the appearance, size, and scope of the buildings. By juxtaposing the historic and contemporary photographs, I could begin to understand how each town had changed over time and investigate how historically-grounded each contemporary town was.

Overall, the comparison demonstrated that while many individual buildings in each contemporary town visually referenced the past, the streets as a whole were not always so historically-grounded because they lacked the strong visual references to the historic streets depicted in the photographs. There were numerous similarities in the look of the overall architectural style (single/multi-story, false-front/complete structure, covered walkways, canvas awnings, etc.), the building materials (wood, brick, adobe, or concrete), building signage, street materials (dirt or paved), and street layout. Yet, sometimes the size and structure of buildings had changed or the extent of shops, people, and cars was different. Furthermore, the contemporary main streets often had modern-day cars, tourist shops, advertisements, store signs, paved roads, lights, stop signs, etc.

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For example, in Tombstone I noted similarities between the layout and architectural style of the historic and contemporary buildings. However, the contemporary road was smooth, paved, and blocked off from cars so that horse-drawn carriages could travel freely. In Jerome, I again noted similarities between the layout and architectural style of the historic and contemporary buildings. Yet, the historic street had more shop signs visible and more people on the street than the contemporary street.

Therefore, the work of each town to preserve its' historic appearance seemed to focus heavily on individual buildings. Such efforts focused less on the overall visual environment in which the buildings resided. Town planners generally did not seek to address how traces of the modern-day world blemished or miscommunicated the town's past – perhaps because these towns are still very much modern-day tourist destinations.

In the field of tourism studies, there has been significant discussion of authentic and inauthentic tourist experiences (Cohen, 1979; Cohen, 1988; Pearce & Moscardo, 1986; Taylor, 2001; Chhabra, Healy, & Sills, 2003; Kim & Jamal, 2007; etc.). "Authentic" experiences are described as ones in which the tourist can experience the "real" culture and history of the area. Yet, MacCannell (1973) argued that many tourist sites present merely a "staged" version of authenticity in order to appear more interesting, attractive, or fun. The historic embellishments and miscommunications that I observed in my study sites might be labeled as experiences of "staged authenticity." They appeared to present the "real" history of each town when they actually presented an altered version of history. However, the term "staged authenticity" is problematic in that it implies that a "real" version of history can be clearly defined. The pasts of the American Old West and the Arizona Territory are so fraught with contradictions that it is impossible to define a

single, "real" history. Furthermore, the inherent subjectivity of photographs also makes visualizing a "real" history impossible. Instead, these towns might instead be understood as simulacra (Baudrillard, 1981/1998), referencing a version of the past that never even existed.

Nevertheless, attempting to define and communicate "authentic" experiences of history is not my concern here. Instead, the larger questions include: How do visitors interpret the physical appearance of these towns? How do they "see" them? Does it matter to visitors that there are historic misrepresentations in the visual narratives? My interviews revealed that most tourists had little previous knowledge of the history of these towns. Overall, they appeared to wish that they knew more about history, but were fine with their own historical ignorance. For example, Tom, a man in his 40's from California, told me that, "Well, I don't know if the gunfight [at the OK corral] really looked like that, but it was cool." And Jerry, a man in his 40's from Illinois explained of Jerome, "It's neat to see how towns looked back in the day – I didn't know!" One local resident in Globe even told me, "I moved here six years ago and when I first arrived, it took me by surprise… I had no idea there was so much history!" Such individuals accepted the visual appearance of the towns. They saw the streets as historically-grounded and even authentic while simultaneously admitting that they didn't really know what the terms meant.

