DOCTORAL THESIS

The past is a destination:
Outlander and film tourism at historical heritage sites

by

Charlene Herselman

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR PHILOSOPHIAE

(HERITAGE AND CULTURAL TOURISM)

in the

Faculty of Humanities

University of Pretoria

Pretoria

2023

Supervisor: Prof. K.L. Harris

Content   **Page**

List of tables **Page**

iii

List of figures   **Page**

List of abbreviations

ATLAS	Association for Leisure and Tourism Education
CE	Common era
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CGI	Computer-generated imagery
DMO	Destination Marketing Organisation
DNA	Deoxyribonucleic acid
FAQ	Frequently Asked Questions
FIT	Free Independent Traveller
HES	Historic Environment Scotland
HHLFT	History, Heritage, Literary and Film Tourism
HSLT	Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
LOTR	The *Lord of the Rings* trilogy
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
TV	Television
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Scientific, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
US	United States

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To be completed

Abstract

Over the last few years, film tourism has increasingly become a prominent niche influencing travel decisions, as the tourism industry has witnessed a move away from mass, organised tourist packages towards a more specialised kind of travel. In fact, a study sanctioned by the World Tourism Organisation estimated in 2018 that no less than 80 million visitors mostly selected which tourism destinations to visit based on films and television series, a statistic that is likely to increase as streaming services make the visual media ever more accessible. While a number of studies have considered film tourism, and particularly its impact on destination image and the experiences of film tourists, very few have looked at the impact that film tourism can have on heritage sites, and particularly historical heritage sites, when filming and the resultant film tourism takes place there. This study considers this phenomenon and illustrates the impact through the use of a case study: the *Outlander* (2014-) television series set in Scotland. It first explores the field of film tourism and the intersections between film, history/heritage, and tourism. The study considers the history and value of film tourism, the impact of film tourism on destination image, the film tourist profile, and the influence of film tourism on historical heritage sites. Scotland is not a new film tourism favourite, but in recent years, the highly acclaimed and extremely popular *Outlander* series has had a massive influence on Scottish tourism. This thesis also explores the development of the "Outlander effect", from its literary roots to its filmic success, and elaborates on the impact of film tourism on a selection of Scottish historical heritage sites. The thesis also briefly considers other international examples in the management of filming and film tourism at historical heritage sites in order to identify best practice principles for heritage sites interested in including film tourism amongst their offerings. It concludes that a new niche of History, Heritage, Literary and Film Tourism (HHLFT) be adapted to further enhance this touristic domain.

Keywords

Film tourism, literary tourism, screen tourism, Outlander, Scotland, Diana Gabaldon, heritage and cultural tourism, history, heritage sites.

CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION

"People disappear all the time. Young girls run away from home; children stray from their parents and are never seen again; housewives take the grocery money and a taxi to the train station. Most are found, eventually. Disappearances, after all, have explanations. Usually…"
(Claire Randall in *Outlander,* season 1, episode 1)[1]

With these rather enigmatic words so masterfully constructed, set against a breath-taking backdrop of a stormy Glen Coe, hooded in mist and cloud, and with a haunting bagpipe melody playing in the background, *Outlander* captivated television audiences in 2014 and launched a global craze for all things Scotland. Yet, despite our best efforts, there is no tried and tested recipe to replicate these sort of popular culture phenomena – they take off as unpredictably as the creative process itself. After all, what is storytelling, but arbitrarily constructed pieces of meaning that take root in emotion and a particular context, or cultural *zeitgeist.*

One thing that is certain is that humans are drawn to compelling storytelling. From the rock art decorating caves, rocky outcrops, and deserts all over the world to the rich oral histories of almost every single culture that has inhabited the earth. The ancient Greeks turned their oral stories into literature – poems that were written down by Homer, whether he was a single author or a collective of writers.[2] They waxed lyrical about exploring and the magnificent places that could be discovered throughout the Mediterranean world, so much so that these stories and destinations are still with us today. After literature, followed the introduction of easily accessible films and television, popular culture shifted to visual media, albeit certainly not exclusively. Much as we would like to deny it, when it comes to our favourite stories, our brains cannot distinguish between fantasy, or fiction, and reality. The fictional world becomes a filter laid over the real word and inspires us to travel to meet characters and see places we already encountered and care very much about, even though they may not exist in the real world. We become inspired to visit real places we never may have visited, or even heard about, through the fictional worlds we explore. This is the power of film

---

[1] *Outlander,* season 1, episode 1, "Sassenach", directed by John Dahl, first aired August 9, 2014, available (in South Africa) https://www.netflix.com/za/title/70285581.
[2] John Pavlopoulos & Maria Konstantinidou, "Computational authorship analysis of the Homeric poems", in *International Journal of Digital Humanities* 5, 2023, pp. 45–64.

1

tourism – an undeniable, yet often subtle, allure influencing travel decisions for decades, and even longer before that, if we consider other forms of popular media and culture.

1.1. Outline

This study focuses on film tourism, a relatively new genre within the broader field of tourism studies. It investigates the history of film tourism, how it relates to tourism studies, how film tourism is defined and described, and how film tourism impacts on historical heritage sites. A selection of the existing literature on film tourism is also reviewed in order to determine the main themes that have been researched. The theory of film tourism will be analysed and then applied to a case study: the recent tourism associated with the *Outlander* series. This form of film tourism is mainly based throughout Scotland (United Kingdom), and particularly at historical heritage sites, and has proven to be an exceptional tourism phenomenon, thus making it an ideal example for analysis. Despite its incredible success, having placed relatively unknown historical and heritage sites on the top tourism lists, no academic study has yet been made of the series' impact on these (often fragile) historical heritage sites in Scotland. This current study will have the potential to inform other heritage destinations of the prospects and pitfalls of film tourism.

1.2. Research aims and objectives

Recently, the tourism industry has witnessed a move away from mass, organised tourist packages towards a more specialised focus on niche tourism.[3] Visitors are travelling more for individual special interests than for yet another generic holiday. They are also looking for unique and active travel experiences instead of passively observing a tourism spectacle.[4] This new 'type' of visitor is looking for immersive experiences. They are often repeat visitors who have done the "standard

---

[3] Department of Historical and Heritage Studies, *The potential of the creative industry for destination development in South Africa – film tourism as a case study* (report prepared for the National Department of Tourism), (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2017), p. 27.
[4] Hendrik van der Pol, "Key role of cultural and creative industries in the economy", (Canada: UNESCO Institute for Statistics), p. 17; John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*, (London: SAGE Publications, 1990); VisitScotland, 6 March 2019, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: March 2019, p. 2.

2

touring" and want something "new", "exciting", "real" and "authentic".[5] Film and television is one of the leading sources of inspiration for this new type of visitor. A recent survey by Leger Holidays found that 70% of travellers could pinpoint a specific moment that triggered their desire to book a holiday, while over a quarter of those surveyed cited films and books as their main inspiration. Moreover, films and TV programmes came out on top in terms of what is most likely to prompt them to travel, even eclipsing the traditional motivation of word-of-mouth approach.[6]

Film tourism, for the most part, seems to have developed out of literary tourism, although its development may be better understood in the context of which type of media is most popular at a given moment.[7] Yet according to film tourism scholars, film tourism also does have a history distinct from literary tourism. Nichola Tooke and Michael Baker argue that the "promotion of destinations through visual media [can be traced] back to the paintings and sketches brought home by those who undertook 'Grand Tours' in the 17-19th centuries".[8] These 'Grand Tours' will be elaborated on in Chapter 3, particularly relating to a literary context. Images as a means of deliberate destination promotion were increasingly used to attract the attention of potential tourists. A good example of this was the case of posters and illustrations produced by steamship companies and railways, in order to "demonstrate the destination and its attractions to potential visitors".[9] With the advent of photography, personal images could also be taken and postcards could be used to portray an image of a destination.[10] These often highly attractive visuals enhanced a destination's appeal, cultivating a desire to visit these destinations in the beholder. With the inception of moving images (motion pictures) in the late nineteenth century, film became a "powerful influence on people's tastes and ideas".[11] Movies and television, being very accessible media, form part of

---

[5] Michelle Colman, N.d., 'More travellers reject the role of spectator', Available: http://www.tourismupdate.co.za/article/115410/5165/More-travellers-reject-the-role-of-spectator, accessed: 28 October 2016.
[6] *The Hobbit, Mamma Mia, The Beach inspire wanderlust*, Available: http://www.stuff.co.nz/travel/destinations/72370244/the-hobbit- mamma-mia- the-beach- inspire-wanderlust, accessed: 25 September 2015.
[7] Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014).
[8] Nichola Tooke & Michael Baker, "Seeing is believing: the effect of film on visitor numbers to screened locations", in *Tourism Management* 17(2), 1996, p. 88.
[9] Nichola Tooke & Michael Baker, "Seeing is believing: the effect of film on visitor numbers to screened locations", in *Tourism Management* 17(2), 1996, p. 88.
[10] Jeanne van Eeden, "Surveying the 'empty land' in selected South African landscape portraits", in *International Journal of Tourism Research* 13(6), 2011, pp. 600-612; Jeanne van Eeden, "A study in purple: the Jacaranda city in postcards", in *Image & Text: a Journal for Design* 25(1), 2015, pp. 44-85.
[11] Nichola Tooke & Michael Baker, "Seeing is believing: the effect of film on visitor numbers to screened locations", in *Tourism Management* 17(2), 1996, p. 88.

popular culture. Considering that the current trend in society is for people to read less, it can reasonably be expected that the power of persuasion that film, be that a motion picture, television or streaming series or online video, exerts will only continue to expand exponentially.[12]

Renowned film tourism scholar, Stefan Roesch, traces the most persuasive origins of film tourism to the major tourism influx to a film location caused by *The Mutiny on the Bounty* (1935) in Tahiti. After the release of the film, Tahiti turned into a major tourist destination.[13] The actual emergence of the film tourism phenomenon occurred over a decade later with the release of films such as *The Third Man* (1949) set in Vienna, Austria; *Niagara* (1953) set in Niagara Falls; *To Catch a Thief* (1955) set in the French Riviera; *Bridge on the River Kwai* (1958) set in Kanchanaburi, Thailand; *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962) set in Jordan; and *The Sound of Music* (1965) set in Salzburg, Austria. The city of Salzburg still profits from around 300 000 film tourists per year. Of these, 70% state that the movie is the main reason for their visit.[14]

Today, film tourism is big business. In a report endorsed by the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), TCI Research, the European leader in Travel Data Intelligence, estimated in 2018 that no less than 80 million visitors mostly selected their tourism destinations to visit based almost exclusively on films and television series. The study also found that for some destinations, the estimated number of visitors volume have doubled since 2013, all thanks to films. The top film-induced destinations included Los Angeles, Scotland, London, and Florence.[15] Their reference survey found that the visitors' volume had doubled globally in five years, thanks to screened products, including film, television series, and online content. This led TCI Research CEO Olivier Henry-Biabaud to conclude:

> Films have now reached the same level of influence as Travel Agencies, offering great opportunities for destinations to benefit from an indirect promotion channel. Building experiential tourism products meeting this growing travellers' demand generates long term economic and branding

---

[12] Nicole Beate Hoffmann, *On-location film-induced tourism: success and sustainability,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2015), p. 71.
[13] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), p. 8.
[14] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), p. 8.
[15] TCI Research, *80 million international travellers influenced by films worldwide,* TCI Research newsletter, April 2018.

beneficial impact [sic]. It is advised however to manage risks from over-tourism collateral damage by guiding visitors in film shooting locations in a sustainable way that include residents and environmental concerns…[16]

Oxford Economics estimated 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. In New Mexico, film tourism is estimated to be worth $124 million, while the media coverage for Sweden gained from the *Millennium Trilogy* films has been calculated at SEK 960 million (EUR 106 million).[17] It is figures like these that demonstrate the potential of film tourism for destination development. However, it is also important to remember that film tourism can come with some serious negative impacts as well. For example, one of Thailand's most popular tourist destinations, Maya Beach, was closed in 2018 due to excessive damage by tourists. This beach was made famous by the film, *The Beach* (2000), starring Leonardo di Caprio. The coral reefs in the bay were damaged to such an extent by the 5,000 daily beachgoers that the beach has gone from temporarily to permanently closed. Locals hope that this will allow some of the environmental damage to be undone.[18]

Film tourism's popularity seems to have endured and even expanded after the COVID-19 pandemic. In 2022, TCI Research continued its reference survey on film tourism and found that an estimated more than 1 in 10 visitors to Europe were directly influenced in their choice of destination by films and television shows. The survey focused on France and a detailed analysis revealed that film tourists have been undeterred by the imposed interruption of the pandemic and have returned in full force.[19]

---

[16] Theodore Koumelis, 18 April 2018, '80 million international travellers influenced by films worldwide', Available: https://www.traveldailynews.com/regional-news/80-million-international-travellers-influenced-by-films-worldwide/, accessed: 18 September 2023.

[17] Joanne Connell, "Film tourism – evolution, progress and prospects", in *Tourism Management* 33, 2012, pp. 1007-1008.

[18] Christi Nortier, 'Destinations being loved to death fight back', Available: https://www.getaway.co.za/travel-news/destinations-loved-death-fight-back/, accessed: 18 February 2019.

[19] Vicky Karantzavelou, 28 March 2023, 'The rebound of Screen Tourism: a new TCI Research', Available: https://www.traveldailynews.com/special-interest-travel/the-rebound-of-screen-tourism-a-new-tci-research/, accessed: 18 September 2023.

Most studies in film tourism tend to focus on its positive potential, in terms of aspects such as destination development, marketing, and economic contributions.[20] Very few studies have considered the impacts of film tourism on historical heritage sites, so often used in the filming of movies and television series. The research aims of this study then are threefold:

- Firstly, this study will offer an investigation of the film tourism phenomenon by reviewing the literature and theory available on the topic, looking at the history of film tourism and the main themes that have been studied.

- Secondly, a contemporary case study was selected, that is the tourism associated with the *Outlander* television series, in order to illustrate the phenomenal potential of film tourism at historical heritage sites.

- Lastly, the study will consider the impacts, both positive and negative, of film tourism for historical heritage sites. Recommendations will also be made as to how film tourism can be used to the maximum benefit of underfunded heritage sites, and how negative impacts may be mitigated or minimised.

This study highlights the potential of niche-market tourisms, like film tourism. On the one hand, it shows how tourism can be used to change the fortunes of often-neglected historical heritage sites and the communities, or countries, that host them. On the other, it also cautions against the impact film tourism can have on these heritage sites. It is indeed a duality.

1.3. Definitions

Film tourism as a niche is set within the wider domain of heritage and cultural tourism. For the sake of completeness, the concepts of 'heritage', 'culture' and 'tourism' will also be discussed in order to set this niche within its proper context. Not uncommonly, 'heritage' is a difficult concept

---

[20] Some of these studies include: J. Cohen, "Promotion of overseas tourism through media fiction", in W. Benoy Joseph, *et al.* (*eds.*), *Tourism services marketing: Advances in theory and practice, Proceedings of the Special Conference on Tourism Services Marketing* (Cleveland, OH: Cleveland State University, 1986), pp. 229-237; W. Glen Croy, "Film tourism: sustained economic contributions to destinations", in *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes* 3(2), 2011, pp. 159-164; W. Glen Croy & Reid D. Walker, "Rural tourism and film - issues for strategic rural development", in Derek Hall, *et al. (eds.), New directions in rural tourism* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2016), pp. 115-133; Angelina I. Karpovich, "Theoretical Approaches to Film- Motivated Tourism", in *Tourism and Hospitality Planning & Development* 7(1), 2010, pp. 7-20; Roger Riley *et al.*, "Movie-induced tourism", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 25(4), 1998, pp. 919-935; Bernard L. Weinstein & Terry L. Clower, "Filmed entertainment and local economic development: Texas as a case study", in *Economic Development Quarterly* 14(4), 2000, pp. 384-394.

to define, simultaneously because of its vast and expansive nature and the fact that heritage often has different meanings for different people. Heritage can include tangible and intangible, natural and manmade, and personal and collective elements.[21] In essence, 'heritage' refers to anything that is valuable and can be inherited. As such, the concept is most popularly defined as "that which a past generation has preserved and handed on to the present and which a significant group of population wishes to hand on to the future".[22] Heritage can also have varying levels of significance, from the global level, like World Heritage Sites which theoretically is significant to all of humanity, to national, regional, and local levels.[23] Since some of the sites discussed in this thesis are World Heritage Sites, it is pertinent to also refer to what this designation entails. World Heritage Sites refers to any heritage, tangible or intangible, of cultural and/or natural significance recognised and designated by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and inscribed on the World Heritage List.[24] These sites are regarded as places of 'outstanding universal value', which refers to "cultural and/or natural significance that is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity. As such, the permanent protection of this heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole."[25]

Some definitions have reflected on the fact that heritage has become indispensable to tourism, and *vice versa.* Richard Prentice reflects on this and points out that the use of heritage in tourism has altered the very definition of heritage itself:

> Essentially in tourism, the term 'heritage' has come to mean not only landscapes, natural history, buildings, artefacts, cultural traditions and the like which are literally or metaphorically passed on from one generation to the other, but those among these things which can be portrayed for promotion as tourism products.[26]

---

[21] Richard Butler *et al., Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas,* (Chichester, New York: Wiley, 1998).
[22] Robert Hewison, "Heritage: an interpretation" in David L. Uzzell *(ed.), Heritage Interpretation (Volume 1: The Natural and Built Environment),* (London: Belhaven Press, 1989), p. 16.
[23] John S. Swarbrooke, "Heritage tourism into the 21st century" in A.V. Seaton *(ed.), Tourism: the State of the Art,* (New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons, 1994), p. 222.
[24] UNESCO, *Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,* (Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre, July 2021).
[25] UNESCO, *Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,* (Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre, July 2021), p. 24.
[26] Richard C. Prentice, *Tourism and Heritage Attractions,* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 5.

It is also worth noting that the contentious nature of heritage and the fragility and sensitive nature of heritage are often mentioned in discussions on the topic. Because heritage is a personal, subjective, and emotional concept, as well as an objective and functional one, each person views heritage in a different way. Simply put, heritage means different things to different people and no two individuals will value heritage in the same way due to this. The tourism industry must be sensitive to such issues if it is to be managed in a socially acceptable way that does not reinforce prejudice, discrimination, and resentment.[27] Heritage by its very nature is also sensitive and fragile – the simple fact is that not all heritage survives the historical process, as a result of the ravages of time, wars, neglect, and a lack of conservation. Frans F.J. Schouten pointed out that this has serious implications for how we interpret heritage and present the historical reality, since we can only present the heritage that was durable enough to survive and this tends to be the heritage of the upper classes, which presents a skewed perspective of the historical record of other socio-economic classes.[28]

'Culture' is an even more complex concept to define, as everything associated with humans may be classified as 'culture'. This makes the concept almost too vast and encompassing to define and any attempt at such definition will only be exclusionary of some aspects. Perhaps the best way to 'define' culture is to categorise it into its constituent parts. In his seminal etymological discussion of the concept of culture, Raymond Williams concedes that "culture" is one of a few of the most difficult concepts to define, especially because "it has now come to be used for important concepts in several distinct intellectual disciplines and in several distinct and incompatible systems of thought".[29] Broadly, 'culture' may be classified as "a description of the secular process of human development". [30] The concept can be broken up into three distinct categories encompassing nearly

---

[27] John S. Swarbrooke, "Heritage tourism into the 21st century" in A.V. Seaton *(ed.)*, *Tourism: the State of the Art*, (New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons, 1994), p. 222; Dallen J. Timothy, *Cultural heritage and tourism: an introduction* (2nd edition), (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2021), pp. 134-159.

[28] Frans F.J. Schouten, "Heritage as historical reality" in David T Herbert *(ed.)* *Heritage, tourism and society,* (London: Mansell, 1995), pp. 24-25; Dallen J. Timothy, *Cultural heritage and tourism: an introduction* (2nd edition), (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2021).

[29] Raymond Williams, *Keywords: a Vocabulary of Culture and Society,* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 62.

[30] Raymond Williams, *Keywords: a Vocabulary of Culture and Society,* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 63.

8

all concepts that form part of this vast one. Firstly, culture may be classified as "a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development"; secondly, the most often used classification states that culture refers to "a particular was of life, whether of a people, period, a group, or humanity in general", and lastly, as a description of "the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity".[31]

'Tourism' is often defined and classified in one of two ways. According to the popular *Reader's Digest Great Illustrated Dictionary,* tourism can be defined in layman's terms as both the process of travelling for pleasure to places away from one's residence, or to the tourism industry, that is, the business of providing products and services for tourists.[32] In recent years, the most widely used definition for 'tourism' has been the one proposed by the UNWTO, which states:

> Tourism is a social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entails the movement of people to countries or places outside their usual environment for personal or business/professional purposes. These people are called visitors (which may be either tourists or excursionists; residents or non-residents) and tourism has to do with their activities, some of which involve tourism expenditure.[33]

Film tourism has been investigated under several concepts, including movie-induced tourism; film-induced tourism; media-based tourism; screen tourism; cinematic tourism; and set-jetting tourism.[34] Film tourism has notably been defined as "a specific pattern of tourism that drives visitors to see screened places during or after the production of a feature film or a television production";[35] and as "visitation to sites where movies or TV programmes have been filmed as well as tours to production studios, including film-related theme parks".[36]

---

[31] Raymond Williams, *Keywords: a Vocabulary of Culture and Society,* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 64.
[32] *Reader's Digest Great Illustrated Dictionary*, (London: Reader's Digest Association, 1984), p. 1748.
[33] UNWTO, N.d., 'Glossary of tourism terms', Available: https://www.unwto.org/glossary-tourism-terms, accessed: 23 November 2021.
[34] Melanie K. Smith *et al., Key Concepts in Tourist Studies,* (London: Sage Publications, 2010), pp. 71-74.
[35] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), p. 6.
[36] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism,* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), p. 11.

Joanne Connell (2012) defines film tourism broadly as "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) and now extends to digital media".[37] She remarks that the difference in terminology used to describe the same phenomenon is largely a superficial one. Essentially, the main differentiation between the use of 'film' and 'movie' tourism is a cultural/geographic one, where 'movie' refers to the early American cinema vocabulary for 'moving image'.[38] Some authors advocate for the umbrella term 'screen tourism' as it is inclusive of both media of film and television, "reduces the cumbersome use of the dual terms and reduces potential misinterpretation of the wider phenomenon".[39] This argument may be pertinent given that film is now more widely available on a range of devices and platforms than ever before and is accessible to a much larger audience than when it used to only be viewed in a cinema. Connell also criticises the term 'film-induced tourism' for being a "narrow definition", only referring to visitation that is stimulated by viewing a film location on-screen, when film tourism can take on multiple forms. She concludes that "[h]owever, film tourism appears to be the generic term adopted in most studies and, arguably the term is less important than the concept".[40]

It is interesting to note that Melanie K. Smith, Nicola Macleod and Margaret H. Robertson (2010) curiously employ the term "film and TV tourism", choosing to explicitly specify that the concept includes film and television in its scope. In addition, they point out that film tourism can also include visits to sites associated with film or television characters and celebrities.[41] They identify a very comprehensive series of film and TV tourism forms, including on location visits (visiting locations of films or TV programmes, visiting the homes of film or TV celebrities); commercial attractions (attractions constructed from film themes, guided tours to film locations, movie tourism packages); stand-in locations (visits to places where a film or TV show is set, but not actually filmed); off-location (film studio tours to see the filming process; film-based theme parks); events (film premieres and festivals); and armchair travel (TV travel programmes).[42]

---

[37] Joanne Connell, "Film tourism – evolution, progress and prospects", in *Tourism Management* 33, 2012, p. 1009.
[38] Joanne Connell, "Film tourism – evolution, progress and prospects", in *Tourism Management* 33, 2012, p. 1009.
[39] Joanne Connell, "Film tourism – evolution, progress and prospects", in *Tourism Management* 33, 2012, p. 1009.
[40] Joanne Connell, "Film tourism – evolution, progress and prospects", in *Tourism Management* 33, 2012, p. 1009.
[41] Melanie K. Smith *et al., Key Concepts in Tourist Studies,* (London: Sage Publications, 2010), p. 71.
[42] Melanie K. Smith *et al., Key Concepts in Tourist Studies,* (London: Sage Publications, 2010), pp. 71-72.

This range of forms of film tourism is largely based on the seminal typology created by Sue Beeton in *Film-induced tourism* (2005), and expanded on in her later publication, *Travel, tourism and the moving image* (2015). She identified the following broad categories of film tourism: motivation, on-location, commercial, mistaken identities, off-location, one-off events, and armchair travels, each of these seven categories with its own resulting subcategories and activities.[43] The table below explains each of these categories as exemplified by Beeton:[44]

Form	Characteristic	Example
Motivation:		
Film tourism as primary motivation for travel	Film location is well-known enough to motivate visitation on its own merits	'Sceneframing' (see the full discussion below), for example Hatley Castle in Vancouver for *X-Men*
Film tourism as part of a holiday	Visiting film-related locations as stops on a larger holiday	Los Angeles, US and Vancouver, Canada (reputations as film cities, amongst its many other attractions)
On location:		
Film tourism pilgrimage	Visit sites associated with a favourite screen production, pay homage, and possibly re-enact scenes from that production	New Zealand (*The Lord of the Rings* (LOTR) and *The Hobbit* trilogies)

---

[43] Sue Beeton, *Travel, tourism and the moving image,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2015), pp. 32-34; Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism,* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005).

[44] Based on the typologies published in Sue Beeton, *Travel, tourism and the moving image,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2015), pp. 32-34; Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), pp. 10-11.

Nostalgic film tourism	Film locations from another era are visited	*The Andy Griffith Show* (1950s and Mayberry, North Carolina, US)
Celebrity film tourism	Homes of celebrities, or film locations that have taken on celebrity status themselves	Hollywood homes, for example, the famous 'Map of the Stars' self-guided tour maps sold to tourists in Los Angeles
One-off events:		
Movie premieres		*Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows Part 2* world premiere, Trafalgar Square, London
Film festivals		Cannes, Edinburgh
Fan-based events	Fans cosplay, meet actors, purchase memorabilia, conventions	Comic Con (held all around the world, but most notably in San Diego, California, US)
Commercial:		
Film/movie tours	Tours developed to take in filming locations	'On Location Tours' in New York City, US
Guided tours at specific on-location sets	Tours of a specific site	Hobbiton, New Zealand (*The Lord of the Rings* and *The Hobbit* trilogies)

12

Constructed film tourism attractions	An attraction constructed after filming purely to attract visitors	*Game of Thrones* touring exhibition in Belfast, Northern Ireland, UK
Mistaken identities:		
Film tourism to destinations where filming is only believed to have taken place	Screen productions filmed in one place that is made to look like another, often for financial reasons; also known as 'runaway productions' or 'stand-in locations'	*The Crown* (South Africa)
Film tourism to places where film is set, but not filmed	Screen productions raise interest in a place where the story takes place, but are not filmed there	*Braveheart* attracted many visitors to Scotland, but was actually filmed in Ireland
Off-location:		
Film studio tours	Tours of working film studios, where the filming process can be seen	Paramount Studios, Los Angeles, California, US
Film studio theme park	Usually constructed adjacent to a studio, specially constructed for tourism	Universal Studios in Orlando, Florida and Los Angeles, California, US
Constructed studios	Neither a theme park nor industrial film studio, but constructed for visitors to have a filming-based experience	Warner Bros. Studio Tour London – The Making of *Harry Potter,* Leavesden, UK

Museums	Museums exhibiting film-related content; can also be an individual exhibition at a general museum	Austrian Film Museum, Vienna
Armchair travels:[45]		
Television travel programmes	The successor to travel guides and travelogues	Michael Palin's programmes, for example, *North Korea: Michael Palin's Journey* (2018) and *Michael Palin: Into Iraq* (2022)
Gastronomy programmes	Cooking shows that showcase a region through local cuisine	Rick Stein's programmes, for example, *Rick Stein's India* (2013) and *Rick Stein's Spain* (2011)
Documentaries (cultural and natural)	These typically do not focus on tourism promotion, but they showcase unique features in the world, which may inspire travel	David Attenborough's programmes, for example, *The Blue Planet* (2001) and *Our Planet* (2019)

Table 1: Typology of film tourism
Based on: Sue Beeton, *Travel, tourism and the moving image,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2015), pp. 32-34; Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), pp. 10-11.

A notable film tourism activity that has emerged in recent years is that of so-called 'sceneframing'. The concept refers to a particular activity that film tourists engage in where they will visit the filming location of a scene and attempt to line up a screenshot from that film with the original

---

[45] It should be noted that Beeton previously included gaming in this category, but removed this in the 2016 typology.

14

background, as in figure 1 below. The practise was likely founded by two film and travel enthusiasts, working under the name 'Fangirl Quest'.[46]

Figure 1: An example of sceneframing at Hatley Castle, Vancouver from the *X-Men* series
From: https://www.fangirlquest.com/sceneframing/; accessed: 7 March 2022.

Melanie K. Smith *et al.* assert and substantiate by extensive research that this type of tourism, film tourism, is often "prompted" by seeing locations on television or at the cinema. Film and television are incredibly popular media with significant influence on consumers' lives, which can extend to tourism destination choices.[47] The reach of this medium is truly unparalleled: approximately 5.4 billion people worldwide have a television in their household and the average US adult spends two hours and 33 minutes a day watching it. This is without taking into consideration the fact that content can now be streamed on virtually every possible kind of screen.[48] In fact, so vast is the reach of film and television that Gore Vidal pointed out that "[m]ovies are the lingua franca of the 20th century" already in 1992; a sentiment that is even more true today in the 21st century.[49] Thus, film tourism is not solely a demand-side perspective, but attention has also turned to the supply perspective, where it has been demonstrated that film tourism has an important inherent aspect of

---

[46] Fangirl Quest, 2023, 'Sceneframing', Available: https://www.fangirlquest.com/sceneframing/, accessed: 30 June 2023.
[47] Melanie K. Smith *et al., Key Concepts in Tourist Studies,* (London: Sage Publications, 2010), p. 71.
[48] tvScientific, 2023, 'The Big List of TV Viewership Statistics [Updated for 2023]', Available: https://www.tvscientific.com/insight/tv-viewership-statistics#:~:text=Approximately%205.4%20billion%20people%20worldwide,minutes%20a%20day%20watching%20it., accessed: 18 September 2023.
[49] Gore Vidal, *Screening history,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

15

destination marketing and promotion. As already mentioned, it is like an advertisement for an audience, which may inspire them to visit the filming location. Many regions wish to buy into this type of tourism and choose to create partnerships between tourism organisations, local film commissions, destination marketing organisations (DMOs) and filmmakers to encourage the use of local sites for filming, as well as publicising the resulting productions.[50]

There are thus numerous definitions and classifications of the term 'film tourism', given its burgeoning and expansive industry. For the purpose of this study, the term 'film tourism' will be used as an encompassing term that refers to cinema, television and all forms of digital productions.

1.4. Sources and methodology

a) Methodology

Tourism studies in the social sciences paradigm is a multidisciplinary field. Leading scholars including John Tribe, John K. Walton, Charlotte M. Echtner and Tazim B. Jamal have continually debated whether tourism studies should be viewed as a discipline in its own right or an "indiscipline".[51] As such, in tourism studies, and in particular heritage and cultural tourism, there is no single appropriate methodology or technique for data analysis as it uses a mixed-method approach combining tourism management processes along with analytical methodologies inherent to the social sciences. This study makes use of a literature survey technique using qualitative analysis for the theoretical discussion of film tourism. It also makes use of the analysis of case studies to indicate both the immense potential and possible impacts of this type of tourism at historical heritage sites. As such, it is not a quantitative investigation and statistics are used to substantiate the qualitative analysis. Various analytical models were also adapted, including ones from Beeton and Roesch. Beeton's typology of the various types of film tourism were adapted to

---

[50] Melanie K. Smith *et al., Key Concepts in Tourist Studies,* (London: Sage Publications, 2010), p. 73; Joanne Connell, "Film tourism – evolution, progress and prospects", in *Tourism Management* 33, 2012, p. 1010.
[51] Charlotte M. Echtner & Tazim B. Jamal, "The Disciplinary Dilemma of Tourism Studies", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 24(4), 1997, pp. 868-883; John Tribe, "The Indiscipline of Tourism", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 24(3), 1997, pp. 638-657; John K. Walton, "Tourism and History", in *Contemporary Tourism Reviews*, Available: http://www.goodfellowpublishers.com/free_files/Contemporary-Tourism-Review-City-History-Tourism-e276893ee07b5b6ed16c292b6c73475f.pdf, 2011.

illustrate just how expansive Outlander's forms of film tourism are, while Roesch's model describing the characteristics and motivations of film tourists were utilised to explore these attributes as it pertains to *Outlander* visitors. In addition, the contextualising tools of the historian were utilised in the appraisal of the historical heritage spaces.[52] In order to develop a recommendation regarding the potential and pitfalls of film tourism for historical heritage sites (especially in South Africa), the nature of successful international best practice from notably the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Croatia was considered for their transferability, applicability, and viability.

b) Sources

The research for this proposed study includes both primary and secondary sources. Since tourism associated with *Outlander* is a rather recent (and still developing) phenomenon in Scotland, research for the case study per se was mainly based on primary sources, such as web-based sources and site visits. The web-based resources consisted of information from the several websites relating to Scotland, like Scottish media websites (including www.scotsman.com; www.bbc.com/news/scotland; www.scotsmagazine.com); the national tourist organisation, VisitScotland, website (www.visitscotland.com); and the social media pages of tour agencies offering *Outlander* tours (for example, Slainté Scotland, Outlandish Journeys, Borders Journeys, Mini Kilt Tours, Mary's Meanders and Inverness Outlanders). The *Outlander* series and the author's official websites (www.starz.com/series/outlander and www.dianagabaldon.com) were also consulted.

