Progress in Tourism Management

Film Tourism: Evolution, Progress and Prospects

1. Introduction

One of the defining characteristics of tourism research is the interdiciplinarity of its scope and subject matter. This feature is particularly prominent in the theme of tourism activity associated with film and television, or *film tourism* as it has become known, on which a growing body of knowledge has emerged over a relatively short period of time. The intellectual components of film tourism as an area of academic inquiry span a number of cognate academic subjects and, while this is a relatively discrete area of tourism research, the wider interconnections between tourism, space and media are only just starting to be more fully explored and understood. Ostensibly, film tourism appears to be a niche activity connected with a few specialist destinations. However, the interest which film tourism has generated, recognising the occurrence of a distinct type of tourism behaviour, activity and experience, within both the academic community and in a practitioner context, highlights this subject as one worthy of attention. Indeed, the scale and extent of the research literature not only allows but necessitates a thematic review of the major ideas, topics and perspectives with a view to synthesising the progress made to date, the implications of the existing and emerging body of research, and the future directions for the sub-field within the wider academy of tourism. As such, the aim of this *Progress Review* is to critically evaluate film tourism as a subject of cross-disciplinary academic study, highlighting the major research themes, issues and contributing conceptual frameworks, critiquing existing and developing perspectives and addressing critical gaps in knowledge. This review is particularly timely as the literature on film tourism has not been synthesised from a cross-disciplinary perspective. Accordingly, this paper seeks to provide a road map of the exponential growth in social science literature associated with the cognate areas that study, or contribute to, film tourism.

1.1   Background

Despite being a relatively niche element of tourism activity, a marked uptake of film tourism initiatives by destination marketing organisations (DMOs) and economic development organisations, eager to capture additional promotion, visitor awareness and visitor numbers, is notable within an increasingly global context. A number of high-profile tourism destinations utilise film-related aspects in inbound marketing campaigns, most notably the UK, USA, Korea, Australia and New Zealand. In the UK, film has featured as a distinct arm of the VisitBritain marketing portfolio since the 1990s, while the 2004 Visit America Alliance inbound television (TV) marketing campaign featured the line: '*you've seen the movies, now visit the set*'. Likewise, the New Zealand Tourism Ministry has harnessed the positive nation images in films like *The Piano* and *Whale Rider*, and the hype created through *The Lord of the Rings* to stimulate awareness and tourist visits through

strongly associated marketing initiatives. Oxford Economics (2010) estimate that film tourism contributed around £1.9 billion in visitor spending with about 10% of tourism trips to the UK being attributable in some way to film associations in 2009, while Olsberg|SPI (2007) catalogue a large number of film tourism cases across the country. In New Mexico, film tourism is estimated to be worth $124 million (Ernst and Young 2009), while the media coverage for Sweden gained from the *Millennium* films has been calculated at SEK 960 million (EUR 106 million). It is headline figures like these that make the potential value of film tourism attractive to tourism destinations seeking a unique marketing proposition. Cities and regions compete to attract Indian film production and the associated economic and marketing benefits, from destinations within Singapore and Hong Kong, to much further flung locations in Scotland and Switzerland for instance. A simple internet search reveals many hundreds of local authorities, DMOs and specific film production/promotion units operating across the world to encourage the film-making community to use specific geographic areas for on-location sets, bringing with them not just the benefits of tourists enthralled by a particular film's cinematographic qualities but also the economic spin-off from the production process.

Cases where film tourism effects have been observed now proliferate, and examples range across the spectrum of genres, from: blockbusters and 'must-see' films like *Braveheart* (Edensor 2001, 2005), *Harry Potter* and *Lord of the Rings (LOTR)* (Jones and Smith etc); romantic films like *Notting Hill* (Busby and Klug 2001); heritage and costume film and TV dramas (Higson 2006), such as *Pride and Prejudice* (Sargent 2001), *Sense and Sensibility* and *Downton Abbey*; continuing dramas, or 'soaps', such as *Winter Sonata* (Kim, Agrusa, Lee and Chon 2007) and *Sea Change* (Beeton 2004); more cult offerings like *Monty Python* (Beeton 2005) and *Twilight;* through to thrillers such as *Motor Cycle Diaries* (Shani et al 2008); travel-gastronomy style shows such as those presented by Rick Stein, and; even children's programmes such as *Balamory* (Connell 2005a). It is not the intention of this paper to cite the full range of examples and increases in tourism, suffice to say, examples of film tourism abound in the literature (see summaries by Tooke and Baker 1996; Riley, Baker and van Doren 1998; Hudson and Ritchie 2006a; Croy and Heitmann 2011) which collectively chart cases of film tourism through time), as well as in popular press and commissioned reports (see Grihault 2003, 2007; Olsberg|SPI 2007). Yet, while there appears to be much support for the concept of the influence of film on tourism interest, there is some debate about the perceived and actual impact of film tourism and much still has to be learned about this phenomenon to gain the maximum benefits, create the most unique and satisfying visitor experiences and protect the communities and environments that it effects. More fundamentally, as some critics highlight (e.g. McKercher 2007), questions need to be raised regarding the real demand for and draw of film as a tourism motivator, and, undoubtedly, film tourism research reveals a range of assumptions, conflicts and contradictions.

1.2   Discourses in film tourism research

A comprehensive review of the literature identifies that the parameters of film tourism are multi-dimensional and informed by a number of cross-disciplinary perspectives. Broadly, film tourism research interests follow two discourses:

I.   The first discourse follows a predominantly applied approach to the study of film tourism and typifies much of the emergent tourism management literature where research studies are set within a practical context, identifying the occurrence and impact of film tourism, and the associated management and marketing implications, opportunities and challenges. Research in this category more usually comprises empirical study of a particular destination or film/TV production. It offers an applied, activity-oriented and real-world understanding of observed cases, focusing on understanding, recording and mapping activity and outcomes and an understanding of the phenomenon primarily from a management perspective;

II. The alternative discourse offers a predominantly conceptual and/or theoretical focus, where studies set out to explore the underlying constructs that stimulate, contribute to and explain film tourism activity, meaning, behaviour and responses. Research in this category is often situated in a disciplinary or subject framework (e.g. cultural geography and film theory), contributing to the understanding of film tourism primarily from a cultural perspective. As Shiel (1990: 1) argues, "cinema is the most important cultural form": studies driven from less applied perspectives refer to embedded meanings and symbols associated with both cinema and tourism as cultural practice, and the interconnections between facets of culture and tourism.

Furthermore, the significance of film tourism as a subject within tourism research is marked by a number of features that indicate its development as a valid area of inquiry:

I.   A rapid expansion in the literature over a ten year period and a developing body of knowledge as demonstrated by the quantity of new research, and the number of journals featuring special issues on the subject, including: *World Hospitality and Tourism Themes* (2011), *Teoros, Revue de Recherché en Tourism* (2011), *Tourism Planning and Development* (2010), *Tourism Review International* (2009), *Tourism Analysis* (2009), *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing* (2008), *Tourism, Culture and Communication* (2006) and *Tourist Studies* (2006). This is in addition to a number of dedicated conferences, including the now well established *International Tourism and Media* conference organised by La Trobe and Monash Universities, which first took place in 2004. Last, it is also worth mentioning the number of postgraduate dissertations, particularly PhDs completed or in process, marking the subject as one of current fascination;

II. The development of a range of themes that identify major components of interest, from: the film tourism as a consumer (characteristics and profile of the film tourist, tourist motivation, the experience of being a film tourist, perceptions of destinations); the impact of film tourism (mainly economic, community, cultural and social implications, and some environmental themes); the business of film tourism (consumer marketing initiatives, destination branding, marketing to film-makers); the appropriation of place through film tourism (power relations, conflict, misrepresentation of place, people and cultures);

III. Exploration of the dimensions of film tourism from a number of cognate sub-disciplinary perspectives. If film tourism is to be understood, not just at a practitioner level, but from a more theoretical perspective, a diversion outside of tourism studies is required. A number of disciplines/sub-disciplines help to inform the conceptual basis of film tourism, and the forces that stimulate and create tourist engagement with cinematic images, themes and locations. It is from the perspectives of cultural geography and film theory/studies that the most useful strands can be drawn to develop conceptual advances within the field of film tourism. However, the range of subjects that can make a contribution through this process is quite large and varied, encompassing interests in landscape, urban and rural studies, art, studies of popular culture, psychology and consumer behaviour (Figure 1). The meeting grounds of media, space, place, psychology, culture and tourism in which film tourism is positioned as an academic interest presents an absorbing interdisciplinary area of inquiry in which an increasing number of academics are engaging. The research agenda is multi-faceted but primarily focused on a number of key areas focused around understanding the drivers, experiences and impacts of the activity along with marketing and policy perspectives to inform appropriate management. Moreover, there is an increasing body of literature that sits outside tourism that focuses more strongly on holistic concepts of film tourism, which is most clearly approached from cultural geography and film theory.

FIGURE 1 here

Beeton (2010) presents a useful summation of the development of the literature, arguing that research has progressed from speculation through to justification, developing knowledge of the implications of the activity, and, finally, to refinement of methodological and theoretical approaches. It is at the latter point at which film tourism research finds itself today. Acknowledging this diverse research agenda, it is now useful to outline the defining features of film tourism as an activity prior to a full exploration and evaluation of themes and approaches in the literature.

2.   What is film tourism?

The broad definition of film tourism is a relatively simple one, although the processes and interactions that it comprises are more complex. Essentially, film tourism is tourist activity induced by the viewing of a moving image, and is accepted as encompassing film, television, pre-recorded products (e.g. video/DVD/ Blu-Ray) (see Hudson and Ritchie 2006a; Evans 1997) and now extends to digital media. Some distinction should be made between the *form* (i.e. a film or television programme) and the *medium* through which the image is transmitted, in that there are numerous ways of viewing film and filmic images and viewing can take place in an increasing multitude of environments. Such a distinction may have implications for the way in which we perceive and relate to the full effect of a filmic experience, which is discussed later in this paper.

It is worth noting the variation in terminology used to define the concept of film tourism. The most basic differentiation is a cultural/geographic one, in that some nations tend to favour the term 'movie tourism' while others use 'film tourism'. The two terms are used interchangeably in tourism research; but essentially the 'movie' refers to the early American cinema vocabulary of the 'moving image'. Some critics (e.g. Connell and Meyer 2009; Fernandez-Young and Young 2008; Olsberg|SPI 2007) have suggested that the umbrella term *screen tourism* is more useful as it encompasses both media of film and television, reduces the cumbersome use of the dual terms and reduces potential misinterpretation of the wider phenomenon (i.e. it may be unnecessary to distinguish between film and television as it is not the *form* but the *effect* that is of interest). This is particularly pertinent given that where film was once only viewed within the cinema, and later on at home through television, video and DVD, the availability to view film on an increasingly diverse range of devices means that film is more widely available than ever. However, film tourism appears to be the generic term adopted in most studies and, while there are some interesting debates around differences between images perceived via film and television in the media literature, arguably the *term* is less important than the *concept*.