The previous expectations and experiences of visitors appeared more important in their impressions of the town's look than the communication of historically-grounded visual narratives. For example, Tombstone receives a higher number of visitors than the other towns due to a large number of entertaining tourist activities as well as the

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Hollywood immortalization of the gunfight the OK Corral (Tombstone Chamber of Commerce, 2008). Thus, visitors who came to Tombstone expecting a commercialized, Hollywood version of the American Old West were not disappointed when they found it. It matched their expectations and they thus described the town positively despite the historic misrepresentations that were communicated. Additionally, a visitor in Tombstone explained that he grew up watching Western television shows. Many of those shows took place in towns that visually looked similar to Tombstone. Thus, for him, Tombstone "… just looks like the Old West, you know?" Indeed, a town was *perceived* as grounded in history by many visitors if it had the imagined look and feel of the American Old West. In fact, there was also a frequent justification of historic misrepresentations or inconsistencies. Michelle, a woman in her 50's from New Mexico explained, "There are a lot of shops today [in Jerome], but I guess [the town] wouldn't survive without the tourists."

Additionally, an overwhelming number of tourists told me that they enjoyed their visits to each of these Arizona Old Western towns – particularly Tombstone and Jerome – because of the availability of enjoyable activities (e.g. gunfights, shopping, and dining). For example, many visitors that I interviewed in Tombstone greatly enjoyed their visit and what they saw because they filled their day with mock gunfights and shopping. One man in his 30's from Seattle explained, "I love the [Tombstone] boardwalk. I think it's great. We've been in every shop along the way." And Suzanne, a visitor in her 50's from Chicago stated, "The Jerome Hotel is fun! I can't wait to come on Halloween and see the ghosts!" while her husband said, "Every time we come up here we find a new shop." Visitors expected these activities and they found them in abundance. In contrast,

visitors to Oatman enjoyed their visit with less frequency because they became bored with the lack of activities available. Tony, a young man with his parents, explained, "Well, I got to take my picture with the cowboys [from the mock gunfight], but I thought there'd be more to do." He continued to say that his family was going to leave Oatman very shortly.

How, then, should Old Western towns visually communicate their pasts? In order to explore this question, I created a measure for assessing the relationship between how a town "looks" and how it is "seen." The measure contained two parts. First, I assessed whether or not a town's appearance was historically-grounded. I defined a town as historically-grounded if there was evidence of strong visual connections between the historic and contemporary towns as depicted in the photographs. These visual connections appeared in several forms: modern buildings that had been built to look like the historic ones or original historic buildings that had been updated yet maintained their historic appearance. In both cases, I compared six variables related to the specific appearance of the buildings and four variables related to the appearance of the overall street. This division was based on earlier study findings that many of the towns had historically-grounded buildings but not necessarily historically-grounded streets. For each of the variables, I assigned a score of 1 (almost never matches), 2 (sometimes matches), or 3 (almost always matches). Details about the photographs used in my comparison can be found in chapter four under "a connection between past and present." Scores for each town are shown in Figure 51.

Figure 51. Strength of visual connections between historic and contemporary towns.

Do/does the *[insert variable from below]* of the contemporary **buildings** match the *[insert variable from below]* of the historic buildings during its heyday?				
Variables	**Almost always (3), sometimes (2), almost never (1)***			
	Tombstone	Jerome	Oatman	Globe
Overall architectural style: false-front/complete structure	3	3	2	3
Height: single/multi-level	3	3	2	3
Building materials: wood/brick/concrete/adobe	3	3	2	3
Roof type/shape	2	3	1	2
Walkways/awnings	3	3	2	2
Signage size/style	1	2	1	3
Totals	15	17	10	16
Do/does the *[insert variable from below]* of the contemporary **street** match the *[insert variable from below]* of the historic street during its heyday?				
Variables	**Almost always (3), sometimes (2), almost never (1)***			
Materials: dirt/paved road	1	2	1	1
Sidewalks: presence/absence of	2	1	2	3
Visible transportation: car/horse	3	2	1	3
Visible people: many/few	1	2	1	1
Totals	7	7	5	8

*Based on a comparison of contemporary and historic photographs.

Second, I assessed visitor impressions of each town. I reviewed interview transcripts to determine how visitors perceived and interpreted their experiences within each town. As Nuryanti (1996) explained,

> Interpretation is not only a description of physical facts and tangible elements: it moves into the realms of spiritual truth, emotional response, deeper meaning and understanding. Meaning lies in the observer or participant (i.e. the tourist) rather than as the sum objective quality inherent in the object itself. (p. 253)

Thus, assessing visitor perceptions was an essential component of understanding how each town visual communicated its' past. While not all visitors that I interviewed agreed on each topic, I assigned scores based on the majority of interview comments: if the majority of interview comments disagreed, I assigned a score of 1 (almost never). If comments were quite mixed, I assigned a score of 2 (sometimes). If the majority of interview comments agreed, I assigned a score of 3 (almost always). More details about interview comments can be found in chapter four under "a present." Scores for each town are shown in Figure 52.