For further information relating to *Outlander* filming locations, fieldwork research, which entailed qualitative open-ended in-depth interviews with individuals in their professional capacity, were conducted, either telephonically or through e-mail correspondence. The interviewees were only questioned in their professional capacity and were selected on the basis of their knowledge and experience with regard to specific filming locations. Organisations that were approached for these interviews include the National Trust in the United Kingdom and Historic Environment Scotland. Site managers of selected filming locations were also approached for assistance and information.

---

[52] Robert Jones Shafer, *A Guide to Historical Method* (3rd edition), (Chicago, IL: The Dorsey Press, 1980).

All of these individuals' professional positions and contact details are in the public domain. Research ethics approval was attained from the University of Pretoria Faculty of Humanities Research Ethics Committee (see the letter of informed consent in addendum A). Brochures and other information collected from site visits were also utilised as primary sources.

Several secondary sources were also consulted in the writing of this thesis. A detailed discussion of some of these can be found in the literature review in the next chapter.

1.5. Overview of chapters and themes

This thesis contains six chapters. The next chapter provides a select literature review that looks at the main studies and themes that have been researched within film tourism. It comprises of an analysis of three clusters of literature including film and heritage/history, heritage and tourism, and film and tourism. Gaps and omissions in the literature are also identified, making a case for the focus of this proposed study.

The third chapter provides the main discussion on the film tourism phenomenon and includes sections on film tourism's place in the larger heritage and cultural tourism domain. It presents, amongst others, the history and development of film tourism; the costs and benefits of film tourism; film tourism's impact on a destination's image; the profile of film tourists; and film tourism at historical heritage sites.

The fourth chapter sets the scene for the selected case study. As such, this chapter looks at the *Outlander* series of books, the author Diana Gabaldon, and the television series itself. Tourism associated with this series is also introduced (mostly centred in Scotland) and a history of the selected film tourism sites is provided, while a review showcases all the *Outlander* attractions on offer. Other sites that have also been affected by *Outlander*, but are not located in Scotland, or do not strictly qualify as filming locations, are also briefly discussed.

The penultimate chapter attempts to demonstrate the impact of film tourism at historical heritage sites by integrating the theory discussed in previous chapters with the case study. This demonstrates

how film tourism destinations develop; what economic and social impacts tourism has had on these destinations; which film tourists visit historical heritage sites; and the overall contribution film tourism may make to historical heritage sites. A list of the benefits for historical heritage sites to get involved in film tourism is compiled, and where this type of tourism may have negative impacts, these issues are described as a cautionary concern for sites to be aware of and take appropriate measures to avoid.

The conclusion provides a summary of the study and some closing remarks. It indicates how film tourism may be harnessed in South Africa (and other destinations) to aid our chronically underfunded historical heritage sites.

CHAPTER 2 – SELECT LITERATURE REVIEW

Film tourism is an excellent ambassador for multi-, inter- and transdisciplinary study. As already indicated, methodologies from a number of disciplines and fields of study have been applied in research on film tourism. Often rated as the most useful disciplines in this regard, cultural geography and film theory/studies, are utilised to develop conceptual advances within the field of film tourism. However, a wider range of subjects can comfortably be applied in film tourism research, including interests in landscape, urban and rural studies, art, popular culture, psychology, and consumer behaviour.[1] Figure 2 below aptly illustrates this interconnectedness of film tourism within the social sciences.
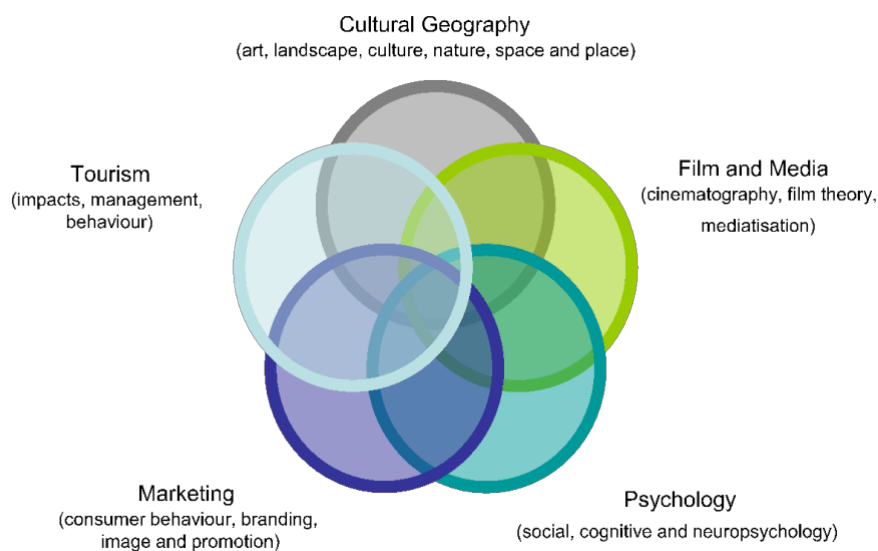
Figure 2: The research dimensions of film tourism within social sciences
Source: J. Connell (2012), "Film tourism: evolution, progress and prospects", in *Tourism Management* 33, p. 1009.

This chapter investigates literature at three key nexus points: film and heritage/history; heritage and tourism; and film and tourism. The sections below include a discussion of some key sources in each of these categories.

2.1. Film and history

One of the key issues here is that film history is a multi-disciplinary field and with many

---

[1] Joanne Connell, "Film tourism – evolution, progress and prospects", in *Tourism Management* 33, 2012, pp. 1008-1009.

influences coming in from (notably) film theory, media studies and history, it has been a challenging process deciding on the ground rules for this field of study. The debates which have preoccupied this area of research centre mainly around two general themes: 'history in film' and 'film as history'. The main research agenda has focused on whether film should be used as a primary source in historical research and criticism over the use of history in film, with its resultant distortions of the historical reality.

This of course ties into a much broader theme which has debated the influence of media on society for several decades, particularly with the large-scale introduction of mass media and the consequent popularity and accessibility of television from the 1950s. This does not imply that the phenomenon is a new or recent one as people have seemingly been 'influenced' by popular media for centuries. For example, literary tourism studies demonstrate the influence of literature on travel behaviour and decisions from the so-called European 'Grand Tour' in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[2] (Literary tourism will be discussed as a forerunner of film tourism in the third section focusing on film and tourism later in this chapter.) And who could forget the more sinister incident in 1938 of Orson Welles and his *Mercury Theatre on the Air,* who in dramatising H.G. Wells's novel, *The War of the Worlds*, about a Martian extra-terrestrial invasion of New Jersey, had produced such a convincing radio broadcast, that several listeners were convinced of the veracity of the invasion, calling the police, newspaper offices and radio stations, and spurring public panic and hysteria on a mass scale (although the scale of this panic has been called into question in recent years).[3]

One of the key authors in the field of film and history is Robert A. Rosenstone, an emeritus professor of history at the California Institute of Technology. Rosenstone has been advocating for the use of film in historical research since the 1980s. In 1995, he published *Visions of the Past: the Challenge of Film to our Idea of History,* which grappled with the dichotomy between written history and 'filmed history'. He examines, for example, whether images can convey

---

[2] Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*, (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1992); John Towner, "The Grand Tour: a Key Phase in the History of Tourism", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 12(3), 1985, pp. 297-333.

[3] A. Brad Schwartz, 6 May 2015, 'The infamous "War of the Worlds" radio broadcast was a magnificent fluke', Available: https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/infamous-war-worlds-radio-broadcast-was-magnificent-fluke-180955180/, accessed: 24 January 2022; Mark Memmott, 30 October 2013, '75 years ago, "War of the Worlds" started a panic. Or did it?', Available: https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2013/10/30/241797346/75-years-ago-war-of-the-worlds-started-a-panic-or-did-it, accessed: 24 January 2022.

ideas and information "that lie beyond words".[4] The traditionalist view would argue that film, bound by its own conventions and restrictions (for example, time), could never deliver the depth of knowledge and information that history writing can, but Rosenstone argues that a visual medium, "subject to the conventions of drama and fiction", might be used as a vehicle for examining our relationship with the past and challenge us to reconceptualise what we mean by 'history'.[5]

Rosenstone's seminal work on the topic, *History on Film/Film on History*, was however only published in 2006 and has been so influential that the volume has seen two subsequent editions of the book published (in 2012 and 2017 respectively). The book focuses on the historical film and its role in bringing the past to life and examines what history films convey about the past and how they convey it, demonstrating the need to learn how to read and understand this 'new' visual world. The book also provides some guidelines on how to effectively analyse films as historical interpretations. Essentially, Rosenstone argues that "to leave history films out of the discussion of the meaning of the past is to ignore a major means of understanding historical events".[6]

Subsequent reviewers have lauded Rosenstone for being a pioneering force, advocating for the inclusion of film in the historian's toolkit.[7] One reviewer points out that Rosenstone has been so successful in his quest, that a new generation of scholars may take for granted the relative ease with which alternative methods (and sources)[8] can now be applied to historical interpretation. In fact, Leen Engelen proclaims that there is simply no point in arguing about the relationship between film and history anymore, instead stating that:

> Cinematic history is as legitimate as cinema and history alike. It has
> its own merits and its own contributions to make. It is not solely a

---

[4] Robert A. Rosenstone, *Visions of the past: the challenge of film to our idea of history,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), back cover.
[5] Robert A. Rosenstone, *Visions of the past: the challenge of film to our idea of history,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).
[6] Robert A. Rosenstone, *History on film/film on history* (2nd edition)*, (*Harlow: Pearson, 2012).
[7] Taylor Downing, "History on Film/Film on History", in *History Today* September 2006, p. 62; Leen Engelen, "Back to the Future, Ahead to the Past. Film and History: A Status Quaestionis", in *Rethinking History* 11(4), 2007, pp. 555-563; Louis Menashe, *History on Film/Film on History* and *Russian war films:* on the cinema front*, 1914-2005", in *Cineaste* Spring 2007, pp. 82-85; Alun Munslow, "Film and History: Robert A. Rosenstone and *History on Film/Film on History",* in *Rethinking History* 11(4), 2007, pp. 565-575.
[8] See for example the use of fiction literary sources for the supplementation of non-fiction sources: Sian-Eve Pretorius, "Poor whitism: the fictional volksmoeder in South African novels, 1920s–1940s", in *Historia* 64(1), 2019, pp. 65-90.

complement of written history, it is a fully fledged supplementary way to interpret and give meaning to the past.[9]

She of course concedes that the use of film in historical interpretation does have certain logical limitations and points out that it is not only the historian who seeks to study filmic history, but that the study of historical film has multi-disciplinary relevance, notably in film studies as well, where scholars have begun to not only do "scrupulous research of the film context(s), paying attention to distribution, exhibition practices and circumstances, film programs..., but also situating film history in an expanded field of other media histories, social, cultural, economic history and even military and medical history, and so on."[10] Rosenstone also edited two volumes of particular interest on the topic: *Revisioning History: Filmmakers and the Construction of the Past* (published in 1995) and *A Companion to Historical Film* (co-edited with Constantin Parvulescu, published in 2013).

Another notable scholar in this field is Marcia Landy, a distinguished emerita professor in English and Film Studies at the University of Pittsburgh. She has written extensively on the representation of history in film, and from her earliest book, *Fascism in Film: The Italian Commercial Cinema 1931-1943,* published in 1986, has demonstrated how film may be applied in historical research. In *British Genres: Cinema and Society, 1930-1960,* published in 1991, Landy offered an unprecedented survey of British cinema from the 1930s to the 'New Wave' of the 1960s, and how representation in film and social history converge. Her research covers hundreds of works from diverse genres, including historical films, films of empire, war films, melodrama, comedy, science-fiction, horror, and social problem films. By decoding the styles, codes, and conventions utilised in each work, Landy reveals the changing attitudes toward class, race, national identity, sexuality, and gender throughout the surveyed period.[11] Landy's book, *Cinematic Uses of the Past* (1997), looks at cinema's love of the past and what this 'romance' reveals about our culture and popular history. The book examines several case studies by using a thematic approach that includes looking at memory, postcolonialism, folklore, biography, and feminism.[12]

---

[9] Leen Engelen, "Back to the Future, Ahead to the Past. Film and History: A Status Quaestionis", in *Rethinking History* 11(4), 2007, p. 556.
[10] Leen Engelen, "Back to the Future, Ahead to the Past. Film and History: A Status Quaestionis", in *Rethinking History* 11(4), 2007, p. 557.
[11] Marcia Landy, *British Genres: Cinema and Society, 1930-1960,* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991).
[12] Marcia Landy, *Cinematic Uses of the Past,* (Minnesota, University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

Her 2005 publication, *Monty Python's Flying Circus,* is an excellent example of cinematic history writing and provides a comprehensive look at the filmic context of and within the ever-popular *Monty Python* series, by considering the (truly) worldwide impact of this popular comedy troupe. It considers the reception by the domestic British audience to the American receptions, the Pythons themselves, the broadcaster (the BBC), the series' antecedents and influences, the context of comedy and television at the time of broadcasting, the semiotics of the series, and the audience reception, amongst others.[13]

Landy's latest publication, *Cinema and Counter-History* (2015), looks at how visual media have contributed to an altered understanding of what constitutes historical thinking and an expanded interest in so-called 'alternative' histories.[14] The volume has however been criticised for Landy's problematic treatment of the concept of history, as she does not delineate what her interpretation of 'historical thinking' or 'history' itself includes, and she does not distinguish between 'history' and 'historiography'. According to one reviewer, Landy portrays history as "a vague, rather boring, memoriali[s]ing, often national monolith that leaves out the marginal and never questions itself at all until early twentieth-century French historians get together in the Annales School".[15]

Philip Rosen, a professor emeritus of modern culture and media at Brown University, is also renowned for his work on film theory and its intersections with history. In 1984, he co-edited one of the first works on film history with Patricia Mellencamp, entitled *Cinema Histories, Cinema Practices.* This volume is a collection of some of the essays presented at an influential conference on film history, sponsored by the University of Southern California's Centre for the Humanities in 1981. As such, it is a somewhat random collection of contributions lacking any unifying theme, from semiotics to psychoanalysis, but the volume is still well-regarded for its pioneering nature.[16] Broadly, the conference, and by extension this collection of essays, focused on three "somewhat distinct" tangents: reconsidering the principles of film history; analysing specific film practices, with an emphasis on the avant-garde; and considering the convergences among theory, politics, and film practices. The collection utilises film texts to

---

[13] Marcia Landy, *Monty Python's Flying Circus,* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2005).
[14] Marcia Landy, *Cinema and Counter-History,* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2015).
[15] J.E. Smyth, "Reviewed Work(s): Cinema and Counter-History by Marcia Landy", in *Film Quarterly* 69(4), 2016, p. 133.
[16] John Fell, "Cinema Histories, Cinema Practices", in *Film Quarterly* 38(2), Winter 1984/1985, pp. 63-64.

discuss social, political, philosophical, and psychological matters, while also calling for more theoretical breadth and depth to investigate film texts.[17]

His 2001 book, oxymoronically entitled *Change Mummified: Cinema, Historicity, Theory,* explores the modern category of history in relation to film theory, film textuality, and film history. In this study, Rosen argues that historicity is essential to film, and conversely, that film is very important in historical culture.[18] For example, he essentially opposes Vivian Sobchack's long-endorsed view that "the phenomenological significance and discursive power of the Hollywood epic is not to be found in the specificity and accuracy of its historical detail",[19] instead arguing that historical research and authenticity is significant in film. He cites the example of Cecil B. DeMille's 1934 epic, *Cleopatra,* which involved the highly-publicised, spectacular recreation of the famous Egyptian queen's barge, "painstakingly constructed from historical records", which formed an integral part in the marketing of the film, but also in lending an air of authority and authenticity to the final production.[20] He also proposes reclassifying the historical documentary from merely another genre to "implicitly a special means of history-telling".[21]

Sobchack is herself a prolific scholar, authoring numerous books and articles across a wide range of fields from historiography to film noir, documentary film, new media, feminism in film, science fiction, and film phenomenology. Her edited book, entitled *The Persistence of History: Cinema, Television, and the Modern Event* (1996), is of particular relevance here.[22] The book investigates how film and television relate to the tumultuous transformation history as a discipline has experienced since the beginning of the twentieth century, which conveniently coincides with the birth of cinema. The book is divided into three parts. Part one – "The Historical Event"- considers new media technologies and new modes of narration relating to the issues surrounding the representation of historical content. Part two - "Historical Representation and National Identity" – considers how historical events and nation-building is represented and narrated in visual media. Part three – "The End(s) of History" – presents a

---

[17] John Fell, "Cinema Histories, Cinema Practices", in *Film Quarterly* 38(2), Winter 1984/1985, pp. 63-64.
[18] Philip Rosen, *Change Mummified: Cinema, Historicity, Theory,* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).
[19] Stephen Bann, "Cinema and the rescue of historicity", in *History and Theory* 41, 2002, p. 125.
[20] Stephen Bann, "Cinema and the rescue of historicity", in *History and Theory* 41, 2002, pp. 124-133.
[21] Stephen Bann, "Cinema and the rescue of historicity", in *History and Theory* 41, 2002, p. 126.
[22] Vivian Sobchack, *The Persistence of History: Cinema, Television, and the Modern Event,* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1996).

25

© University of Pretoria

more eclectic collection of essays, reflecting the vague disciplinary boundaries of film history. Overall, this section of the book questions the functions of historiography, as it has traditionally been practised. The volume was well-received and lauded for its timely contribution to the field of film history, as it was grappling with establishing itself as a multi-disciplinary field.[23]

Other authors have also adopted a more generic and all-encompassing approach when looking at the multi-layered relationship between history and film. *The History on Film Reader* (2009), edited by Marnie Hughes-Warrington, provides a handy introduction to the relationship between film and history. This volume presents a combination of insights from film theory, cultural studies, historiography, the history of cinema, and film promotion and reception. The individual contributions cover a wide range of topics, including: the film in history; film and authenticity; historical films and history and memory in media; historiography (or, history in words) as contrasted with (the delightfully named) historiophoty (or, "the representation of history and our thought about it in visual images and filmic discourse");[24] historical fiction; the representability of time; historicity in mainstream cinema; production design and historical authenticity in popular films set in the past.[25]

Of particular relevance to this study is the discussion of film and historical fiction, which questions that if film normally requires the often difficult to achieve suspension of belief and a willing immersion in fiction, how much more difficult is historical film to 'believe in', because of its historical 'reality'? For example, how can one truly suspend belief long enough to accept the 'historical body' being portrayed in film, like King Louis XVI in the 1938 film *La Marseillaise,* when the real historical figure is so well-documented?[26] Another relevant chapter focuses on film and the representability of time and film's uncanny and disconcerting ability to transcend time. The discussion compares film to a time machine, where "cinematic

---

[23] Fernando Simões Vugman, "Reviews/Resenhas: Sobchack, Vivian, ed. *The Persistence of History (Cinema, Television and the Modern Event)*. New York and London: Routledge, 1996. 265 pp. Grindon, Leger. *Shadows on the Past (Studies in the Historical Fiction Film*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1994, 250 pp", in *Ilha do Desterro* 0(32), 2008, pp. 189-191.

[24] Hayden White, "Historiography and historiophoty", in Marnie Hughes-Warrington *(ed.), The History on Film Reader,* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2009), p. 53.

[25] Marnie Hughes-Warrington *(ed.), The History on Film Reader,* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2009).

[26] Jean-Louis Comolli, "Historical fiction: a body too much?", in Marnie Hughes-Warrington *(ed.), The History on Film Reader,* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2009), pp. 65-74.

technology made possible a new access to time or its 'perfect' representation", which can transport viewers back into the past.[27]

Another avenue of enquiry has sought to provide some practical guidance on preparing historical content for film. *Writing History in Film* (2006) by William Guynn is one such example. By considering how one can distinguish between 'fictionalised spectacles' and the authentic representation of history, *Writing History on Film* provides some narratological, semiological, rhetorical, and philosophical bases for understanding how film can be used as a form of historical interpretation and representation. Guynn makes use of case studies and follows a cross-disciplinary approach in order to not only defend the use of film in history, but to also create a framework with which one can evaluate historical representations in film. This volume broadly considers how distinguishable historical narratives are from fiction, history in film as fiction and nonfiction, historical figures in film, understanding historical mimesis in film, and film and memory.[28]

Some authors have opted to specifically focus on the non-fiction genre of historical film. In their 2013 interdisciplinary study of non-fiction history programming, entitled *History on Television,* Ann Gray and Erin Bell identify and examine different genres employed by producers and tracks their commissioning, production, marketing, and distribution histories. The authors focus on British history programming over the last two decades (with some comparative references to Europe and North America) and analyse the relationship between the academy and media professionals. They outline and discuss often-competing discourses about how to 'do' history and the underlying assumptions about who watches history programmes. *History on Television* also considers recent changes in the media landscape, which have affected to a great degree how history in general, and whose history in particular, appears on screen. Through a number of case studies, the role of 'professional' historians and media professionals, for example commissioning editors and producer/directors, as mediators of historical material is investigated, their interpretations are analysed, and the ways in which the 'logics of television' shape historical output are outlined and discussed. Gray and Bell ask if history on television fulfils its potential to be a form of public history through offering, as it

---

[27] Mary A. Doane, "The representability of time", in Marnie Hughes-Warrington *(ed.), The History on Film Reader,* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2009), p. 77.
[28] William Guynn, *Writing History in Film,* (Hoboken, NJ: Taylor and Francis, 2013).

does, a range of interpretations of the past to, and originating from, or including those not based in the academy.[29]

History and the Media (2004), edited by David Cannadine, considers the noticeable increase in the inclusion of historical analysis and commentary in various forms of mass media. In this collection, commentators and historians explore the increased attention paid to history by programme makers and newspaper writers and editors. The various chapters look at the past on the small screen, the popularity of television history about war, how television enhances history, the strengths and weaknesses of portraying the past on television, and the history of broadcasting, amongst other themes.[30]

As can be seen from the above, the discussion on film and history is a rich and varied one. Historical interpretation has not for a long time (and perhaps never) been the sole prerogative of the historian. Not only is it no longer possible to write off historical films as "simple entertainment", as the vast majority of people access history through this medium, but film (whether it refers to cinematic film, television series, documentaries, or docudramas, amongst others) can also provide valuable contextual clues as to how historical events were interpreted through several periods. Moreover, film itself has a history now that is worthy of scholarly attention and careful analysis.

2.2. Heritage and tourism

Tourism based on historical heritage is not a new phenomenon and can in fact be traced to the very origins of tourism. As long as people have been able to travel for whatever reason, they have been interested in seeing the cultural and historical (and natural) heritage of destinations. The 'Seven Wonders of the World' are time immemorial drawcards for tourism and the World Heritage Sites have continued to augment this niche exponentially. As such, a key number of sources have considered heritage tourism, right from the inception of tourism studies in the early 1970s.

---

[29] Ann Gray and Erin Bell, *History on television,* (London: Routledge, 2013).
[30] David Cannadine *(ed.), History and the media,* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

One of these key texts is *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985) by David Lowenthal, an American historian and geographer, currently an emeritus professor of geography at the University College London, and widely considered to be the 'father' of heritage studies. In this influential and wide-ranging book, Lowenthal analyses the ever-changing role of the past in shaping our lives. It argues that heritage can at once be perceived as comforting and burdensome, while the past allows us to make sense of the present whilst simultaneously imposing powerful constraints upon the way that the present develops. Some aspects of the past are celebrated, others expunged, as each generation reshapes its legacy in line with current needs. Drawing on the arts, the humanities and the social sciences, Lowenthal uses sources as diverse as science fiction and psychoanalysis to examine the modern notion of preservation and pervasive nostalgia. *The Past is a Foreign Country* also demonstrates that the past is integral to the development of personal and national identity.[31]

Lowenthal's exploratory study contains seven chapters, arranged in three parts which broadly consider our desire for the past; how we access the past; and how we go about altering the past. The first chapter considers expressions of historical nostalgia.[32] The second chapter enumerates how the past can be perceived as beneficial or as a threat to present sensibilities.[33] Chapter three continues with this line of thought by explaining how the fear of the past has made itself apparent throughout the ages as an ongoing battle between whatever may be classified as 'modern' at any particular moment and the perceived threatening 'ancients'.[34] The fourth deals with the different reactions that can arise to the concepts of 'age' and decay, from reverence to revulsion.[35] Chapter five lists the ways in which we can know the past, ranging from memory to history to the physical evidence of the past.[36] The sixth chapter considers how we change the past, even when trying to preserve it.[37] The final chapter provides a summary of the problems with the past, from death to preservation, and the pasts we have gained and lost.[38] Lowenthal aptly concludes that any interaction alters the past: "Whether we restore or refrain

---

[31] David Lowenthal, *The past is a foreign country,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
[32] David Lowenthal, *The past is a foreign country,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 3-34.
[33] David Lowenthal, *The past is a foreign country,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 35-73.
[34] David Lowenthal, *The past is a foreign country,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 74-124.
[35] David Lowenthal, *The past is a foreign country,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 125-182.
[36] David Lowenthal, *The past is a foreign country,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 185-259.
[37] David Lowenthal, *The past is a foreign country,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 263-362.
[38] David Lowenthal, *The past is a foreign country,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 363-410.

from restoring we cannot avoid reshaping the past; no recogni[s]ed vestige is devoid of present intentions".[39]

Lowenthal received wide acclaim for this seminal study, but also faced significant criticism. The main point of contention appears to be that in Lowenthal's valid attempt to be inclusive and inter- and multi-disciplinary, he was criticised for sometimes blurring the lines between fact and fiction, making it difficult for the reader to distinguish between the two and to consequently trust the study. Lowenthal was also criticised for a one-sided approach focussing on how the past is perceived through present sensibilities and habits of interpretation (and distortion), at the expense of also considering the real 'foreignness' of the past and the difficulties faced by any interpreter to gain a genuine understanding of people who came before, as raised in the field of cultural hermeneutics. This perceived 'lack of depth' has caused one reviewer to describe Lowenthal's book as "unfortunately border[ing] on being a sort of high-toned coffee-table book… with its many excellent illustrations and its virtually indiscriminate mingling of the popular and more serious levels of culture".[40] Attitudes have of course shifted over the past few decades, with popular culture perceived in a much more favourable and positive light. In keeping with the changing attitudes, Lowenthal also published a revised edition of the book, entitled *The Past is a Foreign Country – Revisited,* which includes a substantial reworking and additions to the original tome, notably in including a fourth section on disputing the past.[41]

In 1998, Lowenthal published another influential study. In the book, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History,* he considers the massive popular growth of heritage: "Heritage has burgeoned over the past quarter of a century from a small elite preoccupation into a major popular crusade…"[42] He further continues that:

> All at once heritage is everywhere – in the news, in the movies, in
>
> the marketplace – in everything from galaxies to genes. It is the
>
> chief focus of patriotism and a prime lure of tourism. One can

---

[39] David Lowenthal, *The past is a foreign country,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 411.
[40] Eugene Webb, "Reviews of books – General – DAVID LOWENTHAL. *The Past is a Foreign Country.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1985. Pp. xxvii, 489. $27.95.", in *American Historical Review* 91(5), 1986, p. 1158.
[41] David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country – Revisited,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
[42] David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), back cover.

barely move without bumping into a heritage site. Every legacy is cherished. From ethnic roots to history theme parks, Hollywood to the Holocaust, the whole world is busy lauding – or lamenting – some past, be it fact or fiction.[43]

The book grapples with complex concepts such as 'personal legacy' and 'collective legacies', the purpose and practice of history and heritage, heritage restitution, authenticity, and ownership of heritage. He also elaborates on how commodification of heritage may lead to other problematic practices, such as the sanitisation of the past and the influence of popular historical films on the educational value of heritage. These are key concerns in the context of this study. Lowenthal also excellently contrasts the seemingly similar concepts of 'heritage' and 'history' by illustrating the chasm of difference that exists between the two in practice: "History explores and explains pasts grown ever more opaque over time; heritage clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purposes."[44]

Importantly, Lowenthal clearly cautions against the so-called "cult of heritage", as in these early years since the birth of the heritage "industry", the exact parameters of the concept were still fluid and the rapid rise in the popularity of heritage led to many promising and equally problematic interpretations and applications. In fact, at this stage, heritage was considered a vessel for identity and victim politics: "[h]istory is still mostly written by the winners[,] [b]ut heritage increasingly belongs to the losers."[45] Unlike history, heritage was also criticised for not attempting to be objective enough, as it only views the past with "present-minded purpose" and for deforming the past to meet its "popularised, commoditised and politicised" ideals.[46] However, Lowenthal cautioned that resisting the rising heritage tide would be futile as it "now outpaces other modes of retrieval", such as history, tradition, memory, myth and memoir.[47] One reviewer pointed out that valued objects, contexts and events are always in flux, which makes heritage very difficult to define. Indeed, Lowenthal's work steers clear of restrictive

---

[43] David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. xiii.
[44] David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. xv.
[45] David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 78.
[46] Kirkus Reviews, "Possessed by the Past", in *Kirkus Reviews* 13, 1996.
[47] David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 3.

definitions, instead opting to examine heritage through cross-cultural comparison.[48] However, this lack of definition leaves the reader confused as to "how to separate the wheat of heritage (its function as "creative act") from the chaff (the many faults he describes)."[49]

Another early author who critiqued the development of the 'heritage industry' is Robert Hewison, a British cultural historian and honorary professor at the University of Lancaster. In his book entitled *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (1987), warns about the dangers of an unchecked nostalgic longing for the 'simpler, safer and pleasanter' past. In this book, he questions how true our image of the past is and he examines who the creators of that particular image are. He investigates 'the heritage industry', which includes serious institutions like museums who he criticises for becoming agents of cultural change, instead of just reflecting the culture they represent. He also considers how this industry is complicit in creating and promoting a non-existent past, and by contrasting today's troubles with this pleasurable past we can never return to, and how this practice may have a debilitating effect on contemporary culture.[50]

Hewison attributed the rise of the 'heritage industry' to the political and economic uncertainty following post-war modernisation and recession. He is sympathetic to the need for the certitude the past can bring at such times, but suggests that Britain should look for reassurance in the conventional productivity of "manufacturing goods" instead of exploiting the economic potential of culture.[51] He advocates that we need to transform the tendency to sanctify the past in favour of engaging in a critical evaluation of it and that "we need history, not heritage".[52] In his examination, he focuses on three examples of the past that had been usurped by the heritage industry, namely the British country house, the industrial past, and the Arts. Although reviewers praised Hewison's analysis as "witty and perceptive" and complimented the use of illustrations in the book, many reviewers criticised Hewison for his overly simplistic and harsh

---

[48] Karen Till, "POSSESSED BY THE PAST: The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History. By DAVID LOWENTHAL. Xiii and 338pp.; notes, bibliog., index. New York: Free Press, 1996. $25.00 (cloth), ISBN 0-684-82798-0.", in *Geographical Review* 87(4), 1997, p. 557.

[49] Kirkus Reviews, "Possessed by the Past", in *Kirkus Reviews* 13, 1996.

[50] Robert Hewison, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline,* (London: Methuen, 1987).

[51] Robert Hutchinson, "The Heritage Industry. Robert Hewison. Methuen, 1987. 160 pp., illus. £6.95 paper. ISBN 0 413 161102", in *Journal of Design History* 1(1), 1988, p. 79.

[52] Robert Hewison, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline,* (London: Methuen, 1987), p. 146.

summation of heritage.[53] Of course many of these notions about heritage now seem entirely irrelevant and outdated in a world absorbed in the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

After the initial trepidation at the commodification of the past and other aspects of culture, most scholars accepted the inevitable turn of events and focused their attention to the interactions between heritage and tourism. Richard C. Prentice, a Professor of Tourism at the University of Strathclyde, was in the vanguard of this movement when in 1993, he published the seminal work, *Tourism and Heritage Attractions.* His reinvestigation of the concept of heritage to include tourism as an integral and indispensable part was already mentioned in Chapter 1. The book focuses on the tourism demands for heritage consumption and provides a useful guide for integrating the two. Prentice recognised the duality and heterogeneity of heritage: "it is both felt internally as *feelings of benefit* by its consumers and also *presented* implicitly and explicitly by producers who see a demand for such 'products'."[54]

Additionally, he sets out to identify the 'heritage tourist' within the wider tourism market and attempts to explain what drove this increased interest in heritage from a demand side by describing the motives, characteristics, and motivations of these visitors. Prentice also considers the intermediary agencies responsible for developing heritage into tourism attractions, authenticity at heritage tourism attractions, synergies between heritage visits and retail trade, heritage conservation in terms of perception and interpretation, and tourist satisfaction with aspects of their visit.[55] Perhaps his most well-known contribution from this volume is his typology of heritage types, which lists 23 types of heritage, including:

- Natural history attractions, like nature reserves, nature trails, aquatic life displays, wildlife parks, zoos, and geomorphological and geological sites;
- Science-based attractions, like science museums, technology centres, and 'hands on' science centres;
- Attractions concerned with primary productions like agricultural attractions, farms, diaries, farming museums, vineyards, and fishing, mining and quarrying;

---

[53] Pyrs Gruffudd, "ROBERT HEWISON, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of* Decline (London: Methuen, 1987. Pp. 160 + £6.95)", in *Journal of Historical Geography* 15(2), 1989, p. 216; Robert Hutchinson, "The Heritage Industry. Robert Hewison. Methuen, 1987. 160 pp., illus. £6.95 paper. ISBN 0 413 161102", in *Journal of Design History* 1(1), 1988, p. 79.
[54] Richard C. Prentice, *Tourism and Heritage Attractions,* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1993), p. xv.
[55] Myriam Jansen-Verbeke, Tourism and Heritage Attractions, Richard Prentice, *Routledge, London, New York (1994) 253 pp £35 ISBN 0 415 08525-X, Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services* 2(3), 1995, pp. 195-196.