A second point to note is that film tourism is often referred to as *film-induced tourism*, whereby tourist visits are induced or stimulated by viewing a film location on-screen. This is a relatively narrow definition as there are a number of different forms of film tourism although it is the perspective that is normally adopted for study in the tourism literature and the one which this paper focus on. However, for the purposes of this paper, it is worth noting the wider aspect of the concept. As such, film tourism may be considered from both a demand-side and a supply-side perspective

2.1   *Demand and supply perspectives*

Film tourism can take a number of different forms and activities as identified and discussed by a number of authors (e.g. Busby and Klug 2001; Beeton 2005; Croy and Heitmann 2011), and outlined in Figure 2, and within the following typology:

- Visits to locations portrayed within a specific film/television production. These locations are real places – towns, villages, countryside and other environments that have been utilised as film shooting locations: e.g. Barwon Heads, Australia – *Sea Change* (Beeton 2001);

- Visits to studio sets: e.g. the set of Coronation Street (Couldry 2005);

- Visits to specific film/TV theme parks and attractions, such as Dae Jang Geum Theme Park, Korea's first film-related attraction, and; Hengdian Film Industry Park, Dangyang City, Zhejiang Province, China, a popular tourist attraction that received over 8.4m visitors in 2010 (China News Center 2011)

- Visits to themed attractions with a film theme: the world's most popular visitor attractions and theme parks are directly related to film but have general tourist appeal (Disneyworld Orlando received nearly 17m visitors in 2010). According to the Themed Entertainment Association (2011), significant increases in visitor figures at Universal Studios in Orlando (up by 6% to nearly 6m visitors) and Hollywood (up by 26% to just over 5m visitors) in 2010 are thought to be due to new film-related rides (The Wizardry of Harry Potter at Orlando and King Kong 3-D at Hollywood). Christopherson and Rightor (2010: 344) highlight that "the most lucrative destination sites are those created in association with studio facilities". Not only do facilities attract tourists but they perform an additional role of promoting distributor brand;

- Visits to locations where filming is taking place: e.g. the 2011 filming of *The War Horse* on Dartmoor, UK attracted much media speculation about secret locations and induced visits in the hope of catching a glimpse of Steven Spielberg;

- Visits to a location marketed as a filmic location, where the film may not have been experienced by the tourist but attractive marketing imagery induces interest: e.g. *Braveheart Country*, which has touristic value in recognition of Scottish national identity and heritage, regardless of the film connection;

- Participation in organised tours of film locations: e.g. commercially operated tours with tour guide of film locations such as *LOTR*, New Zealand; *Gavin and Stacey*, Wales;

- Participation in organised tours of film celebrity homes, haunts and associated film sites: e.g. bus tours of Beverly Hills stopping outside the homes of celebrities past and present for the consumption of tourists – the 'celebrity gaze';

- Visits to film festivals: e.g. Cannes attracts over 29,000 visitors, while Edinburgh International Film Festival received about 54,000 in 2010 (Film Festival World Network 2011) ;

- Visits to destinations for film premieres, either to view or to watch the arrival of film celebrities.

FIGURE 2 here

However, film tourism is not solely a demand-side perspective and the development of film tourism from a supply perspective has emerged as a strand within the literature noting that a substantial industry has developed around the opportunities presented by film as a travel-inducing agent. The business of film tourism incorporates a range of activities most notably, as Hudson and Ritchie (2006) record, the development of destination marketing campaigns to promote film linkages, while increasingly sophisticated joint initiatives between DMOs and film-makers to promote films and tourism destinations have emerged. Further, the existence of dedicated film promotion units is well-established in many places (see Edgerton 1986) to promote the suitability of places and spaces as on-site filming locations, as well as offering capabilities in providing or finding studio space, professional film services to producers on-locations shoots and organising appropriate hospitality for crew and cast during their stay, and directing film-makers to tax relief and incentives (Christopherson and Rightor 2010).

3.   The antecedents and context of film tourism

3.1   Parallels with literary tourism

As a form of tourism induced by a secondary, autonomous (Gartner 1993) and cultural source, film tourism shares some common linkages with literary tourism. A long tradition of geographical analysis of literary associations and place exists within the geographical literature which can be dated to at least the 1960s. In one of the seminal reviews of the field, Pocock (1992) argues that literature, like film, has both the power to stimulate tourist travel, and to create tourist expectations of a destination. The contemporary study of the connections between narrative and place is well-established within cultural studies, with a strong focus on literary sources (Mallory and Simpson-Housley 1987; Pocock 1981) and has received some attention in the tourism field (Busby and Hambly 2001; Herbert 2001, 1996; Pocock 1992; Squire 1994; Robinson and Andersen 2002). Literary tourism has a long history traceable to back to the seventeenth-century, where Sir Walter Scott's epic poem *The Lady of the Lake* published in 1810 inspired the beginnings of commercial tourism in a remote part of Scotland (Durie 2003; Gold and Gold 1995), and is still a powerful force (Robinson and Andersen 2002). Literary tourism is arguably an antecedent of film tourism, with similarities as a stimulus although experienced differently as a media form. Both share narratives and attributes that appeal to the emotions of the reader or viewer, and emphasise the interconnections between people, plot and place. However, moving images are different to those experienced through reading (Butler 1990; Verdaasdonk 1991), which

is dependent on the imagination for being brought to life. The psychology of this is clearly beyond the scope of this paper but one should be cognisant of these processes, and as Cullingford (1984: 151) argues, there are crucial differences between the act of reading and response to the moving image in that one demands some form of control, or perceptual concentration, and the other can be watched without any real application of the mind". It is perhaps then pertinent to examine the relationship and literature between film and cinema a little further.

3.2   Film and cinema

While the associations with literature as a source of cultural stimulation are clear, it is also worth exploring some of the themes relating to film as a modern cultural phenomenon. The technological advancement that created film, and later television, as a means of transmission of documentary, news and entertainment features created a phenomenon that would occupy, work with but also erode a similar market to that of books. A number of commentators argue that film, and perhaps more specifically cinema, has become the most significant and universally observed form of culture (e.g. Shiel 2001; Urry and Larsen 2011).

The origins of cinema can be traced to the 1890s with the technological advancement based on the Cinématographe by which images could be projected onto a screen to give the illusion of movement, and the first public screening by this method was recorded in Paris in 1895 by the Lumière Brothers. This early film was primarily short documentary style presentations about people and places, with no sound. The first full-length multiple reel film was made in Australia in 1906 (*The Story of the Kelly Gang*) (Chichester 2001) and the first narrative film with sound in 1926 (*The Jazz Singer*), while the first major movie studio was opened in Hollywood, Los Angeles in 1911. In the first quarter of the twentieth-century, the rapid development of cinema transformed communication and entertainment, creating popular culture on a mass scale that had not been seen before. Although the peak of cinema attendance in the developed world was reached in the late 1940s, going to the cinema remains one of the most popular cultural activities in many societies, and, in the developing world, cinema audiences continue to grow. India has the largest cinema attendance at over 2.9 billion admissions in 2008, followed by the USA (1.364 billion) (European Audiovisual Observatory 2010), while China is the third largest and fastest growing global box office market, where revenues doubled 2009-2011 (Screen Digest 2012). In the UK, which is sixth in the world for cinema admissions, participation dropped to a low in the mid-1980s but has gradually risen from a low of 72m in 1985 to over 164 million cinema admissions in 2008, a pattern mirrored in the USA and across Europe. Some 60% of the UK population go to the cinema at least once a year, with 18% visiting once a month or more. Furthermore, the decline in cinema attendance has been paralleled by an increase in television viewing, which is now the major form of leisure activity in many countries (Page and Connell 2010), particularly marked in the UK and USA. With household ownership of

multiple televisions and receiving equipment, the infiltration of televised film, drama and other programmes into the home continues to be a major facet of modern life. In addition, home viewing of films (through DVD and Blu-ray) is a huge industry and now 86% of UK households own a DVD player (UK Film Council 2009). Given the trends towards 'narrowcasting' (Page and Connell 2010), with proliferation of digital and cable channels, downloading options through internet and mobile providers, and growing uptake of view on demand (VoD) services, the population has never been so well served in film and media availability through an increasing variety of personalised means.

4.   The evolution of film tourism research

4.1   The geography of film tourism research

Early film tourism research is dominated by cases within the USA and UK, followed by a developing interest from Australasian, Asian and European perspectives. The early emphasis on the USA is partly explained by the dominance of Hollywood in film-making, with many locational shoots situated in the USA, although the 'runaway' production, where films were increasingly shot away overseas to reduce the cost and parameters of Hollywood film production, marked the emergence of a wider network of film studios and filming locations. In addition, film production capabilities have grown outside of the major early film centres, and many countries have developed highly respected film-making capacity and competence, creating productions for national and international consumption. One of the best examples of this is the Bollywood phenomenon, where India has become one of the most prolific producers and consumers of film and cinema. More widely, a marked shift away from Hollywood-centric film production is well in process. According to the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2011), four of the top ten film producing countries are Asian, with India producing the most films. In 2009, 1,200 films were produced by Bollywood compared with 694 from USA. From a business perspective, as Hassam and Paranjape (2010: 3) comment, Hollywood is "now copying Bollywood" in view of the huge audiences, growing revenues and associated industries that Asian film production and consumption has established. Clearly, as Shim (2007) argues, film production is no longer dominated by the US media but increasingly shifting towards Asia, while greater Asian cultural interest, development and transmission through film is encouraging wider transmission of geography and socio-cultural values, all of which create implications for the tourism sector.

Film tourism research has recently emerged and expanded with an Asian context, with a particular focus on Korea, and the emergence towards the end of the 1990s of the Korean Wave (*Hallyu*), that is, the spread of Korean culture through forms of entertainment and expressions of popular culture. The impact of a number of TV dramas (otherwise known as soap operas or mini-series) on a viewer's propensity to travel to filming sites, and the experiences of film tourists at such sites, has formed a substantive area of study for film

tourism research, particularly from 2006. Evidence shows the impact of productions, most notably *Winter Sonata*, in stimulating Asian intra-regional tourism from Japan, Taiwan, Thailand, China and Singapore to Korea, particularly by the major viewing audience, that of females.

Roving film-makers with well-resourced productions select the most appropriate location for filming, and the availability and suitability of resources to accommodate crew and cast with professionalism. This is now an important business for destinations engaged as filming locations, from historic buildings through to larger regions. As noted elsewhere in this paper, there is a sizeable economy based around this activity. Hence, film tourism studies now cover a substantial cross-section of the globe but show a tendency to emerge and multiply where major incidences of film tourism occur. A case in point is New Zealand, where in recent years, as Leotta (2011) outlines, an outstanding film location and subsequent film tourism portfolio has developed. The country's exceptional natural landscapes provide the backdrop to an increasing number of internationally acclaimed films, such as *The Piano* (1993), *Whale Rider* (2002), *The Last Samurai* (2003) and perhaps most significantly, *The Lord of the Rings* (LOTR) trilogy (2001, 2002, 2003)*,* and New Zealand Tourism Board *(*NZTB) and DMOs have strategically linked film and tourism marketing strategies to create significant media interest. It is notable that the *LOTR* films have stimulated more studies within the tourism literature than any other single production (see e.g. Roesch 2009; Carl, Kindon and Smith 2007; Jones and Smith 2005; Peaslee 2010, 2011; Leotta 2011; Buchmann 2010). Indeed, case studies of films and destinations have dominated the literature during the infancy of intellectual development in the subject. While case study research in itself has an important role to play in the generation of new knowledge on an expanding research theme, it is essential that such cases are critically evaluated to derive appropriate generalisations and models which can then contribute to the systematic advancement of knowledge in the field, to which the discussion now turns.

4.2   Early research: scoping and impacts of film tourism

One of the earliest papers to explore the potentially lucrative effects of film tourism for a destination was that by Cohen (1986), who recognised the power of film in motivating tourist demand and urged destination marketers to identify films that might be used in place promotion strategies. Urry (1990) suggested that the tourist gaze could be influenced by non-tourist activities, including film and television, while Butler (1990) also argued that the influence of film and television on tourism destinations, like literature, would increase. Subsequent to these initial discussions, a small number of initial scoping and exploratory studies emerged, most significantly that of Riley and van Doren (1992), Tooke and Baker (1996) and Riley, Baker and van Doren (1998), all of which have been substantially explored in the literature, which began to map out early research interests, questions and opportunities. At this time, the phenomenon of film and television tourism-induced tourism

was clearly observable in a range of destinations and became accepted as an activity and concept worthy of further exploration in the academic literature. By the early 2000s, the concept of film tourism had gained momentum in tourism research, with a growing body of knowledge much based on case studies of destinations where film tourism had created some form of impact. Much of the research around this period focused on the impacts of film tourism, where the dominant research focus revealed a range of criticisms and negative associations with the often unplanned and sudden flow of tourists to an unprepared destination that film tourism creates (Beeton 2001; Mordue 2001; Connell 2005a), as well as the opportunities for tourism development and marketing (Busby and Klug 2001). In addition, many early studies in an attempt to scope the field included encompassing studies of a range of issues, such as the characteristics of film tourists in the context of a destination impact study. The 'coming of age' of film tourism is perhaps marked by the first book dedicated to the subject published in 2005 (Beeton 2005) which provided an overview of impacts and issues, with some useful signposting of the emerging field of research.