Figure 52. Visitor impressions of a town.

Do visitors feel that the town *[insert variable from below]*?				
Variable	**Almost always (3), sometimes (2), almost never (1)***			
	Tombstone	Jerome	Oatman	Globe
Matched prior expectations?	3	3	1	2
Offered enjoyable activities?	3	3	2	2
Was aesthetically pleasing?	3	2	3	2
Totals	9	8	6	6

*Based on interview transcripts.

After assessing each town using the measures described above, I plotted all four towns on a chart in order to more easily visualize the relationship between how a town "looked" and how it was "seen." Figure 53 shows how historically-grounded a town's buildings were and Figure 54 shows how historically-grounded a town's streets were as related to visitor impressions.

Figure 53. Relationship between historically-grounded **buildings** and visitor impressions.

Visitor Impressions
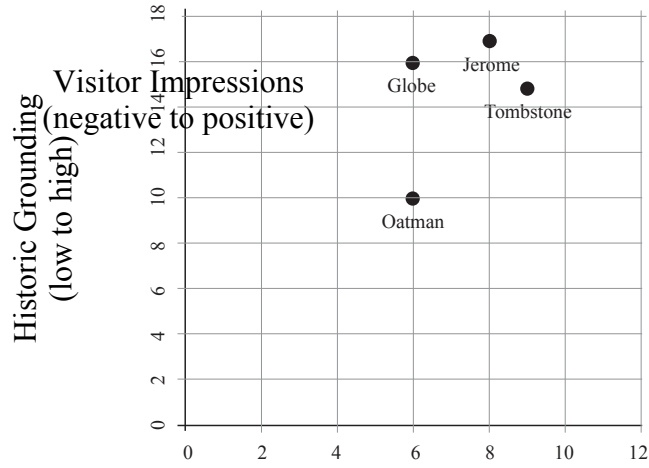(negative to positive)

Historic Grounding
(low to high)

Jerome

Globe

Tombstone

Oatman

Figure 54. Relationship between historically-grounded **streets** and visitor impressions.

Historic Grounding
(low to high)
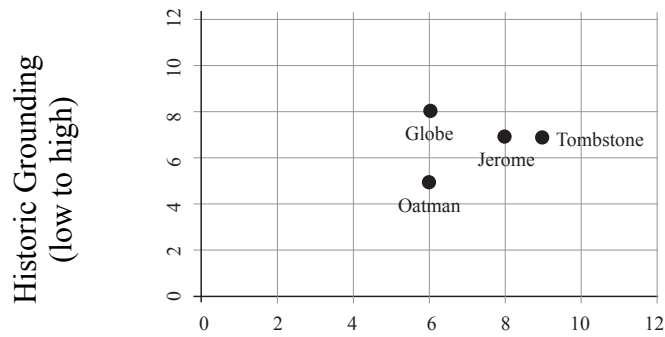
Globe

Jerome

Tombstone

Oatman

Figure 53 shows that Jerome and Tombstone have relatively high levels of historically-grounded buildings as well as positive visitor impressions of them. However, there does *not* appear to be a direct connection between how a town "looks" and how it is "seen." Both Globe and Oatman have quite different levels of historically-grounded buildings but identical levels of visitor impressions. Figure 54 also shows a weak connection between the two dimensions. Jerome and Tombstone again have relatively high levels of historically-grounded streets as well as positive visitor impressions. Yet, Globe has an even higher level of historically-grounded streets and much lower visitor perceptions of the town.