- Craft centres and workshops and attractions concerned with handmade products and processes, like windmills, sculptors, potters, woodcarvers, glass makers, silk working, lace making, and handloom weaving;

- Attractions concerned with the manufacturing industry and the mass production of goods, like pottery and porcelain factories, breweries, distilleries, and economic history museums;

- Transport attractions, like transport museums, tourist and preserved railways, canals, civil aviation, and motor vehicles;

- Socio-cultural attractions and prehistoric and historic sites and displays, like domestic houses, furnishings museums, museums of childhood, and toy museums;

- Attractions associated with historic persons, including sites and areas associated with writers and painters;

- Performing arts attractions, like theatres, street-based performing arts, and circuses;

- Pleasure gardens, like ornamental gardens, period gardens, arboreta, and model villages;

- Theme parks, like nostalgia park, 'historic' adventure parks, fairytale parks for children (curiously excluding amusement parks with thrilling rides);

- Galleries, principally art galleries;

- Festivals and pageants, like historic fairs and countryside festivals of 'rural' activities;

- Traditional fieldsports, like fishing, hunting, shooting, and stalking;

- Stately and ancestral homes, like palaces, country houses, and manor houses;

- Religious attractions, like cathedrals, churches, abbeys, priories, mosques, shrines, wells, and springs;

- Military attractions, like castles, battlefields, military airfields, naval dockyards, and military museums;

- Genocide monuments associated with the mass killings of populations;

- Towns and townscapes, like historic townscapes and groups of buildings in an urban setting;

- Villages and hamlets, like 'rural' settlements with pre-twentieth century architecture;

- Countryside and treasured landscapes, like national parks and other countryside amnity designations;

- Seaside resorts and 'seascapes', like seaside towns of past eras and marine 'landscapes'; and

- Regions, like pays, lande, counties, or other historic or geographical areas identified as distinctive by their residents or visitors.[56]

This study is an invaluable introduction to the study of heritage and tourism and remains a standout publication in Prentice's illustrious career.

Over the years, many authors have investigated a variety of topics related to these initial explorations of heritage in tourism. One example, the 2013 publication *Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, Engagement*, edited by Russell Staiff, Robyn Bushell and Steve Watson, describes the interaction between heritage places and people as a "complex relationship [that], in the broadest sense, can be considered dialogic, a communicative act that has implications for both sides of the 'conversation'".[57] The volume picks up on the tense relationship between 'visitors' and 'tourists and the tourism industry' and points out that "the dialogic relationship between heritage place and tourists has produced a powerful critique of this often contested relationship".[58] Beyond this complex relationship, the book also considers the individual's experience of heritage:

> where generalities give way to particularities of geography, place and culture, where anxieties about the past and the future mark heritage places as sites of contestation, sites of silences, sites rendered political and ideological, sites powerfully intertwined with representation, sites of the imaginary and the imagined.[59]

This edited volume includes both theoretical discussions and case studies, and looks at various topics, including heritage discourse and its representations, tourist experiences, 'historical amnesia', the dangers of heritage tourism as a development strategy, heritage inscription and unauthorised interpretation, and using immersive and interactive approaches to interpreting traumatic experiences for tourists.[60] In its discussion of the "dangers of heritage tourism as a development strategy", this volume focuses on the (mis)representation of indigenous cultures, as well as other issues pertaining to the interpretation of heritage.[61] The volume also includes

---

[56] Richard C. Prentice, *Tourism and Heritage Attractions,* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1993), pp. 39-40.
[57] Russell Staiff *et al.*, *Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, Engagement,* (London: Routledge, 2013).
[58] Russell Staiff *et al.*, *Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, Engagement,* (London: Routledge, 2013).
[59] Russell Staiff *et al.*, *Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, Engagement,* (London: Routledge, 2013).
[60] Russell Staiff *et al.*, *Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, Engagement,* (London: Routledge, 2013).
[61] Juan Francisco Salazar & Robyn Bushell, "Heritage for sale: indigenous tourism and misrepresentations of voice in northern Chile", in Russell Staiff *et al.*, *Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, Engagement,*

an interesting exploration of film and cinematic perceptions of heritage, particularly relating to the stereotypical depiction of Rome in film and tourist experiences of 'real' Roman heritage sites.[62]

From Hewison's initial concerns about the ambiguity of defining heritage[63] to Prentice's extensive 23-category typology of heritage discussed above, the term "heritage" began to perceptibly shift its focus in many studies to "cultural heritage". While natural heritage was not discarded, this branch of tourism was often subsumed into other niches, like nature tourism, wildlife tourism, and ecotourism. One of the first substantial tomes to critically evaluate this new field of study was *Issues in Cultural Tourism* by Melanie K. Smith, published in 2003. Smith is an assistant professor in tourism management at the Corvinus University in Budapest, Hungary. The book investigated pertinent topics and their relation to cultural tourism, including impacts, integration, identity, interpretation, representation, indigenous cultures, the Arts and festivals, and cultural tourism as a tool for urban regeneration. Smith also deftly linked heritage to the broader category of cultural tourism and created a useful conceptual framework to explain the globalisation of the cultural tourism industry.[64] In fact, so vast was the expansion of this industry that Smith published a revised second edition in 2009 and a third edition in 2015.

In 2006, Smith also published an edited volume with Mike Robinson, entitled *Cultural tourism in a changing world: politics, participation and (re)presentation,* which considers the political and social implications of cultural tourism. The volume grapples with issues such as politics and policy, community participation and empowerment, authenticity and commodification, and interpretation and representation, by providing theoretical discussions illustrated by a range of case studies.[65] Smith also edited two comprehensive reference works: *Key Concepts in Tourist Studies,* published in 2010, and *The Routledge Handbook of Cultural Tourism*,

---

(London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 187-212; Tim Winter, "Cultures of interpretation", in Russell Staiff *et al.*, *Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, Engagement,* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 172-186.

[62] Russell Staiff, "Swords, sandals and togas: the cinematic imaginary and the tourist experiences of Roman heritage sites", in Russell Staiff *et al.*, *Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, Engagement,* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 85-102.

[63] Robert Hewison, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline,* (London: Methuen, 1987), pp. 136-137.

[64] Melanie K. Smith, *Issues in Cultural Tourism Studies,* (London: Routledge, 2003).

[65] Melanie K. Smith & Mike Robinson *(eds.), Cultural tourism in a changing world: politics, participation and (re)presentation,* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2006).

published in 2013, which provide definitive discussions and bibliographies on most of tourism's important concepts.[66]

Another prolific author in the field of cultural heritage tourism is Dallen J. Timothy, a professor in the School of Community Resources and Development at Arizona State University. His extensive publication record includes numerous books, refereed journal articles and chapters, discussing a wide variety of topics related to cultural heritage tourism, including spiritual and religious heritage, the environmental impacts of heritage tourism, personal heritage, tourism, politics and borders, "heritage cuisines", and safety and security in tourism.[67] Arguably his most influential work is *Cultural Heritage and Tourism: an Introduction,* published in 2011. The book is divided into two sections, with one focusing on heritage tourism management considerations, like supply and demand, authenticity, conservation, marketing, and interpretation; while the other looks at fundamental categories of heritage tourism attractions, including museums, archaeological sites, religious sites, indigenous culture, and dissonant heritage.[68]

Timothy is particularly adept at defining concepts and providing summaries of contrasting viewpoints. As such, the book functions as a practical guide for heritage professionals intending to utilise cultural heritage resources in tourism, but also simultaneously, as a general introduction to the complex study of heritage and tourism for students. Timothy defines heritage tourism in terms of visitors' motivations as referring to:

> …travelers [sic] seeing or otherwise experiencing built heritage, living
> culture or manifestations of art. Its resources are tangible and intangible and
> are found in both rural and urban settings. Visits are motivated by a desire
> to enhance one's own cultural self, to learn something new, to spend time

[66] Melanie K. Smith *et al., Key Concepts in Tourist Studies,* (London: SAGE Publications, 2010); Melanie K. Smith & Greg Richards *(eds.), The Routledge Handbook of Cultural Tourism,* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2013).

[67] See for example: Dallen J. Timothy, *Shopping tourism, retailing and leisure,* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2005); Dallen J. Timothy & Daniel H. Olsen *(eds.), Tourism, religion, and spiritual journeys,* (London: Routledge, 2006); Dallen J. Timothy & Gyan P. Nyaupane, *Cultural heritage and tourism in the developing world: a regional perspective*, (London: Routledge, 2009); Dallen J. Timothy, *Tourism and Trails: cultural, ecological and management issues*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2015); Dallen J. Timothy *(ed.), Heritage cuisines: traditions, identities and tourism,* (London: Routledge, 2016); Dallen J. Timothy & Lina G. Tahan *(eds.), Archaeology and tourism: touring the past,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2020); Dallen J. Timothy, *Cultural Heritage and Tourism: an introduction* (2nd edition)*,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2021).

[68] Dallen J. Timothy, *Cultural Heritage and Tourism: an introduction,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2011).

with friends and family, to satisfy one's curiosity or simply to use up excess time. In short, heritage tourism encompasses a multitude of motives, resources and experiences and is different for every individual and every place visited.[69]

Notably, he also points out that the overlap between cultural and heritage tourism is so significant as to be captured in a composite definition, referring to "built patrimony, living lifestyles, ancient artifacts and contemporary art and culture".[70]

Another recent volume, edited by Jaime Kaminski, Angela M. Benson and David Arnold and published in 2014, considers issues faced in contemporary cultural heritage tourism. *Contemporary Issues in Cultural Heritage Tourism* emphasises the need to present quality touristic offerings that include cultural experiences and heritage that have become widely recognised. In addition, this aspect of the tourism experience is an important differentiator of destinations, as well as being amongst the most manageable. This has simultaneously led to an increase of the presentation of such experiences through special exhibitions, events and festivals, as well as through ensuring more routine and controlled access to heritage sites.[71]

It is written by expert academics and practitioners in the field and covers a broad range of theoretical perspectives of cultural heritage tourism: regeneration, policy, stakeholders, marketing, socio-economic development, impacts, sustainability, volunteering and Information and Communication Technology (ICT). As regards the impacts of tourism on cultural heritage, the volume tends to focus on the positive potential of tourism for socio-economic development, but it also considers seasonality, the range of community benefits, and the value of the oft-neglected intangible cultural heritage. Tourism's strategic role in fostering local development and cultural tourism's overall positive trend "almost everywhere" is lauded.[72] One chapter demonstrates the significant value of cultural tourism in Europe specifically, where it is estimated that the continent's cultural heritage generates an annual revenue of €335 billion for the tourism industry, as well as a large portion of the nine million jobs in the tourism sector are

---

[69] Dallen J. Timothy, *Cultural Heritage and Tourism: an introduction* (2nd edition)*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2021), p. 4.
[70] Dallen J. Timothy, *Cultural Heritage and Tourism: an introduction* (2nd edition)*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2021), p. 6.
[71] Jaime Kaminski *et al., Contemporary Issues in Cultural Heritage Tourism,* (London: Routledge, 2014).
[72] Tiziana Cuccia & Ilde Rizzo, "Seasonal tourism flows in UNESCO sites: the case of Sicily", in Jaime Kaminski *et al., Contemporary Issues in Cultural Heritage Tourism,* (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 180.

directly or indirectly linked to cultural heritage.[73] The chapters include a broad range of international case studies, while also including a wide variety of different types of heritage, from monuments to intangible cultural heritage, motor vehicle heritage events and modern art museums.[74] Again, this study reflects on the fact that the literature on heritage and tourism is wide-ranging and highlights the extent of the contestations that has emerged.

Heritage studies have certainly come a long way from its initial critical reception. Many recent studies preoccupy themselves with ensuring the future viability, sustainability, and availability of heritage. In fact, one remarkable open-source publication, entitled *Heritage Futures: Comparative Approaches to Natural and Cultural Heritage Practices,* began collating and publishing best practice suggestions of how to best safeguard heritage for the future in 2020.[75] The publication draws on research undertaken over four years by a large interdisciplinary, international team investigating "alternative approaches to heritage in the Anthropocene".[76] Several case studies consider a wide variety of conservation practices, including the cryopreservation of endangered deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) in frozen zoos, nuclear waste management, seed biobanking, social history collecting, and space messaging, amongst other more conventional heritage management approaches.[77]

Of particular relevance to this study, but also looking to future developments in heritage tourism is Rodanthi Tzanelli's 2013 book entitled *Heritage in the Digital Era: Cinematic Tourism and the Activist Cause.* It looks at the impact that digital media representations may have on heritage tourism and examines a range of popular cinematic productions that are reshaping national and global heritage across Europe, Asia, the Americas and Australasia. It examines collaborative or adversarial cinematic expressions (by a variety of role players, including artists, directors, producers, and local, national and transnational communities) that

---

[73] Begoña Sánchez Royo, "The value of intangible cultural heritage: the case of the Fallas Festival in Valencia, Spain", in Jaime Kaminski *et al., Contemporary Issues in Cultural Heritage Tourism,* (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 236.

[74] Jaime Kaminski *et al., Contemporary Issues in Cultural Heritage Tourism,* (London: Routledge, 2014).

[75] Rodney Harrison *et al., Heritage Futures: Comparative Approaches to Natural and Cultural Heritage Practices,* (London: UCL Press, 2020).

[76] Rodney Harrison *et al., Heritage Futures: Comparative Approaches to Natural and Cultural Heritage Practices,* (London: UCL Press, 2020), back matter.

[77] Rodney Harrison *et al., Heritage Futures: Comparative Approaches to Natural and Cultural Heritage Practices,* (London: UCL Press, 2020).

blend activism with commodification, presenting new cultural industries producing fluid and new public spheres.[78]

2.3. Film and tourism

As mentioned, film tourism is a fairly recent niche market within tourism studies, only really appearing on the academic agenda from the 1990s onwards. Yet film tourism was not the first niche to focus on the influence of popular media on individuals' travel decisions. In fact, literary tourism can be described as acting as the forerunner in this regard. It is perhaps appropriate therefore to start this section with a brief literature overview of literary tourism. In 1987, D.C.D. Pocock was one of the earliest authors to specifically look at the travel dimension in an interdisciplinary study between geography and literature.[79] He states that imaginative literature has an important role to play in our anticipation and experience of a place. In fact, literature may cause visitors to approach literary landscapes in "a heightened state of expectation".[80] In this precursory study to literary tourism proper, Pocock already pointed out that literature adds value to a landscape and encourages travellers to visit a place based solely on its literary connections, and not for example, its intrinsic beauty.[81] He also provided one of the first definitions of a literary place as later used in literary tourism research: "The associations themselves ['valued' landscapes as a result of literary connections] vary, from fictional narrative anchored in concrete localities to those related to actual place of birth, sojourn, or visitation by a particular writer."[82]

Pocock's study focused on a very famous literary site, Haworth in West Yorkshire, UK, home of the Brontë sisters. By means of a self-selective questionnaire, he elicits the reactions of

---

[78] Rodanthi Tzanelli, *Heritage in the Digital Era: Cinematic Tourism and the Activist Cause,* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013).

[79] D.C.D. Pocock, "Haworth: the Experience of Literary Place", in William E. Mallory and Paul Simpson-Housley (*eds*.), *Geography and Literature: a meeting of the disciplines,* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1987), pp. 135-142.

[80] D.C.D. Pocock, "Haworth: the Experience of Literary Place", in William E. Mallory and Paul Simpson-Housley (*eds*.), *Geography and Literature: a meeting of the disciplines,* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1987), p. 135.

[81] D.C.D. Pocock, "Haworth: the Experience of Literary Place", in William E. Mallory and Paul Simpson-Housley (*eds*.), *Geography and Literature: a meeting of the disciplines,* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1987), p. 135.

[82] D.C.D. Pocock, "Haworth: the Experience of Literary Place", in William E. Mallory and Paul Simpson-Housley (*eds*.), *Geography and Literature: a meeting of the disciplines,* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1987), p. 135.

'pilgrims' to this so-called literary shrine.[83] (The notion of popular media visitors as pilgrims also became significant in research in related niche tourisms, as will be seen in the next chapter.) The study found that the most important determinants in visitor's expectations were the Brontës' writings themselves, followed by articles and other writings about the family and film and television adaptations of their works.[84] Most visitors found that their actual experiences complied with their literary expectations, with some being surprised by the intense sense of place they experienced, as if entering the Brontës' lives. To them "the atmosphere is what it is all about", highlighting the importance of authenticity to literary tourism. A part of the sampled visitors also remarked on the distractive effect of any demolition or new development since the Brontë period.[85]

In another article in 1991, Pocock again ventures into the realm of tourism and literature, but this time the focus is strictly on 'literary tourism'. He investigates tourists' expectations and experience of Catherine Cookson tourism in South Tyneside. Cookson is a very popular regional British author of some sixty historical romance novels. Visitors to South Tyneside can view attractions associated with the author herself, as well as some of the settings for her publications. Pocock finds that the viewed attractions largely live up to visitor's expectations, with almost all visitors being influenced by being Cookson readers. He also discovers that it is mostly female readers who travel in groups to 'Catherine Cookson Country', experiencing a sense of bonding "in the spirit of pilgrimage".[86] Pocock also briefly looks at the authenticity of these journeys, and discovers similarities in the Cookson trail, museum and local guides reminiscent of MacCannell's 'staged authenticity'.[87] He concludes that travel and expectation go hand-in-hand – one rarely travels to a new destination without being influenced by some

---

[83] D.C.D. Pocock, "Haworth: the Experience of Literary Place", in William E. Mallory and Paul Simpson-Housley (*eds*.), *Geography and Literature: a meeting of the disciplines,* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1987), p. 136.

[84] D.C.D. Pocock, "Haworth: the Experience of Literary Place", in William E. Mallory and Paul Simpson-Housley (*eds*.), *Geography and Literature: a meeting of the disciplines,* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1987), p. 136.

[85] D.C.D. Pocock, "Haworth: the Experience of Literary Place", in William E. Mallory and Paul Simpson-Housley (*eds*.), *Geography and Literature: a meeting of the disciplines,* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1987), pp. 137-139.

[86] D.C.D. Pocock, "Catherine Cookson Country: Tourist Expectation and Experience", in *Geography* 77(3), 1992, p. 236.

[87] D.C.D. Pocock, "Catherine Cookson Country: Tourist Expectation and Experience", in *Geography* 77(3), 1992; see also section 3.4 in this thesis.

kind of secondary source, albeit a brochure, word-of-mouth, or *literature* [my emphasis]. The success of the trip greatly depends on whether those expectations are satisfactorily confirmed.[88]

With the emergence of literary tourism as its own niche field of study within heritage and cultural tourism studies from the 1990s onwards, research has tended to focus on specific aspects.[89] This includes a large amount of work on 'authenticity' and the visitor profiles of literary destinations. Research on authenticity and how it applies to literary tourism has tended to focus on who the 'guardians' of authenticity at literary sites are, what the authenticity guidelines for literary sites are, and how 'authentic' these sites are, particularly those sites with 'real-world' ties involving the life of the author, for example residences, birthplaces and graves.[90] In terms of the visitor profiles, research has considered who visits literary sites and what their motivations to visit and their expectations of these sites are before visiting. Most case studies focus on examples from the UK and 'older', more established literary sites, such as those associated with the Classics, like Stratford-upon-Avon (William Shakespeare),[91] Haworth (Charlotte, Emily and Anne Brontë),[92] or Chawton (Jane Austen).[93]

One of the first and most prominent authors to specifically focus on literary tourism was Shelagh J. Squire, who conducted empirical and qualitative research in, amongst other places, the Lake District by interviewing visitors to Beatrix Potter's Hill Top Farm.[94] Squire investigates the links between Potter and popular values for rural life, the fascination for England's countryside, and country imagined from the city. She uses surveys and interviews

---

[88] D.C.D. Pocock, "Catherine Cookson Country: Tourist Expectation and Experience", in *Geography* 77(3), 1992, pp. 236-243.

[89] Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014), p. 18.

[90] Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014), p. 18.

[91] Dennis Kennedy, "Shakespeare and Cultural Tourism", in *Theatre Journal* 50(2), 1998, pp. 175-188; Gail Marshall, "Women Re-read Shakespeare Country", in Nicola J. Watson (*ed*.), *Literary Tourism and the Nineteenth-Century Culture,* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 95-105.

[92] Robert Barnard, "Tourism Comes to Haworth", in Mike Robinson & Hans-Christian Andersen (*eds*.), *Literature and Tourism: Reading and Writing Tourism Texts,* (London: Continuum, 2002), pp. 143-154*;* D.C.D. Pocock, "Haworth: the Experience of Literary Place", in William E. Mallory and Paul Simpson-Housley (*eds*.), *Geography and Literature: a meeting of the disciplines,* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1987), pp. 135-142; Sarah Tetley & Bill Bramwell, "Tourists and the Cultural Construction of Haworth's Literary Landscape", in Mike Robinson & Hans-Christian Andersen (*eds*.), *Literature and Tourism: Reading and Writing Tourism Texts,* (London: Continuum, 2002)*,* pp. 155-169.

[93] David T. Herbert, "Heritage as Literary Place", in David T. Herbert (*ed*.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, (London: Pinter, 1997), pp. 32-48; David T. Herbert, "Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001, pp. 312-333.

[94] Shelagh J. Squire, "Valuing Countryside: Reflections on Beatrix Potter Tourism", in *Area* 25(1), 1993, pp. 5-10.

to investigate the personal meanings for visitors to Hill Top Farm of Potter's literature and the abovementioned values. She discovers, for example, that visitors associate rural life with happy childhood memories and that visitors consider Potter's works to be representative of values of "countryside" and "notions of Englishness", thus perpetuating the 'English rural fantasy'.[95] She concludes that the Beatrix Potter phenomenon and the literary tourism industry is a means for people to (temporarily) live out a range of fantasies.[96] In another research article making use of cultural studies theory, Squire further explores how some literary tourism activities can link up with a variety of personal, social and cultural values. She also looks at the issue of 'authenticity', discovering that tourists visiting literary sites generally find them more authentic than, for example, theme parks.[97]

David T. Herbert focuses on the question of authenticity in his edited book *Heritage, Tourism and Society,* published in 1995. He explains that literary places are the fusion of the real world in which the writers lived with the worlds portrayed in the novels. Visitors to such sites are unlikely to make a distinction between the two.[98] This makes authenticity a particularly relevant topic. Herbert investigates how 'authenticity guidelines' can be applied to places where 'real worlds' and 'dream worlds' are so closely intertwined.[99] He also looks at the kind of visitor who frequents literary tourism sites by surveying visitors to sites associated with Jane Austen (Chawton, Hampshire) and the French author Marcel Proust (mainly Cabourg on the Normandy coast). He tries to determine whether the 'real world' of the author or the fictional world of the characters exercises the strongest pull on visitors. He concludes that literary connections can clearly be promoted as a part of heritage: "Its significance will vary from one place to another but the basic appeal is evident."[100] In other words, this means that some places are *all* about its literary connection, while at others it *supplements* other existing tourist attractions. Herbert continues that: "Marketing may add a segment to the visitor trade, and it also helps create the image which the town wishes to convey to the outside world."[101]

---

[95] Shelagh J. Squire, "Valuing Countryside: Reflections on Beatrix Potter Tourism", in *Area* 25(1), 1993, p. 7.
[96] Shelagh J. Squire, "Valuing Countryside: Reflections on Beatrix Potter Tourism", in *Area* 25(1), 1993, p. 9.
[97] Shelagh J. Squire, "The Cultural Values of Literary Tourism", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 21, 1994, pp. 103-120.
[98] David T. Herbert, "Heritage as Literary Place", in David T. Herbert (*ed*.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, (London: Pinter, 1997), pp. 32-48.
[99] David T. Herbert, "Heritage as Literary Place", in David T. Herbert (*ed*.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, (London: Pinter, 1997), pp. 32-48.
[100] David T. Herbert, "Heritage as Literary Place", in David T. Herbert (*ed*.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, (London: Pinter, 1997), pp. 32-48.
[101] David T. Herbert, "Heritage as Literary Place", in David T. Herbert (*ed*.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, (London: Pinter, 1997), pp. 32-48.

In an article published in 2001, Herbert focuses on the development of literary tourism sites as social constructions specifically created and promoted to attract tourists. He also employs cultural studies theory to determine how developers of sites produce images and how visitors decode these. Herbert attempts to create a profile of literary tourists through empirical research at two prominent literary tourism sites in the UK, namely Chawton and Laugharne, associated with the poet Dylan Thomas. Herbert also investigates the motivations of literary tourists to visit these various literary sites.[102] He affirms Crompton's findings[103] that specific motivations are difficult to tie down and that we know more about the "who, when and where" than the "why" of tourism. As far as any specific reasons can be identified for Chawton and Laugharne, Herbert discovers that the majority of visitors listed their reason for visiting as to be educated or informed rather than relaxation or entertainment, though he notes that for some visitors, pleasure and learning may be complementary. The other main reason for visiting was because visitors considered themselves as a "fan" of Austen's work. Other reasons included less literary-specific factors, such as visiting "just to have a day out", favourable weather for a trip, or the fact that they were already on holiday in the area. In conclusion, Herbert finds that these generalisations are valid, but that each visitor "has some individual form of chemistry" with the literary attraction too.[104]

One of the most significant texts dealing specifically with literary tourism is *Literature and Tourism: Reading and Writing Tourism Texts*, edited by Mike Robinson and Hans-Christian Andersen and published in 2002.[105] This book contains some general discussions on the growing theory associated with literary tourism, and includes specific case studies from the UK owing to the fact that literary tourism is an important and established part of the British heritage industry. The book also involves some form of literary criticism, perhaps as a form of homage to the literature discipline that originally inspired literary tourism and the fact that academics from the literature fraternity still frequently write about literary tourism. The essays in this volume can be divided into two main categories. The first explores various authors and

---

[102] David T. Herbert, "Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001, pp. 312-333.

[103] John L. Crompton, "Motivations for pleasure vacation", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 6, 1979, pp. 408-424.

[104] David T. Herbert, "Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001, pp. 325-327.

[105] Mike Robinson and Hans-Christian Andersen *(eds.), Literature and Tourism: Reading and Writing Tourism Texts,* (London: Continuum, 2002).

their relationships to tourism activity, including Robert Graves' influence on Mallorca, Nevil Shute's representation of the English landscape, L.M. Montgomery's impact on Prince Edward Island in Canada, and Matthew Arnold's promotion of the English countryside for the middle classes. The second category looks at a location and its relationship with literary tourism. Spain, Haworth, Venice, and Africa are discussed in this context.[106]

Another edited volume by Nicola J. Watson focuses more on literary tourism from a historical perspective, specifically during the nineteenth century.[107] The essays once again have a decidedly European focus, looking at tourism associated with amongst others Robert Burns, William Wordsworth, William Shakespeare, Charlotte, Emily and Anne Brontë, Charles Dickens, and Thomas Hardy. It is only the final four essays that take on a more global perspective, looking at some literary tourism in the US and South Africa. In terms of topics, the essays focus on divergent themes, from the gendering of sites and experiences to the role of populist travel guides in promoting a taste for literature-associated travel. The essays also include a common theme of how readers experienced their encounters with literary tourism. In her review of Watson's edited study, Ann Rigney criticises the volume for being too brief and with too many contributions on a variety of topics leading to "some unevenness in focus and analytic power". Still, she rates the volume as being a:

> valuable insight into the development of particular tourist sites and the impact of imagined geographies on actual spatial practices; on the interactions between literature and a nascent tourist industry; on the cultural and personal traffic between North America and the British Isles; and, above all, on the ways in which the passion for literature on the part of financially empowered middle-class readers translated into a touristic practice that characteristically combined awe for achievement with a desire for intimacy within a domestic setting.[108]

In Karen A. Smith's article published in 2003, reference is made to the genesis of literary tourism in the already mentioned area of interdisciplinary research of geography and literature.

---

[106] Ian McConnell, "Review - Literature and Tourism: Reading and Writing Tourism Texts", in *International Journal of Tourism Research* 5(6), 2003, pp. 463-465.

[107] Nicola J. Watson (*ed.*), *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture,* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)*.*

[108] Ann Rigney, "Review: Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture", in *Victorian Studies* 53(2), 2011, pp. 367-369.

It also points to the importance of literature to geography, noting that the study of place has often been approached from a literary criticism perspective drawing on the study of a particular writer or text.[109] Smith also raised the issue of who is writing about literary places, noting that the study of literary places has been approached from a number of perspectives, including academic and populist travel writing, with the latter relating to the plethora of travel guides detailing literary attractions.[110]

Clare Fawcett and Patricia Cormack specifically look at the authenticity of literary sites. In their research they focus on three sites associated with L.M. Montgomery and *Anne of Green Gables* on Prince Edward Island, Canada. They affirm that literary tourism is shaped by the intersection of 'reality' and 'fiction'. In this instance they show how the historical facts of Montgomery's life, her biographical facts and real places associated with her, and her settings and characters, interact.[111] They also examine how the imaginary world of novels can be portrayed to tourists in reality, especially when there is a physical link between the two. For example, the Green Gables House in Prince Edward Island National Park is said to have inspired Montgomery's novel. The easiest way is to refer back to the author's writings, which can then be supplemented by other material, like historical scholarship.[112] It is also necessary to note that sometimes a character becomes so "alive" in the mind of the literary tourist, that it becomes virtually impossible to separate reality from the imaginary world. They conclude that the authenticity of literary sites is just as much influenced by the perceptions of the site guardians, who can often provide evidence for any kind of authenticity. Hence, every site has its own distinctive interpretative form.[113]

From the above discussion, it becomes evident that the main points of focus in contemporary literary tourism research have been determining who the visitors to literary sites are and looking at the authenticity (and commodification) of these sites as both real and mythic places. When it comes to the next form of popular media-related tourism, film tourism, it is unsurprising that

---

[109] K.A. Smith, "Literary Enthusiasts as Visitors and Volunteers", in *International Journal of Tourism Research* 5, 2003, pp. 83-95.
[110] K.A. Smith, "Literary Enthusiasts as Visitors and Volunteers", in *International Journal of Tourism Research* 5, 2003, pp. 83-95.
[111] Clare Fawcett & Patricia Cormack, "Guarding Authenticity at Literary Tourism Sites", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(3), 2001, p. 687.
[112] Clare Fawcett & Patricia Cormack, "Guarding Authenticity at Literary Tourism Sites", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(3), 2001, p. 695.
[113] Clare Fawcett & Patricia Cormack, "Guarding Authenticity at Literary Tourism Sites", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(3), 2001, p. 701.

the research focus was slightly different. Despite film tourism's rather late arrival as a fully recognised field of study, it has shown exponential growth. Most studies in film tourism have tended to focus on two key tangents: the role of film tourism in the creation of a destination image and the experiences of film tourists.

However, the recognition of the potential impact of film on tourism can be traced back to some of the earliest key texts in tourism studies. One of the first authors to explore the potentially lucrative effects of film tourism for a destination was J. Cohen. His chapter, 'Promotion of overseas tourism through media fiction' in the 1986 edited volume, *Tourism services marketing: Advances in theory and practice* edited by W. Benoy Joseph, Luiz Moutinho and Ivan R. Vernon, recognised the power of film in motivating tourist demand and urged destination marketers to identify films that might be used in place promotion strategies.[114] In an article published in 1990 and entitled, 'The influence of the media in shaping international tourist patterns', Richard W. Butler, an Emeritus Professor at Strathclyde University, also argued that the influence of film and television on tourism destinations, like literature, would increase.[115]

In his seminal 1990 work, *The Tourist Gaze,* John Urry, the renowned British sociologist and professor at Lancaster University, also suggested that 'the tourist gaze' could be influenced by non-tourist activities, including film and television:

> ...places are chosen to be gazed upon because there is an anticipation, especially through daydreaming and fantasy, or intense pleasures, either on a different scale or involving a different sense from those customarily encountered. Such anticipation is constructed and sustained through a variety of non-tourist practices such as film, TV, literature, magazines, records, and videos which construct and reinforce the gaze.[116]

This notion of influence was expanded into its own kind of 'gaze' in Urry's subsequent works, called the "mediatised gaze".[117] Urry describes this as a form of "collective gaze where

---

[114] Joanne Connell, "Film tourism – evolution, progress and prospects", in *Tourism Management* 33, 2012, p. 1012.