4.3   The boom period in film tourism research

From the late 2000s, an explosion in the volume of papers dedicated to the study of film tourism in the tourism research journals is clear. As a consequence of this proliferation within the tourism literature, the field has become peppered with a large range of papers covering a relatively narrow field of research from a diverse range of authors, regions and perspectives. Several authors have commented on the increasing quantity of papers in the research literature (Beeton 2010; Croy and Heitmann 2011), and while many have criticised the field for presenting too much case study material, the findings of which are not necessarily generalisable, transferable or applicable beyond those case study destinations, with some notable exceptions (Buchmann, Moore and Fisher 2010; Karpovich 2010; Kim 2012), few have grappled with the contributing conceptual frameworks to explore the intellectual underpinnings of the subject. In fact, no studies of film tourism have adopted a comparative research methodology as advocated in tourism research by Pearce (1993). A noticeable element of published research is the reworking of the same literature as a basis for literature reviews in journal papers. This is not intended as a criticism, merely an observation about a relatively young subject, and, indeed, one can argue that it a healthy sign that there is sufficient body of knowledge built up about instances of film tourism world-wide which can be developed and further conceptualised in future iterations of research. Beeton (2010: 5) argues that future research in film tourism must be forward-thinking, cross-disciplinary and not "simply repeating what is known". Indeed, the theme of cross-disciplinarity is an important one as this paper will argue.

5.   Cross-disciplinary perspectives in film tourism research

The interconnections between types of visual media, space, place and tourism yield important elements in contributing to the theoretical and conceptual basis of film tourism. Karpovich (2010) and Beeton (2011) provide valuable insights into the links between tourism and the moving image through time. Undeniably, conceptualising film tourism must go well beyond the basic premise that a tangential visual stimulus creates interest in visiting a particular destination as seen on the large or small screen. Thus, contributions from a range of sub-disciplines are valuable in evaluating the underpinning and framework of film tourism as a focus of academic study. The relationship between cinema and tourism is, of course, significantly interweaved and not just a product of modern times. Early cinema tended to focus on place representations and new conceptions of space, time and distance through transportation and the increasing trend of extensive touring. The first film archives demonstrate that trips around the world formed a widespread film subject, along with coverage of major events such as the 1900 World Fair through the work of Albert Khan (Costa 2006). As Wexman (1986: 36) remarks, the "motto of one early studio was 'the world at your fingertips'".

A great deal of tourism research approaches film tourism at a practitioner level. This is partly because research problems present at an applied level and through research, resolutions might be developed to tackle real-world issues and problems in the management of film tourism. This type of approach is completely valid and has produced some well-cited and high quality studies charting the occurrence and impact of film tourism in destinations across the globe. Nonetheless, this somewhat piecemeal yet rapid surge in academic interest and the subsequent literature has encouraged a wide range of case study based studies that while valid in particular scenarios do little to progress the academic agenda. This has been recognised by a number of authors, particularly as a large number of case study type papers have emerged in the academic literature since around 2005. This is a healthy situation given the paucity of understanding prior to this time. However, as Ryan et al (2008) argue, studies of the role of film in tourism must be contextualised within cultural and media studies, particularly given that the link between film and tourism can be viewed as a sub-set of wider cultural tourism concepts. Clues as to how one might go about establishing the theoretical underpinnings of film tourism need to be drawn from outside the tourism field, and studies from sub-disciplines including cultural geography, film studies and popular culture yield interesting insights into the contributing factors that drive the demand for film tourism.

5.1   Cultural geography, film geography and tourism
Academic studies of the cross-cutting themes within film and tourism have a relatively short history from the early 1990s. However, several precursors should be highlighted in the development of research interests in the wider geographical literature. In particular, the thread of research that led to the acceptance of cultural geography as a sub-discipline,

stimulated by Wright (1947) and later developed by Lowenthal (1961) and others has much to contribute to the understanding of film tourism as a cultural and spatial application in a world dominated by image and iconography. Wright (1947) pointed to the *terra incognitae* within geography in relation to the contribution of books, magazines, literature and arts. It is from this perspective that cultural geography has partly developed, with a strand in film geography developing relatively recently, in parallels with film tourism. Lukinbeal and Zimmerman (2006) review the development of film geography and note that "film geography is a new and growing interdisciplinary research arena that links the spatiality of cinema with the social and cultural geographies of everyday life" (Lukinbeal and Zimmerman 2006: 316). Moreover, Jewell and McKinnon (2008) argue that film tourism creates new cultural landscapes, not simply just generating a desire to travel but forming part of place identity. Such a process is not new and is deeply embedded in pre-film media in the form of literary tourism. Therefore, with this in mind, it is useful to consider cultural geography as an approach within the social science paradigm and the linkages with how tourism is situated within this wider context.

5.2   Social science approaches to tourism

Social theories that emphasise both construction and consumption in the tourist experience have some potential to provide an appreciation of the scope of film tourism drivers. The facets of *construction* (i.e. supply of the product) and *consumption* (i.e. tourist use, response and meanings) underpin both the literary (Herbert 2001) and film tourism experience. Film and literary-induced tourism typify the values of postmodernity where the symbolic values of a product (in this case, a landscape, place or setting) often have greater appeal to the consumer than the product itself (Rojek 1995). In this respect, visiting a location associated with a particular film, scene, character or author forms a more appealing proposition than visiting that location for its intrinsic place qualities. Such an analysis corresponds with the structure of the postmodern cultural experience (MacCannell 1976), where enjoyment derives from experiencing and enjoying markers, signs and symbols of a socially-construction, place and the hyperreal (Eco 1986).

Social science approaches to understanding tourism and leisure, which are particularly marked in cultural geography, focus on metaphorical conceptions of space and place, which shape people's enjoyment of leisure/tourism (Hall and Page 2006). Indeed, if tourism is considered as an encounter, relationships between people, between people and space and tourism settings may be material, metaphorical or imagined (Crouch 2000). Such an analysis is based on human experiences and symbolic meanings of leisure and tourism in space, a central theme in understanding stimulation of place awareness, a sense of place and visits through secondary sources. Space derives meaning through visitor encounters and the social construction of place, rather than through objective elements, creating a sense of place (Relph 1976) and the emotional significance of place in human identity (Lefebvre 1991;

Pocock 1981). Despite forming a somewhat contested area of social theory (McCabe and Stokoe 2004), this conceptualisation is highly relevant to film tourism, where notions of place are created through the viewer's personal and emotional attachment to a combination of theme, story, characters and setting, developing an affective bond between people and place through shared meanings, creating what Tuan (1974) terms as *topophilia*. Likewise, the mass media can construct notions of place, as Fish (2005) argues in the case of the televisual portrayal of rurality and countryside in the UK. Tooke and Baker (1996) argue that the attraction of filmed locations is greater when plots and locations are interrelated, and emotional connections formed between the viewer and the spectacle. What also may be important in stimulating attachments are iconic characters, themes or moments (Eco 1986), which through cultural deconstruction, identify the symbolic content, and create viewer appeal, empathy and connection. These iconic attractions are, as Riley, Baker and van Doren (1998: 924) refer to in studies of US movies, "recurrent and continuing" through each programme and throughout the series, reinforcing and emphasising each component in the viewer's mind, and often used in tourism promotional campaigns (Beeton 2004) to create spectacle.

5.2.1 The consumption of spectacle

Debord (1983) argued that a spectacle is not purely an image, or an amalgam of images, but a social construction based on imagery. A distinguishing feature of film tourism is spectacle, and a landscape or setting made into a spectacle through film transforms into a cultural landscape that may be created, manipulated, reinforced and contested, a point that is supported by McCrone *et al's* (1995) analysis that iconography can lead to distortion, or as Nairn (1977) put it, a battle between fantasy and realism. As de Certeau (1984: 174) argues in the case of literature, and perhaps which is more acutely applicable to the moving image, "readers are travellers: they move across lands belonging to someone else, like nomads, poaching their way across field they did not write…". In this way, the images and insights created by secondary sources create, enhance and intensify recognition of, and connection with, place (Spooner 1992). This connection, as Robinson (2002) highlights, results from a process of recipient extraction, rather than one stimulated by the producer of the work, who probably remains unaware of any potential tourism implications of their creation. Nonetheless, as Ousby (1990: 22) argues, part of the appeal of literature, and of film, are the associations with "real places that can be visited", spawning the popularisation of places and subsequent transformation from place to "cultural property" (Weir 2002: 119) or a metaphorical place of pilgrimage (Pocock 1992; Hills 2002; Couldry 2002, 2005; Beeton 2005).

Few studies have explored the effects of popular culture on image formation (Kim and Richardson 2003), but as Berger (1972:7) argued, "seeing comes before words... [and]...establishes our place in the surrounding world...". If Berger's analysis is applied to

film tourism, then essentially, film-induced tourists are engaged in pursuit of making sense of their world, validating Game's (1991) argument that people make sense of visual material through physical engagement with places. Avid viewers search out exact locations, the process of which is facilitated by books and web sites (see Reeves 2003), or form mental images that might stimulate travel to a destination (Kim and Richardson 2003). However, research to date has not produced sufficient knowledge about these processes and the degree of film influence on holiday destination choice.

5.3   Film theory and film studies

Within film studies, there are two immediate areas of interest to the tourism researcher: first, the social psychology of the viewing experience, and; second, the language of cinema through semiotics, in relation to the perception of landscapes in film. Both of these theoretical areas assist in providing some useful ideas on how film tourism might be understood on a more conceptual basis.

5.3.1   The social psychology of film viewing and tourism

Clearly, the experience of emotion is a central facet in film. A body of literature within film theory explores the connections between film, psychology and emotion. This literature can assist in understanding ways of exploring the links between viewing film and emotional response. Early studies concentrated on somewhat obscure psychoanalytical concepts, although established that the experience of watching film in the context of a dark cinema and focusing all attention on the visual and aural cues proffered by a film production could stimulate strong viewer emotional response. Eberwein (1984) argues that film viewing in cinema stimulates a type of psychological regression, what he terms as a dream-screen hypothesis in that the viewer falls into a dream-like state which turns to a state of reality. Eisenstein (1991) explores the concept of emotion in films, whereby a series of incidents moves the soul. More recent studies (see e.g. Grodal 1997; Smith 2003) that try to provide a more real-world understanding of the emotion system in relation to film have adopted both cognitive and neurological approaches to explore emotional response to film and the mood-cue approaches which create audience interest and sympathy with certain characters . Smith (2003) emphasises the range of attributes that create emotional response – not simply about an interesting plot and/or characters, but grounded in the complex arrangement and organisation of special effects, soundtracks and narrative. Cohen (2001) argues that music is a strong contributor to the emotional experience of film, and that there is now enough data to conclude that music yields a significant viewer response. Much of this is reliant on highly skilled musical composition in emphasising poignant, disturbing, arousing or moving scenes to affect and involve the viewer.

5.3.2   Landscape studies: the landscape of film

This approach highlights that cinema is "a peculiarly spatial form of culture" as it organises, uses and portrays space (Shiel 2001: 5). Shiel (2001) argues that space should be understood as *space in films* (space of the shot, the narrative setting, the geographical relationship of settings and sequencing, and *films in space*. The emergence from the late 1990s (incidentally in parallel to the development of film tourism in the academic research) of an interdisciplinary focus on film geography has added some useful ways of approaching the understanding of the nexus of people, place and film. As Lukinbeal and Zimmerman (2006) outline, film geography connects the "spatiality of cinema with the social and cultural geographies of everyday life", and legitimises the idea that the representation of filmic material is packed with cultural additions that have the power to transform a real place into a fictitious environment.