My analysis suggests that how historically-grounded a town visually looks is not directly related to visitor impressions of it. Indeed, visitors seemed to classify the historic appearance of a town as less significant than their enjoyment of activities offered in that town. This can be attributed to the fact that many tourists had a general lack of historic knowledge, thus their impressions of the towns were more closely connected to contemporary experiences than to historically-grounded visual narratives. Yet, the visual appearance was not insignificant. On the contrary, it played a crucial role in meeting visitors' prior expectations about the American Old West and Old Western towns. Still, my findings downplay the dilemma faced by many local residents that I interviewed who worried about the embellishment and exaggeration of their history by tourist establishments. Indeed, a town seeking to visually communicate its Old Western history should focus principally on meeting prior expectations of visitors rather than obsessing exclusively about historically-grounded visual narratives.

Based on my interviews, I also believe that Old Western towns should strive to meet the prior expectations of their residents. Old Western towns must provide the enjoyable activities that attract tourists while simultaneously providing enough credible history to instill pride in residents. Dan Shilling's (2007) concept of "civic tourism" becomes relevant here. He advocated that tourism should be first and foremost about the story of the town and its' town residents. Tourism efforts should focus on the communication of "what makes your place a place" (Shilling, D. 2013, October 11. Interview). By privileging residents and preserving what defined the town in the first place, Old Western towns can work to maintain sustainable and long-term tourism.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

While I began this study recognizing that Old Western towns consisted of three-dimensional and multifaceted images that would necessitate multiple research methods to understand, I did not understand just how multifaceted they were. Yet, just like many modern-day spaces, Old Western towns proved to be filled with multiple stories and voices. Their histories were complex and layered, often covering over 100 years. Their residents were diverse, coming from all around the world. And, as a result, the towns could not be neatly compartmentalized or defined. Anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973) famously wrote, "Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs" (p. 5). Thus, in attempting to move beyond the often "superficial" comparisons of cultural groups found in many contemporary intercultural communication studies (see Dahlen, 1997; Cooks, 2001), I explored Old Western towns as complex cultural spaces – as webs of intersecting pasts and presents. I came to understand tourists as suspended in between the multiple stories of the past and the varied goals of the present. Like other interpretive intercultural scholars (i.e. Carbaugh, 1990; Casmir, 1999; Hecht et. al, 2005), I examined culture not as a concrete endstate but rather as a socially constructed and in motion concept.

Geertz (1973), in his explication of interpretive research, wrote that, "Studies do build on other studies, not in the sense that they take up where the others leave off, but in the sense that, better informed and better conceptualized, they plunge more deeply into the same things" (p. 25). I believe that my study plunged more deeply into two principal areas – the visual communication of historic narratives and also the examination of

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tourist destinations as visual phenomenon. Indeed, several scholars have mentioned the importance of examining tourist narratives and destinations as visual phenomenon (Sontag, 1973; Chalfen, 1979; Urry, 1992; etc.). However, there has been only limited research completed in this area. Thus, my research sought to fill this gap. It offered key theoretical contributions to the areas of communication, tourism studies, and visual studies – offering a concrete way to assess the visual communication present within historic tourist destinations.

Through a detailed case study of selected towns within the state of Arizona, I broadly examined issues of remembering/forgetting and of historical authenticity/myth. I also explored more specific issues of how the history of Arizona was visually communicated to modern-day visitors in Old Western towns. I began with questions such as: What do Old Western towns look like today? How do they reference the past? Are they historically accurate depictions of the past? Or do they rely on modern-day stereotypes and misconceptions? And, what is the social significance and impact of these narratives on visitors?

The end product of my research was the proposal of a measure for assessing how the strength of visual connections between past and present impacted visitor impressions of each town. The measure contained two parts. First, I assessed whether or not a town's appearance was historically-grounded. Second, I assessed visitor impressions of each town. Overall the analysis suggested that, due to a general lack of historic knowledge, tourist impressions were more closely connected to contemporary experiences/activities and prior expectations of the American Old West than to historically-grounded visual

narratives. Indeed, in the four Arizona Old Western towns examined, how historically-grounded a town visually looked was not directly related to visitor impressions of it.