[115] Joanne Connell, "Film tourism – evolution, progress and prospects", in *Tourism Management* 33, 2012, p. 1012.

[116] John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies,* (London: SAGE Publications, 1990), p. 3.

[117] John Urry & Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (3rd edition), (London: SAGE Publications, 2011), p. 20.

particular sites famous for their 'mediated' nature are viewed".[118] He explicitly connects this type of gaze to film tourism and points out that those gazing on this particular set of scenes relive aspects or elements of the media event they portray, for example, Santa Monica and Venice Beach where many Hollywood films are set, or across the globe to the Taj Mahal, where the other behemoth film industry of Bollywood is fond to set many "masala movies".[119]

One of first and most prominent research documents to make mention of tourism associated with film-based attractions, was an article published in 1998 by Roger Riley, Dwayne Baker and Carlton S. Van Doren, entitled 'Movie-induced tourism'.[120] In this article, they describe film tourism as a type of 'tourist gaze', a concept first suggested and popularised by the above mentioned Urry. They suggest that if this gaze is directed at objects or features which are "extraordinary", thus making the "site/sight of the gaze" distinguishable from others, "then the properties of a movie location – whether scenic, historical, or literary – qualify as icons for tourists to gaze upon".[121] The authors gathered data at several locations in the US to support earlier anecdotal and popular media accounts of movie-induced tourism, as they identified the need to broaden the conceptual scope of the field and encourage further research into the phenomenon of film tourism.[122]

Riley *et al.* also document a variety of the touristic impacts, on movie-induced tourism locations, both positive including economic windfalls, as well as negative, like safety concerns, overcrowding, to "sites picked clean by souvenir hunters".[123] Despite these negative impacts, the authors emphasise the "potential for the many locations and populations to capitalize [sic] on their uniqueness".[124] They point out that the tendency of film production companies to use ""undiscovered" locations and marginalized [sic] groups as subjects" can make significant positive contributions to these communities, if the initiatives are properly planned.[125] However, they warn that "resting economic development on the shoulders of a movie may well be folly, especially if there is a need for significant monetary investment".[126] They also caution that failure to strike while the iron is hot, proverbially speaking, may significantly reduce a

---

[118] John Urry & Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (3rd edition), (London: SAGE Publications, 2011), p. 20.
[119] John Urry & Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (3rd edition), (London: SAGE Publications, 2011), p. 20.
[120] Roger Riley *et al.*, "Movie-induced tourism", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 25(4), 1998, pp. 919-935.
[121] Roger Riley *et al.*, "Movie-induced tourism", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 25(4), 1998, pp. 919-920.
[122] Roger Riley *et al.*, "Movie-induced tourism", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 25(4), 1998, p. 920.
[123] Roger Riley *et al.*, "Movie-induced tourism", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 25(4), 1998, p. 919 & p. 932.
[124] Roger Riley *et al.*, "Movie-induced tourism", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 25(4), 1998, p. 933.
[125] Roger Riley *et al.*, "Movie-induced tourism", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 25(4), 1998, p. 933.
[126] Roger Riley *et al.*, "Movie-induced tourism", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 25(4), 1998, p. 933.

community's potential to benefit from movie-induced tourism as it minimises "the economic potential from the initial wave of visitor activity".[127]

One of the most seminal studies in this genre is the earlier mentioned book, *Film-induced tourism*, published in 2005 by Sue Beeton, the Foundation Chair of the College of Eminent Professors at William Angliss Institute in Melbourne, Australia and an honorary professor at the University of Hokkaido.[128] She provides an excellent introduction to general theory pertinent to film tourism.[129] This includes a look at the reach of the small screen; definitions of film tourism; the differences between on-location and off-location film tourism; the effect of film on tourism; film as a destination marketing tool; and film and pilgrimage. She identifies several forms that film tourism may be classified in, including the aforementioned on-location, commercial, mistaken identities, off-location, one-off events, and armchair travels (see Table 1 on pp. 11-14 in Chapter 1).[130]

Her book is essentially divided into two parts examining on-location and off-location film tourism. Under on-location film tourism she explores the intersections between film, tourism and development, by investigating filmic images and place promotion, including a fascinating discussion on copyright and confidentiality.[131] She recommends that film tourism "can be used to support (or even develop) the community's vision for their region, to broaden the visitor base and to even out seasonal peaks and troughs".[132] To this effect, she makes some destination marketing recommendations, including developing community-based film-themed festivals; for destinations to utilise fan-created social media content or to create their own, since social media has made representation and marketing significantly more accessible for many smaller destinations; to provide a tangible representation of the filmic product, such as the *Braveheart* statue in Stirling, Scotland, to create a focal point for visitors; to change the names of destinations to something film-related, for example, Wellington, New Zealand, which temporarily became 'Middle-Earth' for the world premiere of *LOTR*; and to create 'tourist precincts' to focus visitation on non-residential areas to alleviate residents' legitimate concerns about crowding and loss of privacy.[133]

---

[127] Roger Riley *et al.*, "Movie-induced tourism", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 25(4), 1998, p. 933.
[128] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism,* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005).
[129] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism,* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), pp. 3-40.
[130] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism,* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), pp. 10-11.
[131] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), pp. 53-113.
[132] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 107.
[133] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), pp. 108-111.

Beeton also considers film's effects on tourism and the community, including a discussion of the expectations of visitors to film locations.[134] Here, she considers the contrasting viewpoints between the anecdotal evidence that suggest visitors find filming locations 'inauthentic' when they do not resemble exactly what was depicted on screen as opposed to her study's findings that film visitors are more "familiar with the make-believe of filming", and consequently, "seeing how the fantasy was created from the raw materials of the site is a powerful motivator".[135]

In another section on on-location film tourism, she discusses film tourism and community planning.[136] This chapter considers applying community-based tourism strategies to film tourism using a case study, that is, *SeaChange's* (1998-2019) impact on Barwon Heads, Australia. The chapter also considers the power relations in film tourism and the influence of negative film-induced images. According to Beeton, one can experience three kinds of 'undesirable' tourism images: the first being created by a negative storyline, such as criminal or bizarre activities; the second can result from being "too successful in attracting visitors", where increased visitation gives rise to negative community impacts, including loss of privacy, crowding, and cultural amenity; while the third type of negative tourism image results from the creation of unrealistic visitor expectations and aspects of authenticity.[137] The chapter also proposes using "demarketing" as a strategy to remarket/re-image a destination. Demarketing has been applied widely in the public health care field in an effort to get a grip on high demand and its effectiveness and the ethics of using the strategy has been widely debated. While it has not been extensively applied in tourism, it does present a powerful tool, as visitor management techniques can be incorporated right from the stage where expectations are created and travel decisions are made. Demarketing strategies for tourism can range from "pricing strategies and entry controls, to behavioural education and even a total reduction in marketing and promotion, some of which can be utilised on a community basis".[138]

Under off-location film tourism, she considers post-modernism and post-tourism. The discussion centres around the notion that in a post-modern world, tourists are searching for

---

[134] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), pp. 114-170.
[135] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 122.
[136] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism,* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), pp. 41-170.
[137] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 193.
[138] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 194.

"simulations" and "inauthenticity" while on holiday, in contrast to MacCannell's earlier proposed notion that tourists are primarily looking for authentic experiences, as will be discussed in Chapter 3.[139] This is a salient point, considering that the rest of this section specifically looks at film studios as successful tourist destinations. The section also considers film-themed events, including film festivals, movie premieres, exhibitions and fan events, and theme parks.[140] Overall, the case studies in this book are wonderfully illustrative and applicable. This book was also so successful that a second, revised edition was published in 2016.[141]

Beeton also, in addition to several articles, published another book in 2015, entitled *Travel, Tourism and the Moving Image*. This book explores the relationship between tourism and the "moving image" from the early silent films through to cinema as mass entertainment. It examines how an individual's active and emotional engagement with film provides meaning and connection to a place that can affect their decision-making when they travel. It also examines the reverse relationship by analysing how touristic experiences can inform our film-viewing. The book studies a range of genres and themes, including the significance of the Western, espionage, road and gangster movies, along with further study of film studio theme parks and an introduction to the relationship between gaming and travel.[142]

Another key publication in this genre is the 2009 book, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, by Stefan Roesch, a film producer and the Deputy Managing Director for CenTouris, a market research and tourism consulting institute based at the University of Passau, Germany.[143] He mainly considers several case studies of on-location film tourism and how film tourists experience these film locations as touristic spaces. He further identifies different forms of on-location film tourism, such as organised location tours, visiting existing locations that feature on-screen in film productions, and locations that become tourist attractions after appearing in movies or television series (sets left behind after filming is completed).[144]

---

[139] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), pp. 212-216.
[140] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), pp. 216-236.
[141] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016).
[142] Sue Beeton, *Travel, Tourism and the Moving Image*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2015).
[143] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009).
[144] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), pp. 10-12.

Roesch's book is divided into two parts, with the first part providing an overview of film tourism. Here, he briefly looks at the history of film tourism.[145]

This section also provides an extensive overview of destination marketing through film, as well as film locations as tourism spaces, which highlights the use of space and place in film and the links between film and location that can then be commoditised for tourism.[146] In relation to the physical setting of film locations, Roesch writes that when people make travel decisions, they:

> [s]eek out unique experiences, activities and places. To travel is to leave the ordinary and enter the extraordinary. Consequently, physical settings for leisure and tourist activities have to be extraordinary. They have to be imagined as rare, unique, exotic, scenic, exciting and open to interpretation… The physical settings of film locations have to be seen from a slightly different angle. They are used for on-location filming because they present features that are essential for the product. Hence, film locations do not necessarily have to be outstandingly beautiful nor do they necessarily have to have a privileged meaning attached to them.[147]

In fact, film can turn an unremarkable location into a tourist attraction, like Mt. Sunday, Canterbury, New Zealand, featuring in *The Lord of the Rings: The Two Tower* (2002), or Café des Deux Moulins, Paris, France, featuring in *Amélie* (2001).[148]

Roesch also attempts to compile a profile of film tourists. By comparing film visitors to sites associated with *The Lord of the Rings, Star Wars* and *The Sound of Music,* he demonstrates the heterogeneity amongst film tourists of the dedicated kind.[149] The second part continues the investigation of who film tourists are by investigating their experiences at film tourism sites on the spiritual, physical and social levels.[150] On the spiritual level, he examines the kind of 'tourist gazes' practised by film tourism, from collective to romantic gazing to the filmic gaze,

---

[145] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009)*,* pp. 8-10.

[146] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009)*,* pp. 57-100.

[147] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009)*,* p. 65.

[148] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009)*,* p. 65.

[149] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009)*,* pp. 101-128.

[150] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009)*,* pp. 129-194.

as well as spatial and temporal location discrepancies and MacCannell's "second gazing", which proposes the tourist's ability to see beyond the façade set up by the tourism industry.[151] At the physical level, Roesch investigates visitors' interactions with the site, from shot re-creations to filmic re-enactments, interactions with site markers, handling of film-related items, miniature positioning, and souvenir collection.[152] The discussion of social location encounters explores the various interactions film tourists can experience while on tour, from group interactions to guide-participant interactions and interactions with outsiders.[153]

Another helpful source highlighting the development of film tourism as a research field in tourism is the already mentioned 2012 article by Connell, 'Film tourism – Evolution, progress and prospects'. This article considers film tourism's role as "a driver of tourism development for many destinations".[154] It also evaluates film tourism as the subject of multi-disciplinary studies while surveying the major research themes, issues and contributing conceptual frameworks.

Tourism and the branded city: film and identity on the Pacific Rim by Stephanie Hemelryk Donald and John G. Gammack, published in 2007, examines the impacts of film on city branding. This book examines world city branding by comparing the major Pacific Rim cities of Sydney, Hong Kong and Shanghai. All three cities compete on the world stage for events, tourists and investment, yet they are each at the centre of unique film traditions and their identities are thus strongly connected with a cinematic impression.[155] The authors effectively employ an interdisciplinary approach to analyse the city branding of these cities from the more widely researched perspectives of tourism, marketing and regional development. They also incorporate aspects from cultural studies and approaches from psychology which offer fresh and valuable insights to place branding and marketing in general.[156] They conclude that city

---

[151] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009)*,* pp. 129-158.
[152] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009)*,* pp. 159-180.
[153] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009)*,* pp. 181-194.
[154] Joanne Connell, "Film tourism – Evolution, progress and prospects", in *Tourism Management* 33, 2012, p. 1007.
[155] Stephanie Hemelryk Donald & John G. Gammack, *Tourism and the branded city: film and identity on the Pacific Rim*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), back matter.
[156] Stephanie Hemelryk Donald & John G. Gammack, *Tourism and the branded city: film and identity on the Pacific Rim*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

branding should contribute not only to regional development and identity, but also to sustainable economic well-being and public satisfaction.[157]

Another book exploring the relationship between film and destination branding is *A Film Marketing Action Plan for Film Induced Tourism Destinations: Using Yorkshire as a Case study* by Noëlle O'Connor, Sheila Flanagan and David Gilbert. This 2010 book examines the impact of film tourism and destination branding on locations featured in popular films and television series in Yorkshire. This serves as the main case study area as it has been used as the filming location for many popular television series, such as *All Creatures Great & Small, Last of the Summer Wine,* and *Emmerdale*.[158] The authors employ a two-phased approach: the first involving a tourist survey regarding the film tourist, while the second phase consists of strategic conversations with the key stakeholders behind the Yorkshire brand. This methodology is of practical relevance, as are the researchers' efforts to isolate implications for the future development of film tourism destinations through the creation of a "Film Marketing Action Plan".[159] This comprises suggestions for activities related to marketing before and after the release of a film in the context of planning, maximising positive impacts, and minimising negative impacts. In the planning phase before release, marketing should consider the marketing strategy, media coverage, studio relations, and national promotion, amongst others. In the marketing phase after the release of the film, marketing should focus on co-operative marketing, online marketing, and relationship management, amongst others. In the final phase after release aimed at minimising negative impacts, the authors also propose a strategy of demarketing.[160]

In another case study of Yorkshire, Noëlle O'Connor, Sheila Flanagan and David Gilbert produced an article, entitled 'The use of film in re-imaging a tourism destination: a case study of Yorkshire, UK'. The primary focus is to provide a theoretical insight into the relationship between film tourism and destination imagery, which in turn can be used to market a tourism

---

[157] Stephanie Hemelryk Donald & John G. Gammack, *Tourism and the branded city: film and identity on the Pacific Rim*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

[158] Noëlle O'Connor *et al.*, *A Film Marketing Action Plan for Film Induced Tourism Destinations: Using Yorkshire as a Case study*, (Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2010).

[159] Noëlle O'Connor *et al.*, *A Film Marketing Action Plan for Film Induced Tourism Destinations: Using Yorkshire as a Case study*, (Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2010).

[160] Noëlle O'Connor *et al.*, *A Film Marketing Action Plan for Film Induced Tourism Destinations: Using Yorkshire as a Case study*, (Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2010), p. 288.

destination. They uncover many implications for the future development of these destinations, such as the use of destination imagery in the promotion of a film location.[161]

In his 2011 publication, *Film-induced tourism: the effect films have on destination image formation, motivation and travel behaviour*, Erik Sellgren states the obvious that the majority of films are not produced with the intent to entice people to visit certain destinations.[162] He however makes the point that a destination in a film can be seen as a form of 'product placement' and consumers may be willing to spend money to experience that place. This book is dedicated to filling some of the gaps that exist within film tourism research and finds connections between them in order to better understand the processes occurring within film tourism. Concepts such as "destination image", "travel motivation", "authenticity" and "travel behaviour" are discussed and analysed in the context of film tourism.[163] Of particular interest is his discussion of authenticity and hyperreality's relation to film tourism, where he points out that "through breathtaking camera angles, visual technology can today create more real-like experiential views of places than original settings – the so-called 'reality enhancement'".[164] Through surveys and interviews, Sellgren confirms that authenticity is an important consideration in the image formation of a film location, whether positive or negative. He also determined that many visitors have quite low expectations of encountering a "pure authentic" experience when visiting an iconic film location.[165] While films and TV series can create expectations and increase the familiarity for a destination, he also suggests that films could be viewed as less credible information sources if disappointment (particularly relating to authenticity) was the outcome of a film location visit.[166]

Several sources have also focused on the link between film (tourism) and destination image. In the 2006 article, 'Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism: an Empirical Identification of Supporting Marketing Initiatives', Simon Hudson and J.R. Brent Ritchie propose a model for

---

[161] Noëlle O'Connor *et al.*, "The use of film in re-imaging a tourism destination: a case study of Yorkshire, UK", in *Journal of Vacation Marketing* 16(1), 2010, pp. 61-74.

[162] Erik Sellgren, *Film-induced tourism: the effect films have on destination image formation, motivation and travel behaviour*, (Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2011), p. 6.

[163] Erik Sellgren, *Film-induced tourism: the effect films have on destination image formation, motivation and travel behaviour*, (Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2011).

[164] Erik Sellgren, *Film-induced tourism: the effect films have on destination image formation, motivation and travel behaviour*, (Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2011), p. 31.

[165] Erik Sellgren, *Film-induced tourism: the effect films have on destination image formation, motivation and travel behaviour*, (Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2011), p. 66.

[166] Erik Sellgren, *Film-induced tourism: the effect films have on destination image formation, motivation and travel behaviour*, (Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2011), p. 66.

exploiting film tourism marketing opportunities. Their article identifies the optimal marketing factors that encourage film tourists to visit destinations that appear (or are depicted) in films. By making use of factor analysis, they identify types of marketing activities that destinations can engage in to promote film tourism. These include proactive efforts to encourage producers and studios to film at a location in that place, efforts to generate media publicity around the film and its location, marketing activities that promote the film location after production, and peripheral marketing activities that enhance and augment film tourism potential.[167]

In the 2010 article, 'Planning for Film Tourism: Active Destination Image Management', W. Glen Croy argues that there is a need for an image strategy to garner the most sustainable benefits from films. These image strategies require the assessment of a destination's image, and the role that films play, to reinforce or enhance the destination's positive attributes. The article uses Tourism New Zealand and *The Lord of the Rings* as an example of the "strategic use of films in a destination image strategy".[168] The article suggests that if there is an alignment to the actual and market ideal image, then the use of the film is recommended.[169]

It becomes apparent that very few sources have specifically considered film tourism at historical heritage sites. Warick Frost, in his article entitled 'Braveheart-ed Ned Kelly: historic films, heritage tourism and destination image', notes that there has been a great deal of interest in how feature films may create attractive destination images. Research has primarily focussed on films which promote scenery and to a lesser extent nostalgic rural cultures. In contrast, little attention has been paid to the influence of historic films. The release of *Ned Kelly* (2003) provoked a great deal of media interest in how that film might promote tourism to north-eastern Victoria, Australia. This article examines *Ned Kelly* in terms of issues of authenticity, destination image and the development of heritage tourism.[170] Frost makes it apparent that historic films are often filmed in locations some distance from where the historical event(s) took place. "However, the destination image created applies to where the film was set, not where it was filmed. Historic films do not create destination images based on the scenery shown

[167] Simon Hudson & J.R. Brent Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism: an Empirical Identification of Supporting Marketing Initiatives", in *Journal of Travel Research* 44, 2006, pp. 387-396.
[168] W. Glen Croy, "Planning for Film Tourism: Active Destination Image Management", in *Tourism and Hospitality Planning & Development* 7(1), 2010, p. 21.
[169] W. Glen Croy, "Planning for Film Tourism: Active Destination Image Management", in *Tourism and Hospitality Planning & Development* 7(1), 2010, pp. 21-30.
[170] Warick Frost, "Braveheart-ed Ned Kelly: historic films, heritage tourism and destination image", in *Tourism Management* 27(2), 2006, pp. 247-254.

on the screen. The attractive image they create is based on history and that can only be experienced by tourists visiting locations actually connected to that history."[171]

Another article, 'The Darcy effect: Regional tourism and costume drama' by Amy Sargent, examines the interconnectedness of a number of cultural industries including heritage, museums, tourism, publishing and television, in audience perception and reception. The extraordinarily successful *Pride and Prejudice* mini-series*,* produced by the BBC in 1995, is consulted as a case study in this research.[172] As implied in the title of the article, the "Darcy effect", there is a specific connotation to the lead character/actor which impinges on the very language of film tourism. In this case, the "Darcy" in question of course refers to the ever-popular Mr. Darcy from Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice,* and the phenomenal effect that this book and its screen adaptations have had on tourism. In fact, Sargent reported that the National Trust had received increased admissions (up 59% and 42% respectively in 1996) to Sudbury and Lyme, featured as the interior and exterior of Mr. Darcy's Pemberley in the 1995 adaptation.[173] Almost 20 years later in 2015, this "Darcy effect" had not really diminished, with Olsberg-SPI reporting in their landmark quantitative survey of film tourism in the UK that *Pride and Prejudice* was still worth £900,000 annually to the National Trust.[174] At Lyme Park in Cheshire, most film tourists would happily report that they had come to the site because of Mr Darcy in *Pride and Prejudice.*[175] So significant was the influence of film on this site, that a statue of Colin Firth as Mr. Darcy was erected in the lake in 2013, mirroring an iconic scene from the mini-series.[176]

Similarly, the article, 'Angkor Meets Tomb Raider: setting the scene' by Tim Winter, considers the impact of film tourism on the World Heritage Site of Angkor, in Cambodia. The site is one of Asia's fastest growing tourist destinations, and in response to this growth, Angkor's management authorities are actively attempting to resist the 'detrimental effects of mass tourism' by promoting a desired form of cultural tourism. Yet in November 2000, filming of *Tomb Raide*r also took place at Angkor. The temples became one of the key locations in this

---

[171] Warick Frost, "Braveheart-ed Ned Kelly: historic films, heritage tourism and destination image", in *Tourism Management* 27(2), 2006, p. 251.

[172] Amy Sargent, "The Darcy effect: Regional tourism and costume drama", in *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 4(3-4), 1998, pp. 177-186.

[173] Amy Sargent, "The Darcy effect: Regional tourism and costume drama", in *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 4(3-4), 1998, p. 181.

[174] Harvey Edgington, personal interview as Senior Filming Locations Manager, National Trust, 2016-11-25.

[175] Olsberg-SPI, *Quantifying Film and Television Tourism in England*, (London: Olsberg-SPI, 2015), p. 35.

[176] Olsberg-SPI, *Quantifying Film and Television Tourism in England*, (London: Olsberg-SPI, 2015), p. 75.

Hollywood blockbuster. This article explores the clash between the intended representation of the site by authorities and the projection posited by popular culture. In considering some of the implications for Angkor, understood as a site of touristic production, attention is also given to how *Tomb Raider* creates new narratives for tourists – ones that are anticipated to undermine the efforts of conservation agencies looking to formalise serious cultural tourism across the site. Finally, the issues addressed here raise important concerns regarding media representations and World Heritage Sites in an age of increasingly pervasive (and very accessible) tourism.[177]

Another relevant and very recent source on this topic is the 2018 publication, *Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism,* by Sheela Agarwal and Gareth Shaw.[178] The book examines the main concepts and issues relating to heritage, film and literary tourism as a composite niche (termed HSLT – with 's' referring to screen tourism) and analyses this new mega-niche within a broader context of global tourism development. The book has a very economically oriented focus and chiefly considers the demand and supply sides of heritage, film and literary tourism to investigate how these types of tourist experiences are created, produced and shaped. The book explores heritage tourism from a filmic and literary perspective, before describing the market interested in these types of tourism. The researchers also consider the debates and development around heritage, film and literary tourism and the interpretation and consumption of this type of tourism.[179]

This volume explores the heritage, film, and literary tourism nexus. This "multidimensional nexus" is based on a number of commonalities.[180] These three forms of tourism share many characteristics, such as their cultural relevance and association with cultural tourism, their historical and/or contemporary links, their connection with real and/or fictional events, places or people, and their influence on the negotiation of identities.[181] The authors depict this nexus as indicated below in Figure 3. They propose that this nexus revolves around the concept of

---

[177] Tim Winter, "Angkor Meets Tomb Raider: setting the scene", in *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 8(4), 2002, pp. 323-336.
[178] Sheela Agarwal & Gareth Shaw, *Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2018).
[179] Sheela Agarwal & Gareth Shaw, *Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2018).
[180] Sheela Agarwal & Gareth Shaw, *Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2018), p. 2.
[181] Sheela Agarwal & Gareth Shaw, *Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2018), p. 2.

'co-creation'. According to Agarwal and Shaw, this concept was introduced by C.K. Prahalad and Venkat Ramaswamy in 2000 to represent "the emergence of a new relationship between producers and consumers… from passive audiences to active players, in light of an increasing demand for more participative and interactive experiences".[182] Consequently, co-creation was defined as "[t]he joint creation of value by the company and the customer; allowing the customer to co-construct the service experience to suit their context".[183] "Co-created value thereby arises from customised, unique and personal experiences, and is fundamental to high-quality interactions which… are crucial to competitive advantage."[184] Particularly for tourism, this value resides in a "consumption *experience*" [my emphasis].[185] This is even more relevant to heritage, film and literary tourism, as all these niches focus on tourists' experiences of a place.

The nexus also constitutes three interrelationships. The first is that all three represent and commodify elements of an area's heritage and cultural traditions, associations, and links for tourism purposes.[186] Related to this is the second interrelationship, which focuses on the contingency of all three forms of tourism on aspects of a destination's built, natural and living heritage.[187] The third interrelationship involves the "co-terminality" of consumption and production" and the role of the tourist in co-creation of all three types of tourism.[188] Central to this interrelationship is the notion of how meaning is encoded by the producers/promoters of visitor attractions and how this meaning is then decoded by tourists, using their intellect and imagination to construct their own sense of place in their own journey of self-discovery.[189]

---

[182] Sheela Agarwal & Gareth Shaw, *Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2018), p. 29.
[183] Sheela Agarwal & Gareth Shaw, *Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2018), p. 29.
[184] Sheela Agarwal & Gareth Shaw, *Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2018), p. 29.
[185] Sheela Agarwal & Gareth Shaw, *Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2018), p. 30.
[186] Sheela Agarwal & Gareth Shaw, *Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2018), p. 34.
[187] Sheela Agarwal & Gareth Shaw, *Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2018), p. 34.
[188] Sheela Agarwal & Gareth Shaw, *Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2018), p. 35.
[189] Sheela Agarwal & Gareth Shaw, *Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2018), p. 35.
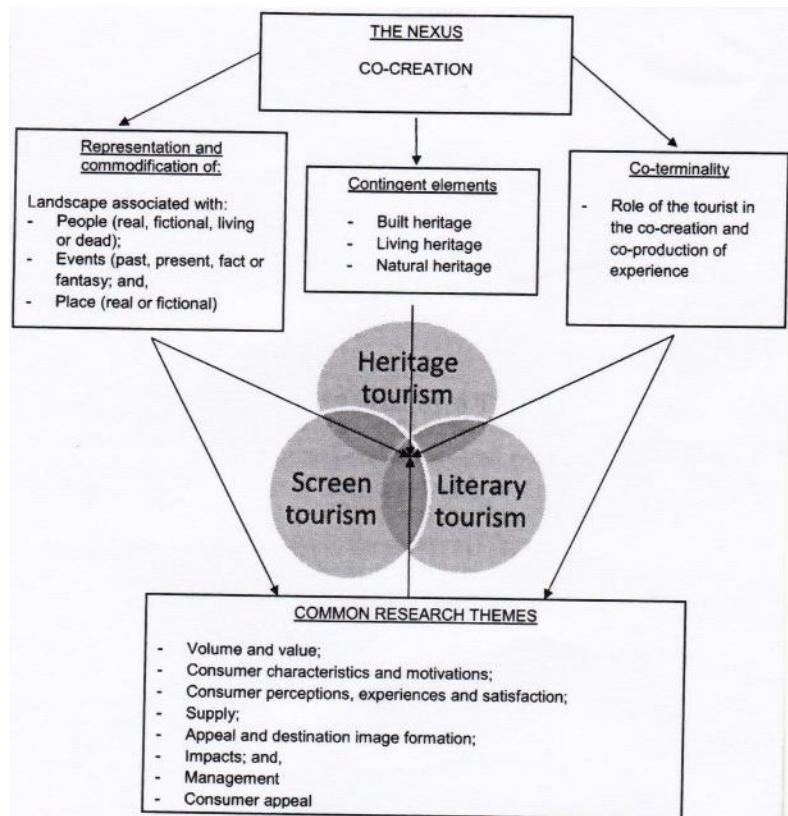
Figure 3: The heritage, screen and literary tourism nexus
Source: S. Agarwal & G. Shaw, (2018), *Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism*, p. 30.

Agarwal and Shaw also consider the motivations and profile of HSLT tourists, which is a bit of a mishmash of these attributes across the three (separate) niches, and not an amalgamation of a singular typology for this proposed new macro-niche. Motivations include cultural significance, 'to have a great day out', the desire to feel connected to the destination, the desire to learn, or geographical convenience.[190] In terms of a typology for HSLT visitors, the authors conclude that given the diversity of this macro-niche's demand, there is little to distinguish heritage from film and literary tourists, since the latter may be described as a specific subset of heritage tourism.[191] Agarwal and Shaw also consider the complicated application of authenticity to the composite HSLT in the context of tourist motivation, that is, the extent to which tourists seek out authentic experiences, and if they do, whether they are able to recognise 'authentic experiences'.[192]

---

[190] Sheela Agarwal & Gareth Shaw, *Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2018), pp. 45-46.

[191] Sheela Agarwal & Gareth Shaw, *Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2018), p. 48.

[192] Sheela Agarwal & Gareth Shaw, *Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2018), p. 201.

As regards the case study utilised in this thesis, the *Outlander* series, two relevant postgraduate studies have been produced. Stephanie Garrison completed her doctoral thesis, entitled '*Outlander* fandom and networked fans in the digital era', at the University of Aberdeen, Scotland, in 2020.[193] Primarily, this thesis examines the concepts of media fans, fan practice, and online media fandoms in the digital era through an in-depth case study, in this case focusing on fans of the novel and television show *Outlander*. The thesis argues that the diffusion of digital technologies, such as social media, into fandom has introduced new pathways to experiencing fandom. The thesis also proposes a new paradigm, termed "networked fandoms" based on sociologist Barry Wellman's social operating system "networked individualism", to balance the fandom-as-fan-community discourse and fans' independent engagement in media fandom.[194] Séverine Peyrichou completed a Masters dissertation, entitled 'Heritage through the lens: the impact of filming and film tourism on protected spaces in Scotland, at the University of Stirling, Scotland, in 2017. Her study explored the significance of Scotland's role as a location for the numerous films and TV series filmed here. She utilised *Outlander* as one of her case studies.[195] While Garrison's study does not focus on *Outlander*-related tourism, Peyrichou does consider the inception of 'the *Outlander* effect' and its touristic increases for heritage sites. However, since the study was concluded in 2017, most of 'the *Outlander* effect' had not taken place yet.

Garrison and Claire Wallace did however produce an article, entitled 'Media tourism and its role in sustaining Scotland's tourism industry', in 2021. The article explores how popular culture helped shape Scotland's contemporary tourism industry by reviewing three case studies: the Glenfinnan Viaduct, made famous by the *Harry Potter* film series; Doune Castle, used as a set for *Monty Python, Game of Thrones,* and *Outlander*; and Abbotsford, the home of the classic Scottish writer Sir Walter Scott. The article explores how popular culture has inspired tourism to Scotland from the nineteenth century to the twenty-first century and how sustainable popular culture-inspired types of tourism truly is.[196]

---

[193] Stephanie Garrison, Outlander *fandom and networked fans in the digital era,* (Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen, 2020).

[194] Stephanie Garrison, Outlander *fandom and networked fans in the digital era,* (Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen, 2020).

[195] University of Stirling, 13 February 2020, 'Alumni Stories – Séverine Peyrichou', Available: https://blog.stir.ac.uk/alumni-stories-severine-peyrichou/, accessed: 18 September 2023.

[196] Stephanie Garrison & Claire Wallace, "Media tourism and its role in sustaining Scotland's tourism industry", in *Sustainability* 13(11), 2021, DOI: https://doi.org/10.3390/su13116305.