Landscape use in film is not without preconception and aforethought. While cinema "offers a visual spectacle" (Lefebvre 2006: 28), the landscape setting is often fuelled with meaning and symbolism, and filming is skillfully crafted and managed (Bordwell and Thompson 1993). The use of *mise-en-scéne* (design aspects of film production and arrangement of scenes in front of the camera), cinematography and editing processes control the presentation of setting and subsequently influence the viewer's perception of setting, landscape or what might be best termed filmscape. As Moran (2006: 225) argues, "sites of cinematic fiction...form imaginary maps in the minds of viewers". Nonetheless, as Lefebvre (2006) recognises, cinema has shown a fantastic range of landscapes to millions of viewers. Is this important, or is it simply entertainment? Cosgrove (1998) argues that all landscapes are symbolic as they contain imagery and identifying aspects and that we understand landscapes through social and cultural life, experience and expression. As such, filmic use of landscape cannot be devoid of meaning for the viewer, as it combines with the viewer's gaze and their cultural knowledge and outlook through semiotic strategies (Lefebvre 2006). Moreover, if one adopts a Marxist approach to the understanding of film landscape in that certain groups of people shape their world through imagined relationships, it can be argued that film may have the power to shape the perception and experience of place within the confines of social and cultural systems. As Shiel (2001) highlights, cinema has acted as one of the major forces of globalisation, and although such debates lie beyond the scope of this paper, their pertinence to film tourism as a facet that shapes perception of cultures and places must be recognised (see Mercille's (2005) research on the effect of film in influencing tourist's perception of Tibet).

Further, Lefebvre (2006) acknowledges that landscape is anchored in human understanding. Some specific landscapes have been adopted as key to the iconography of various genres, shaping insights into places through an imagined geography of sites of fiction (Moran 2006), which exist simultaneously as real environments (the reel-real argument as put forward by Cresswell and Dixon (2002). A film landscape and music have the power to "express what is

otherwise inexpressible" (Lefebvre 2006) including moods, emotions and nostalgia (Roskill 1997), for example the cultural significance of the countryside to urban dwellers in the modern world (see Williams 1976; Pratt 2007). Morgan (2006: 199) identifies this, in relation to the Scottish Highlands, as "emotional territory" but a concept that has widespread applicability. Indeed, motion and atmospherics are a central part of the film-making vocabulary. In a survey of film-makers (Film Distributors Association 2006), the most atmospheric use of UK locations was found not to be in a litany of major Hollywood blockbusters. While *Local Hero* was placed first with its portrayal of the Scottish coastline, second and third places were occupied by two films that portrayed the grittier side of British urban life: respectively *The Full Monty* with its depiction of working-class life and unemployment in Sheffield, and the squalor-filled world of youth drug abuse in Edinburgh represented in *Trainspotting*. Interestingly, both films, while hardly romancing the tourist to visit, used locations to situate prominent social issues and were both highly successful in Britain and further afield. However, the human stories and the viewer's propensity to become involved with and emotionally attached and sympathetic to the characters and stories are possibly sufficient to induce awareness and interest in filmic location, culminating in actual visits.

5.3.2.1 Vicarious consumption of space and place

Some places have become familiar within the imagination of those who have never travelled there through the medium of film and television. The growing interest in the status of film as a cultural production was noted by Wexman (1986), who discusses the spectacular settings used by Alfred Hitchcock in the 1950s and 60s. Many of the films of Alfred Hitchcock (1899-1980) are memorable for their atmospheric manipulation of landscape, cityscape and landmarks, perhaps most markedly in the psychological thriller *Vertigo* (1958), which uses the most legendary tourist icons of San Francisco to heighten emotional response. San Francisco is cited as the first place that attracted the benefits of film tourism (Edgerton 1986). Other films have followed in the footsteps of *Vertigo* in portraying the city, functioning as a tour guide acting as a backdrop – often films that are classic and/or memorable for the location (e.g. films such as *Dirty Harry* (1971), *Bullitt* (1968), *Escape from Alcatraz* (1979), *Rise of the Planet of the Apes* (2011), along with a plethora of television programmes such as *The Streets of San Francisco* (1970s) and *Midnight Caller (1980s-90s*). Hitchcock notably used locations for promotional appeal to take audiences to attractive faraway places, which suggests the importance of the travelogue function in the early days of commercial cinema and the emphasis on glamorous locations, particularly given improved mobility for the increasingly affluent middle classes, an audience eager to escape to alluring places.

Within the context of postmodernity, it has become accepted that media cultures create demand for new destinations and forms of tourism, through what Urry and Larsen (2011:

116) term the "mediated gaze". Arguably, it has become impossible to think about place and space without engaging with a range of images, performances, interpretations and texts. Further, Fitzmaurice (2001) identifies that certain areas with New York have become metonyms for specific lifestyles as portrayed in film and television, while Urry and Larsen (2011: 116) comment that "we have all been to New York" through programmes such as *NYPD Blue*, *Seinfeld*, *Friends* and *Sex and the City*. Such media representations allow people to travel to destinations through their own imaginations and as a consequence, real places and spaces take on fantasy-like attributes through a process of mediatisation, creating "imaginative geographies" (Urry and Larsen 2011: 116) and "fantasy geographies" (Bronfen 2004: 28). Such spaces, which inhabit our minds just as much as a real location, are like Foucault's 'different spaces, heterotopic sites outside all places, for example the use of wilderness, mountainous, desert and prairie lands, and other contested spaces, tend to have certain connotations in their use within cinematography and the use of landscape to configure meanings, and social and cultural preconceptions. We can in this sense derive the significance of the landscape of film, as film is essentially focused on space and setting, as well as narrative and characterisation.

5.3.2.2 Place substitution

Examples of film tourism occurring in places that were *intended* to be portrayed rather than in an actual shooting location are plentiful (see Butler 2011), rather like destinations acting as a 'body-double' for the real destination. The fact that real places are confused with imagined ones, and that imagined locations are sought by tourists, indicates the practice by which film tourism locations are socially constructed and perceived as somewhere else in the spatial appropriation of place for cinematic purposes. As Schofield (1996) argues, this denotes a circumstance where the frontier between reality and fantasy becomes indistinguishable. While film-making practices focus on the manipulation of reality through editing and cinematography, the result of which is the moulding of viewer consciousness, the resultant "movie-awakened sensibilities" (Schwartz 2004: 344) culminate in the consumption of a particular place or space. As Butler (2011) observes in the title of a recent paper, "it's only make believe", in that the appeal of a real location shown in a film may be greater than the actual place, which creates considerable dissonance in relation to the tourist experience as noted by Connell (2005b, 2009). On the contrary, as Hills (2002) points out, some film tourists, and particularly real fans of a particular production undertake detailed research to locate precise on-screen locations, whereby it is the authentic sites which form the object of consumption. However, for the more general tourist, it is perhaps the mode of consumption that plays a bigger role in attraction, in that what a tourist wants to experience and what is able to be consumed dictates the type and place of consumption (Jansson 2002).

The qualities and associated mythologies of landscape in film are paramount to the film producer, particularly where place or landscape is central to the film narrative. Reijinders (2009) discusses the importance of iconic landscape in the case of familiar cities to raise the "social-realistic content" of the European television detective series *Inspector Morse*, *Wallander* and *Baantjer*, potentially giving the tourist gaze images to latch on to. Furthermore, Roskill (1997: 202) discusses "landscapes of presence" which have the power to express mood and atmosphere within film, and Morgan James (2006: 199) refers to the "emotional territory" that film occupies in the depiction of place. In a deconstruction of the Scottish Highlands in film, Morgan James (2006) focuses on the concept of 'ethnoscapes' and the creation of images that become a metaphor of nationhood. In the case of Scotland, the polarisation of Scotland through cinematic identity is evident in many of the major films produced or filmed there, with a number focusing around the romantic, nostalgic or historic rural idyll of the Highlands, indicatively but not exhaustively, *Rob Roy* (1995)*, Braveheart* (1995)*, Brigadoon* (1954)*, Local Hero* (1982)*, Mrs. Brown* (1997)*, Whisky Galore!* (1947) with a number at the other end of the spectrum focusing around the negative aspects of contemporary urban life like unemployment, addiction, poverty and urban wastelands, like *Trainspotting* (1996). Bruce (1996: 39) argues that this is "genuine problem" for a culture with a "conspicuous identity", and attempts to move perception away from the "corny tartan" image created and confirmed by films like Brigadoon have been difficult. Rockett (2001) and Brereton (2007) debate a similar issue within Ireland, where the perceived real Ireland is located in the rural west, creating a narrative that has global appeal on a visual and cinematic level. Filmic images that valorise landscape and nature are dominant as seen in *The Quiet Man* (1952) (see Moran 2006), *Ballykissangel* and *Ryan's Daughter* (1970) (Bolan, Crossan and O'Connor 2007) and, contrast, as Rockett (2001: 223) argues, to the "lack of tangible imagery" of, or, as Brereton (2007) remarks, the overtly dark side of thrillers based in urban Ireland.

Scotland, for example, has become a favoured location for romantic and particularly historical productions, and Bruce (1996) argues that this place image is partly shaped by historical literature (e.g. Scott) which promulgates heroic and picturesque associations with people and place, which became the foundation of Scottish tourism marketing. In searching for a film location for the Hollywood production *Brigadoon* (1954) within Scotland, the producer returned to the USA having found nowhere that "looked like Scotland" (quoted in Morgan James 2006). As Moran (2006) comments, with the skilful use of mise-en-scene, cinematography and editing, landscapes appear in the film without the cast and crew having to leave a studio set (vis-à-vis the *Paramount Ranch* set in a Los Angeles suburb where many westerns were filmed in 1930s and 1940s as a substitute for the desert).

Having explored a number of conceptual themes, the discussion now turns to a thematic exploration of the published tourism literature to assist in the synthesis and road mapping of the subject.

6.   Themes in Film Tourism Research

Since the late 1990s, a number of cogent themes have emerged within the spectre of film tourism research activity. While some quite distinct subjects are identified, it is worth acknowledging that significant overlap exists between many themes, particularly with studies of tourist motivation and marketing, given the connections between perception of destination image and the attraction of film tourism. Table 1 provides an overview of the major themes in film tourism research, with examples of studies, and these themes are discussed further below.

TABLE 1 here

6.1   The film tourist

Research focusing on the film tourist consists of a growing range of studies based around the characteristics and profile of the film tourist, tourist motivation, the experience of being a film tourist and individual's perceptions of destinations.

6.1.1   The characteristics and motivations of film tourists

Until the mid-2000s, few studies focused on the characteristics, motivations and behaviour of film tourists, and by comparison with destination impact studies the area remained substantially unexplored in the academic literature. The development of quantitative survey instruments to ascertain the characteristics of film tourists started to emerge, where Busby and Klug (2001) and Beeton (2001) illustrated the characteristics of film tourists in case studies of two film tourist destinations, while successive studies have further contributed to understanding the profile of film tourists using both quantitative and qualitative approaches, in various destinations and with different populations and cultures (e.g. Chan 2007; Hudson, Wang and Moreno 2011; Kim, Lee and Chon 2010; Kim and O'Connor 2011). There appears to be some agreement that film tourists tend to be more educated, affluent and often middle-aged (e.g. Kim 2012a; Kim, Agrusa, Chon and Cho 2008; Busby and Klug 2001). However, research more broadly shows that film locations attract a wide range of tourists, and given that most film tourism studies tend to focus on a particular production that may be appealing to a particular demographic, then the results of such studies may not be transferable to other film locations (e.g. *Star Wars* tour participants (primarily male, solo visitors aged 31-40) (Roesch 2009) are very different from *Balamory* visitors (solely family groups with children under six) (Connell and Meyer 2009), while female audiences display a higher propensity to travel to Korean soap opera filming locations (Chan 2007, Kim 2012). Equally, many motivation studies have taken film tourists on tours as a research subject (e.g. Peaslee 2011; Buchmann 2010; Roesch 2009, Carl,

Kindon and Smith 2007), which while providing insights into a highly specific group of tourists who are sufficiently engaged in film tourism to book on a guided tour of a film location, do not address the wider audience of film tourists. So profiling in a general way may be problematic but the study of motivations has yielded valuable insights into the nature of the film tourist.

Film tourism motivations have been examined in a number of studies (e.g. Macionis 2004; Singh and Best 2004; Busby and O'Neill 2006; Chan 2007; Im and Chon 2008), and as the academic literature has developed over the last decade, a range of motivational drivers for film tourism have been identified. Riley and van Doren (1992) suggested that the pull factors for film site visits especially centre around the special qualities of landscape, social and cultural characteristics and imagery that tourists find appealing in some way, later referred to as icons, which "become the focal point for visitation" (Riley, Baker and van Doren 1998: 924). However, Roesch (2009: 103) highlights that "film location tourists are often not able to precisely state what their motivations are", and motivations for specific film-related experiences show much variance, from the high-risk thrill-seekers chasing tornadoes as in *Twister* (1996) (Robertson 1999) and white-water rafters stimulated by *Deliverance* (1972), to the romance and nostalgia of the steam railway in pre-war Britain, as depicted in *Brief Encounter* (1945), to the emotion-fuelled landscapes of *Winter Sonata*, or the fantasy world of *Lord of the Rings*. From these studies, it seems evident that the film tourist it is not confined to general sight-seeing passive consumption of the visual components of place but to more specialist and active forms of tourist activity.