Additionally, my research offered methodological contributions to visual studies. While many early visual studies were criticized for being subjective and not based on objective documentation of research findings (see Pink, 2007; Prosser, 1998), I believe that my study demonstrated the vast potential for visual images to strengthen and add new information to more traditional forms of research. It employed an overarching visual methodology to organize and structure qualitative data collection and analysis. By doing so, I placed great significance on the visual data that was collected. This supports Pink's (2007) suggestion that, "While images should not necessarily replace words as the dominant mode of research or representations, they should be regarded as an equally meaningful element of ethnographic work" (p. 6). Indeed, my measure for assessing the relationship between how a town "looked" and how it was "seen" was based on a visual comparison of contemporary and historic photographs. Additionally, my observations (as recorded in my fieldnotes and researcher-generated photographs) paid particular attention to the visual appearance of each town. By incorporating both visual and textual data, the end result of the research was a more complete and comprehensive analysis of the visual communication of history within the Arizona Old Western towns of Tombstone, Jerome, Oatman, and Globe.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

Although my study revealed some important insights, it is not without its limitations. I believe future research should focus on five areas: expanding the overall scope of data collection, addressing limitations of historic photographs, considering the

context of contemporary photographs, elaborating on the comparison of historic and contemporary photographs, and studying several related topics. Any or all of these areas can lead to research and publications in the fields of communication, cultural studies, tourism, marketing, history, visual studies, qualitative inquiry, etc.

First, this study relied on information from a relatively small number of Old Western towns. The case study approach was necessary given the time-consuming nature of qualitative and ethnographic research. I spent considerable time in each of the four primary study sites. I also visited ten additional Arizona towns in order to give context to the primary sites. I visited each primary site multiple times, wrote extensive fieldnotes, took numerous photographs, and interviewed visitors as well as area experts. So, while I have gained extensive knowledge of these four towns, there are still numerous Arizona Old Western towns that I did not visit or did not spend significant time exploring. Thus, future research in other towns throughout Arizona as well as the West would be beneficial for substantiating and expanding upon study findings.

Second, historic photographs are much more limited than contemporary ones. It is difficult to know what aspects of each town were (and were not) photographed. It is also hard to determine what photographs were missing, lost, or difficult to locate. I gathered historic photographs from several websites, from historic societies, and also area historians. However, the limited availability and serendipity of historic photographs today undoubtedly impacted my assessment of how historically-grounded each town was. For example, I took 622 photographs myself and collected 330 from Pinterest. However, I gathered only 124 historic photographs and incorporated just the heyday photographs into my comparative analysis. Thus, it was sometimes challenging to assess whether the

appearance of a contemporary main street visually matched that of the historic main street when I had only a handful of historic images documenting the main street during its heyday. Consequently, while every effort was made to ensure an objective assessment of visual narratives, a broader range of historic photographs would further strengthen study insights.

Third, the contemporary photographs that I selected were just a fraction of all available photographs taken by town visitors. I collected contemporary photographs from Pinterest showing the buildings and streets of each town. However, other photo-sharing websites might offer a different sampling of images. Furthermore, it may be important to consider the overall body of available contemporary images. Comparing the total number of images available with the number of images focused on history might reveal just how important history is (or is not) to town visitors.

Fourth, the measure for assessing how the strength of visual connections between past and present is meant to be a tool for continued research. In order to further refine the measure, each variable might be weighted and/or broken down into more specific components. For example, the "overall architectural style" may have a greater impact on the perceived level of historical-grounding than the appearance of the "walkways" or "signage." Yet, the current measure gives equal weight to all of these variables. And, the "overall architectural style" could assess individual components of the architectural appearance rather than lumping the overall style into one score. Furthermore, the scoring of each variable was determined by the researcher's analysis of the photographs. It might be useful to directly ask visitors (in either interviews or written surveys) to score the photographs, as in: "On a scale of 1 to 5, how closely does the *overall architectural*

appearance of the contemporary buildings match the *overall architectural appearance* of the historic buildings shown in these photographs?" This would provide more quantifiable data and help to further clarify differences between the towns.