Relating specifically to the *Outlander* case study, there are a number of recently published, popular guidebooks. These provide invaluable information on Scotland itself and the *Outlander* attractions available at present. The 2017 publication, *Midhope and more: Memories from Outlander filming locations*, celebrates filming locations in and around Edinburgh. The tour company, 'Mary's Meanders', in conjunction with 'The Edinburgh Sketcher', and with support from Edinburgh World Heritage and the Edinburgh Tourism Action Group, put together a small travel guide containing information and beautiful sketches of some notable filming locations in Scotland's capital city.[197] The History Scotland *Unofficial* Outlander *Guide* (2017), edited by Rachel Bellerby, includes discussions on the growing appeal of *Outlander* and the huge upsurge of interest in Scotland's history. In addition, it has an interview with the author of the series, the history of a selection of filming locations, including Doune Castle and Inverness, a history on the "real" Jacobites, and a behind-the-scenes look at filming. *Outlander's Scotland,* produced in 2018 by Phoebe Taplin, is a full-colour travel guide detailing some of the most important *Outlander* attractions on offer by region. Written in a very accessible style, this guide also includes interesting historical facts about and detailed photographs of the filming locations.[198] Taplin subsequently published a sequel in 2023, entitled *Outlander's Scotland Seasons 4-6*, which deals with the locations of later seasons of the *Outlander* series.[199] In another publication, Ali Wood's 2020 guidebook, entitled *Scotland: An Outlander Tour,* also offers detailed descriptions of several *Outlander* filming locations, as well as suggested self-guided itineraries.[200]

The fields of heritage tourism, and in particular film tourism, are relatively new but expanding niches. Although the synergy between heritage tourism and film tourism is clearly apparent, a rather limited amount of work exists exploring the joint territory where these niches overlap. Chapter 3 will attempt to address some of these gaps. Moreover, as indicated a limited amount of work also exists pertaining to the popular *Outlander* series, explored as a case study in this thesis, and tourism. While numerous news media reports mention the impact that *Outlander* has had on historical heritage sites, academic scrutiny of the phenomenon remains limited. This is the lacuna that this thesis sets out to address.

---

[197] Mary's Meanders, *Midhope and more: Memories from Outlander filming locations*, (S.l.: Mary's Meanders and Edinburgh Sketcher, 2017).
[198] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018).
[199] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland Seasons 4-6,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2023).
[200] Ali Wood, *Scotland: an Outlander tour,* (Great Britain: TVTraveller, 2020).

CHAPTER 3 – FILM TOURISM

3.1. Introduction

This Chapter contains the theoretical discussion of film tourism. As discussed in Chapter 2, research in film tourism has tended to focus on tourism destination impacts, the cultural construction of film tourism, film tourist demand and motivation, the film tourist experience, marketing, and destination image. This Chapter firstly considers the history and commercial value of film tourism. Next, it briefly looks at two of the most prominent discussion points in film tourism research, that is, destination image and the profile and experiences of film tourists. The last section focuses on the core concern of this thesis: film tourism and historical heritage sites. The discussion considers both historically-themed screen productions, as well as other types of screen productions that have made use of historical heritage sites for filming.

3.2. A brief history and the value of film tourism

Over the past seven decades, international tourism has gone from 25 million international arrivals in 1950 to over 1.3 billion in 2017. The UNWTO estimates that the sector is expected to see 1.8 billion tourists crossing borders by 2030.[1] As mentioned in Chapter 1, the tourism industry has already seen a move away from the generic travel of mass tourism in favour of more specialised and individualistic niche tourism.[2] In the global context, this is of course a significant trend, as the vastly increasing numbers of mass tourism has slowly morphed into the much less desirable perceived excess of tourism that has been termed 'overtourism'. In 2016, the travel industry news website, *Skift,* created (and later trademarked) the term 'overtourism'.[3] The Responsible Tourism Partnership defines the concept as:

> [D]estinations where hosts or guests, locals or visitors, feel that there are too many visitors and that the quality of life in the area or the quality of the experience has deteriorated unacceptably. It is the opposite of

---

[1] World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), *et al.,* "'Overtourism'? – Understanding and Managing Urban Tourism Growth beyond Perceptions" (Executive Summary), (Madrid: UNWTO, 2018), Available: https://doi.org/10.18111/9789284420070.

[2] Department of Historical and Heritage Studies, *The potential of the creative industry for destination development in South Africa – film tourism as a case study* (report prepared for the National Department of Tourism), (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2017), p. 27.

[3] World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), *et al.,* "'Overtourism'? – Understanding and Managing Urban Tourism Growth beyond Perceptions" (Executive Summary), (Madrid: UNWTO, 2018), Available: https://doi.org/10.18111/9789284420070.

> Responsible Tourism which is about using tourism to make better places to live in and better places to visit.[4]

Thus, driven by visitor demand and as an alternative to 'overtourism', the tourism industry has witnessed the rise of personalised and customised tours, where niches like film tourism emerge as strong competitors. Film tourism is not only a good alternative for mass tourism, precisely because it often draws visitors away from the major mass tourism sites to lesser-known, off-the-beaten-track ones, thus helping with destination development, but it also consequently helps promote a better geographic spread of tourism benefits.

Film tourism of course comes with many other benefits as well, although due to limited research carried out in this particular area, these have not been sufficiently quantified. Firstly, film tourism can provide a constant tourism revenue, since they are all-year, all-weather type of attractions, which certainly helps with seasonality. In fact, many film tourists actively choose to travel in the off-peak season.[5] Already in 1998 at the emergence of film tourism as a field of study, Riley *et al.* described some of the more economic benefits of film tourism in the form of the expansion of business opportunities, like the introduction of organised tours; the expansion of community festivals; alternative uses of sites; memorabilia sales; and increased exposure for businesses, like hotels and guesthouses, somehow featured or related to the filming at a site.[6]

Secondly, because screen-based media are perhaps the most accessible popular media and now have a wider reach, especially given the availability of streaming networks, destinations starring as filming locations have a wider and more varied visitor market than ever before.[7] Most discussions on the benefits tend to focus on the economic benefits of film tourism. After all, the film industry (with film tourism as an offshoot) is big business. In fact, as a part of the 'creative industries', it is estimated that the film industry contributed £6 billion a year (2015) to the United Kingdom's economy when one factors in spin-off benefits such as tourism.[8] In

---

[4] World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), *et al.,* "'Overtourism'? – Understanding and Managing Urban Tourism Growth beyond Perceptions" (Executive Summary), (Madrid: UNWTO, 2018), Available: https://doi.org/10.18111/9789284420070.

[5] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 37.

[6] Roger Riley *et al.*, "Movie-induced tourism", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 25(4), 1998, pp. 919-935.

[7] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 37.

[8] British Film Commission, 'Film is Great Britain: a guide to visiting film and TV locations in Britain', Available: http://cdn.londonandpartners.com/visit/campaigns/film-is-great/film_is_great_booklet.pdf, 2015.

another significant filming location, India, it was estimated that the combined creative industries of film, television and online video services contributed $16.5 billion in direct gross output to the Indian economy in 2019. This figure increased to an approximate $49.9 billion when factoring in indirect and induced effects. This occurred amid sluggish economic growth, proving that the film industry is a resilient one.[9]

Statistics for film tourism's value and impact are often difficult to come by because they are difficult to quantify. Often, film may influence a visitor's decision to visit a specific destination, even if all the activities they partake in cannot be classified as such. At some filming locations it may be impossible to collect statistics, since they are "free" to enter, like Piccadilly Circus (*Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows Part 1*), or it may be impossible to determine which visitors came because of film or because of some other motivation or interest. However, in 2019, *Travelzoo,* a global publisher of exclusive offers and experiences through membership, attempted to quantify the phenomenon in the UK. They found that inbound film tourists spent an estimated £266.2 million alone in 2016, according to the British Film Institute. By 2018, this figure had increased to £597.7 million. They also considered the regional impact of film tourism. In 2018, *Visit Cornwall* revealed that *Poldark* had influenced an estimated 14% of its visitors to come to the county. Similarly, in 2017, 27% of *Doc Martin* viewers stated that the series triggered an interest to visit Cornwall. A 2019 *Creative England* analysis found that businesses in West Dorset saw a 77% increase in customers and 47% of them attributed this increase to *Broadchurch.* The West Midlands attracted a record 1.8 million international visitors in just nine months in 2017 – a figure attributed to the hit series, *Peaky Blinders.* Shibden Hall, which featured in *Gentleman Jack,* had seen visitor numbers increase by 700% in 2019. East Cambridgeshire's visitor numbers increased to nearly 4 million after featuring in the first series of *The Crown.*[10] The blockbuster novel-turned-film, *Da Vinci Code,* had a profound impact on visitor numbers to Rosslyn Chapel, which dates from 1446. Visitor numbers rose from 38,000 to 176,000 when the film was released in 2006.

---

[9] Deloitte, 2019, 'Economic impact of the film, television, and online video services industry in India, 2019', Available: https://www2.deloitte.com/in/en/pages/about-deloitte/articles/in-about-deloitte-economic-impact-of-the-film-television-and-ovs-industry.html, accessed: 9 August 2023.
[10] James Morris, 24 October 2019, 'Screen tourism: how much money is this tourism trend making in the UK?', Available: https://www.tourism-review.com/film-related-inbound-tourism-in-uk-news11231, accessed: 24 October 2019.

This actually enabled a far-reaching conservation project at the chapel to be completed, securing the future of the building.[11]

In 2015, Creative England and VisitBritain also commissioned Olsberg-SPI to conduct a research study on film tourism in the UK in order to quantify some of the value of the industry. The report they produced provided undeniable evidence that tourists will travel to sites specifically because they have been depicted in films and TV series. 36.1% of all international tourists and 11.6% of all domestic tourists surveyed on site at six film tourism locations surveyed for this study were found to be core film tourists, which means that a screen production was the primary motivator for their visit.[12] The report also sought to quantify the value of these visits. The best-performing sites saw approximately £4.3 million in total screen tourism spend annually. International core film tourism was valued in the range of £100 million to £140 million for the UK in 2014, which was considered to be a conservative estimate at the time.[13]

The study also found that the types of production made no difference and all genres could inspire film tourism, including period and contemporary stories, family content, science fiction, fantasy, and even dark stories. Film tourism was also found to take place across a range of locations, including heritage buildings, towns, villages, and countryside sites.[14] The top-three performing sites, Bampton portrayed in *Downton Abbey,* Alnwick Castle portrayed in the *Harry Potter* films, and Lyme Park for *Pride & Prejudice,* unsurprisingly featured iconic locations that were depicted clearly on screen and were central to the plot.[15] All three were also featured in film franchises or television series, suggesting that extended on-screen exposure created the biggest film tourism impact. Curiously, some tourists seemed reluctant to admit that a screened production had influenced their visit, as they perceived this motivation as 'less cultured'. This trend was particularly prevalent at heritage sites.[16]

---

[11] VisitScotland, June 2022, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: 30 July 2023, p. 15.
[12] Olsberg-SPI, *Quantifying Film and Television Tourism in England*, (London: Olsberg-SPI, 2015).
[13] Olsberg-SPI, *Quantifying Film and Television Tourism in England*, (London: Olsberg-SPI, 2015), p. 1.
[14] Olsberg-SPI, *Quantifying Film and Television Tourism in England*, (London: Olsberg-SPI, 2015), p. 1.
[15] Olsberg-SPI, *Quantifying Film and Television Tourism in England*, (London: Olsberg-SPI, 2015), p. 32.
[16] Olsberg-SPI, *Quantifying Film and Television Tourism in England*, (London: Olsberg-SPI, 2015), p. 1.

The study also found that featuring in a screened production can have a rapid impact on a destination, leading to visitation very shortly after a film or TV production is released or, in some cases, while it is still in production. The study also reviewed film tourism's effects and determined that they have the potential to be long-lasting, depending on the longevity and prominence of the production.[17] However, the authors cautioned about film tourism's unpredictability and capricious fortunes. The success of any film or television drama is not guaranteed, and its effects on driving visitation can be complex. In cases where film tourism does occur, locations should focus on catering for these tourists alongside an existing tourism offer. In addition to proving that film tourism is a very important industry in the UK, the study also found that given the high levels of feature film and high-end television production in the UK, film tourism opportunities are expected only to increase in the UK in future.[18]

Film tourism, albeit only recognised as a niche as such from the 1990s, has a long history in the UK as well, since the country was one of the first to develop formalised links between the film and tourism industries. The recognition that film tourism was happening in the UK and the subsequent attempts to cater for film tourists can also be traced back to the 1990s. This, despite the fact that stakeholders, like the national tourism organisations, had serious reservations about the value and impact of this 'new' niche. Initially, their involvement with film tourism was limited to the production of 'movie maps' – maps including film locations for self-guided tours.[19] However, VisitBritain has been promoting film tourism as such for at least twenty years. They have been involved with various film campaigns, such as *The BFG, Spectre, Skyfall, Quantum of Solace, Paddington, Sherlock Holmes, Robin Hood,* and *The Da Vinci Code.*[20] Today, the UK film and film tourism industries are recognised and celebrated as illustrious and successful examples and often provide best-practice case studies for the rest of the world.[21]

With the value of film tourism established, one can of course not just focus on the positives, impressive as they may be, as film tourism can also include some disadvantages and

---

[17] Olsberg-SPI, *Quantifying Film and Television Tourism in England*, (London: Olsberg-SPI, 2015), p. 1.
[18] Olsberg-SPI, *Quantifying Film and Television Tourism in England*, (London: Olsberg-SPI, 2015), p. 1.
[19] Roger Riley *et al.*, "Movie-induced tourism", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 25(4), 1998, p. 920.
[20] VisitBritain, "Welcome address", presentation at *Seen on Screen: The International Screen Tourism Conference 2016,* London (UK), 24 November 2016.
[21] Department of Historical and Heritage Studies, *The potential of the creative industry for destination development in South Africa – film tourism as a case study* (report prepared for the National Department of Tourism), (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2017).

drawbacks, mainly in the less quantifiable areas of social and environmental impacts. For example, Beeton cautions against the sudden shifts in visitor profile that may accompany the sudden arrival of film tourism, leaving a destination unprepared.[22] Similarly, Nichola Tooke and Michael Baker caution about a too sudden increase in visitor numbers, straining the usually limited carrying capacity of many film locations.[23] Riley *et al.,* in their seminal article, also identified some pertinent issues with film tourism, including the exploitation of locals and visitors, increasing prices, the lack of preparedness of the locals in dealing with the tourist influx, if the location differs significantly from how it was portrayed on screen (which can result in visitor dissatisfaction), and the effects of souvenir hunters, who may take inappropriate mementos, like road signs![24] Admittedly, some of these issues are of course not just limited to instances where film tourism takes place, but may be more generally associated with any tourism activity.

Beeton also discusses several case studies that highlight the environmental and social issues which can accompany film tourism. Top of the list is the often criticised and aforementioned, *The Beach* (2000), which not only drew widespread ire for its flagrant environmental abuse while filming was taking place, but has also received criticism for the subsequent tourism to this fragile area.[25] In this case, filming led to widespread conflict between the Thai government, the conservation activist movement, the studio who produced the film (Twentieth Century Fox), and the Thai Tourism Authority and tourism industry. The latter had eagerly embraced the free promotion brought by the film, without considering the environmental and socio-political impacts.[26] In another case, the issue is more of a social and community-based nature. The Gambian village of Juffure is famous for being the setting of Alex Haley's much acclaimed book and mini-series, *Roots* (1977).[27] Visitors have been going to Juffure because of this filmic association and Gambia's growing tourism industry, only second to agriculture, has also been attributed to the impact of *Roots*. Yet the benefits from this increased visitation have not trickled down to the community and the villagers are left feeling disillusioned and exploited by Haley and others who "made fortunes out of them".[28]

---

[22] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 38.
[23] Nichola Tooke & Michael Baker, "Seeing is believing: the effect of film on visitor numbers to screened locations", in *Tourism Management* 17(2), 1996, pp. 87-94.
[24] Roger Riley *et al.*, "Movie-induced tourism", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 25(4), 1998, pp. 919-935.
[25] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 39.
[26] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 39.
[27] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 39.
[28] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 39.

This state of affairs have left them feeling resentful of the tourists and the whole *Roots* phenomenon.[29]

In another instance, the community seems to have fixated on the negative impacts of the film tourism phenomenon, while ignoring the positive potential of film tourism. After the success of the *Pride and Prejudice* mini-series (1995), the Friends of the Lake District expressed their concern over the negative impacts of the so-called 'Darcy effect'. They contended that money would have to be diverted from community projects to repair wear and tear and provide additional infrastructure and services for the influx of tourists driven by the series' success.[30] Beeton attributes the lack of awareness of the benefits of featuring onscreen to a lack of community consultation and education, which is not surprising given the vacuum of whose responsibility it is to consult the community. The filmmaker is often long gone when filming impacts become evident, while the tourism association may have had no or limited involvement in the filming. Beeton suggests that local councils, who often would need to approve certain aspects of the filming process, like permits, should take a more active role in this and that communities should be sensitised to the "imagined" versus the "actual" benefits of film tourism.[31]

With regards to the history of film tourism, as indicated earlier, Roesch traces the most persuasive origins of film tourism back to the 1930s. It is however the evolution of mass tourism in the 1970s and 1980s, along with the emergence of blockbuster film productions, which truly ramped up the development of film tourism. Nicki Grihault argues that film tourism did not significantly take off until the release of *Jaws* (1975) – a film which redefined the Hollywood feature film as a marketable commodity and cultural phenomenon.[32] This period has been labelled as "the development of a new media order", which witnessed the formation of multi-national media companies such as Time Warner, Disney, and Bertelsmann. This period also witnessed the worldwide expansion of the consumer market with the initiation of globalised marketing and promotion strategies. The worldwide box office successes of big-budget films such as *Star Wars* (1977-) and *Titanic* (1997) and television

---

[29] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 39.
[30] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 40.
[31] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 40.
[32] Thomas Schatz, "The new Hollywood", *in* Julian Stringer (ed.), *Movie Blockbusters,* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 15-44.

series like *Dallas* (1978-1991) emphasised this globalisation and the transcendence of cultural boundaries.[33]

Driving this global phenomenon, the marketing of films also evolved between the 1980s and 1990s: the advertising budget per film rose from an average of US$6.6 million to US$16 million,[34] and one can confidently assume that more movies were reaching more audiences than ever before in history. The average amount of money per film spent on production also increased from US$14.4 million to US$29.9 million between 1984 and 1994.[35] For *Jurassic Park* (1993), for example, the producers spent US$68 million on advertising, but this risk paid off when the film set a new global box office record.[36] As of the twenty-first century, the overseas market, which includes booming markets in China, Russia, Latin America and other parts of Asia, can make up 70% of a film's gross, with studios spending an estimated US$200 million per picture on advertising.[37] For tourism, the implications are clear and as Roesch points out: "people travel further and further for leisure" and the tourism "processes are mediated by a whole series of different factors, including the consumption of film".[38]

As indicated in the literature review in Chapter 2, one cannot truly discuss the historical development of film tourism without referring to literary tourism, the popular medium which drove visitation prior to film, and still a very close, and often inseparable, part of film tourism. While they are recognised as being independent fields of study, literary and film tourism have a lot in common and as mentioned it can even be argued that certain forms of film tourism developed out of literary tourism.[39] Literature, not unlike film, and tourism work very well together. When readers pick up a book, they immediately travel to another place, whether that place is an entirely fictional location or based on some real-world destination. It is not hard to imagine then that readers, when they have the means, may be inspired by the literature to become tourists and to travel to the place where a favourite story is set, or where a favourite

---

[33] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), p. 9.
[34] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), p. 9.
[35] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), p. 9.
[36] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), p. 9.
[37] Pamela McClintock, 31 July 2014, '$200 Million and Rising: Hollywood Struggles With Soaring Marketing Costs*',* Available: http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/200-million-rising-hollywood-struggles-721818, accessed: 31 July 2016.
[38] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), p. 9.
[39] Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014), pp. 48-49.

author may have lived. And when these imaginary journeys are realised, we can refer to literary tourism: travel inspired by literature.[40]

Literary tourism has been described as "[t]ourism activity that is motivated by interest in an author, a literary creation or setting, or the literary heritage of a destination".[41] A literature-inspired destination usually belongs in one of three distinct categories. Firstly, the "reader-tourist" can visit places where a novel is set and much time may be spent trying to locate these landscapes in the "real world", since settings are often very well disguised. An example of this would be Thomas Hardy's Wessex, which is based on the real Dorset in England. Secondly, the "reader-tourist" can also visit an attraction that is specifically created and based on some fictional world from a novel, like the various *Harry Potter* theme parks located in the United States, United Kingdom, and Japan. Lastly, the "reader-tourist" can visit a site associated with the life of a favourite author, like the birthplace, home, haunts and the eventual grave of the author, a monument, shrine, museum or literary trail dedicated to the author, or a landscape known to have inspired the author.[42] The most well-known example of this is William Shakespeare's hometown of Stratford-upon-Avon, England, which contains almost all of the above attractions associated with Shakespeare's life, work and death.[43]

The literary tourism niche has a long and illustrious history. In fact, several academics maintain that the religious pilgrimages of old can be classified as a form of literary tourism.[44] At a more conservative estimate, Harald Hendrix traces the earliest development of literary tourism to the ancient Roman world. Cicero (106-43 BCE) described his veneration at writers' tombs in *De legibus,*[45] and Virgil's tomb in Posillipo outside Naples reportedly became a

---

[40] Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014).
[41] Melanie K. Smith *et al., Key Concepts in Tourist Studies,* (London: Sage Publications, 2010), p. 110-111.
[42] Melanie K. Smith *et al., Key Concepts in Tourist Studies,* (London: Sage Publications, 2010), p. 110-111.
[43] Department of Historical and Heritage Studies, *The potential of the creative industry for destination development in South Africa – film tourism as a case study* (report prepared for the National Department of Tourism), (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2017), p. 28.
[44] Dean MacCannell, "Staged authenticity: arrangements of social space in tourist settings", in *The American Journal of Sociology* 79(3), (1973), pp. 589-603. See also Sue Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism,* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005); David T. Herbert, "Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), (2001), pp. 312-333; Ian Ousby, *The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); and Lucasta Miller, *The Brontë Myth,* (London: Vintage, 2002).
[45] Harald Hendrix, "From Early Modern to Romantic literary tourism: a Diachronical Perspective", *in* Nicola J. Watson (ed.), *Literary Tourism and the Nineteenth-Century Culture,* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

popular site of pilgrimage after his death in 19 BCE.[46] Hendrix argues that this ancient form of literary tourism formed part of a "larger practice dedicated to honouring renowned men whose intellectual heritage was considered particularly present in the places where they lived, worked and died".[47] This practice originated in both "admiration for the author's work" and "dissatisfaction with the limits of that very work", thus resulting in "a desire to go beyond it".[48]

Literary tourism experienced its heyday during the European Grand Tour, which took place between approximately 1550 and 1840. In essence, the Grand Tour can be described as a 'jaunt' around Western Europe undertaken (mostly) by wealthy, young (usually British) men. The principal aims of their trips ranged from education and culture to the quest for health and pleasure.[49] The practice of visiting the 'cultural centres' of Europe, particularly those in Italy and France, developed during the sixteenth century, reaching a peak in the eighteenth century. At its height, these wealthy sons of the landed classes would go abroad for anything from three to six years. They were usually accompanied by a tutor (Cicerone) and servants and would study art and architecture, admire scenery, mix with their social peers at grand houses and courts, acquire different languages and manners, and generally enjoy the leisure their class afforded them.[50] This traditional form of the Grand Tour began to fragment by the 1840s, as fashion shifted and the wealthy elite sought out new destinations, while at the same time middle-class tourists (now created by the Industrial Revolution) could visit 'the Continent' in increasing numbers, albeit for shorter periods of time.[51]

Despite such a lengthy legacy, literary tourism is still very much a force to be reckoned with, contributing more than £2.5 billion to the UK tourism industry by the 2000s.[52] But when

---

[46] Nicola J. Watson, *The Literary Tourist: Readers and Places in Romantic and Victorian Britain,* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).
[47] Harald Hendrix, "From Early Modern to Romantic literary tourism: a Diachronical Perspective", *in* Nicola J. Watson (ed.), *Literary Tourism and the Nineteenth-Century Culture,* p. 14.
[48] Harald Hendrix, "From Early Modern to Romantic literary tourism: a Diachronical Perspective", *in* Nicola J. Watson (ed.), *Literary Tourism and the Nineteenth-Century Culture,* p. 14.
[49] John Towner, "Literature, tourism and the Grand Tour", *in* Mike Robinson & Hans Christian Andersen (eds.), *Literature and Tourism: Reading and Writing Tourism Texts,* (London: Continuum, 2002), p. 227.
[50] John Towner, "Literature, tourism and the Grand Tour", *in* Mike Robinson & Hans Christian Andersen (eds.), *Literature and Tourism: Reading and Writing Tourism Texts,* (London: Continuum, 2002), p. 227.
[51] John Towner, "Literature, tourism and the Grand Tour", *in* Mike Robinson & Hans Christian Andersen (eds.), *Literature and Tourism: Reading and Writing Tourism Texts,* (London: Continuum, 2002), p. 227.
[52] Jacqueline Maley, 28 August 2007, 'Dreaming of Darcy, Dreading the Gas Bill*',* Available: http://www.Smh.co.au/news/ opinion/dreaming-of-darcy-dreading-the-gas-bill/2007/08/28/ 1188067110904.html, accessed: 15 November 2010.

literary tourism overlaps with film tourism one can see truly impressive results. An excellent example of this collaboration was analysed as the case study in a Masters dissertation by the author: the town of Forks in Washington State in the United States features as the setting of Stephenie Meyer's worldwide phenomenon, *The Twilight Saga,* which first appeared as series of novels (2005-2020) and then as a film franchise (2008-2012).[53] The town's Chamber of Commerce identified locations in the town that could stand in for its fictional counterparts and visitors could go on a guided (or self-guided) tour to visit these sites, from the Forks Community Hospital to Forks High School. The case of Forks demonstrated the transformative power of niche and special interest tourism. The town almost became a ghost town after the closure of its logging industry in the 1980s, but the phenomenal tourist response to *The Twilight Saga* helped save the town by increasing visitation by a 1000%.[54]

Forks is technically an example of a purely literary setting for *The Twilight Saga*, since the movies were filmed in Oregon (US) and Vancouver (Canada). Yet after the release of the *Twilight* film in 2008, visitation in Forks increased from 10,000-20,000 visitors a year to 70 000 visitors a year, as indicated in Figure 4.[55] One can clearly note that even though the last film in this series was released in 2012, visitation has not gone back down to the same lower levels as prior to the publication of the *Twilight* book in 2005. This displays the lasting impact that film tourism, and by extension other special interest types of tourism, can have on a destination's visitation. In fact, more than eight years on, Forks still hosts an annual *Twilight* celebration and still receives many *Twilight* visitors. The interest in *Twilight* recently experienced a resurgence with the film series being made available on online streaming platforms, opening this filmic cultural phenomenon to a whole new audience, which also demonstrates the enduring and sustainable impact of film tourism.

---

[53] Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014).

[54] Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014).

[55] Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014), p. 93.
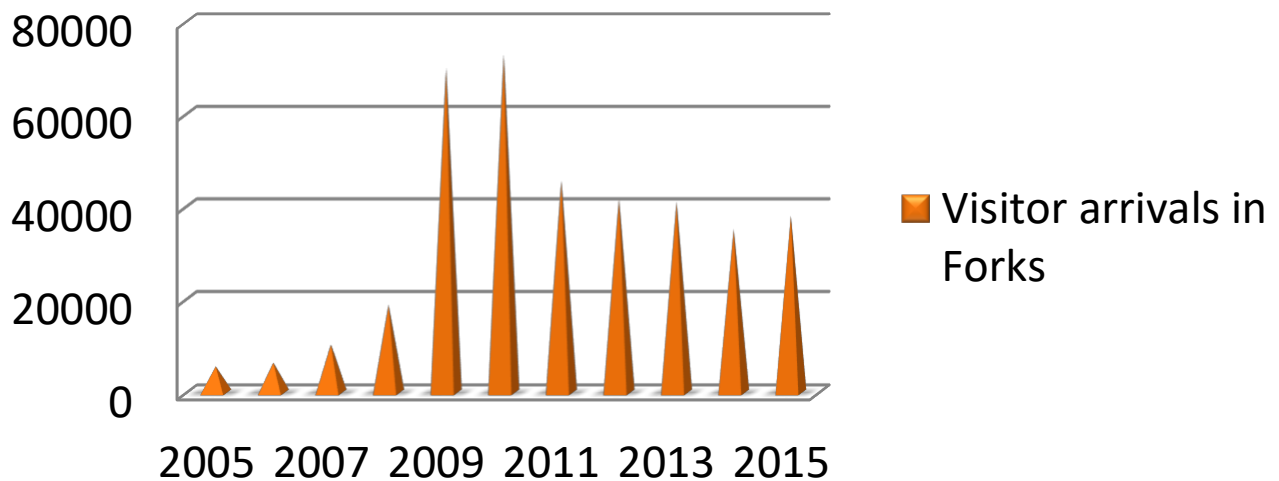
Figure 4: Visitor arrivals in Forks, Washington State, US (per year)
After: Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014).

This relationship between literary and film tourism has been discussed primarily by film tourism writers. Beeton discusses this crossover from literature to film, claiming that since the late nineteenth century, cultural representations through literary associations have gained increasing prominence in tourist visitation and promotion throughout the world. She adds however that today, this has been largely superseded by film representations. Film is now widely used and regarded as a destination-marketing tool. Significantly, Beeton does acknowledge that "…literary tourism remains popular and its impacts must also be considered and managed, often in conjunction with film-induced tourism".[56]

There are three distinct forms of this combined macro-niche of film and literary tourism. Firstly, where filming sites are the exact location described in the book it is based on, like Rome and the Vatican in Dan Brown's *Angels and Demons*. Secondly, the filming location and the setting of the book can be two (or more) separate places, like Stephenie Meyer's *The Twilight Saga* book and film series, which is set in Forks but filmed in Vancouver. The third category is where filming locations actually provide destinations for literary tourists to visit. This is most often the case where the literature originates in the fantasy or science fiction genres and there are no real-world destinations based on the book(s) for literary tourists to visit. Example of these include the *Harry Potter* series by J.K. Rowling or the *A Song of Ice*

---

[56] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism,* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), p. 53.

and Fire series by George R.R. Martin, which will be discussed in more detail later in this Chapter.[57]

This last category is the perfect blend of literary and film tourism and it is from this that a new kind of tourism altogether emerges.[58] For this phenomenon, Stijn L. Reijnders suggested the rather ambiguous term of 'media tourism', while Anne Buchmann suggested 'mythical tourism'.[59] In recent years, the term 'popular culture tourism' has also been used to refer to the linking of film and literary tourism, while also referring to popular culture that often drives theses linkages. Sheela Agarwal and Gareth Shaw have also noted the existence of a composite niche called 'Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism' (HSLT), which likewise includes an interesting link to heritage tourism, to elaborate on the close associations between these fields.[60] In the context of this study, this category could be referred to as 'History, heritage, literary and film tourism' (HHLFT), where history itself becomes a significant and distinct factor in influencing visitation.

An excellent example of this combined literary and film tourism niche is the *Harry Potter* series by J.K. Rowling, which provides a perfect blend of literature- and film-inspired locations across Scotland (like the Glenfinnan Viaduct, the Jacobite Steam Train, and the Scottish Highlands for its filmic associations and Edinburgh with its literary ties to the author and the books); England (Alnwick Castle and the North Yorkshire moors); London (Gloucester Cathedral and Kings Cross Station); and Oxford (the Bodleian Library at Oxford University).[61] In a perfect example of a specifically created attraction based on a fictional world from a novel, as well as an off-location film tourism attraction, Universal Studios' Orlando resort in Florida opened a whole new theme park based on the series: 'The Wizarding World of Harry Potter'. As a result, in 2010 the resort experienced its most successful quarter

---

[57] Department of Historical and Heritage Studies, *The potential of the creative industry for destination development in South Africa – film tourism as a case study* (report prepared for the National Department of Tourism), (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2017), pp. 31-32.

[58] Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014)*,* p. 52.

[59] Anne Buchmann, "From Erewhon to Edoras: Tourism and Myths in New Zealand", in *Tourism, Culture and Communication* 6(1), (2005), p. 181; Stijn L. Reijnders, "Stalking the Count: Dracula, Fandom and Tourism", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 38(1), (2011), p. 233.

[60] Sheela Agarwal & Gareth Shaw, *Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2018).

[61] Anonymous, S.a., 'The Harry Potter Virtual Film Location Tour', Available: http://www.chiff.com/a/harry-potter-travel-tour.htm, accessed: 15 November 2010; Anonymous, 24 October 2006, 'HP Fan Trips Announces 2007 Tours, VIP 'Phoenix' Screening', Available: http://www.hpana.com/news.19641.html, accessed: 15 November 2010.

in its twenty-year history.[62] In fact, the park has proven so successful that Universal Studios opened another two 'The Wizarding World of Harry Potter' theme parks modelled after their resort in Florida in Osaka, Japan and Hollywood, US in 2014 and 2016 respectively. The success of *Harry Potter* as a literary and film tourism phenomenon cannot be denied: between 2011 and 2013, the movie series caused a visitor increase of 230% to the films' sites.[63] Already in 2003, *Harry Potter* tourism was credited with saving the British tourism industry from the bad effects of the foot-and-mouth epidemic.[64] And demonstrating its lasting appeal, according to *Trip Advisor,* the Warner Bros. Studio Tour London – The Making of *Harry Potter* was rated as the number-one attraction to visit in 2018 throughout the UK.[65] This is no small feat given the range and nature of tourism to the UK.