Macionis's (2004) widely cited conceptualisation of film-induced tourism motivation as a continuum of increasing interest in film and increasing self-actualisation motivations (as drawn from Dann 1977), suggests three types of film tourist and associated motivations, although this typology remains largely untested in wider studies of the film tourist:

- Serendipitous film tourist: may or may not participate in film tourist activities, but their presence in a film destination is unrelated to the film. Motivations based on social interaction and novelty;
- General film tourist: participates in film tourist activities but were not specifically attracted to a destination because of a film. Motivations based around novelty, education and nostalgia;
- Specific film tourist: actively visits a destination to seek locations viewed in a film. Motivations might include nostalgia, romance, fantasy, self-identity and self-actualisation, and might also be rooted in the idea of pilgrimage (Macionis 2004: 89).

Further, Fernandez Young and Young (2008: 208) argue that while overt film tourists exist, the "binary classification of visitors into film tourists or non-film tourists" is a less than

satisfactory way to conceptualise the degree of influence of film on the propensity to visit, and that the screen effect should be thought of as fractional rather than absolute. In addition, a visitor may be influenced by more than one screen product, which may only be "loosely connected" with the destination, a process termed as "diffusion" (Fernandez Young and Young 2008: 209). Such conceptualisation poses methodological issues that empirical studies often neglect. However, there is insufficient evidence to date to establish the relative proportions of these categories of tourist, the dynamics between film and tourism choice and the real motivating forces behind film tourism in the wider context beyond the destination case study approach.

As such, the extent to which film tourists are drawn to a place just to see a filming location remains a somewhat debated matter. Macionis and Sparks (2006) state that most film tourists are incidental (i.e. just happen to be at the destination) but increasing evidence, especially from UK research (see Olsberg|SPI 2007), implies that huge increases in visitors correspond with film and television showcasing, indicating that the importance of film as a tourism attractor should not be underestimated. Indeed, some studies identify purposeful visitors, particularly in the case of *Daejanggeum* (Kim 2012) and *Balamory* (Connell 2005), who are unlikely to have visited a destination for another reason, and, as in sport and music, such visitors may be considered as fans of a particular production.

6.1.2   The film-fan tourist

Visiting a film site is somewhat akin to what sociologist Maffesoli (1996) refers to as neo-tribalism, where a transitory, emotionally-driven community with a strong collective affinity unite in search of an object of desire. Hills (2002: 145) postulates that media-fan tourism is an "affective-interpretive process" that redefines space, creating "cult geographies" and a physical focus for activity, and that this idea of cult geography is best observed as fan attachment to non-commoditized space, or indirectly or unintentionally commoditised space. As such, *unremarkable* places become *remarkable*, creating a new geography of alternative or cult destinations (Shields 1991; Hills 2002), which is clearly manifest in the concept of movie maps and guide to movie locations (e.g. Reeves 2003; Barth 1991; Smith 1988).

Grenier (2011) examines the experience of film fans and their relationship with the destination, noting that the main drivers for film tourists include the search for both nostalgia and security. Such motivators can be found in the most unusual locations and are not simply the preserve of the picturesque, romantic or natural, but can be found in 'tough' urban landscapes too. Sydney-Smith (2006) discusses this in relation to the UK crime film genre, and notes the *Get Carter* Appreciation Society organises an annual walk in Newcastle, UK to pay homage to the iconic sites featured in the 1971 film. There are many examples of similar annual events associated with the fans of films and television shows

and the cult followings that develop around certain productions can be conceptualised in terms of pilgrimage, e.g. the annual convention at Portmeirion, Wales to celebrate the 1960s television series *The Prisoner* regular attracts a large audience of aficionados (including the former lead role Patrick McGoohan), while the Monty Python *Holy Grail* weekend at Doune Castle, Scotland is a popular annual event for fans of the 1975 film.

The film-fan tourist, as Karpovich (2010) remarks, is marginally different to other types of fan (e.g. sport or music) in that is a fictional world that is being followed, rather than a set of real events or people. That said, there are real elements to film tourism in relation to film celebrities (see Ricci 2011; Lee, Scott and Kim 2008), depiction of true stories and the physicality of film locations, but these are both centred on a narrative – even a true story is embellished to enhance involvement. A visit to a film site by a film fan may result in enormous satisfaction or disappointment. Knowledge and experience of a film location, filming set and associated props may change an individual's perception and level of enjoyment, and while just being there can be all a fan wants to experience (Couldry 2005) this may not always be positive if the experience is not as good as perceived from the small or big screen (Karpovich 2010, Connell and Meyer 2009). Experiencing the 'authentic' filming location takes several forms, but there is a major dividing line between commercialised tour experiences where the experience is formal and structured, and the unofficial, real place that simply presents itself as a place or space with no formal or commercial structure for film tourists. That film tourism locations should become contested is easy to see. Fans of a film/television show are likely to favour a physical 'anchorage' at which they can direct their interests but it appears that place responses largely depend on the tourist's relationship with space, commoditisation, film characteristics and place, as well as socio-psychological factors, and this combination impacts on the film tourist experience.

The notion of fandom in film and film tourism is based in the emotional involvement between the viewer and the 'viewed', and a number of studies highlight this mediated personal relationship (Couldry 1998; Lee and Yoo 2011; Kim 2012), and following celebrities (Lee, Scott and Kim 2008; Grenier 2011; Ricci 2011). This emotional interaction needs to be examined within the framework of the experiences of film tourists.

6.1.3 *The experiences of film tourists*
While several studies (e.g. Kim, Agrusa, Lee and Chon 2007; Carl, Kindon and Smith 2007; Roesch 2009; Kim 2012) have examined tourist experiences, Connell and Meyer (2009) note a general gap in the research literature with regard to the on-site experiences of screen tourists and a subsequent lack of understanding of "how screen tourists perceive, interact and relate to the destination", especially compared with the early emphasis on destination impact related aspects. This remains an emerging area of work that would benefit from

further empirical studies that delineate, illustrate and evaluate the nature of film tourism and the marketing and management implications for destinations, particularly in terms of how dedicated film tourists can be catered to, as argued by both Connell and Meyer (2009) and Peters et al (2011).

Notwithstanding, recent studies have started to progress this research theme in several ways. First, cross-cultural aspects of the film tourism experience are beginning to emerge as a significant thread in the literature. The premise of this is that much early film tourism research focused on a Western cultural context, and it cannot be assumed that the Anglophonic perspectives that govern the literature may not be so relevant to the enormous growth of film tourism in Asia. As such, studies of differing cultures and nationalities within a film tourist context are needed to make relevant and broaden understanding of cultural perspectives on film tourism motivation and experience. Kim (2012a) identified differences in the tourist experience according to nationality in a study of Thai, Chinese, Taiwanese and Japanese film tourists to the Daejanggeum Theme Park in Korea. This is interesting in that it raises the issue of cultural proximity and the sharing of value sets, themes and experiences that can be culturally defined, but that different audiences decode their experiences in different ways.

A second area focuses on the emotional involvement and linkage between memory and actual visits to film locations. Buchmann, Moore and Fisher's (2010) research on *LOTR* film tourist experiences highlight the significance of the interaction with the places and the memory of the viewing experience in producing a memory structure in which the viewing experience is contextualised. Likewise, Kim's (2012b) study of *Daejanggeum* in South Korea further confirmed that film tourists relate their on-site experience with emotions felt during their viewing of the television drama. Kim (2012b) also established that the emotional involvement was "an immediate antecedent" of many aspects of the film tourist destination experience. Furthermore, some research studies support the idea that higher level emotional involvement creates high level of satisfaction with on-site experiences (Carl et al. 2009; Kim 2012). Couldry (1998) and Kim (2010) emphasises the degree of emotional investment placed in watching soap operas. In terms of the study of audience involvement, Kim (2012) outlines the multi-dimensional nature of audience involvement and in a study of a Korean television drama, argues that cognitive involvement is not as significant as emotional and behavioural involvement in influencing on-site tourism experiences. This type of emerging research on the social psychology of film tourism is a welcome step forward in producing more in-depth explanations of the link between film and tourism.

6.1.4 Hyper-reality and the film tourist experience

One of the key areas of film tourism inquiry focuses on the degree to which simulation and hyper-real experiences contribute to the tourist experience. This is starting to emerge from

recent studies although much more work is required to validate and corroborate the findings of case study driven studies on a wider scale. One of the earliest encounters with this research perspective is provided by Couldry's (1998, 2005) work on visits to the set of the UK soap drama *Coronation Street* at Granada Studios, which revealed the types of interaction between visitors and the set. In this case, the real filming place was the object of consumption, visitors viewed the set as real because filming actually took place there and as such the set had a social reality. Further, in a study of participants on *Lord of the Rings* (LOTR) tours in New Zealand, Carl, Kindon and Smith (2007) identified that hyper-real is a prerequisite in ensuring a positive tourist experience, where greater levels of involvement and consumption of the film in context created greater tourist satisfaction. Kim (2010) in a study of tourist re-enactments and photography of *Winter Sonata* scenes indicates that it is the involvement and participation in re-enacting performances from the television series at key sites that is the centre of the tourist experience. Such re-enactments appear to highlight the emotional connection between the viewer, the scene, the characters and the story, and the need for active involvement rather than passive viewing.

Busby and O'Neill (2006) highlight that first time visitors to Cephallonia considered that greater promotion of *Captain Corelli's Mandolin* themes would have been appropriate, while Connell and Meyer (2009) found some mismatch in the expectations and experiences of film tourists visiting the film location of *Balamory*. These studies appear to indicate some disruption in the flow (see Csikzentmihalyi 1975) of experiences anticipated and then felt by film tourists, and research by Lee and Yoo (2011) in relation to *Korean Wave* tourists suggests that this is the case.

The blurring of reality and fiction, or as Torchin (2002: 247) terms it, "authenticity and artificiality" in the film tourism experience is particularly highlighted in the film tour of real locations. Experiencing fictitious locations within, or overlayed on, a real environment results in, as Rojek (1997: 54) argues, a process whereby "cinematic events are dragged on to the physical landscape and the physical landscape is then reinterpreted in terms of cinematic events".

6.1.5   The film tour

A large number of specialist tour operators and tour guides have emerged to service demand for film site consumption, and in some cases are necessary components of a visit to a film location due to the difficulty in finding exact locations or simply due to issues of limited access at some sites. An additional layer of this is that some visitors seek greater embellishment and information about the film and the places where scenes took place, as well as the geography of an area. Reijinders (2009) states that the *Inspector Morse* Tour has been one of the most popular tours in Oxford, UK, while in Sweden the similar detective

series *Wallander* has given rise to a guided tour, visits to the film studio and a self-guided map tour to cater for tourist demand. The tour in itself can become the main form of consumption, particularly given the value-added element of personal interactions with a tour guide and other tourists. Indeed, Buchmann (2010) notes that tourist satisfaction is primarily the responsibility of the tour guide, while Karpovich (2008) highlights the collective participatory experience of film tourists at film sites.

6.1.6   The film tourist as consumer

A number of studies concur that certain components and production qualities embedded within film are more likely to induce film tourism. The interaction between landscape, iconic features, narratives and characters, and the extent to which locations act as a significant feature in filming are more likely to induce visits (Riley and van Doren 1992; Riley, Baker and van Doren 1998). Accordingly, film induced tourism is only likely to follow where locations are effectively transcribed from film to reality and where landscape, place and emotional associations are strong (Escher and Zimmerman 2001; Olsberg|SPI 2007). As such, there may be no 'winning formula' to induce film tourism and its potential benefits, although there appear to be a number of factors that add to the overall appeal. But the mere viewing of place attributes alone may not explain this process, which set within theoretical constructs from film studies, reveals a more complex amalgam of film features and viewer responses. Frost (2010), in a study of filming in the Australian outback, emphasises that it is the story, rather than just striking visual landscape imagery, that induces film tourism, with audience empathy with stories and characters that creates the motive for wanting to visit a film location.