Fifth, I also noted several related areas ripe for future research. Significantly, I observed that while there were many minority groups that played important roles in the historic development of each of the four towns, these histories were communicated only briefly, if at all. Their stories were skimmed over in textual accounts and their images were scarce in visual accounts. I noted just two museums – in Jerome and Bisbee – that discussed the role of minority groups in their towns. Furthermore, I observed predominantly White American visitors in each of the towns. Yet, I imagine that perceptions of the American Old West are shaped by an individual's race, ethnicity, and nationality. For example, Native American Indian, Chinese, and Mexican individuals likely conceive of the Old West quite differently than do European Americans. They may understand the "myth" of the Old West as well as historical accounts of it in unique ways. Thus, their impressions of Old Western tourist destinations (and their willingness to visit them) may differ significantly. Future research is needed to address how cultural identity affects visitor understandings of Old Western towns and of the American Old West in general. This could involve interviewing individuals who are absent from each town and also including a significantly larger interview sample size.

Another area for future research should focus on the perceptions of residents living in Old Western towns. I spoke with only a handful of local residents, yet I believe that this is an important component of how history is communicated via each town. I noted that sustainable and long-term tourism requires consideration of what residents

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expectations. However, I stop short of explicating exactly what this entails. Therefore, additional interviews with residents may prove fruitful.

Finally, I also believe that future research should examine the marketing of Old Western towns. Each of the study sites had crafted one or more marketing slogans meant to entice people to visit each town. Additionally, they printed brochures and flyers for distribution to local hotels and towns. Yet, while these messages often focused on the history of each town, it appeared that visitors came to each town for reasons other than history. Future analysis of Old Western towns might highlight discrepancies between how a town is marketed and how it is perceived. This would prove useful to local tourism agencies and chamber of commerce organizations working to more effectively market their towns.

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APPENDIX A

IRB APPROVAL

To:	Eric Margolis
	ED
From:	Mark Roosa, Chair
	Soc Beh IRB
Date:	07/29/2013
Committee Action:	**Exemption Granted**
IRB Action Date:	07/29/2013
IRB Protocol #:	1307009441
Study Title:	Analyzing the Visual Narratives of Arizona Old Western Towns

The above-referenced protocol is considered exempt after review by the Institutional Review Board pursuant to Federal regulations, 45 CFR Part 46.101(b)(2) .

This part of the federal regulations requires that the information be recorded by investigators in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects. It is necessary that the information obtained not be such that if disclosed outside the research, it could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability, or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You should retain a copy of this letter for your records.

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APPENDIX B

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION LETTER

Dear Participant:

My name is Melissa McMullen and I am a graduate student in the Hugh Downs School of Human Communication at Arizona State University. I am working under the direction of Dr. Eric Margolis to conduct a research study to understand how the history of Arizona is visually communicated to modern-day tourists within historic and historic-themed Old Western towns.

I am inviting your participation, which will involve discussing your thoughts about (NAME OF TOWN) and your experiences or reactions about it. Interviews may range from 10 to 60 minutes, depending upon your availability, and will be conducted at your convenience.

Your participation in this study is voluntary, however you must be 18 years of age or older in order to participate. You may choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time. Also, you have the right to skip questions and/or to stop the interview at any time.

There are no foreseen risks nor benefits for participating in this interview.

This interview will be confidential. You will be asked to choose a pseudonym and your real name will not appear in my notes or transcripts. Only generic descriptive information about ethnicity, age, gender, and hometown will be used to reference you. If you make any identifying statements, they will not be included in any field notes and will be stricken from all transcripts. The results of this study may be used in reports, presentations, or publications, but your name or any identifying information will not be mentioned.

I would like to audiotape this interview with your permission. Please let me know if you do <u>not</u> want the interview to be recorded; you also can change your mind after the interview starts, just let me know. Audio recordings will be kept on a password-protected computer in a locked office accessible only by me. After transcription and analysis, recordings will be destroyed.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please let me know before we begin. You may also contact the research team at any time: Melissa McMullen at (602) 421-6674 or Melissa.McMullen1@asu.edu and Dr. Eric Margolis at Eric.Margolis@asu.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board through the ASU Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788.