An interesting exception to the cooperation between literary and film tourism is presented in Anne Buchmann's study on 'mythical tourism', where the literary Erewhon and the film-inspired Edoras in the Upper Rangitata Valley in Canterbury, New Zealand, are unrelated to each other.[66] Erewhon is a fictional Utopian society featured in the novel *Erewhon or Over The Range* by Samuel Butler, published in 1872. Butler lived in the Upper Rangitata Valley as a sheep farmer for five years and used its landscape as inspiration for his novels.[67] The book became a bestseller and within a few weeks of its publication at the end of the nineteenth century, an early form of literary tourism began to develop to the locations described by Butler. Literary tourists also visited the property and homestead of the author.[68] A hundred and thirty years later, this initial literary tourism was merged with film tourism related to a different 'myth'. The film set of Edoras, the capital of the mythical kingdom of Rohan in the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy of books and films, was constructed in another part of the valley. The set had been removed, following the completion of filming, but the site is still attracting

---

[62] Jason Garcia and Sara K. Clarke, 14 November 2010, 'Universal attendance still soaring', Available: http://articles.orlandosentinel.com/2010-11-14/business/os-cfb-tourism-harrypotter20101114_1_universal-orlando-wizarding-world-universal-attendance/2, accessed: 15 November 2010.

[63] World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) & Netflix, *Cultural Affinity and Screen Tourism: the Case of Internet Entertainment Services*, (Madrid: UNWTO, 2021), Available: https://doi.org/10.18111/9789284422838, p. 8.

[64] Gwyn Topham, 24 April 2003, 'Harry Potter is wizard for tourism', Available: http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2003/ apr/24/pressandpublishing.theharrypotterfilm, accessed: 15 November 2010.

[65] Jeff Desjardins, 17 February 2018, 'Map: the top tourist attraction in every country', Available: https://www.visualcapitalist.com/map-the-top-tourist-attraction-in-every-country/, accessed: 9 August 2023.

[66] Anne Buchmann, "From Erewhon to Edoras: Tourism and Myths in New Zealand", in *Tourism, Culture and Communication* 6(1), 2005, p. 181.

[67] Anne Buchmann, "From Erewhon to Edoras: Tourism and Myths in New Zealand", in *Tourism, Culture and Communication* 6(1), 2005, p. 184.

[68] Anne Buchmann, "From Erewhon to Edoras: Tourism and Myths in New Zealand", in *Tourism, Culture and Communication* 6(1), 2005, p. 181.

large numbers of film tourists, as the landscape itself is instantly recognisable.[69] This last example once again demonstrates the collaboration of film and literary tourism, where a film location can also provide a literary tourism attraction for an entirely fictional place.

Buchmann concludes that 'myths' and 'fantasy' can effectively be used as destination promotion tools on a global scale. Her case study of the Upper Rangitata Valley demonstrates this, since the destination happily uses the unique and iconic associations with the mythical Erewhon and Edoras to create favourable drawcards.[70] Buchmann also considers the impact on the local community, who interestingly seem to approve more readily of the older Erewhon association than the contemporary Edoras association. While no study has as yet investigated the differences between literary and film tourists, Buchmann demonstrates that in the case of the Upper Rangitata Valley, these two can co-exist in a peaceful and relatively complementary fashion.[71]

As the above discussion demonstrates, literary and film tourism has become a force to be reckoned with, especially when working in collaboration with one another. Additionally, it is also evident that literary and film tourism can be so similar as to be virtually indistinguishable. The relationship between literary and film tourism can be classified in a symbiotic and mutually beneficial way, as illustrated in Figure 5.[72]

---

[69] Anne Buchmann, "From Erewhon to Edoras: Tourism and Myths in New Zealand", in *Tourism, Culture and Communication* 6(1), 2005, p. 181.
[70] Anne Buchmann, "From Erewhon to Edoras: Tourism and Myths in New Zealand", in *Tourism, Culture and Communication* 6(1), 2005, pp. 182-183.
[71] Anne Buchmann, "From Erewhon to Edoras: Tourism and Myths in New Zealand", in *Tourism, Culture and Communication* 6(1), 2005, pp. 186-187.
[72] Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014), p. 56.
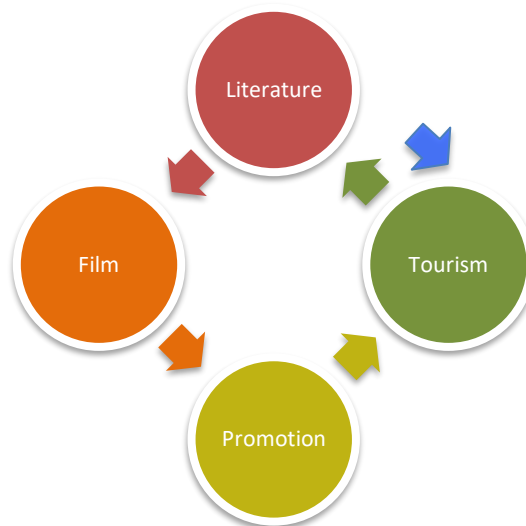
Figure 5: The symbiotic relationship between film and literary tourism
Source: Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014), p. 56.

Figure 5 illustrates that literature provides inspiration for the film industry, as fiction and non-fiction books alike are often turned into very successful scripts, and from there, films. There is also strong evidence that this relationship is reciprocal, with films increasing the profile and popularity of books. In fact, after the release of the *Hunger Games* film in 2012, book sales for this trilogy by Suzanne Collins experienced a much higher than anticipated boost of 55%. By March 2012, 36.5 million copies were in print, up from the 23.5 million copies at the start of that year.[73] This seems to be the case even if the book was already a well-established classic. After the release of *The Great Gatsby* (2013), inspired by the F. Scott Fitzgerald 1925 classic of the same name*,* eBook sales increased by 250% in just thirty days. According to Sara Nelson, the editorial director of books and Kindle at *Amazon.com*, it is a dependable trend that when a film based on a book is released, sales of that book will increase.[74] Film, being the more accessible medium, is then used to promote destinations as well, which leads to an escalation in tourism figures. While some form of literary tourism usually predates the film release, it is typically after the release of a film that a sharp increase in visitation is evident.[75]

---

[73] Andy Lewis, 28 March 2012, '"Hunger Games" movie fuels sharp rise in books sales', Available: http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/hunger-games-twlight-book-sales-versus-jennifer-lawrence-josh-hutcherson-305457, accessed: 5 January 2014.
[74] Paul Irish, 9 May 2013, 'The Great Gatsby the movie boosts sales of The Great Gatsby the book', Available: http://www.thestar.com/entertainment/movies/2013/05/09/the_great_gatsby_the_movie_boosts_sales_of_the_great_gatsby_the_book.html, accessed: 5 January 2014.
[75] Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014), p. 56.

3.3. Film tourism and destination image

Film tourism leads to increased cultural value for a destination. Film literally acts as a marker, adding meaning to an environment, landscape, or attraction. In tourism terms, it makes the location more distinguishable in a relentlessly competitive market. Peter Schofield points out that through their association with film (and consequently the glamour of fame and show business), even the most commonplace and ordinary of settings can be transformed into a place of great interest, sometimes overnight.[76] This process is of course not new: we can trace back studies on the influence of popular culture and media, specifically literature, on landscape to at least 1924. According to Christopher L. Salter and William J. Lloyd, one of the earliest calls for geographers to pay attention to the landscapes of literature was by J.K. Wright in an unsigned note to the *Geographical Review* in 1924.[77] The relationship between literature and landscape, or geography, is a complementary one: literature studies could benefit from the geographer's input in locating landscapes mentioned in novels, while literature adds humanistic value to the interpretation of landscapes.[78]

As to the latter, according to Salter and Lloyd, geographers were reticent to use literature as "a supplemental and special source of landscape insight".[79] This was the case for many decades after the initial suggestion that it should be included in the geographer's toolkit, as literature was considered to be "too 'unscientific', too personal and subjective".[80] Instead, Salter and Lloyd argued that literature is by nature 'evocative' and geographers may benefit from capturing this power of literature and directing it towards a better understanding of humanised cultural landscapes. At the time of their writing (1977), some geographers were increasingly finding themselves dissatisfied with the insensitive and ineffective observations of the purely scientific approach to geography. This movement which eventually led to the

---

[76] Peter Schofield, "Cinematographic images of a city: alternative heritage tourism in Manchester", in *Tourism Management* 17(5), 1996, pp. 333-340.

[77] Christopher L. Salter & William J. Lloyd, *Landscape in Literature,* (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers, 1977), p. 1.

[78] Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014), pp. 12-13.

[79] Christopher L. Salter & William J. Lloyd, *Landscape in Literature,* (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers, 1977), p. 1.

[80] Christopher L. Salter & William J. Lloyd, *Landscape in Literature,* (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers, 1977), p. 1.

development and widespread acceptance of "humanistic geography", also known as human geography, and cultural geography.[81]

Other similar studies on film and landscape have also been conducted.[82] Recently, the UNWTO and Netflix published a very influential report on cultural affinity and film tourism.[83] 'Cultural affinity' is used to refer to "a growing level of liking or closeness towards something or someone based on cultural familiarity or commonality".[84] 'Screen-induced cultural affinity' refers to "the growing affection and attraction towards a particular culture or country displayed on the screen", generated when watching a particular screened product.[85] This feeling actually goes beyond just generating visitation to screened locations and may be a way for film tourism to transform into a more responsible and sustainable kind of tourism.

Film tourism and cultural affinity together have the potential to facilitate the continual positive perceptions of a country or culture, in addition to other benefits, particularly in relation to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), including:

- Contributing to a sustainable approach to tourism in destinations depicted on screen by ensuring the promotion of positive effects on local economic growth, local culture, and the environment. This can contribute to the sustainable approach to tourism set forth by the UNWTO, such as reducing seasonality, promoting new destinations, and increasing the diversification of destinations' offerings.
- Widening the economic and cultural impact beyond tourism, including the demand for cultural and related goods, like the desire to experience specific cuisines and other aspects of life, as well as influencing lifestyle, music, and literary interest. By escalating the value beyond travel, local culture and products can be promoted

---

[81] Christopher L. Salter & William J. Lloyd, *Landscape in Literature,* (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers, 1977), p. 2.
[82] See for example Graeme Harper & Jonathan Rayner, *Cinema and Landscape,* (Bristol: Intellect, 2010); Graeme Harper & Jonathan Rayner, *Film landscapes: cinema, environment and visual culture*, (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2013); Paul Newland (*ed.),* *British rural landscapes on film,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016); and Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009).
[83] World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) & Netflix, *Cultural Affinity and Screen Tourism: the Case of Internet Entertainment Services*, (Madrid: UNWTO, 2021), Available: https://doi.org/10.18111/9789284422838.
[84] World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) & Netflix, *Cultural Affinity and Screen Tourism: the Case of Internet Entertainment Services*, (Madrid: UNWTO, 2021), Available: https://doi.org/10.18111/9789284422838, p. 11.
[85] World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) & Netflix, *Cultural Affinity and Screen Tourism: the Case of Internet Entertainment Services*, (Madrid: UNWTO, 2021), Available: https://doi.org/10.18111/9789284422838, p. 9.

to boost the economic, social and environmental outcomes that contribute to the eighth SDG (decent work and economic growth).

- Facilitating stronger connections and empathy for the local communities and traditions, creating a positive relationship between the viewer and said country or culture, whether or not travel ever occurs. This approach has the potential to contribute to spreading tolerance and understanding between people of diverse cultural backgrounds, which speaks to tourism's (and culture's) ability to function as a peacemaker and raises awareness across all stakeholders. This benefit relates to SDG 16 (peace and justice), which aims to foster multicultural solidarity and inter-faith understanding, and SDG 17 (partnerships for the goals), which aims to strengthen private-public partnerships and the engagement of multiple stakeholders.[86]

Traditionally, studies within the focus area of destination image and film tourism have tended to focus on the marketing of place and the shaping of a destination's image through film. 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 to supplement an existing destination portfolio.[87] This of course ties in with destination development, where film tourism can be used to develop a tourism product for a region, or it may be used to reinvent the tourism product on offer. Film and television have been described as excellent destination marketing tools, as the images produced in film and on television are not considered to be a biased and on-the-nose form of 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 can increase interest and potentially influence a decision to visit.[88]

Beeton concurs that place (or destination) marketing, a central aspect of any tourism strategy, is aimed at either reinforcing the existing image in the potential visitor's mind, or at

---

[86] World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) & Netflix, *Cultural Affinity and Screen Tourism: the Case of Internet Entertainment Services*, (Madrid: UNWTO, 2021), Available: https://doi.org/10.18111/9789284422838, p. 9.

[87] Joanne Connell, "Film tourism – Evolution, progress and prospects", in *Tourism Management* 33, 2012, p. 1020.

[88] William C. Gartner, "Image formation process", in *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing* 2(2-3), 1993, pp. 191-215.

constructing a new image to replace vague or negative images.[89] Visual media are the most powerful image-creators rather than traditional marketing, especially when the effect is subtler and when they have not been primarily developed to achieve this goal. This makes the promotional process more akin to the word-of-mouth approach, as opposed to direct and overt destination advertising. According to Beeton, the natural scenery, exotic locations, storyline themes, and human relationships portrayed in a film are recognised points of connection for people and there is a proven link that these connections may drive the viewer-tourist to visit certain locations.[90] Many films present the backdrop or setting of the film as more than mere 'scenery', producing icons that are as central to the storyline as to be individual characters.[91] Movie icons can be recurrent (for example, the Devil's Tower National Monument in the science fiction film, *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*) or single, climatic events (for example, the Skellig Michael World Heritage Site that features for only three minutes in *Star Wars: Episode VII – The Force Awakens*) with which the viewer-tourist identifies.[92]

Tooke and Baker argued that a movie can also fit J.R. Brent Ritchie's definition of a 'hallmark event' in that it is of limited duration and enhances the awareness, appeal, and profitability of the destination.[93] However, Beeton presents an alternative to this view, where the longevity of the visitation brought on by featuring in a screened product is extended, the visiting of a filming location relates more to a pilgrimage than to an event, particularly where visitors are motivated by the thematic contents rather than the environmental attractions. As examples, Beeton refers to a pilgrimage which includes visiting Kakadu National Park, looking for the Paul Hogan character from *Crocodile Dundee,* Mick Dundee (and possible romance), or visiting Doune Castle to re-enact the coconut scene from *Monty Python and the Holy Grail*.[94]

In some instances, the image created for a destination by a screened product may have more to with the viewer-tourist's own psyche. M. Joseph Sirgy and Chenting Su proposed that the match between a tourist's self-image and destination imaging is also an important motivator.[95] In an effort to ensure success, a film then endorses a commonly held, idealised self-image.

---

[89] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism,* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), p. 54.
[90] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism,* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), p. 54.
[91] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism,* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), p. 54.
[92] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism,* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), p. 55.
[93] Nichola Tooke & Michael Baker, "Seeing is believing: the effect of film on visitor numbers to screened locations", in *Tourism Management* 17(2), 1996, pp. 87-94.
[94] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism,* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), p. 55.
[95] M. Joseph Sirgy & Chenting Su, "Destination image, self-congruity, and travel behaviour: toward an integrative model", in *Journal of Travel Research* 38(4), 2000, p. 350.

For example, many television series look to their predominantly urban audience's desires and aspirations, and as a result often portray communities of friendly, caring people who still have time for each other, which stands in stark contrast to the perceived self-interest and the lived experiences of city-dwellers.[96] This is perceived to be a common, even stereotypical, dream (or ideal self-image) of many people in industrialised societies, for whom the small-town rural idyll still exists 'somewhere'.[97]

When considering the vast range of issues that affect destination marketing, tourism scholar Dimitrios Buhalis states that "[c]onsumers are increasingly following special interests and regard their trips as both recreational and educational experiences. Therefore, destination themes and their interpretation become more important for the future."[98] This works well with the idea of using film as a destination marketing tool, especially in cases where the image portrayed on film links well with the local area, its community, and its tourism businesses.[99] At a higher level of stakeholder collaboration, the aims of film producers can be seen in many cases to be compatible with those of destination marketing organisations: using film to develop an image that is desired by their market.[100] This has resulted in numerous cases of tourism marketing organisations working closely with their film office, with some regions offering attractive incentives to film producers for filming at their location.[101]

It must however be cautioned that this harmonious collaboration is not always the case. Oftentimes, community members have not been part of the decision to film at certain sites, nor do they have any control over the image presented, and this can result in unrealistic or even negative images.[102] An example of this would be Romania's association with Dracula. Until 1990, when Bram Stoker's novel, *Dracula*, was translated into Romanian, Count Dracula was largely unknown in Romania and vampires did not form part of Romanian folktales. And yet, bolstered by numerous popular screen adaptations, Western and especially American tourists have been going to Romania since the 1970s "in search of Count

---

[96] M. Joseph Sirgy & Chenting Su, "Destination image, self-congruity, and travel behaviour: toward an integrative model", in *Journal of Travel Research* 38(4), 2000, p. 340.

[97] M. Joseph Sirgy & Chenting Su, "Destination image, self-congruity, and travel behaviour: toward an integrative model", in *Journal of Travel Research* 38(4), 2000, pp. 340-352.

[98] Dimitrios Buhalis, "Marketing the competitive destination of the future", in *Tourism Management* 1(21), 2000, pp. 97-116.

[99] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism,* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), p. 57.

[100] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism,* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), p. 57.

[101] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism,* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), p. 57.

[102] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism,* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), p. 57.

Dracula".[103] Duncan Light points out that this association with vampires and the supernatural is at odds with the political and cultural image of Romania as a modern, developed European country.[104] Many Romanians find the direct linking of Dracula to Vlad Ţepeş (or Vlad the Impaler), a ruler of a Romanian province in the fifteenth century, highly offensive as it associates a national hero with a vampire.[105] This association was particularly perpetuated by Francis Ford Coppola's 1992 blockbuster film in which Dracula is directly linked to Vlad Ţepeş in the prologue.[106]

On the other hand, if the image is desirable, it stands to reason that tourism operators and DMOs alike will take advantage of the 'free' publicity, even to the point of re-imaging the destination to bring it into alignment with the film-generated imagery. However, the promotional capability of films is not equal: while some TV programmes and movies have little impact, others may be both influential and memorable. It may be the plot, the characters, the setting or all three that combine to create a film experience of lasting significance.[107] To these, one can add visitors' emotive connections to the sense of place and location. A range of factors therefore work together in order to create a film tourism destination. Figure 6 illustrates this relationship, the combination of which comprises a filmic destination.

---

[103] Duncan Light, "Dracula Tourism in Romania: Cultural Identity and the State", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 34(3), 2007, p. 751.
[104] Duncan Light, "Dracula Tourism in Romania: Cultural Identity and the State", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 34(3), 2007, p. 748.
[105] Duncan Light, "Dracula Tourism in Romania: Cultural Identity and the State", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 34(3), 2007, pp. 746-765.
[106] Alexandra Muresan & Karen A. Smith, "Dracula's Castle in Romania: Conflicting Heritage Marketing Strategies", in *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 4(2), 1998, pp. 73-85.
[107] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism,* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), p. 57.
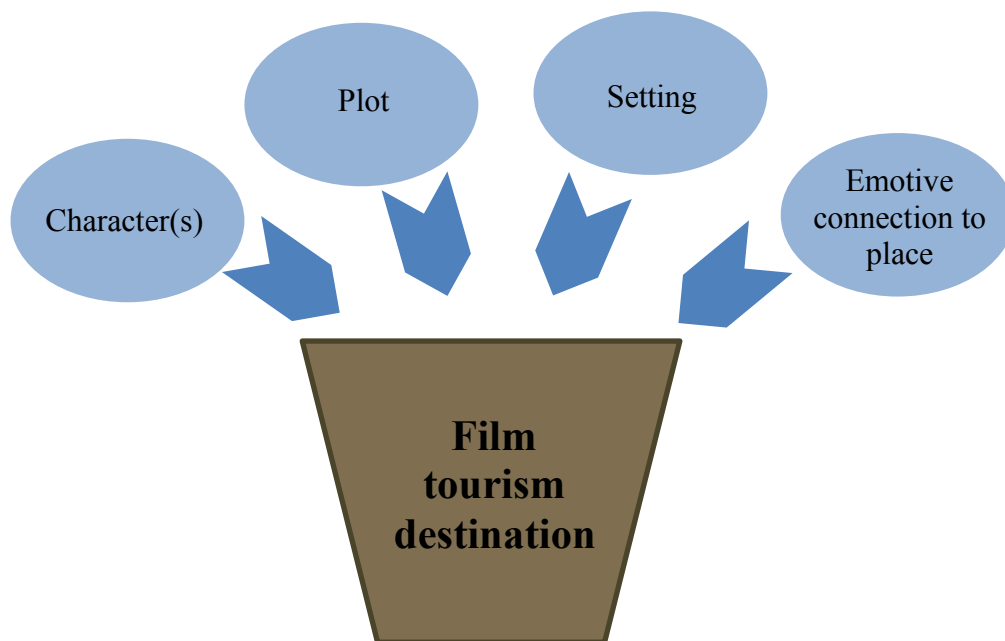
Figure 6: Factors comprising a filmic destination
After: Sue Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism,* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), p. 57

Screened images are considered to be particularly powerful destination marketing tools when they align with a broader tourism marketing or national image. Connell explains that:

> [a]pplied 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.[108]

Connell also points out that in the case of VisitBritain, sophisticated techniques are often adopted to engage the tourist, whereby they capitalise on links between the film and the place.[109] Good examples of films that align with the destination brand in their "sense of Britishness that entertain national stereotypes which confirm traditional (often misplaced but of appeal to the international audience) ideas of nationality" include the *Johnny English* and

---

[108] Joanne Connell, "Film tourism – Evolution, progress and prospects", in *Tourism Management* 33, 2012, p. 1021.
[109] Joanne Connell, "Film tourism – Evolution, progress and prospects", in *Tourism Management* 33, 2012, p. 1021.

James Bond films.[110] This is a very common process in the film production process as well, as film producers have to be mindful of the appeal of a film's characters and spatial location within the international context of the audience. As such, stereotypical geographical images are a staple in film to create "the desired emotional responses, mass market appeal, and subsequently, box office success".[111]

However, not all film tourism locations deal with a fictional screened place. An interesting alternative relates to a film-related image favourably representing a destination in the form of the film studio itself. Many of the movie studios have become so closely linked to a destination that they are also used to market the destination.[112] For example, Los Angeles in the US often uses its built movie heritage sites such as the recognisable entrances of Paramount and Universal studios as destination images. While not related to a specific film, these studios are strong image-makers in their own right, with their own tales of celebrity-making that at times have also been immortalised in film.[113]

Perhaps the most iconic, most cited, and most seminal case study of film tourism and film affecting a destination's image is associated with *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy and *The Hobbit,* written by J.R.R. Tolkien between 1937 and 1955. Turned into some of the highest-grossing films of all time from 2001 to 2003 and 2012 to 2014 respectively by Peter Jackson, the fictional Middle-Earth found its home in New Zealand. This association has been augmented by and one might add capitalised on by New Zealand's national tourism agency using the links to Middle-Earth to promote its country's tourism, branding itself as 'The Home of Middle-Earth'.[114] Underscoring the importance of this for the country at large, the New Zealand government has even appointed a 'Minister of the Rings' to maximise the benefits from film tourism.[115]

---

[110] Joanne Connell, "Film tourism – Evolution, progress and prospects", in *Tourism Management* 33, 2012, p. 1021.

[111] Joanne Connell, "Film tourism – Evolution, progress and prospects", in *Tourism Management* 33, 2012, p. 1021.

[112] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism,* Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), p. 55.

[113] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism,* Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), p. 55.

[114] Department of Historical and Heritage Studies, *The potential of the creative industry for destination development in South Africa – film tourism as a case study* (report prepared for the National Department of Tourism), (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2017), p. 52.

[115] Melanie K. Smith *et al., Key Concepts in Tourist Studies,* (London: Sage Publications, 2010), p. 73.

Tourism New Zealand estimated that the combined press promotion value of just the first two *The Lord of the Rings* films for New Zealand tourism was around US$41 million.[116] Additionally, the media coverage generated through the trilogy reached an estimated worldwide audience of 600 million people.[117] A report also estimated that the media exposure of the world premiere of *The Lord of the Rings: The Return of the King* in Wellington was worth NZ$25 million in free advertising.[118] Between 2001 and 2002, the New Zealand government invested NZ$9 million in order to maximise the marketing effects initiated by the movie trilogy.[119] This initiative paid off: between 2000 and 2006, *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy stimulated a 40% increase in annual visits to New Zealand. By 2012, tourism was recognised as the country's second biggest economic sector, with most of its international visitors travelling to film sites, despite its long-haul destination status.[120]

This filmic association permeated almost all of New Zealand's tourism industry. In Wellington, the exhibition '*The Lord of the Rings* Motion Picture Trilogy' at Te Papa Tongarewa Museum was so successful that it was also shipped off on a world tour.[121] Between 19 December 2002 and 21 April 2003, the exhibition attracted 219,539 visitors to the museum – the highest number ever achieved by a temporary exhibit at the museum.[122] Since 2002, even New Zealand's national airline, Air New Zealand, has been promoting itself as the 'Airline to Middle-Earth' and their campaign has been very successful. Several of the airline's aircraft sport liveries associated with the films, and in-flight entertainment, the airline's advertisements and even coffee cups feature *LOTR* and *The Hobbit* film-related images and information.[123] One of the actual film sets, Hobbiton, used in both *LOTR* and *The Hobbit* franchises, has been turned into a permanent and very successful tourism destination in

---

[116] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), p. 9.

[117] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), p. 9.

[118] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), p. 9.

[119] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), p. 10.

[120] World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) & Netflix, *Cultural Affinity and Screen Tourism: the Case of Internet Entertainment Services*, (Madrid: UNWTO, 2021), Available: https://doi.org/10.18111/9789284422838, p. 8.

[121] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), p. 10.

[122] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), p. 10.

[123] Anne Buchmann, "From Erewhon to Edoras: Tourism and Myths in New Zealand", in *Tourism, Culture and Communication* 6(1), 2005, p. 182.

Matamata (see Figure 7). In fact, Hobbiton is frequently rated as the top tourism attraction for the entire New Zealand.[124] Approximately a dozen tour operators offer location tours, ranging from half-day tours to 10-day-long itineraries. According to Roesch, film tourism associated with *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Hobbit* has brought millions of dollars into New Zealand and has showcased the country to a worldwide audience in an irreplaceable way.[125]

Figure 7: A visitor, wholly engaged and immersed in the experience, and even dressed in a hobbit costume visits the Hobbiton film set near Matamata
Source: goo.gl/DvQvBP, accessed: 6 December 2016.

3.4. Film tourists

As was made evident in the literature review, several studies have investigated film tourists by considering a range of aspects, including: the characteristics and motivations of film tourists; the film fan tourist; the experiences of film tourists; hyper-reality and the film tourist

---

[124] Hobbiton Movie Set Tours, 2012, 'Explore the real Middle-Earth', Available: http://www.hobbitontours. com/ Home/tabid/38/Default.aspx, accessed: 2012.
[125] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), p. 10.

experience; the film tour; film tourism as pilgrimage, and the film tourist as consumer.[126] Roesch conducted one of the seminal studies on film tourists and compiled a generic profile of what may motivate a tourist to take part in film tourism and effectively become a film tourist. He found that film locations can attract a wide range of people from the tourist participating in a more generic holiday tour to the hard-core film buff specifically in search of film locations.[127] The pull motivators for film location tourists are the three factors of place (location, attributes, landscapes, scenery), personality (characters, celebrity), and performance (plot, theme, genre).[128] Buchmann's research discovered that escape and fantasy are also important travel motivators, while Riley and Van Doren included pilgrimage, nostalgia, and escape as motivations.[129]

Kamal Singh analysed the motivations of film tourists to a specific site, that is, the Hobbiton movie set near Matamata, New Zealand. He found a range of very specific motivations for tourists visiting this very specific film site (although they may be relevant to other film tourism sites as well). These motivations range from the "iconic attractions within *The Lord of the Rings"*, "natural scenery of Hobbiton", the movie set itself, and the "fantasy theme of *The Lord of the Rings*, to learning, novelty, the comparison of the place in the novel to the film location, satisfying children's *The Lord of the Rings* interest, and fulfilling personal needs".[130]

Because of this wide range of possible motivations, Roesch points out that film tourists are often not able to identify precisely what their main motivations are.[131] There appears to be a myriad reasons motivating tourists to participate in film tourism, all coexisting harmoniously with varying priorities. Roesch adds that an additional motivator may relate to the technical side of filmmaking. Put simply, tourists can be motivated by a desire to learn how a film is

---

[126] Joanne Connell, "Film tourism – Evolution, progress and prospects", in *Tourism Management* 33, 2012, pp. 1016-1020.

[127] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), pp. 102-104.

[128] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), pp. 102-104.

[129] Anne Buchmann, "From Erewhon to Edoras: Tourism and Myths in New Zealand", in *Tourism, Culture and Communication* 6(1), 2005; Roger Riley & Carlton S. Van Doren, "Movies as tourism promotion: a 'pull' factor in a 'push' location", in *Tourism Management,* 1992, pp. 267-274.

[130] Kamal Singh, *Film-induced tourism: motivations to the Hobbiton movie set as featured in The Lord of the Rings,* (La Trobe University: BB (Hons) thesis, 2003).

[131] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), p. 103.

made. Some tourists would even want to be present for filming – to *see* a movie or TV series being made – while for others simply standing on a set or location is a privilege and the fulfilment of a long-held aspiration.[132]

One of the most widely cited and generic classifications of the motivations of film tourism is Niki Macionis's typology (visualised in Figure 8), which proposes a continuum of increasing interest in film and increasing motivations of self-actualisation. She suggests three categories of film tourist and their associated motivations: [133]

- The serendipitous film tourist may or may not participate in film tourist activities, but their presence in a film destination is unrelated to the film. Their motivations are based on social interaction and novelty.

- The general film tourist participates in film tourism activities, but were not specifically attracted to a destination because of a film. Their motivations are based around novelty, education, and nostalgia.

- The specific film tourist actively visits a destination to seek locations seen in a film. Their motivations might include nostalgia, romance, fantasy, self-identity and self-actualisation, and might also be rooted in the idea of pilgrimage.

Increasing interest in film

Serendipitous Film Tourist	General Film Tourist	Specific Film Tourist
• those who just happen to be in a destination portrayed in a film	• those who are not specifically drawn to a film location but who participate in film tourism activities while at a destination	• those who actively seek out places that they have seen in film
Motivations include: • social interaction • novelty	Motivations include: • novelty • education • nostalgia	Motivations include: • self-actualisation • pilgrimage • self-identity • fantasy • romance • nostalgia

Increasing self-actualisation motivations

Figure 8: The continuum of film-induced motivation
Source: Niki Macionis, "Understanding the film-induced tourist", in Warwick Frost, W. Glen Croy & Sue Beeton (*eds*.), *Proceedings of the international tourism and media conference*, (Melbourne: Tourism Research Unit, Monash University, 2004), p. 89.

---

[132] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), p. 103.
[133] Joanne Connell, "Film tourism – Evolution, progress and prospects", in *Tourism Management* 33, 2012, p. 1016.

Macionis also discussed these motivations in terms of push and pull factors, where people may travel because they are pushed by their own internal forces (motivations) and simultaneously pulled by the external forces of the destination attributes. She classifies these pull factors in terms of place, performance and personality, very much mirroring (but also expanding) the factors comprising a film tourism destination, as illustrated in Figure 6. 'Place' is categorised as referring to location, scenery, destination attributes; 'performance' as storylines or plot, themes, genres; and 'personality' as cast, celebrity, characters.[134] These push and pull motivations are visualised in Figure 9.

Pull Factors (Film)			Push Factors (Internal Drive)
Place	Personality	Performance	
Location attributes	Cast	Plot	Ego enhancement
Scenery	Characters	Theme	Status/Prestige
Landscapes	Celebrity (stars)	Genre	Fantasy/Escape
Weather			Vicarious Experience
Cultural origin			Search for self identity
Social origin			
Activity origin			

Figure 9: Push and pull motivation in film tourism

Source: Niki Macionis, "Understanding the film-induced tourist", in Warwick Frost, W. Glen Croy & Sue Beeton (*eds*.), *Proceedings of the international tourism and media conference*, (Melbourne: Tourism Research Unit, Monash University, 2004), p. 90.

Judy Cohen sees modern tourists as "secular pilgrims", while Dean MacCannell elaborates that the modern traveller and their quest for authenticity is a similar pursuit to the pilgrims of old, searching for religious affirmation.[135] Beeton also points out that these pilgrimages, especially during medieval times, may be considered as embryonic forms of tourism. While the main purpose of the pilgrimage may have been religious, these journeys also included a strong social aspect, as pilgrims travelled in groups for safety and certainly companionship.[136] In addition to this communion, their pilgrimages were motivated by similar motivations as we see in the tourism industry today: "a desire for adventure and a break from home".[137] Between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, pilgrimage had become "a mass phenomenon with a tourism infrastructure", which included package tours from Venice to the Holy Land,

---

[134] Niki Macionis, "Understanding the film-induced tourist", in Warwick Frost, W. Glen Croy & Sue Beeton (*eds*.), *Proceedings of the international tourism and media conference*, (Melbourne: Tourism Research Unit, Monash University, 2004), p. 90.

[135] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition)*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 44.

[136] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition)*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 44.