The discussion so far indicates that the behavioural components of film tourism combine the cultural, psychological, emotional and physical elements of landscape and place consumption with tourism activity, and this leads on to consideration of the impacts that this amalgam creates.

6.2   The impacts of film tourism activity

Some of the earliest studies of film tourism focus on the impacts that this distinct type of tourism creates for destinations. Ritchie's (1984) original conception of events which has been applied to the process of film induced tourism (Riley and van Doren 1992) identifies that the benefits of film tourism are three-fold: first, raising tourist awareness; second, increasing destination appeal, and: third, contributing to the viability of tourism. That film tourism induces this process is now well-established in the research literature (see e.g. Butler 1990; Riley and van Doren 1992; Tooke and Baker 1995; Riley, Baker and van Doren 1998; Croy and Walker 2003; Beeton 2005; Jewell and McKinnon 2008), although is contested somewhat by research that shows that film tourism creates costs as well as benefits (Connell 2005; Beeton 2001, 2005, 2008), or simply that it does not create the

level of positive impacts that some, mainly DMOs, would have us believe (McKercher and Chan 2005, Croy and Heitmann 2011).

The emphasis of a great deal of screen tourism research to date lies within the cluster of research focusing on destination impacts. This has been one of the most heavily researched areas and a reiteration of research findings is it not appropriate given the substantive coverage in the literature. Many of the impacts are extensions of those witnessed in tourism destinations generally, although some of these are more emphasised in film locations. The seminal work of Riley, Baker and van Doren (1998) which evaluated impacts identified at twelve film tourism sites has been important in comparative studies that found similar issues in a range of locations, denoting that film tourism, although creating site-specific impacts according to the nature of the film and the destination, creates a generic set of issues for destination management and marketing. The problems and issues that have emerged from a range of studies include:

- increased traffic congestion, and insufficient parking to accommodate cars and coach parties;
- lack of capacity to accommodate demand for visits;
- destinations not being aware or prepared for sudden influx of tourists interested in a specific element of the location;
- locals residents impacts, including issues of privacy and parking;
- insufficient business response to maximise economic benefits and cope with demand from incoming tourists;
- over-commercialisation of a place through its film imagery;
- displacement of existing tourism market and replacement with a different market that proves less lucrative or desirable;
- theft of materials from film sites and rise in security issues;
- cultural and spatial appropriation, leading to host-guest conflict;
- amplification of seasonality, depending on market;
- concentration of tourism activity in specific part of a destination;
- over-reliance on film-tourism theme and problems with how to maintain tourism demand over the longer-term.

Central to this strand is the principle of managing destination impacts to gain maximum economic benefit while minimising cultural and environmental damage, community disturbance, disruption of longer-term tourism products and markets, and resident well-being (see Beeton 2005, 2004, 2001; Connell 2005a, 2005b; Croy and Walker 2003; Hudson and Ritchie 2006a; Mordue 2001, 1999; O'Neill, Butts and Busby 2005; Riley, Baker and Van Doren 1998; Tooke and Baker 1996). A great deal of impact studies relate to specific case

studies and, while some findings have transferability, impacts tend to be framed within a destination context.

Yet, film tourism is a somewhat nebulous phenomenon in that it can be developed with significant manipulation and commodification of place, or it can be purely incidental (Doyle 2003; Macionis and Sparks 2006) or accidental (Beeton 2004). These incidental outcomes can be positive and negative and are hard to predict. Silver (2007) notes how *Deliverance* (1972) which, despite its somewhat unnerving narrative created an unexpected tourism boom in the Chattanooga River region of North West States, created environmental impacts through overdevelopment and pollution. Conversely, Wearing et al (2010) note the positive effects for conservation linked with the *Free Willy* films. However, the impacts of film tourism can become contested where a degree of conflict develops between community stakeholders, film-makers and those charged with environmental protection, especially where the positive benefits of film tourism are placed above conservation. This dilemma was witnessed in the example of *The Beach* (2000) filmed in Thailand where the film company was allowed access to a protected natural area without local consultation, which as Forsyth (2002) argues raises issues of inappropriate governance.

The rationale for encouraging film-induced tourism encompasses a range of factors, many of which relate to strategic destination marketing. However, film tourism can occur very quickly, and be very unpredictable, thus giving some communities little time to respond in a planned and systematic way. Unexpected numbers or types of visitors requires a management response from local government and the local tourism industry in order to both manage and capitalise on immediate effects and reduce resident impacts (Connell 2005b). Much of the outcome of this type of research relates to marketing activity to resolve some of the destination dilemmas created by film tourism.

6.3   Marketing, destination image and the business of film tourism
Marketing film tourism is a somewhat contentious subject in that in some cases, none is required to induce tourist interest, while in other cases a substantial effort is required to stimulate visits and harness the low-cost potential power of film. Further, in some locations, marketing creates conflict between DMOs and local communities seeking to downplay film links. Yet, the literature illustrates that capitalising on the opportunities presented by film tourism has enabled many destinations to create and nurture uniqueness, imagery and positioning, or supplement an existing destination portfolio.

6.3.1   Marketing to the film tourist
To capitalise on film launches, DMOs occasionally devise film tourism marketing campaigns to stimulate interest and encourage tourism to related destinations (e.g. VisitScotland's £1.3m European campaign in collaboration with Sony Pictures to promote one of the most

controversial film in recent times, *The Da Vinci Code* (2006) and the filming locations (the most famed of which was the Rosslyn Chapel, in the Scottish Borders). A number of studies highlight the opportunities for, and approaches to, destination marketing to induce economic benefits through film and television exposure. Baker (2011) traces the marketing campaigns of Tourism Australia, designed to work in parallel with the release of *Australia*, starring Nicole Kidman; Hudson and Ritchie (2006b) examine the case of the marketing of Cephallonia around the film of *Captain Corelli's Mandolin*, while a number of authors explored New Zealand Tourist Board and tie-ins with the *LOTR* trilogy (Beeton 2005; Jones and Smith 2005).

Applied film tourism marketing demonstrates some of the conceptual arguments about the meaning and symbolism hidden beneath the layers of the filmic images, sounds, narratives and characterisation, whereby symbols of nationhood, identity and place are used to construct a portfolio of associated marketing materials to induce the tourist, particularly the international tourist. VisitBritain adopt sophisticated techniques to engage the tourist capitalising on links between film and place, good examples being the Johnny English and James Bond films to align destination brand with a sense of Britishness that entertain national stereotypes which confirm traditional (often misplaced but of appeal to the international audience) ideas of nationality. This is a very common theme in film production as well, whereby film producers have to be cognisant of the appeal of a film's characters and spatial location within the context of a global audience. As such, stereotypical geographical images pervade film in order to create desired emotional responses, mass market appeal and, subsequently, box office success. An extreme incidence of this is observable in the case of Kazakhstan and the perceived impact of the 2006 film *Borat: Cultural Learnings of America for Make Benefit Glorious Nation of Kazakhstan,* which created huge political controversy in response to this national parody, or as Saunders (2008: 69) refers to it, a "mockumentary" created by British comedian Sacha Baren Cohen. Despite initial government backlash and a ban on the film within the country's cinemas, the film increased the number of British tourists to Kazakhstan, but more significantly helped the country to work on its brand reputation and identity (for the full story see Saunders 2008).

6.3.2   Product innovation and development

The tourism industry has recognised the benefits of film tourism and there are many examples of good practice in adapting to new visitors seeking unusual experiences. Film Fyn (2011) outlines a range of product and service innovations in the retail, catering and accommodation sectors. Themed innovations in product include examples include: hotel packages with inclusive film tours, production of souvenirs, stage set or studio tours, themed food and drink, and photography opportunities at key film sites. There are many examples of these innovations, including *Sex and the City* themed breaks in the Paris Hotel

used in filming, accompanied by Carrie's favourite cocktail drink on arrival; and *Wallander* self-guided tours in Ystad, where participants can sit in the eponymous character's favoured café table and eat 'Wallander Cake'. However, as Riley, Baker and van Doren (1998) noted, film tourism can be short-lived for destinations, and not all tourism providers are willing to invest in product innovations to cash-in on what is a perceived temporary market (Connell 2005a). Indeed, some destinations positively de-market their film connection to widen their market appeal beyond what might be considered a cult audience, e.g. Portmeirion make one concession to *The Prisoner* by hosting an annual convention.

6.3.3 Mediatisation and new technology

The promotion of film tourism has adapted quickly to new technology and the mechanisms by which place attributes may be experienced by the consumer. While VisitBritain is recognised as being one of the first innovators in the field of film tourism marketing with its hard copy movie maps, the move into the digital age has created increasing opportunities for promoters seeking to utilise the visual imagery of films and filming locations in creating on-line resources, tourist information and interactive maps for the film tourist. In addition, moves into mobile technology, particularly in terms of Smartphone apps which have become a much used tool for film and tourism marketing, have the capability to guide the film tourist to sites of interest in a film destination (e.g. *Wallander*).

The increasing significance of on-line social media in transmitting the location of, and experience at, film-related sites (sights) of meaning and importance for highly segmented and specialised groups of film tourists must be recognised. In addition, Mansson (2011: 1647) highlights the importance of the convergence of a range of media products in propelling tourism, and that it may not simply be film that creates tourist interest but the consumption of a number of media products and consumer-to-consumer interactions. Mansson (2011) explores this concept by looking at the relationship between *The Da Vinci Code* and the film location of Rosslyn Chapel, noting the coverage on consumer generated digital media including Facebook, Twitter, FlickR, personal blogs and YouTube, and the presentation of visitor experiences for consumption and response to by potential visitors and vicarious viewers. One good example of this TripAdvisor, where the few comments about Doune Castle (Scotland) are dominated by references to *Monty Python* (filmed there in the early 1970s). This form of user-generated content has similarities with viral marketing techniques, and is potentially of great value to DMOs seeking to raise awareness of new attractions and experiences, although there are dangers in this too in terms of not being able to censor negative comments and experiences.

6.3.4 Branding

Undeniably, location representations within film and television lend themselves readily to branding initiatives by DMOs. Edensor (2001) outlines various film tourism branding projects in the UK (including *Heartbeat Country*, *Herriot Country* and *Braveheart Country*). In the case of *Braveheart*, Edensor (2001: 69) relates how the local tourist board produced a dramatic, promotional film designed for international transmission in cinemas prior to *Braveheart* showings, combining scenes from the film with scenes around the Stirling area and the Wallace Monument, after which it was no surprise that it created a large increase in international tourists to the area. O'Connor, Flanaghan and Gilbert (2008) argue that film tourism has significantly influenced the strength of the Yorkshire (UK) brand, although note that the traditional rural imagery associated with television series such as *Last of the Summer Wine* conflict with modern film images of urban life, such as in *The Full Monty* (1996), which raises issues of the complexities of branding contemporary places and new products to different markets. These "bipolar frameworks" (Kennedy and Lukinbeal 1997: 34) (i.e. rural/urban, pristine countryside/urban wasteland) in the mediation of place, dominated much of the research in film geography until recently, with anti-urban sentiments notably coming to the fore and 'urban' used as a metaphor in films for all things 'bad', and we have already noted this in relation to Scottish film. These sentiments in turn contribute to the shaping of destination image.

6.3.5   The shaping of destination image

Related to marketing perspectives on film tourism is a strand of literature focusing on the idea of image formation and propensity to visit through viewing places on-screen (Iwashita 2006; Kim and Richardson 2003; Larsen and George 2006; Warnick, Bojanic and Siriangkul 2004; Shani et al 2009). According to Gartner's (1993) continuum of the image formation process, film and television can be categorised as an autonomous agent, where popular culture has the ability to influence destination image. As these images are not considered to be biased formal marketing, viewers are more likely to respond emotionally and individually to the imagery and information perceived, and it is these sorts of responses that are able to increase interest and potentially influence a decision to visit. In addition, as Bolan and Williams (2008) argue, filmic images are presented to a "captive audience for a relatively long period of time" and thus have the capacity for sustained impressions of a viewed destination. Although there have been several empirical studies on the role of film in changing or shaping destination image as noted above, the majority of studies are relatively small-scale and have produced results that require further validation before more general conclusions can be made with regard to how film affects perceptions of destinations, and to what extent such perceptions create or influence a travel decision. Such questions connect very strongly with understanding film tourist motivation, and of course the extent to which visits to film-related sites are influenced by seeing filmic images. There is much more work to be undertaken within tourist and non-tourist

populations before these processes can be understood more clearly. However, it is worth noting the findings of a few indicative studies.