Please let me know if you wish to participate in the interview.

APPENDIX 3

INTERVIEW GUIDES #1 AND #2

Interview Guide #1 (for visitors/tourists)

Introduction: Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. As you read in the participant information letter, I am interested in how the history of Arizona is visually communicated to modern-day tourists within historic and historic-themed Old Western towns. Specifically, I want to know what brought you to the area and what experiences or reactions you've had about it.

I will be audio recording you so that I can transcribe this later. Remember, your participation is voluntary and you may discontinue your participation at any time. If I ask a question that makes you uncomfortable, you can skip it if you want. Do you have any questions before we begin?

Demographic Information:
Pseudonym:
Ethnicity:
Approximate age:
Gender:
Hometown:

Generative Questions and Prompts for Visitors/Tourists:
1. What are your reasons for visiting (NAME OF TOWN) today?
   a. What brought you here? Why?
   b. What activities have you engaged in? (Sightseeing, shopping, horse carriage rides, etc.) Did you enjoy these? Why/why not?
2. What did you know about the American Old West prior to visiting (NAME OF TOWN)?
   a. Did the town match your prior expectations? i.e. was it what you expected?
   b. Have you visited other Old Western towns?
   c. Have you seen any Old Western movies or television shows? Which ones?
   d. How does (NAME OF TOWN) compare to these other areas and/or movie depictions?
3. What is your general impression of (NAME OF TOWN)?
4. How would you describe the visual appearance of (NAME OF TOWN) to someone else?
   a. Do you enjoy the Old West theme? Do you like how it looks?
   b. Does the town seem historically authentic to you?
      i. If not, what specific aspects seem unauthentic to you?
      ii. What would make the area more authentic to you?
   c. Is there anything about the Old West theme that really stands out to you – either right now as you're looking down the street or anything you noticed earlier?

5. *(Based on participant availability, I will also to show him/her historic photographs of the area and ask for thoughts and reactions about the connections between the past and the modern-day reconstruction of it.)*
6. What's your favorite (and least favorite) thing about (NAME OF TOWN)?
7. Will you return to (NAME OF TOWN)? Why/why not?
8. Is there anything else you think is important for me to know about (NAME OF TOWN)? Anything I've forgotten to ask?

Interview Guide #2 (for business owners or historians)

Introduction: Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. As you read in the participant information letter, I am interested in how the history of Arizona is visually communicated to modern-day tourists within historic and historic-themed Old Western towns. Specifically, I want to know about the history, construction, and success of the area/town.

I will be audio recording you so that I can transcribe this later. Remember, your participation is voluntary and you may discontinue your participation at any time. If I ask a question that makes you uncomfortable, you can skip it if you want. Do you have any questions before we begin?

Demographic Information:
Pseudonym:
Ethnicity:
Approximate age:
Gender:
Hometown:

Generative Questions and Prompts for Tour Guides or Historians:
1. What is your job title?
2. How long have worked here?
3. What is your general impression of (NAME OF TOWN)?
4. How would you describe the visual appearance of (NAME OF TOWN) to someone else?
   a. What stands out? What makes the area unique?
   b. How does it compare to other Old Western towns that you're familiar with?
5. Do you think that the visual appearance of (NAME OF TOWN) is grounded in the history of the area? Why/why not?
   a. How historically authentic do you think the area is?
   b. If you think it is not authentic, what specific aspects seem unauthentic to you?
   c. What would make the area more authentic to you?

     d. How do you think this authenticity/lack of authenticity impacts the popularity and financial success of the town?

6. Have you ever heard any comments from visitors about the Old Western theme or the visual appearance of (NAME OF TOWN)?
    a. What role do you think this theme plays in the popularity and financial success of the area?
    b. What would make the area even more successful?
    c. How do you think that (NAME OF TOWN) compares to other Old Western towns in Arizona?

7. *(Based on participant availability, I will also to show him/her historic photographs of the area and ask for thoughts and reactions about the connections between the past and the modern-day reconstruction of it.)*

8. Is there anything else you think is important for me to know about (NAME OF TOWN)? Anything I've forgotten to ask?