[137] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition)*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 44.

guidebooks, and a thriving trade of relics and souvenirs, all focused on the needs and desires of tourists which perpetuate to the modern day.[138]

In the context of dark tourism, J. John Lennon and Malcolm Foley consider pilgrimage to have "at least, mystical significance… which contains both a personal physical as well as often a psychological journey for participants".[139] To this end, Beeton writes that:

> [Film-induced tourism] has strong overtones of pilgrimage, with the tourist travelling (trekking) to sites considered sacred through their connection with fame and notions of fantasy. Film tourists collect memorabilia of places, actors and characters, taking them home along with stories of fame that raise them up in the view of their peers. The intimate reaction of visitors to many sites can be highly emotionally charged, verging on the spiritual and mystical.[140]

Anne Buchmann, Kevin Moore and David Fisher also demonstrated in their study that the most dedicated film tourists are indeed similar to pilgrims:

> Both [film pilgrims and pilgrims in the traditional sense] are on a centrally meaningful journey to often distant places. Both follow scripted guidelines while also creating their own experience. Both experience benefits: comforting emotions; a perceived offering of strength, empowerment and control; social support and a sense of belonging. Overall, most of our film tourists were 'followers' very much like pilgrims: people were willing to 'follow in the footsteps' to visit places that had attained an *aura* [original emphasis] in their own eyes, authenticated by cast and crew comments. Film tourists actively create their journey by showing commitment, a willingness to endure hardship and build a community (fellowship) with other participants.[141]

---

[138] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition)*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 44.
[139] J. John Lennon & Malcolm Foley, cited in Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition)*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 44.
[140] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition)*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 44.
[141] Anne Buchmann *et al.,* "Experiencing film tourism: authenticity and fellowship", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 37(1), 2010, p. 245.

Film pilgrims as tourists can have a host of interactions with the location they visit, in order to enhance this mystical experience. Roesch lists these activities as including shot re-creations, filmic re-enactments, interactions with site markers, the handling of film-related items, miniature positioning, and souvenir collection.[142] Beeton also states that film fans wish to commemorate the screened production they love through going on pilgrimage or creating their own productions, such as parodies on YouTube, or acting out the scenes at film locations, thereby re-creating and re-enacting favourite moments.[143] An example of one such re-enactment/recreation can be seen below in Figure 10, where film fans, Robin Lachhein and Judith Schneider, recreated a memorable scene from the 2016 film *La La Land* in Los Angeles, California, United States.[144]

Figure 10: A recreated scene from the film *La La Land* (above) with the original scene from the film below
Source: https://www.insider.com/couple-re-creates-famous-movie-tv-locations-travel-2020-6,
accessed: 20 September 2023.

---

[142] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009).
[143] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition)*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 45.
[144] Sophie-Claire Hoeller, 8 June 2020, 'A couple travels around the world to perfectly re-create movie and TV scenes', Available: https://www.insider.com/couple-re-creates-famous-movie-tv-locations-travel-2020-6, accessed: 20 September 2023.

In terms of the profile of film tourists, several authors have tried to define these visitors, but without any final cohesive definition. Writing about the New York-based packaged film tourism products presented by On Location Tours, Beeton states that participants ranged from their late teens to their fifties.[145] Roesch on the other hand profiled visitors at three different film locations: New Zealand (*The Lord of the Rings*), Tunisia (*Star Wars*), and Austria (*The Sound of Music*). He found a similar age range, in that the participants covered all age groups, ranging from teenagers to seniors over 60 years of age. He however found that the middle bracket between 20 and 50 years were the most prevalent. Generally, Roesch found the participants to be culturally aware, well-informed about the destination they were visiting, and wanted to participate in existentially authentic activities and experiences.[146] Without exception, Roesch found these participants to form part of the "free independent traveller", or FIT, market segment, which meant that they preferred to make individual travel arrangements, valued the flexibility of their itineraries, and had good knowledge of the host culture, gained from extensive pre-trip research conducted on the internet. In terms of economic status, the film tourists ranged from well-off to budget (backpacker) type travellers.[147] The vast majority of the participants originated from Western countries, a fact that Roesch attributed to the fact that the three case studies he selected were mainly produced for these markets and address issues appealing to the Western world. Most participants were also well-educated, having completed (or were undertaking) an undergraduate university degree.[148]

In 2018, in a report endorsed by the UNWTO, TCI Research reported that most film tourists are Millennials (generation Y). Significantly, they also originate from high-spending markets, such as China, implying that this niche is a very valuable target for destinations compared to generic visitors. TCI Research also found that:[149]

- They participate in 19% more cultural and nature activities during their trip.
- Film tourists are more active in sharing their trip experiences on social media (+27%) and have higher post-visit recommendation rates (+6%) than average.

---

[145] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition)*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 48.
[146] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), pp. 200-201.
[147] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), pp. 200-201.
[148] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), pp. 200-201.
[149] Theodore Koumelis, 18 April 2018, '80 million international travellers influenced by films worldwide', Available: https://www.traveldailynews.com/regional-news/80-million-international-travellers-influenced-by-films-worldwide/, accessed: 18 September 2023.

- They are more satisfied with the experience of their trip, reporting higher satisfaction rates with guided tours and excursions (+31%), landscape beauty (+21%), and leisure and cultural diversity (+29%).
- They tend to travel more frequently during off peak seasons too.

In 2022, TCI Research repeated their reference survey on film tourism, this time focussing on France, and provided a more detailed profile of film visitors.[150] They found that film tourists in France mostly originated from generations Y and Z, with one third of these visitors under 35 years old. 82% of film tourists were employed, with a marked over-representation of senior executives (20% compared to 15% on average). These characteristics were even more pronounced among international film tourism visitors, with 37% of them being under 35 years of age and 95% of them employed. Like Roesch, this study also found film tourists to be well-informed about the destination. Regarding their choice of accommodation, the study revealed that film tourists are just as likely to opt for high-end experiences (28%, 2.5 times higher than the average visitor) as they are for local homestays (32%, compared to 10% on average), a phenomenon the researchers ascribed to representing their desire to immerse themselves in the local culture and population. Half of those who are influenced by screened productions were travelling with their families, while a quarter travelled with friends or in an organised group, compared to the 12% of the average visitor.[151]

In addition to traditional tourist activities, like cultural visits and gastronomy, film tourists also chose to participate in many immersive activities, both outdoors and "niche", a term which includes all activities in which less than 10% of tourists participate. The study again confirmed that film tourists were ambassadors for the destination, as 4 out of 10 regularly shared their travel experiences on social networks. The survey found that film tourists were generally more satisfied with their experiences than the average visitor, which translated to a major competitive advantage in maintaining a positive word-of-mouth recommendation, given the highly connected and influential nature of these film visitors. Additionally, 70% of

---

[150] Vicky Karantzavelou, 28 March 2023, 'The rebound of Screen Tourism: a new TCI Research', Available: https://www.traveldailynews.com/special-interest-travel/the-rebound-of-screen-tourism-a-new-tci-research/, accessed: 18 September 2023.

[151] Vicky Karantzavelou, 28 March 2023, 'The rebound of Screen Tourism: a new TCI Research', Available: https://www.traveldailynews.com/special-interest-travel/the-rebound-of-screen-tourism-a-new-tci-research/, accessed: 18 September 2023.

them indicated that they want to revisit the destination.[152] These findings from Roesch, Beeton and TCI Research are tabulated below in order to create a composite profile of film tourists.

Author	Beeton	Roesch	TCI Research (2018)	TCI Research (2022)
Location	On Location Tours, NY	New Zealand, Tunisia & Austria	/	France
Age range	Late teens – 50s	Teens – seniors (over 60) Most prevalent: 20-50 years	Millennials (approx. 22-37 years)	Millennials and Generation Z (35% under 35 years)
Attributes	Pilgrimage Looking for alternative interpretation of NY	Culturally aware Well-informed Existentially authentic experiences FIT Solo travellers Well-educated	More active on social media High post-visit recommendation rates High satisfaction rates Travel off-peak	89% employed = 20% as senior executives Well-informed Likely to travel in groups Likely to share experiences on social media High satisfaction rates High intention to re-visit
Economic considerations	/	Affluent to budget travellers	Originate from high-spending markets	/

Table 2: A generic profile of film tourists with selected attributes

Despite these interesting indicators and general characteristics, Roesch concluded that "each tourism-inducing film attracts an individually distinct type of fan".[153] For example, participants expressed varying levels of interest to film tourism as a niche, ranging from

[152] Vicky Karantzavelou, 28 March 2023, 'The rebound of Screen Tourism: a new TCI Research', Available: https://www.traveldailynews.com/special-interest-travel/the-rebound-of-screen-tourism-a-new-tci-research/, accessed: 18 September 2023.
[153] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), p. 201.

individuals who had never done a location tour before and were not interested in doing another in the future, to participants who had done the same locations tour repeatedly.[154] In terms of the age range of the participants in each of the case studies, Roesch found correlation between when the films (or associated books) were released, or experienced a resurgence. Only *The Sound of Music* bucked the trend, having a much younger participant group – a trend Roesch attributed to the fact that the discounted location tour is heavily advertised in backpacker hostels in Salzburg and that the film remains a family favourite that also appeals to younger viewers. In terms of the gender distribution, Roesch once again found it to be case study-specific: *Star Wars* attracted a mostly male audience, while *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Sound of Music* attracted more female location tourists.[155] Interestingly, it seems that the majority of these film location tourists from all three case studies were solo travellers.[156] Roesch also evaluated the degree of fandom by measuring the number of repeated film viewings, the possession of the film (video or DVD), and the in-depth knowledge of and around the film. He found these to be highest amongst the *Star Wars* participants, followed by *The Lord of the Rings* and then *The Sound of Music.* He concluded that "a high degree of fandom generates primary location attraction nuclei, which, in turn, result in longer, more intensive location encounters".[157]

Authenticity is another paradigm within which to consider film tourists' experiences. In the context of tourism studies, "[a]uthenticity in tourism can be defined as the value that tourists and the host community place on the development and use of what is regarded as true or genuine cultural events, products and experiences".[158] Since the inception of the field of study, authenticity has been an important topic of research and discussion in tourism studies, as many authors perceive authenticity to be a significant variable in tourist experiences. Dean MacCannell and Daniel J. Boorstin are widely considered to have first introduced the concept of authenticity to tourism in the early 1970s.[159] Since then the discussions on authenticity have

---

[154] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), pp. 201-202.

[155] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), pp. 201-202.

[156] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), pp. 201-202.

[157] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), pp. 201-202.

[158] Melanie K. Smith *et al., Key Concepts in Tourist Studies,* (London: Sage Publications, 2010), p. 13.

[159] Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Image: a Guide to Pseudo-events in America,* (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1961)*;* Dean MacCannell, "Staged authenticity: arrangements of social space in tourist settings", *The American Journal of Sociology* 79(3), 1973, pp. 589-603.

been very diverse and highly contested.[160] To date, despite the large number of studies on the subject, there is no consensus on what the term entails when applied to tourism studies and no agreement on its interpretation in the field.[161]

Some of the initial studies considering the authenticity of tourism were essentially negative. For example, Boorstin accused mass tourism of creating 'pseudo-events', which is a direct result of the commoditisation of culture.[162] This presentation of 'contrived' performance or appearance is largely viewed as negative and inaccurate. MacCannell found that some tourists who actively search for authenticity and are then being deceived.[163] Tourists desire authentic experiences as a panacea for the mundane and "the shallowness of their daily lives and the inauthenticity of their everyday experiences".[164] Furthermore, expanding on Goffman's 'front' and 'back' area typology, he doubted whether tourists would actually even be given the opportunity to see 'authentic culture', since host populations when suddenly confronted with an influx of tourists, try to protect their culture by creating 'front and backstage areas'. Hosts continue their meaningful traditions away from the tourist gaze in the backstage area, while *performing* a limited range of activities for tourist *audiences* in the front stage arena (my emphasis).[165]

---

[160] For a selection of pertinent research on authenticity, please see: Erik Cohen, "Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism", *Annals of Tourism Research* 15, 1988, pp. 371-386; Stroma Cole, "Beyond Authenticity and Commodification", *Annals of Tourism Research* 34(4), 2007, pp. 943-960; Davydd J. Greenwood, "Culture by the Pound: an Anthropological Perspective on Tourism as Cultural Commodification", in Smith, V.L. (*ed.*), *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism,* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989); Hyounggon Kim and Tazim Jamal, "Touristic Quest for Existential Authenticity", *Annals of Tourism Research* 34(1), 2007, pp. 181-201; Alison J. McIntosh and Richard C. Prentice, "Affirming Authenticity: Confirming Cultural Heritage", *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(3), 1999, pp. 589-612; Gianna M. Moscardo and Philip L. Pearce, "Understanding Ethnic Tourists", *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999, pp. 416-434; Yvette Reisinger and Carol J. Steiner, "Reconceptualizing Object Authenticity", *Annals of Tourism Research* 33(1), 2006, pp. 65-86; Yvette Reisinger and Carol J. Steiner, "Understanding Existential Authenticity", *Annals of Tourism Research* 33(2), 2006, pp. 299-318; Ning Wang, "Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience", *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999, pp. 349-370.
[161] Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014)*,* p. 32.
[162] Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Image: a Guide to Pseudo-events in America,* (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1961)*.*
[163] Dean MacCannell, "Staged authenticity: arrangements of social space in tourist settings", *The American Journal of Sociology* 79(3), 1973, p. 600.
[164] Dean MacCannell, "Staged authenticity: arrangements of social space in tourist settings", *The American Journal of Sociology* 79(3), 1973, p. 590; Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014)*,* p. 33.
[165] Yvette Reisinger and Carol J. Steiner, "Reconceptualizing Object Authenticity", *Annals of Tourism Research* 33(1), 2006, pp. 67-68.

MacCannell also introduced the concept of 'staged authenticity', which refers to the setting up of false 'back regions' to deceive tourists.[166] By his consideration, these can be even more inauthentic than staged front regions. According to MacCannell, a common reason for taking guided tours of, for example, social establishments is that the tour organises access to areas that are ordinarily closed to outsiders. But precisely because these are guided tours, they are actually 'staged events' – a performance that is prepared specifically for the visitor, like in a living museum. However, tourists cannot always recognise this superficiality and they also tend to be forgiving towards it, as they imbibe the experience unquestionably.[167]

These early considerations also tended to view authenticity as relating to objects only (objective authenticity), and only the 'original' objects could be authentic. However, Ning Wang believes that to view authenticity as only the original or an attribute of the original is too simplistic and diminishes the concept's true complexity, and many of these scholars' early work has subsequently been questioned.[168] The emergent argument was that authenticity can be many things at once, amongst others relating simultaneously to the toured objects and events, a state of mind, or a mode of being towards tourism. In short, it should be considered as applying to objects and experiences alike. It can be universal or personal, in the eye of the beholder or defined by hosts and marketers.[169] In 2006, Yvette Reisinger and Carol J. Steiner pointed out that the concept originally applied to museums where experts wanted to determine "whether objects of art are what they appear to be or are claimed to be, and therefore worth the price that is asked for them or… worth the admiration they are being given".[170] This common application of the term was then extended to include cultural 'products' like rituals,

---

[166] Dean MacCannell, "Staged authenticity: arrangements of social space in tourist settings", *The American Journal of Sociology* 79(3), 1973, p. 595.

[167] Dean MacCannell, "Staged authenticity: arrangements of social space in tourist settings", *The American Journal of Sociology* 79(3), 1973, p. 595; Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014)*,* p. 33.

[168] Ning Wang, "Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience", *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999, pp. 349-370; Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014)*,* p. 33.

[169] Yvette Reisinger and Carol J. Steiner, "Reconceptualizing Object Authenticity", *Annals of Tourism Research* 33(1), 2006, p. 65; Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014)*,* p. 33.

[170] Yvette Reisinger and Carol J. Steiner, "Reconceptualizing Object Authenticity", *Annals of Tourism Research* 33(1), 2006*,* p. 67; Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014)*,* p. 32.

festivals, cuisine, dress, or housing. It may then reasonably be concluded that authenticity can be defined in a myriad ways.[171]

In addition, the post-modern take on authenticity in tourism provides an interesting perspective to consider, particularly in relation to film tourism. Post-modernists believe that it is 'irrelevant' whether something is real or false, original or a copy – authenticity is essentially meaningless to tourists. According to Erik Cohen, tourists accept the lack of originals, origins, and reality. He believes that tourists are not concerned about the authenticity of attractions as long as they enjoy them. If the products transformed by the commoditisation process maintain characteristics that satisfy tourists, they will also remain authentic in their eyes. Post-modern tourists also understand their impacts on fragile environments and cultures and accept that staged authenticity helps to protect these and therefore have no qualms about the 'inauthenticity'.[172]

To illustrate this post-modern consideration on authenticity, one may consider Humberto Eco's 'hyperreality'. For Eco, the most perfect example of 'hyperreality' is Disneyland or Disney World, since these parks are created through fantasy and imagination. Thus it is irrelevant whether they are real or false, because there is no original that can be used as a point of reference.[173] Continuing Eco's idea, the French philosopher Baudrillard writes that "[t]oday's world is a simulation which admits no originals, no origins…"[174] In contrast to MacCannell, tourists are now questing for "inauthenticity", where other considerations may weigh more heavily than the quest for authenticity. Wang concludes that it is much easier to enjoy a 'campfire dinner' on the lawn of a luxury hotel, than to be at a real campfire, in the woods, foraging for your own food.[175]

---

[171] For a discussion on the constructivist, modernist and postmodernist interpretations of 'objective authenticity', please see Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014)*, pp. 32-42.

[172] Yvette Reisinger and Carol J. Steiner, Reconceptualizing Object Authenticity, *Annals of Tourism Research* 33(1), 2006, p. 72; Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014)*, p. 35.

[173] Ning Wang, "Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience", *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999, p. 356.

[174] Ning Wang, "Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience", *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999, p. 356.

[175] Ning Wang, "Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience", *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999, p. 357.

In the face of this postmodern devaluation of the concept, Reisinger and Steiner suggest that instead of completely dismissing authenticity as a topic of concern, the phenomenologist Martin Heidegger's perspective should be considered. He stated that authenticity relates to how people see themselves in relation to an object.[176] Heidegger believed that *everything* that tourists experience is real and authentic in itself. "Whatever tourists experience is what IS, how the world is, how culture is, how tourism works."[177] For them, authenticity may take on an entirely different meaning. Tourists already have preconceived notions about an attraction, whether they get it from tourist guides or word-of-mouth interpretations from previous visitors, or from other sources, like (crucially) *television, films* or literature*,* including both fictional and non-fictional genres. If the actual attraction does not measure up to these preconceptions, tourists might consider the attraction as inauthentic. In other words, tourists' ideas about what is authentic sets their standards for authenticity.[178] To use Urry's concept, it is the 'tourist's gaze'.

A completely different line of enquiry sought to identify different kinds of authenticity. Athinodoros Chronis, for example, considered the different kinds of authenticity at the Battle of Gettysburg site, where one of the American Civil War's bloodiest battles took place in 1863. Ironically, the site can also be described as a film tourism location, as it featured in the 1993 film, *Gettysburg.* He identified the following seven dimensions of authenticity:

- *Locational authenticity* refers to the originality of place, that is, the actual site where an event happened.
- *Objective authenticity* refers to the originality of artefacts. The tangible historical objects embody the world of the past and comprise the props that recreate the past as a lived context.
- *Constructive authenticity*: In this instance of authenticity, a site or object can be seen as a 'complete and immaculate simulation'.
- *Perceived authenticity* is established through the involvement and authority of the government or specialists.

---

[176] Yvette Reisinger and Carol J. Steiner, "Reconceptualizing Object Authenticity", *Annals of Tourism Research* 33(1), 2006*,* p. 74.
[177] Yvette Reisinger and Carol J. Steiner, "Reconceptualizing Object Authenticity", *Annals of Tourism Research* 33(1), 2006*,* p. 80.
[178] Yvette Reisinger and Carol J. Steiner, "Reconceptualizing Object Authenticity", *Annals of Tourism Research* 33(1), 2006*,* p. 75.

- *Environmental authenticity* relates to the preservation of the surrounding nature, thus safeguarding the environment. This can also include the preservation of landscape and restoration of buildings and other structures.

- *Factual authenticity* refers to the historical accuracy of a site or object and may also be controlled, ensured and monitored by the government or another tourism-related authority.

- *Personage authenticity* relates to the authenticity of people, that is, the actual participants in an event.[179]

Wang effectively redefined authenticity in tourism studies by introducing the concept of 'existential authenticity'. He distinguishes between three different kinds of authenticity, including objective and constructive authenticity, while adding existential authenticity:

- *Objective authenticity* – the museum version. This kind of authenticity refers to the authenticity of originals. Correspondingly, authentic experiences in tourism are equated to an epistemological experience (i.e. cognition) of the authenticity of originals.[180]

- *Constructive authenticity* – something that can emerge or acquire recognition as authentic. This kind of authenticity refers to the authenticity projected onto toured objects by tourists or tourism producers in terms of their imagery, expectations, preferences, beliefs, powers, etc. There are various versions of authenticities regarding the same objects. Correspondingly, authentic experiences in tourism and the authenticity of toured objects are constitutive of one another. In this sense, the authenticity of toured objects is in fact symbolic authenticity.[181]

- *Existential authenticity* – "a special existential state of being in which individuals are true to themselves".[182] Existential authenticity refers to a potential existential state of Being that is to be activated by tourist activities. Correspondingly, authentic experiences in tourism are to achieve this activated existential state of Being within

---

[179] Athinodoros Chronis, "Coconstructing Heritage at the Gettysburg Storyscape", *Annals of Tourism Research* 32, 2005, pp. 391-392; Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014), pp. 37-38.

[180] Stroma Cole, "Beyond Authenticity and Commodification", *Annals of Tourism Research* 34(4), 2007, p. 944.

[181] Stroma Cole, "Beyond Authenticity and Commodification", *Annals of Tourism Research* 34(4), 2007, p. 944.

[182] Stroma Cole, "Beyond Authenticity and Commodification", *Annals of Tourism Research* 34(4), 2007, p. 944.

the liminal process of tourism. Existential authenticity can have nothing to do with the authenticity of toured objects.[183]

Throughout his article, Wang argues that objective authenticity in the traditional sense has become obsolete.[184] Instead, authenticity now relates to "experience and activity".[185] Thus, existential authenticity, unlike the object-related version, can often have nothing to do with the issue of whether toured objects are 'real'. For example, tourists participating in a traditional dance may make it inauthentic in MacCannell's sense, since they bring in their own creativity and change the dance, but in terms of Wang's existential authenticity, these tourists may have a very authentic experience.[186]

With existential authenticity, tourists are interested in a different kind of authenticity altogether. They do not care for the reality or truthfulness of the authenticity of the toured objects at all, but they are rather in search of their own authentic selves through the activities they partake in or the toured objects they interact with.[187] Wang suggests that existential authenticity can be divided into two dimensions and both can be achieved through tourism: intra-personal and inter-personal authenticity. Table 3 below outlines these dimensions and their respective forms:

---

[183] Stroma Cole, "Beyond Authenticity and Commodification", *Annals of Tourism Research* 34(4), 2007, p. 944.

[184] Ning Wang, "Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience", *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999, p. 356.

[185] Ning Wang, "Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience", *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999*, p. 359.

[186] Ning Wang, "Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience", *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999*, p. 359; Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014)*, p. 40.

[187] Ning Wang, "Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience", *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999*, p. 360.

Intra-personal authenticity	Inter-personal authenticity
Bodily feelings = corporeal dimension is engaged in tourism activity, including relaxation, rehabilitation, diversion, recreation, entertainment, refreshment, sensation-seeking, sensual pleasures, excitement, and play.[188]	**Family ties** = tourists do not just look for authenticity of 'the Other', but they also search for the authenticity of, and between, themselves. The toured objects function as a call for unity and togetherness between the tourists, and then, an authentic inter-personal relationship is experienced between them through shared experiences.[189]
Self-making = In the modern world, people rarely feel like their authentic selves in their everyday, routine living situation and so they look for extra-mundane experiences to discover themselves, or to create a new self. In terms of tourism, these sorts of experiences relate to, for example, adventure (like mountaineering) and leisure (like cruise ships). According to Wang, self-making is an implicit motivation for tourism.[190]	**Touristic *communitas*** = tourism gives access to authentically experienced Turnerian *communitas*. As proposed by Victor Turner, *communitas* is characterised by a state of 'liminality', which commonly refers to any condition outside or on the peripheries of everyday life (i.e., any condition that is not concerned with obligatory tasks of everyday life).[191] "*Communitas* is an unmediated, pure inter-personal relationship among pilgrims who confront one another as social equals based on a common humanity."[192] Turner indicated that this relationship characterised among pilgrims could also be extended to tourists, as tourism acts as a rite of passage.[193] Tourists can free themselves of the pressures stemming from an inauthentic

[188] Ning Wang, "Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience", *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999, pp. 361-363.

[189] Ning Wang, "Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience", *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999, p. 364; Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014), p. 41.

[190] Ning Wang, "Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience", *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999, p. 363.

[191] Ning Wang, "Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience", *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999, p. 364; Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014), p. 41.

[192] Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014), p. 41.

[193] Dean MacCannell, "Staged authenticity: arrangements of social space in tourist settings", *The American Journal of Sociology* 79(3), 1973, pp. 589-603; Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014), p. 41.

	social hierarchy and status distinctions. Tourism also makes it easy to form new friendships as tourism acts as a bonding experience: "In other words, the pleasure of tourism exists not only in seeing exotic things, but also in sharing and communicating this pleasure with other tourists who are seeing the same sights together."[194]

Table 3: The two dimensions of existential authenticity and their respective forms

In another interesting perspective, Beeton suggests that tourists are well aware of the "inauthenticity" of film sites and easily accept that places may not be where or what they are depicted to be. For example, A.V. Seaton and B. Hay found that tourists were visiting Scotland to see the places depicted in *Braveheart* (1995), and even though most of the film was made in Ireland, as mentioned before, these visitors were not disappointed in their visit to Scotland. In fact, they even visited Ireland to see the "fake historical places", which of course are the real filming locations.[195] This should no doubt provide some reassurance for the historians concerned with viewers' ability to distinguish fact from fiction, as discussed in Chapter 2. Beeton also considers the matter of authenticity relating to film studio theme parks, but curiously, a very limited number of other studies have considered authenticity in the context of film tourism. The main areas of investigation in this area are closely related and can easily be described in the context of "authenticity and artificiality". That is the interplay between fictional and authentic locations in film, the construction and fabrication of authenticity when it comes to the fantasy genre, and the dissonant relationship between the actual and the filmed world.[196]

Buchmann *et al.* specifically consider authenticity, existential authenticity, sincerity, fellowship, hyperreality, and simulacra in the context of film tourism.[197] In their research focussing on *LOTR* as the case study, they discover that authenticity is important to film

---

[194] Ning Wang, "Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience", *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999, pp. 364-365; Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014)*,* p. 41.
[195] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition)*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 40.
[196] Joanne Connell, "Film tourism – Evolution, progress and prospects", in *Tourism Management* 33, 2012, pp. 1007-1029.
[197] Anne Buchmann *et al.,* "Experiencing film tourism: authenticity and fellowship", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 37(1), 2010, pp. 229-248.

tourists and that the authentic experiences they seek are dependent on place, as well as the wider processes influencing the interpretation of these experiences. They state that:

> Such 'processes' amount to something rather more than, for example, individual tourists' 'expectations' or 'attitudes'. They are commitments, often, but not always, of a deep nature. In particular, they are personal commitments to internalized [sic] yet broadly operating social processes, values and understandings that have been imbibed through personal experiences, sometimes stretching over a person's entire life.[198]

In the appropriate setting, film tourism becomes almost mythical or spiritual:

> Such processes can facilitate mythological functions which – in properly structured physical settings, places and social situations – deliver to the tourist an experience of considerable significance and particular value. The tourist experience involves place both in its 'real' form, in this case New Zealand, and in its hyper-real form, Middle Earth which is constructed through a literary mythology in books and film. The tourist experience, however, is also constructed through action. What tourists do is an integral part of their construction of reality and authenticity. In the case of *Lord of the Rings* tourists this is illustrated in the sense of belonging that is created within the group. The group creates a fellowship in which the mythology of the story can be realized [sic] through activities that occur at places that have become significant as a consequence of the films. It is through this process that New Zealand becomes Middle Earth. The destination is transformed from being the place where the filming took place to become the place that was seen on the screen.[199]

They also state that film tourism is the perfect application for concepts such as existential authenticity, hyperreality and simulacra, since one is principally dealing with manufactured and imagined worlds. In fact, film tourism is the perfect canvas for the convergence of

---

[198] Anne Buchmann *et al.,* "Experiencing film tourism: authenticity and fellowship", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 37(1), 2010, p. 243.
[199] Anne Buchmann *et al.,* "Experiencing film tourism: authenticity and fellowship", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 37(1), 2010, p. 244.

existential and objective authenticity, "where reality and film can finally be merged".[200] Existential authenticity still has to conform to the same values as objective authenticity, as "[t]his is the spot where that scene was filmed".[201]

Through this discussion, authenticity has emerged to be a highly subjective and relative concept. Even its multifaceted definition includes many different perspectives and diversely prioritised factors. In keeping with a post-modern perspective, authenticity is very much what the individual makes of it, based on values, expectations, prior knowledge, and stereotypes. It also seems to be place specific and what is authentic in one place may not carry the same status in another. The same of course applies for authenticity at film tourism sites, as a part of the general stock of tourism products. Yet the discussion of authenticity at film (and really by extension literary) sites is heightened, as these sites often "straddle fiction and reality". Tourists are of course looking for authenticity in their travel experiences, albeit at different levels, but commonly visits to film locations will seek to make visitors feel as though they are part of the TV series or film, ultimately bringing them closer to the characters themselves.[202]

3.5. Film tourism and historical heritage sites

As discussed above, most studies in film tourism tend to focus on how films affect destination image and the resultant tourist expectations, experiences, behaviour, and numbers. Very few studies have considered the impacts of film tourism on historical heritage sites, so often utilised in the filming of movies and television series. However, when considering this phenomenon, and especially the impact of historically-themed films on tourism destinations, some very clear issues emerge. Firstly, it is important to note that we are dealing with a multi-disciplinary phenomenon. This extends beyond the usual multi-disciplinary nature of film tourism. not only do we see the involvement of film and tourism studies, but also heritage studies, popular culture studies, and literary tourism, and related fields like history, geography, and sociology. In fact, as already mentioned, Agarwal and Shaw have compiled

---

[200] Anne Buchmann *et al.,* "Experiencing film tourism: authenticity and fellowship", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 37(1), 2010, p. 245.
[201] Anne Buchmann *et al.,* "Experiencing film tourism: authenticity and fellowship", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 37(1), 2010, p. 245.
[202] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition)*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 48; Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014)*,* p. 42.

107

an entire volume on the composite niche and complicated interplay between heritage, film and literary tourism (HSLT).[203]

A second, significant point in discussions relating to film, tourism and historical heritage sites notes that films associated with history affect presentations, interpretations, and images of history. As discussed in the literature review in Chapter 2, this is a multi-dimensional issue to consider: because these films portray already "known and established" stories. The films themselves as well as the historical heritage sites they represent may be influenced by tourists' prior knowledge of the event, which may influence their expectations of the film or tourism visit. This is of course not an entirely new phenomenon for historical heritage sites, but as already noted, historic films can also influence how we perceive history and much has been written on this topic before, both in favour and in opposition of history in film. The influential novelist and screen writer George MacDonald Fraser rightfully pointed out that "[f]or better or for worse, nothing has been more influential in shaping our images of the past than the commercial cinema".[204] But this has always troubled historians for fears that film often only presents one perspective of an historical event and that history can be rewritten to fit the often more ambiguous purposes of the filmmaker.[205] Yet is history itself not a limited interpretation of the past, albeit carefully considered? Is the presentation of the past at heritage sites also not just a similar curated interpretation of the past? This of course also relates to the similar historical debate about whether history, converted into heritage, should be utilised in tourism. Both debates – whether history should be used in film and whether history should be utilised in tourism – are moot points, since the widespread practice of both have effectively rendered arguments in opposition pointless.

A third point of discussion regarding film tourism and heritage centres around authenticity. This is not the same authenticity of experience for film tourists discussed earlier, but relates to the authenticity of the historical heritage site. The process is complicated when we consider film tourism relating to historic films, since historical heritage sites need not only offer an authentic experience of the actual history they portray, but they also need to consider how

---

[203] Sheela Agarwal & Gareth Shaw, *Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2018); Warick Frost, "Braveheart-ed Ned Kelly: historic films, heritage tourism and destination image", in *Tourism Management* 27(2), 2006, pp. 247-254.

[204] Warick Frost, "Braveheart-ed Ned Kelly: historic films, heritage tourism and destination image", in *Tourism Management* 27(2), 2006, p. 248.