The first study of film tourism and destination image perception was undertaken by Kim and Richardson (2003). Using an experimental framework with a control group, this study found that people who had seen a film featuring Vienna were more interested in the city than those who had not seen the film, while the perceived destination image of the city was different between the two groups. Similar work by Warnick, Bojanic and Siriangkul (2005) focusing on perceptions of Thailand as affected by *The Beach*, found that viewing the film did not increase the likelihood of visiting the country, although the film content did affect image and perception of the destination (both negatively and positively.

Iwashita (2008) in a study of Japanese tourism to the UK found that films and television programmes featuring the UK formed the most significant source in increasing interest to travel, compared with travel guides, travel literature and marketing promotions. Iwashita's (2008) research indicates that destination image can be significantly shaped by film and television, and similarly that characters have the power to create images of national identity, reporting that perceptions of Britishness were portrayed through Hugh Grant's characters in several films (polite, self-restrained and reserved), James Bond, and Mr. Bean (eccentric and peculiar). Media imagery can thus influence perceptions and images of place and people, and build a sense of familiarity, although such a projection is fraught with inaccuracy and stereotypical dangers.

While several research studies have explored the perceived image of a destination prior to and following the viewing of a film (Kim and Richardson 2003; Shani, Wang, Hudson and Moreno Gil 2009), there is limited understanding of films with a negative plot and how these impact tourist perception of place. Shani et al's (2009) exploratory study of student's response to film in the case of South America in *The Motorcycle Diaries* found that the content and theme of film had little impact and overall perception remained the same after viewing as before: indeed, attributes related to scenery and nature and culture increased the desire to visit. However, destination image changed in relation to socio-cultural aspects in that the place seemed more distant, poorer and archaic.

6.3.6   *Marketing to the film industry*

The consideration of the supply-side marketing perspective in film tourism essentially focuses on the promotion of destinations to film-makers as on-location shoots, and places that have the right capabilities for film (or television programme) production. Such processes are not particularly new, and the recognition of the film economy, with its potential to create skilled jobs and new economic structures, by local economic development bodies pre-dates similar interests in related tourism spin-offs. For example,

Edgerton (1986) records that following a very rapid expansion period from 1976, all US States and major centres had set up agencies to attract film production by the mid-1980s, while the growth in films produced outside Hollywood reflected the increasing costs and inflexibility of Hollywood production.

Hudson and Tung (2010) evaluate the range of marketing strategies and promotional tools adopted to present locations to film producers, identifying three major approaches: first, cost inducements to keep the cost of production down, most often in the form of tax incentives, which creates a great deal of competition between countries, and in the USA, between rival states; second, product differentiation based on the unique physical attributes of a destination (e.g. specific natural or historic built environments, and production facilities; third, service differentiation relating to the quality, capacity and ability of destination infrastructure to accommodate and service productions (e.g. hotels, transport, catering, office space and the availability of skilled crew and expertise, and networks of support industries).

In tourism marketing, it is the way that places are perceived that takes on importance in relation to elements of the actual place. However, film tourism locations have an added layer of perception given that hyper-reality emphasises the surface value and appearance of place. In this way, locations can become commoditised as part of the film experience.

6.4   The appropriation and commodification of place and culture

The main issues under this theme include power relations between film-makers and destinations as well as the intended audience and the filmed culture and location, ensuing conflicts through the misrepresentation of place, people and cultures through filmic images and narratives. The depiction of place in films has received considerable attention, particularly in the context of how cities are portrayed in a cinematic sense compared with reality. Conceptually, this idea is framed in the authenticity debate within tourism, but has much broader application in the context of representing place. The spatial continuity of film and the parallel evolution of a whole new cultural geography of film sits alongside real life (as Cresswell and Dixon (2002) term it, the real to reel distinction.

From a North American perspective, Brégent-Heald (2007) argues that the cinema of 1930s and 1940s Hollywood indirectly worked alongside tourism promotion bodies in portraying iconic landscapes as national symbols, within the context of growing consumer culture and the increasing mobility of the population. Examining the film *Rose Marie* (1936), set in the Canadian North West, Brégent-Heald (2007) discusses the utopic portrayal of the region as a place to escape city life and the trappings of the material world, alongside a dystopic version of the region emphasising its qualities of danger and as a home to fugitives (a theme which has perpetuated through time in the adventure/thriller genre – *Deliverance*,

Rambo and so on). In the 1930s, there is no real evidence of film stimulating a desire to visit a location although Brégent-Heald (2007) suggests that cross-border travel was quite high at the time of the film despite the effects of the Depression. Likewise, in the 1940s, the film *Ride the Pink Horse* portrayed the desert environment of New Mexico with panoramic and atmospheric shots and building the importance of the geographic location to the narrative and satisfying the consumer demand for pre-industrial experiences (e.g. modern/past, civilised/savage). Brégent-Heald (2007) argues that an "interconnected web" links landscapes with an array of themes, ideas, differences and emotions which touristic and filmic images emphasise.

Wexman (1986: 36) explores a further conceptual connection between tourism and cinema, and notes that "cinema participates in [the] rhetoric of tourism" by disseminating and domesticating the faraway based on McCannell's (1976) differentiation of the world translated into a single ideology – that of the tourist view. Interestingly, the idea of the "scopophilic gaze" (Brégent-Heald 2007: 61) emphasises this idea of the pleasure of looking at a cinematic image – the process magnifies the tourist gaze as the film is doubly escapist and self-reflexive especially given the context of film-viewing in a darkened cinema, where the emotional experience is heightened.

The idea of gazing at filmic imagery, the individual's emotional response and the real experience of the place do not necessarily sit together well and have been shown by some authors to create discord, particularly in how film international viewers perceive places outside of their domain, and the elements of place that film-makers want viewers to consume during their viewing experience. Much of the criticism of this dissonance in actual and perceived film tourist experience is directed towards North American film, or films made for an American audience. Gibson (2006: 160) identifies such a concept within the English cinema and identifies how costume dramas and films based on heritage and nostalgia act as "the visual economy of tourism", particularly in relation to American audiences. Rains (2003) explores this notion in the cinematic representations of the Irish diaspora and the return home, depicted in *The Quiet Man*, which was a film criticised for its romantic and nostalgic idealisation of Ireland, but one much treasured by American audiences seeking to negotiate collective cultural identity. Laffont and Prigent (2011) highlight this issue in relation to the development of film tourism in France, and note that it is the most representative parts of cities that have been selected as film sets, Paris being the most prominently used city to portray "Frenchness" to an international audience. Further, Durham (2008) discusses the representation of France and French culture in three films: *Amelie, Chocolat* and *Le Divorce,* all of which were created by American film-makers. Notably, *Amelie* created huge tourist interest and the prominent portrayal of Paris in the film appeared to have a positive influence on tourism. However, Durham (2008) argues that while Paris is one of Hollywood's favourite cinematic locations, the film

misrepresents France and what tourists actually see in the real locations of the film are not what they would want to see. While such a portrayal might satisfy an audience (especially an outside audience), images merely strengthen clichés and stereotypes. In the case of *Amelie*, Portegies (2010) further comments that non-French viewers found the film to portray typical France and Frenchness, and that too work in a global context, the film needed to do this. Of course, one can argue that films do not need to set out to represent accurately a destination because they are intended as works of fiction in any case. However, where one must show care is where marketing campaigns are launched on the back of such films where DMOs use imagery from film to promote place qualities. In such cases, the mismatch between perceptions and reality potentially creates disappointing tourist experiences, a theme considered by Busby and O'Neill (2005) and Connell and Meyer (2009).

As well as the mismatch between what is real and unreal, the perception of utopia and dystopia is an emerging theme in the literature. Silver (2007) picks up on this with respect to the idyllic natural environment contrasted with the brutality of *Deliverance*, while Korstanje and Olsen (2012) explore the idea of risk perception in relation to horror movies. This dystopian view of social relations can work on many levels, for example the *Twilight Saga,* based around the theme of vampires, has created a huge tourist influx to the small US logging community Forks (Washington State). Flood (2009) reports on the business response to a reported 1000% increase in tourist demand for accommodation in Forks, a previously little known destination. *Twilight*-themed menus in restaurants, tours of filming locations and associated retail and souvenir offerings are some examples of new product and service adaptations and developments. In the early 1990s, the cult television series *Twin Peaks* shot in Canada around a disturbing theme of teenage murder created a similar effect for the filming location. Shani et al (2009) highlight the theme of the negative in film and how this may affect tourism, but there is insufficient evidence on this at present, which leads to a discussion of the future prospects for film tourism research.

7.   **Prospects for film tourism research: Methodological issues and legitimacy in film tourism**

There seems to be a rather passive acceptance of the legitimacy of film tourism encapsulated in the phrase 'film it there and they will come' (Hornaday 1994) and as McKercher (2007) argues, there is a danger in over-emphasising the effect of film tourism. Perhaps what is concerning is the research that supports the volume and value of film tourism, which injects more than a little scepticism with regard to the real draw of film to destinations. A significant number of consultancy reports present the case for film tourism as a major motivator for tourist travel on a national scale, and DMOs and Tourist Boards have been quick to pick up this opportunity. An Oxford Economic Forecasting report (2005), which states that around 20% of international visits to the UK are stimulated by film, while

very positive to those looking to justify development of film-based tourism marketing initiatives does stimulate a little incredulity in the minds of critics; and this is particularly so given four years later the figure was 10% (Oxford Economics 2010). What is unclear is the degree to which tourists were influenced, as in Fernandez Young and Young's (2008) criticisms of methodological approaches to defining the film tourist. Croy and Heitmann (2011) question the emphasis placed on film as a tourism inducing agent and believe that its role is more subtle than the immediate data suggests. Further, Christopherson and Rightor (2010) argue that in the case of studies of film and economic development in the USA, the assumptions made, the difference in focus adopted and the different time periods studied produce different conclusions. The headline-grabbing results delivered by some film tourism studies are favoured by local government, the media, marketing organisations and economic development agencies but the methods used to induce this data must be examined for accuracy, particular where fiscal incentives are provided to film-makers on the basis of wider economic development.

Busby and Klug (2001) identified the methodological problems in surveying film tourists, while Christopherson and Rightor (2010) discuss the procedural challenges of capturing the actual benefits of film tourism. As the natural geography of each site is different it may be possible to derive visitor numbers, particularly given areas with "clearly demarcated spatial boundaries" (Busby and Klug 2001: 325), but less easy to ascertain economic value given available sites of expenditure. Sites within cities, such as Los Angeles or New York are more likely to be visited as part of a wider itinerary and accordingly the ability to judge the effect of the film tourist is limited. A survey in New Mexico, a major filming destination with a significant film-based economy as noted earlier, filming sites appeared to increase the number of places to visit once there rather than significantly influence the desire to visit the state.

McKercher (2007) suggests that some research that promotes the volume of film tourism might be subject to methodological problems that create "phantom demand", an issue found within the spectrum of niche tourism markets and in particular within Mode II type research (Gibbons et al 1994) such as commercially-oriented reports commissioned by industry and tourism organisations. Further, empirical case study research in the tourism literature seems to accept the importance of film tourism through relatively high proportions of film tourists, potentially based on biased and misleading research design and methodology. Such research concurs with the desires of DMOs to capture an easy, modern cultural product to adapt to existing or new destinations. Croy and Heitmann (2011: 190) substantiate this claim through an evaluation of the real effect of the *LOTR* films on New Zealand, stating that the impact was "vastly overstated" but readily over-hyped by the media. McKercher and Chan (2005) state that the real value of special-interest tourism, such as film tourism, can be overstated by a factor of up to 20 through using a flawed

research methodology. Creating a new iconography that is readily adaptable for tourism marketing purposes is an understandable gift to DMOs seeking a new unique angle to place promotion, place-making and branding. Essentially, the real value of film in motivating tourist visits to a destination is clouded in the difficulties of understanding what really stimulates interest in place and converting that interest and awareness into action culminating in a visit to a specific location. Studies of tourist motivation and behaviour are notorious in their belief that the real determinant of individual choice is not easily understood or expressed through conventional tourism research techniques. Images within tourism marketing are easily consumed by tourists, entering the psyche and dominating the perception of the tourism decision-making process. The extent of film in stimulating visits is subsequently not so easy to decipher if one situates it among a range of other decision-making influences and motives.

Furthermore, critics of film tourism point to the limited duration of interest in film, television and related sites as a disadvantage in strategic planning and sustaining tourism. Indeed, Riley and van Doren (1992) claim that destination-based film tourism is likely to be of only limited duration. Yet, there are counter-arguments to this, and an increasing body of evidence to demonstrate longevity in film tourism effects. Couldry (2005) and Beeton (2005) argue that film tourism can be likened to pilgrimage, and that a long-term relationship between tourist and media, particularly in the case of televised drama, develops and draws the viewer back to the site of 'pilgrimage': thus, film tourism does have the potential to create a legacy. Indeed, while film (specifically *film* rather than *television*) tourism activity tends to reach peak interest following the launch of a film, the enduring qualities of some film and television outputs often draw visitors for many years (Riley, Baker and van Doren 1998). For how many years is a debatable issue and while a number of examples indicate a degree of longevity, much of the evidence remains anecdotal. However, some research is attempting to show this effect more clearly, for example; the Austro-German *Sissi* films shot in the 1950s still attract visitors to *Sissi*-related heritage sites in Vienna (Peters et al 2011); while the Hollywood musical *The Sound of Music* (1965), filmed in and around Salzburg, still attracts tourists particularly from USA where the film is shown frequently on television (East and Luger 2002) and is now considered as one of the longest-running examples of film tourism (Im and Chon 2010). Connell and Meyer (2009) identify a number of cases of film tourism in the UK relating to "productions first screened more than 40 years ago" and note that many of these seem to be 'cult' in nature, favoured by a group of loyal fans and supplemented through inter-generational *habitas* and sense of belonging to a particularly defined group. Of course, as new viewers gain access through television repeats, DVD and digital technology, there is no reason why 'old' media products cannot still maintain a film tourism effect, as demonstrated by *Monty Python*, *Last of the Summer Wine*, *All Creatures Great and Small*. Connell (2005) argues that a long-running TV series is more likely to sustain long-term

interest, given the enhanced emotional relationship between viewer and characters, narratives and place (see e.g. Couldry's (1998) analysis of the British continuing drama *Coronation Street*). However, at some point, these older productions may become exhausted, confined to a specific audience profile and less appealing, or may be substituted by alternative contemporary productions affecting other destinations.

For some destinations, film can be used in an events capacity to contribute to rejuvenation of city spaces and city marketing strategy. The continued rise of film festivals as part of the cultural economy and the creative destination has added significantly to destination appeal, imaging and reinvention, while creating significant economic impact for specific destinations. The established film festival circuit incorporates the largest and most esteemed 'must-attend' global events, such as Venice (the oldest festival dating back to 1932), Cannes, Hong Kong, Berlin, Vienna, Los Angeles, New York, London, Edinburgh, Goa and Manila, and is truly global and diverse in its nature. As Stringer (2001) notes, a large number of festivals have emerged since the 1970s, stimulating the development of a film festival economy in a range of cities, for example, Thessaloniki (see Kostopoulou et al 2011). Frost's (2009) examination of the role of film festivals in the American West concludes that such events can assist in the development of destination image as well as the product portfolio.

Further to the festival concept, the notion of the creative city and the eventful city has given rise to film becoming a major facet of cultural tourism development in cities, imaging and city branding. The contribution of the film industry to creative industries is an increasingly visible part of the new cultural economy, and for those destinations pursuing regenerative schemes and tourism promotion through cultural strategies (see Richards and Wilson 2007). This is observed in the example of Bradford, UK, which, in 2009, was the first City of Film to be designated globally under the banner of the UNESCO Creative Cities initiative, given its strong film-making community, extensive range of filming facilities and shooting locations, sizeable provision of education and training opportunities in film, and professional support services for film development (UNESCO Creative Cities Network 2009). Durmaz, Platt and Yigitcanlar (2010: 209) evaluate the role of the film-making industry in terms of the creative city, citing cases of London and Istanbul, and in terms of tourism remark that a successful creative district within a city might "create and add value to the climate of creativity", thereby potentially adding to tourist appeal. However, and contrary to this argument, Durmaz, Platt and Yigitcanlar 2010: 210) state that the "links between creativity, regeneration and cultural tourism are not as clear cut as the literature suggests" in that much creativity, including film-making, occurs away from the tourist gaze. As such, while filming attracts visitor (and local resident) attention, actually observing the activity is often outside the bounds of spectatorship. However, where filming is directly observable, it adds novelty value to experience of place (Butts 1992).

The legacy of screen tourism (see Beeton 2004) as a product that can clearly stimulate visitor activity in the short-term could be to sustain tourism in the long-term. Part of this process, as Beeton (2008) intimates, is to engage a stakeholder approach whereby the local community supports the on-going development of film tourism themes, entrepreneurial activity and commercial opportunities (where appropriate). However, as Croy (2011) argues, it is only in exceptional circumstances that film provides a sustained economic contribution to a destination. Rather than being reliant on new tourists, capturing the imagination and loyalty of first-time screen visitors to a region and stimulating repeat visits, perhaps to discover more about a destination other than its screen connections, can assist in the strategic tourism development process, if carefully managed in suitable destinations.

8.   Conclusions: Progress and prospects in film tourism research

In arriving at some conclusions in this review of film tourism, there are a number of broad implications that underpin research findings and that have wider applicability within the management of tourism destinations that are either subjected to film tourism or where there is a strong marketing push to cultivate film tourism as a niche product, market and experience. Clearly, film tourism yields unique destination marketing opportunities which DMOs compete to nurture. It is a difficult phenomenon to measure (Busby and Klug, 2001) but is increasing in importance as a means of destination marketing. Research identifies that destination images can be shaped through vicarious consumption of film and TV locations. However, film tourism creates challenging destination management issues. There is some evidence to suggest an average increase in visitor numbers of 30-60% for film destinations. The longevity of film tourism is arguable but there is potential for long-term association, particularly given cult film status and a loyal fan following.

In many respects, film tourism typifies a traditional boom-bust approach to tourism destination development that encompasses in some cases a lack of planning, a need to cope with sudden influx of special interest tourist, and the consequent need for a strategic supply-side response from destination marketers, managers and tourism businesses. Conversely, strategic film tourism planning tends to be more opportunistic, capitalising on current releases and using associated imagery in destination marketing campaigns. The fact that VisitBritain has been engaged in film destination marketing continually since the 1990s is testament to the strategic marketing aligned with the power of the moving image and the propensity to drive tourism demand. Understanding how film tourism can be sustained over a longer period is an issue for practitioners, particularly where a significant tourism industry has been spawned by film and television. Han and Lee (2008) in a study of *Hallyu* phenomenon consider the implications of this in relation to expanding the appeal of Korean drama and associated tourism to new markets outside Asia. Product development and

renewal in film tourism is an issue that marketers constantly grapple with, and the implications of the longevity of film tourism initiatives perhaps needs further recognition, delineation and investigation.

8.1   Future research agenda: the critical gaps in knowledge and understanding

What is particularly notable is the dearth in cross-disciplinary working between tourism and media studies (Beeton 2010; Kim 2012), given the consumption-related focus and approach adopted widely in both subjects. Clearly, film tourism research within the cognate area of Tourism Studies has reached a tipping point. As a research community, we are now aware that film tourism occurs, that it is part of a range of motivators in the tourism destination decision-making process, that it creates a range of impacts, and has been adopted by savvy tourism marketers and businesses seeking uniqueness and novelty. We have a large number of destination and film case studies, and a great deal of discussion around the existence of the phenomenon. It is an apposite time to move on from this point to prompt a more critical understand of film tourism, and in this shift, it will be essential to draw from cultural geography, social psychology, media studies and film theory approaches in future research. Cultural geography and social psychology approaches have much to yield in defining the scope of interest and potentially fruitful conceptual and theoretical pathways through which film tourism might be researched with greater depth. Above all, film tourism research needs to adopt great theorisation so that it moves from the descriptive to the explanatory. This review has outlined a number of alternative cross-disciplinary perspectives of which future research might make use to help progress the film tourism research agenda, in addition to greater understanding of the business-related agenda of much of current film tourism research.

The future research agenda in film tourism might focus on a range of subjects and themes. Despite some insightful studies by Roesch (2009), Macionis and Sparks (2004), Connell and Meyer (2009), Carl, Kindon and Smith (2009), Buchmann, Moore and Fisher (2010) and Kim (2010, 2012), the research on the film tourist experience remains an emerging area of informed study. Recent research into the psychology of film tourism and media consumption (Buchmann, Moore and Fisher 2010; Kim (2012) provides clear examples of the beginning of cross-disciplinary study, from which the informed development of the field can benefit. Further examination of the psychological aspects of film tourism with regard to the experience economy (see e.g. Oh, Fiore and Jeoung 2007) might yield useful insights through further conceptualisation and measurement of film tourism motivation and experience. Several authors allude to a lack of understanding of how different genres might impact on the tourist appeal of locations and/or tourist propensity to visit certain places (Beeton 2010; Shani 2009), and the effects of controversial themes involving tourist harm, e.g. horror movies as indicated by Korstanje and Olsen (2011). The response to less attractive film imagery and themes and the response by DMOs might also be worthy of

attention in this respect. Further to this, the way in which places are constructed represented and/or modified by film, as Portieges (2010) highlights is still not well understood. Although some studies have tried to do this from specific cultural standpoints (e.g. Iwashita 2006; Hahm and Weng 2011), there is still much progress to be made in shaping a theoretical understanding of these processes. In addition, the further expansion of research from a Sinophone perspective is necessary given the significant increase in new communities of production and consumption in film (Lue 2012).

A feature of much of the film tourism motivation, experience and destination image research is that it is has the potential to inform, but because studies are often exploratory and experimental, based on a small, discrete population, only do so on a limited basis. While authors of these published studies explicitly state this as a limitation, there is little follow on work to test the findings of exploratory work in a wider context. Larger scale studies remain a challenge but are needed to move the subject to the next level and ascertain real impacts. Shani et al (2009), for example, suggest the adoption of in-cinema studies with a cinema-attending population.

Within the context of a rapidly changing technological environment, it is not clear whether the mode of viewing film and television programmes has significant impact on film tourism demand. In particular, our understanding of how film is watched, the difference between cinema attendances, watching television at home or through digital personal devices and the propensity for the viewer to be affected by the visual imagery is very limited. With the shift towards narrowcasting and viewing via small, personal devices particularly in younger age groups, it is unclear whether the same propensity to emotionally bond with cinematography and story will perpetuate in the future. While several authors indicate that emotional involvement is strengthened through following a television drama over time (Kim 2012; Couldry 1998; Connell and Meyer 2009), this is not clear in the film tourism literature and cross links with media studies could benefit this understanding. Further, Kim, Long and Robinson (2009) highlight the intercultural circulation of film and TV between neighbouring countries, which acts as a catalyst for tourism. The idea of cultural proximity, and the underpinning political and media economies which govern the regulation and distribution of media products and ownership of media networks and the reinforcing of those interconnections within the tourism sector might be a fruitful area of research.

Above all, film tourism requires the development of rigorous methodologies that are able to generate valid results in terms of measuring the extent of film tourism demand, and the degree to which tourists are stimulated to travel as a result of film. Some of the incredulous statements in the media and those used by DMOs to support investment in tourism initiatives need a clearer underpinning although given the cachet of film as a cultural form, it will undoubtedly remain as part of the marketing toolbox for the

foreseeable future. In terms of the academic development of the film tourism research agenda, the emphasis needs to be more on quality rather than quantity, which has dominated the subject since the mid 2000s, so as to engage researchers outside of tourism in academic dialogue of equivalence. There are some interesting intellectual pathways to follow given an acknowledgement of the conceptual frameworks available in film tourism from which further research might develop and flourish.

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