[205] Warick Frost, "Braveheart-ed Ned Kelly: historic films, heritage tourism and destination image", in *Tourism Management* 27(2), 2006, p. 249.

they can authentically include and interpret any images and expectations created by a film on their topic. In creating an attractive destination image, films about history have the potential to promote a particular historical interpretation and hence expectation in the minds of potential visitors.[206]

To complicate matters even further, we can also consider the phenomenon of stand-in locations, where filming takes place at a location that is different from the one being portrayed in the film. Where do tourists focus their visit then? The filming location, which may have no real connection with the history portrayed and was selected for aesthetic, economic or logistical reasons, or the real place mentioned in the film. It is also difficult to decide where the authenticity lies: with the filmed location or the "real" site, depending on whether one considers the site as a heritage or film location.[207]

A fourth point of discussion in this regard relates to sustainability. Global appeal and success are very difficult to predict when it comes to film and television. A destination might prepare for years of increased visitation as a screened place, but visitors may not show up in the expected 'hordes' or the impact of film tourism may not last as long as desired. On the other side of the spectrum, a site may be overwhelmed with a sudden influx of visitors. It remains quite challenging to plan and prepare for a phenomenon as unpredictable as film tourism.[208]

The fifth issue relevant to film tourism and heritage sites relates to the durability of historical heritage sites themselves, both during filming and with the resultant film tourism. Ideally, because we are dealing with real historical places, one would hope that no harm comes to the historical heritage or the site safeguarding it during filming. Indeed film crews have found many ways to minimise the impact of filming, like special lighting techniques (for example, cooler LEDs or balloon lights that require no scaffolding).[209] For example, during site visits, guides at both Highclere Castle for *Downton Abbey* and Hopetoun House for *Outlander* and a site manager at Blackness Castle for *Outlander* were very positive about how the respective

---

[206] Warick Frost, "Braveheart-ed Ned Kelly: historic films, heritage tourism and destination image", in *Tourism Management* 27(2), 2006, pp. 249-251.

[207] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition)*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 40; Warick Frost, "Braveheart-ed Ned Kelly: historic films, heritage tourism and destination image", in *Tourism Management* 27(2), 2006, pp. 249-251.

[208] Warick Frost, "Braveheart-ed Ned Kelly: historic films, heritage tourism and destination image", in *Tourism Management* 27(2), 2006, pp. 247-254.

[209] Harvey Edgington, personal interview as Senior Filming Locations Manager, National Trust, 2016-11-25.

filming crews treated the site and its contents.[210] The visitor management of film tourists, fortunately, is also not that different from general visitor management, even though visitor numbers may increase drastically and screen tourists may have different expectations and experiences, which may need to addressed.

A famous example relating to the durability of historical heritage sites in the face of film tourism was reported on by Winter with *Tomb Raider* tourists visiting the World Heritage Site of Angkor in Cambodia. As mentioned in the literature review in Chapter 2, in the early 2000s, Angkor was one of the fastest growing tourist destinations in Asia. Management authorities at Angkor had hoped to promote a more sensitive cultural tourism-based approach instead of mass tourism. Yet, in November 2000, Angkor was used as a key location for *Tomb Raider* (2001)*,* a film based on a popular computer game of the same name. This popular culture mass-audience approach was not at all what was envisioned for the site and the inauthentic portrayal of Angkor's culture, coupled with temple destruction, the presence of guns in a post-genocide Cambodia, and the film's core concept of 'tomb raiding' were all major issues, which nearly saw the site losing its World Heritage designation. In contrast, the government was eager for the filming to take place for the perceived financial and promotional benefits. This led to a perfect storm for the managers at the site. With *Tomb Raider* imposing new spatial narratives for the site, visitors rejected the imposed routeing designed to offer a more authentic experience in favour of the competing narratives proposed by the film. For example, some visitors felt that it was acceptable to clamber over the temple's delicate rooftops in emulation of what they saw in the film – a clear violation of normal visitor and site management, made even more significant by the fact that this is a World Heritage Site.[211]

However, on the positive side, there are also numerous benefits for historical heritage sites involved in film tourism as well. Much needed funds are generated from the actual filming as well as (and especially) the resultant screen tourism visitation afterwards. The site receives good publicity and increased visibility, and receives a wider range of visitors.[212] In fact,

---

[210] Blackness Castle, 4 August 2018, site visit by researcher, Blackness, Linlithgow, EH49 7NH, United Kingdom; Highclere Castle, 12 April 2002, site visit by researcher, Highclere Park, Newbury, RG20 9RN, United Kingdom; Hopetoun House, 4 August 2018, site visit by researcher, Hopetoun House, South Queensferry, EH30 9RW, United Kingdom.
[211] Tim Winter, "Angkor Meets Tomb Raider: setting the scene", in *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 8(4), 2002, pp. 323-336.
[212] Amy Sargent, "The Darcy effect: Regional tourism and costume drama", in *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 4(3-4), 1998, p. 181.

Harvey Edgington the Senior Filming Locations Manager for the National Trust categorically stated that while the financial incentives received from filming are beneficial, their properties are keen to feature in screened productions specifically for the resultant film tourism.[213]

To illustrate this interaction between film, tourism and historical heritage sites, this next section will consider a few pertinent case studies with both positive and negative impacts. The first example relates to the massively popular HBO fantasy television drama, *Game of Thrones* (2011-2019). Also based on a very popular book series, *A Song of Ice and Fire* by George R.R. Martin, the TV series *Game of Thrones* has been drawing a large number of tourists to various locations, like Northern Ireland, Malta, Spain, Iceland, and Croatia. In Northern Ireland, the series is filmed in a Belfast studio and across the Causeway Coast. In 2018, one in six visitors were visiting Northern Ireland because of *Game of Thrones* and they contributed in excess of €50 million to the local economy for that year alone.[214] In fact, this success led to the Linen Mill Studios in Bainbridge offering a *Game of Thrones* studio tour, opened in 2023, where visitors can see costumes, props, sets, weapons, and concept art, amongst others.[215]

The tour company, *Viator*, also offers popular *Game of Thrones* tours in Croatia, Malta and Iceland where fans may follow in the footsteps of their favourite characters. In Croatia, fans of the series may recognise the familiar landscape of King's Landing in the coastal city of Dubrovnik. This lively resort town doubles as the fictional capital city of *Game of Thrones'* Seven Kingdoms. *Viator* offers a walking tour of Dubrovnik where visitors can see the sets for the backstreets of King's Landing, climb the old city walls, and take in the views from the eleventh century Lovrijenac Fortress, which looks out over the fictional Blackwater Bay. The unchartered lands north of 'the Wall' found a home in the snow-blanketed wilderness of Iceland. Famous scenes of Jon Snow's journey beyond the protective Wall were filmed at Skaftafell National Park with its vast Vatnajökull glacier and Mývatn Lake. Tourists looking for a bit of adventure can hike across the Svínafellsjökull glacier, where the Rangers of the

---

[213] Harvey Edgington, personal interview as Senior Filming Locations Manager, National Trust, 2016-11-25.
[214] James Morris, 24 October 2019, 'Screen tourism: how much money is this tourism trend making in the UK?', Available: https://www.tourism-review.com/film-related-inbound-tourism-in-uk-news11231, accessed: 24 October 2019.
[215] Game of Thrones Studio Tour, 2023, 'Discover the detail', Available: https://www.gameofthrones studiotour.com/, accessed: 9 August 2023.

Night's Watch protected the Wall from intruders from the north.[216] Fans had also been visiting Malta's Gozo Island and the peculiar natural archway of rocks called the "Azure Window",[217] in order to recreate the wedding scene between Daenerys Targaryen and Khal Drogo (see figures 11a and 11b below).[218] In the four-year period immediately before the series aired, tourism in Dubrovnik increased by a standard 7%. But in the four years following *Game of Thrones*' release, Dubrovnik's tourism increased by nearly 38%, with a continued increase projected despite the conclusion of the series.[219]

Figure 11a: Film tourists recreating a *Game of Thrones* scene on location
Source: goo.gl/sCJLQy, accessed: 8 October 2016.

Figure 11b: The original scene from *Game of Thrones*
Source: goo.gl/kjU0dY, accessed: 8 October 2016.

This filmic popularity had unfortunately turned into a contributor for overtourism in Dubrovnik. In 2019, Dubrovnik received more than 1.2 million visitors – a drastic number for a city that is home to 42,000 locals. The city has been so overwhelmed by tourists that UNESCO issued a warning in 2018 that the Old Town, a World Heritage Site, cannot handle the number of people who flock to it daily.[220] UNESCO even threatened to delist Dubrovnik if they did not find a way to curb the visitor numbers. Authorities have been grappling to deal with this crisis by, for example, regulating the timing of cruise ships and setting up cameras

---

[216] Viator, September 2013, 'Game of Thrones Sites in Europe', Available: http://www.viator.com/Europe-tourism/Game-of-Thrones-Sites-in-Europe/d6-t10684, accessed: 25 October 2013.

[217] Unfortunately, this natural arch subsequently collapsed into the sea in 2017, thereby destroying this iconic film location.

[218] 'So my friends and I were in Malta last week. Some of the scenery looked familiar', Available: https://www.facebook.com/BestofGameofThrones/photos/a.652975884758197.1073741828.65297026475865 2/1111298892259225/?type=3&theater, 8 October 2016.

[219] World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) & Netflix, *Cultural Affinity and Screen Tourism: the Case of Internet Entertainment Services*, (Madrid: UNWTO, 2021), Available: https://doi.org/10.18111/9789284422838, p. 8.

[220] Anny Polyzogopoulou, 22 January 2023, 'Film-Induced Tourism: The Case of Game of Thrones and Dubrovnik', Available: https://www.byarcadia.org/post/film-induced-tourism-the-case-of-game-of-thrones-and-dubrovnik, accessed: 9 August 2023.

in the city to monitor crowd flow.[221] This clearly does not align with the stated aims, and one of the main benefits, of film tourism to help counter overtourism. This is a very serious warning to consider when discussing the extreme runaway potential of film tourism.

Another example is Skellig Michael, where filming for two *Star Wars* instalments – *Episode VII; The Force Awakens* (2015) and *Episode VIII: The Last Jedi* (2017) - took place. Skellig Michael is a small, uninhabited, rocky island eight miles from the small Kerry fishing town of Portmagee and is one of only two UNESCO World Heritage Sites in the Republic of Ireland. On the summit of this rocky island sits St Fionan's monastery, one of the earliest in Ireland. The monks lived in characteristic beehive-shaped huts made of stone, many of which remain to this day. The monks left the island in the thirteenth century and afterwards it became a place of pilgrimage. Besides this rich history, the island is also a nature attraction, well-known for the bird life on and around the island, boasting the second-largest gannet colony in the world.[222]

The island suddenly rose to prominence when it (iconically) featured as Luke Skywalker's Island Sanctuary on the planet Ahch-To. The island is quite difficult to visit, but director JJ Abrams decided to accept the significant challenge of getting a film crew to this remote island since "part of what gives Star Wars such enduring appeal, is that the locations play a key role in grounding the film in reality".[223] In Skellig Michael they found the perfect real, yet otherworldly location.[224] Despite UNESCO having no problem with filming taking place at the site, the decision has drawn some criticism. Grellan Rourke, a former site manager at Skellig Michael, and some senior staff in the Office of Public Works had serious misgivings about the site being used for filming. Their main points of contention were that visitors to this World Heritage Site were now more interested in its Hollywood depiction, rather than its ancient history and that the site's visitor capacity is being constrained. While the daily limit has remained the same (180 visitors a day), due to the increased demand all boats making the

---

[221] Denis Lovrović, 10 April 2019, 'Dubrovnik, Game of Thrones and overtourism – in pictures', Available: https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/gallery/2019/apr/10/dubrovnik-game-of-thrones-and-overtourism-in-pictures, accessed: 9 August 2023.
[222] Heritage Ireland OPW, 2023, 'Skellig Michael', Available: https://heritageireland.ie/places-to-visit/skellig-michael/, accessed: 9 August 2023.
[223] Skellig Michael, 2023, 'Star Wars on Skellig Michael', Available: https://www.skelligmichael.com/star-wars/, accessed: 9 August 2023.
[224] Skellig Michael, 2023, 'Star Wars on Skellig Michael', Available: https://www.skelligmichael.com/star-wars/, accessed: 9 August 2023.

trip are now at full capacity, rather than being less full as would have been the case in the years prior to *Star Wars* being filmed there, offering some respite for the site.[225]

While the two case studies mentioned above provide an interesting perspective on the use of historical heritage sites for screen productions based in the fantasy and science fiction genres, an example of a historical production can also be considered. In this case, Highclere Castle near Newbury in England, used as the home in *Downton Abbey* (2010-2022). The stately Highclere Castle and its stunning gardens and parkland is the ancestral home of the Earls of Carnarvon.[226] The first written references to the estate date back to 749, when an Anglo-Saxon King granted the estate to the Bishops of Winchester. Bishop William of Wykeham built a beautiful medieval palace and gardens in the park.[227] In 1679, the palace was rebuilt as Highclere Place House after it was purchased by Sir Robert Sawyer, a direct ancestor of the current Earl of Carnarvon. In 1842, Sir Charles Barry, who also designed the Houses of Parliament, transformed Highclere House into the present-day Highclere Castle.[228]

In the television series and subsequent films of the same name, the stately home features as the iconic Downton Abbey, home of the Crawley family. Its starring role in the series is widely credited with "saving" Highclere Castle and safeguarding this iconic estate for future generations. When the Downton Abbey producers first approached Highclere in 2009, the family faced a near £12 million repair bill, with urgent work priced at £1.8 million. By 2012, the "Downton effect" had begun to take the pressure off, as visitor numbers doubled to 1,200 a day and the site became a major tourist attraction. By 2014, it was reported that the stately home was bringing in £40,000 per day as a result of the show's phenomenal popularity – a figure that would see them pay off the aforementioned bill in just 300 days.[229] Highclere Castle has completely embraced the television series, no doubt as it projects a very positive image of the house. Moreover, the resultant film tourism offers a host of activities to keep

---

[225] Noel Baker, 4 February 2020, "'Wrong' to film Star Wars at Skellig Michael", Available: https://www.irishexaminer.com/news/arid-30979599.html, accessed: 9 August 2023.

[226] Fiona Carnarvon, *Highclere Castle: the home of the 8th Earl & Countess of Carnarvon,* (Newbury, UK: Highclere Enterprises LLP, 2013).

[227] Fiona Carnarvon, *Highclere Castle: the home of the 8th Earl & Countess of Carnarvon,* (Newbury, UK: Highclere Enterprises LLP, 2013).

[228] Highclere Castle, 2023, 'Castle and Gardens', Available: https://www.highclerecastle.co.uk/castle-and-gardens, accessed: 9 August 2023.

[229] James Morris, 24 October 2019, 'Screen tourism: how much money is this tourism trend making in the UK?', Available: https://www.tourism-review.com/film-related-inbound-tourism-in-uk-news11231, accessed: 24 October 2019.

visitors engaged, from tours of the house and gardens to exhibitions, events, holiday accommodations, customised souvenirs, including an exclusive gin, and membership to "Friend of Highclere Castle" club.[230] The current Earl and his wife, Lady Fiona Carnarvon, have expressed their gratitude for the positive benefits the series has brought:

> It's been an amazing magic carpet ride for all of us. It's given us a wonderful marketing platform, an international profile. I'm hugely grateful. My husband and I love it, and the people here. Now, without doubt, it is loved by millions of other people.[231]

Another example of a historical site benefitting from film tourism is Lacock, a quintessential English village with timber-framed cottages and local shops. With its central grid of four streets, this National Trust property today looks much as it did 200 years ago. Because of this, Lacock village is a firm favourite for film and TV producers and has earned its status as a film tourism icon. In fact, the village promotes itself entirely on its filmic associations through a filming locations map.[232] The village's most famous appearances include *Downton Abbey*, the BBC's *Pride and Prejudice*, and *Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince*. In some film-related history, the town is also known as Britain's birthplace of photography. In August 1835, William Henry Fox Talbot captured the world's first photographic negative at his home, Lacock Abbey. Visitors can visit the Fox Talbot Museum which tells the story of how this invention changed the way we view the world today.[233]

3.6. Conclusion

This Chapter presented an overview of some of the main theory and case studies involving film tourism. It considered the origins, value, benefits and disadvantages of film tourism, along with the close relationship between literary and film tourism. It looked at how film can be used as a destination marketing tool to create or reinvent a favourable destination image, leading to destination development. *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Hobbit* trilogies and its

---

[230] Highclere Castle, 2023, 'Castle and Gardens', Available: https://www.highclerecastle.co.uk/castle-and-gardens, accessed: 9 August 2023.
[231] Maggie Brown, 19 September 2015, 'How Downton Abbey helped to rescue Highclere Castle from ruin', Available: https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2015/sep/19/downton-abbey-highclere-castle-tourist-cash-funds-repairs, accessed: 9 August 2023.
[232] National Trust, *Filming locations in Lacock* (brochure), (S.l.: National Trust, 2019).
[233] National Trust, N.d., 'Exploring the village at Lacock', Available: https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/visit/wiltshire/lacock/exploring-the-village-at-lacock, accessed: 9 August 2023.

locations in New Zealand were discussed as seminal case studies of how film impacts on a destination's image. The Chapter also looked at what has been researched with regards to film tourists themselves and focused on who film tourists are, the motivations driving them to visit film locations, and the authenticity they experience when participating in film tourism. The concluding sector of this section considered film tourism at historical heritage sites and illustrated this phenomenon by considering notable case studies in Croatia, Ireland, and England.

CHAPTER 4 – FALLING THROUGH THE STONES: *OUTLANDER,* HISTORY AND SCOTLAND

This chapter provides background to the *Outlander* series. It looks at the history and development of the phenomenally successful and popular book series, while also providing a brief synopsis of the storyline, before discussing the creator and author of this series, Diana Gabaldon. The next section considers the development of the television series since 2014 and the role and impact that the some of the main actors have had on the promotion and popularity of Scotland as a tourist destination. The penultimate section considers Scottish history from an *Outlander* perspective. The final section provides some background on the main tourist destinations associated with the books and television series.

4.1. About *Outlander*

Outlander is a series of books written by the US author Diana Gabaldon, which was expanded into a television series from 2014 onwards. The now-classic *Outlander* was first published in 1991 and has continued through eight more *New York Times*-bestselling novels, including *Dragonfly in Amber* (1992)*, Voyager* (1994)*, Drums of Autumn* (1997)*, The Fiery Cross* (2001)*, A Breath of Snow and Ashes* (2005)*, An Echo in the Bone* (2009)*, Written in my Own Heart's Blood* (2014)*,* and *Go Tell The Bees That I Am Gone* (2021). It is anticipated that the series will have ten books in total and Gabaldon is currently working on that final book.[1]

Outlander tells the story of an army nurse, Claire Beauchamp Randall, who goes on a second honeymoon with her history professor husband, Frank Randall, after being apart for a number of years during the Second World War (1939-1945). They visit Inverness in Scotland where Claire accidentally travels two hundred years back in time after touching a circle of standing stones at Craigh Na Dun. Claire is captured by a group of Highlanders and has to quickly come to grips with eighteenth century Scotland, where she is already regarded as a 'sassenach' or 'outlander' due to her suspicious presence as an English woman in the Scottish Highlands. In addition, she is being persecuted by one of Frank's ancestors, the cruel Captain Jonathan "Black Jack" Randall. Through a series of events that threatens her freedom and life, Claire is

---

[1] Diana Gabaldon, 17 August 2016, 'Bio', Available: http://www.dianagabaldon.com/about-diana/bio/, accessed: 15 January 2019.

forced to marry a handsome, well-educated and disarming Scot, James Alexander Malcolm Mackenzie Fraser, or Jamie Fraser. However, Claire soon realises that her feelings for Jamie may be much deeper than the convenience of their arranged marriage. Claire decides to stay with Jamie and not to return to Frank. Black Jack Randall also has a dark history with Jamie and has him arrested on a charge of cattle theft. Once imprisoned in Wentworth Prison, Black Jack tortures and rapes Jamie and it is up to Claire to save him. The couple escapes to France in order to avoid further persecution, as Jamie is still considered an outlaw.[2]

Dragonfly in Amber (1992) is the second novel in the *Outlander* series. This volume sets off in 1968, when Claire brings her daughter Brianna to Scotland on holiday, and introduces her to the young Oxford historian Roger Wakefield, whom Claire asks for assistance with researching the Jacobite Rising of 1745. Roger's curiosity grows as he begins to sense that Claire is hiding something from him and from her daughter, until she finally shares her extraordinary story of finding herself transported two hundred years back into the past. Claire recounts the time she spent with Jamie, their intrigues in Paris and Prince Charles Edward Stuart's inner circle during the Rising, and their struggle to alter the disastrous course of history for Scotland, culminating in the Battle of Culloden on 16 April 1746. Claire also recounts how Jamie sent her back to Frank Randall through the stones on Craigh Na Dun on the eve of the great battle. Assuming that Jamie died at Culloden, Claire and Frank subsequently raise Brianna as their own daughter for the next twenty years. After Frank's death in a motor vehicle accident, Claire decides to show Brianna the country of her heritage, which is how they came to visit Scotland in 1968.[3]

Voyager (1994) is the third novel in the *Outlander* series and continues in 1968, where Claire has just discovered, with the help of Roger, that Jamie may not have died at the Battle of Culloden. As Claire, Brianna, and Roger trace Jamie through the historical record, Claire is torn between her duty as a mother and her desire to return to Jamie. For his part, in 1746, Jamie discovers to his dismay that he did in fact survive the failed Rising and must instead find his way forward with his wife gone and Scotland devastated by war and famine. After twenty years apart, Claire returns through the mysterious stone circle to the eighteenth century to search for

---

[2] Diana Gabaldon, *Outlander,* (London: Arrow Books, 2004).
[3] Diana Gabaldon, *Dragonfly in Amber,* (New York, NY: Dell Publishing, 1992); Dragonfly in Amber, N.d., Available: https://outlander.fandom.com/wiki/Dragonfly_in_Amber#:~:text=Dragonfly%20in%20Amber%20is%20the,the%20Jacobite%20Rising%20of%201745, accessed: 14 May 2022.

Jamie, unsure of what she will find on the other side. After happily reuniting, Claire discovers that Jamie married her old nemesis, Laoghaire MacKenzie, in an effort to protect the recently widowed Laoghaire and her two daughters. Jamie's marriage to Laoghaire is declared invalid, but Jamie vows to continue to financially support his 'second' family. To finance the arrangement, the Frasers visit Silkies' Isle, where Jamie had hidden away a treasure of precious gems he discovered while imprisoned in Ardsmuir Prison for his role in the Jacobite Rising (this is also where he meets Lord John Grey, a significant character in his life). While attempting to retrieve the gems, Jamie's nephew, Young Ian Murray, is kidnapped by an unknown ship. The rest of the novel details the Frasers' efforts to rescue Young Ian, taking them to France and then onwards to the Caribbean and Jamaica. After being rescued from a shipwreck, the Frasers suddenly find themselves in the "New World" in the Royal Colony of Georgia.[4]

Drums of Autumn (1997) is the fourth novel in the series and continues the Frasers' adventures in America in 1767. They travel to Wilmington, North Carolina to meet with Governor Tryon to try and sell some of their precious gems, but instead, the governor offers them a vast tract of land in the backcountry of North Carolina, where they eventually establish a new settlement called Fraser's Ridge. Meanwhile Brianna, safe but lonely and saddened in the twentieth century after her mother's departure to the past, struggles to accept her loss and decides to satisfy her curiosity about a father she has never met. Brianna discovers a tragic piece of "history" that threatens her parents' happiness in the eighteenth century, which prompts her to travel back through time on a mission to save her parents.[5] Roger, fascinated by both Claire's story and his budding romance with Brianna, follows her through the stones.[6]

The Fiery Cross (2001) is the fifth (and longest) novel in the series and starts off in 1770 with Claire and Jamie attending the Gathering (of Scottish exiles and immigrants) at Mount Helicon, in the colony of North Carolina, while Brianna prepares for her wedding to Roger MacKenzie (who has now taken back his birth surname, after having used his adoptive surname), and the baptism of their son, Jeremiah (Jemmy). The rest of the novel outlines the tensions in the

---

[4] Diana Gabaldon, *Voyager,* (New York, NY: Bantam Dell, 2001a); Voyager, N.d., Available: https://outlander.fandom.com/wiki/Voyager, accessed: 14 May 2022.
[5] It should be stated at this point that not everyone in the series possesses the ability to travel through time. Although Claire, Brianna and Roger can, because they have the ancestral gene with the ability to do so, Jamie, for example, cannot time travel.
[6] Diana Gabaldon, *Drums of Autumn,* (New York, NY: Bantam Dell, 2001b); Drums of Autumn, N.d., Available: https://outlander.fandom.com/wiki/Drums_of_Autumn, accessed: 14 May 2022.

colony, as the colonial government square off against the self-styled "Regulators". This conflict ends in hostilities and the Frasers find themselves in the midst of these at the Battle of Alamance. The small "Regulator" rebellion is put down, but Roger is mistakenly hanged. He survives, but loses his beautiful singing voice. The settlement at Fraser's Ridge continues to grow, as the Frasers secure new tenants. At the end of the novel, Young Ian returns home at last from his exile with the Mohawk.[7]

A Breath of Snow and Ashes (2005) is the sixth novel in the series and mainly covers the period from 1773 to 1776. The book follows the politics and turmoil preceding the American Revolution (1775-1783). The political unrest in the colonies begins to boil over while the Frasers try to live peacefully on their isolated homestead. Claire's skill as a healer brings suspicions of witchcraft against her, while Jamie faces conflicting loyalties: one to the oath he swore to the British crown after the Jacobite Rising, and one to his hope for the American independence Brianna and Roger have assured him of. At a personal level, the Frasers face a harrowing time of abductions, disease, false accusations of murder, and their house burning down. In 1776, Brianna and Roger's second child, Amanda (Mandy), is born. Claire realises that Mandy has a heart murmur, which even she cannot repair in the eighteenth century. The MacKenzies will have to return to their own time through a stone circle on Ocracoke to get Mandy the life-saving surgery she needs.[8]

An Echo in the Bone (2009) is the seventh novel in the series. Brianna, Roger, Jemmy, and Mandy are now "safe" in the twentieth century at Lallybroch, but not for very long. Jemmy is kidnapped by an extremist group, set on changing the past and the outcome of Culloden. They believe Jemmy knows where a large stash of gold sent by King Louis XV of France to Bonnie Prince Charlie to help fund the Jacobite Uprising of 1745, known as the "Frenchman's gold", is hidden. When it appears that they have taken Jemmy to the past, Roger must follow to save his son. Meanwhile, in the eighteenth century, Claire, Jamie and Young Ian travel back to Scotland to collect Jamie's printing press to start rebuilding their lives, after losing everything when their house burned down on the Ridge, but not before becoming embroiled in military conflict again, this time at Fort Ticonderoga and one of the battles of Saratoga (1777). Claire

---

[7] Diana Gabaldon, *The Fiery Cross,* (New York, NY: Dell Publishing, 2001c); The Fiery Cross, N.d., Available: https://outlander.fandom.com/wiki/The_Fiery_Cross, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[8] Diana Gabaldon, *A Breath of Snow and Ashes*, (New York, NY: Bantam Dell, 2005); A Breath of Snow and Ashes, N.d., Available: https://outlander.fandom.com/wiki/A_Breath_of_Snow_and_Ashes, accessed: 14 May 2022.

returns home without Jamie, as there is a pressing medical emergency requiring her expert care. After her return, Claire receives devastating news – the ship that Jamie and his sister were travelling back on has sunk, with no survivors. Now widowed, Claire marries Lord John Grey for her protection, as she is about to be arrested for being a spy. This novel ends with Jamie arriving at Lord John's house, very much alive and confronted with his wife now being married to his best friend.[9]

Written in my Own Heart's Blood (2014) is the eighth novel in the series and the first to include three separate timelines. The first follows the Frasers in the 1770s, as Jamie is promoted to general, and the Frasers find themselves in the thick of the conflict of the American Revolution at the Battle of Monmouth (1778). The second timeline follows Roger in 1739, as he mistakenly travelled back to the wrong time to save Jemmy, but meets with Jamie's father, Brian Fraser, and Black Jack Randall. The third timeline follows Brianna in the 1980s as she discovers that Jemmy was not taken through the stones at Craigh na Dun, but is actually still held in the present. Brianna gets Jemmy back and they travel to Roger's timeline to retrieve him as well. Eventually all the timelines sync up again as Brianna, Roger and their children decide to travel back to the safety of their family in the eighteenth century and arrive at Fraser's Ridge at the end of the novel.[10]

Go Tell The Bees That I Am Gone is the latest and ninth novel in the series and was published in 2021. The novel is set against the overture of the American Revolution, which threatens to tear the main protagonists apart once again. In 1779, Claire and Jamie are at last reunited with Brianna, Roger, and their grandchildren on Fraser's Ridge. Having the family together is a dream the Frasers had thought impossible. Yet even in the North Carolina backcountry, the effects of war are being felt. Tensions in the Colonies run high and Jamie knows that with the loyalties among his tenants split, it will not be long until the war is on their doorstep. Brianna and Roger are concerned that the dangers that provoked their escape from the twentieth century might catch up to them here. They question whether risking the perils of the 1700s – disease, starvation, and an impending war – was indeed the safer choice for their family. As the

---

[9] Diana Gabaldon, *An Echo in the Bone*, (New York, NY: Bantam Dell, 2009); An Echo in the Bone, N.d., Available: https://outlander.fandom.com/wiki/An_Echo_in_the_Bone, accessed: 14 May 2022.
[10] Diana Gabaldon, *Written in My Own Heart's Blood,* (London: Orion Books, 2014); Written in My Own Heart's Blood, N.d., Available: https://outlander.fandom.com/wiki/Written_in_My_Own_Heart%27s_Blood, accessed: 14 May 2022.

Revolutionary War creeps ever closer to Fraser's Ridge, and with their family finally together, Jamie and Claire have more at stake than ever before.[11]

This book series that transcends genre restrictions, qualifying as anything from historical romance to science fiction, was published in 114 countries and 38 languages with an estimate of between 35-50 million copies sold worldwide.[12] Besides the larger novels described above, the series also includes a number of novellas, two companion guides (*The Outlandish Companion*), a graphic novel (*The Exile*, which tells the events from *Outlander* from Jamie's and his godfather Murtagh's perspective), and a sub-series featuring Lord John Grey.[13] Authorised publications by various other authors have also celebrated the *Outlander* novels including a colouring book, two cookbooks, and others.[14] The series has received worldwide acclaim, with *Salon Magazine* aptly pinning down the novels as "the smartest historical sci-fi adventure-romance story ever written by a science Ph.D. with a background in scripting 'Scrooge McDuck' comics".[15] The series has won several accolades, including the Romance Writers of America RITA Award for the Best Romance Novel of 1991 for *Outlander,*[16] as well as the Quill Award for Science Fiction/Fantasy/Horror for *A Breath of Snow and Ashes* in 2006.[17] In addition to the planned tenth novel in the series, the author is also working on more Lord John novels, a prequel involving Jamie Fraser's parents, and another spin-off novel

---

[11] Go Tell The Bees That I Am Gone, N.d., Available: https://outlander.fandom.com/wiki/Go_Tell_the_Bees_That_I_Am_Gone, accessed: 14 May 2022.
[12] Neil Drysdale, N.d., 'The Outlander effect: the big interview', Available: https://pressandjournal.shorthandstories.com/outlander-big-interview/, accessed: 29 June 2023; Alison Flood, 23 November 2021, "Outlander author Diana Gabaldon: 'I needed Scotsmen because of the kilt factor'", Available: https://www.theguardian.com/books/2021/nov/23/outlander-tv-series-author-diana-gabaldon, accessed: 23 November 2021.
[13] See for example: Diana Gabaldon, *The Outlandish Companion,* (Canada: Doubleday, 1999); Diana Gabaldon, *Lord John and the Private Matter,* (New York, NY: Delacorte Press, 2003); Diana Gabaldon, *Lord John and the Brotherhood of the Blade,* (New York, NY: Delacorte Press, 2007a); Diana Gabaldon, *Lord John and the Hand of Devils*, (New York, NY: Delacorte Press, 2007b); Diana Gabaldon & Hoang Nguyen, *The Exile: An Outlander Graphic Novel*, (New York, NY: Del Rey, 2010); Diana Gabaldon, *The Scottish Prisoner: A Novel,* (London: Orion Books, 2011); Diana Gabaldon, *The Outlandish Companion Volume Two,* (Canada: Doubleday, 2015a), Diana Gabaldon, *Seven Stones to Stand or Fall: A Collection of Outlander Fiction,* (New York, NY: Random House, 2017).
[14] See for example: Theresa Carle-Sanders, *Outlander Kitchen: The Official Outlander Companion Cookbook,* (New York, Ny: Delacorte Press, 2016); Theresa Carle-Sanders, *Outlander Kitchen: To the New World and Back Again,* (New York, NY: Random House, 2020); Diana Gabaldon, *The Official Outlander Coloring Book,* (Canada: Doubleday, 2015b).
[15] Diana Gabaldon, 17 August 2016, 'Bio', Available: http://www.dianagabaldon.com/about-diana/bio/, accessed: 15 January 2019.
[16] Anonymous, 14 July 2015, 'RITA® Winners', Available: https://web.archive.org/web/20150714074216/https://www.rwa.org/p/cm/ld/fid=535, accessed: 29 June 2023.
[17] Anonymous, 8 January 2007, 'The Quill Book Awards', Available: https://web.archive.org/web/20070108151537/http://www.thequills.org/2006.html, accessed: 29 June 2023.

focussing on Master Raymond (a minor but intriguing character, featured prominently in *Dragonfly in Amber*).[18]

4.2. About the author

Diana Gabaldon is the author of the award-winning, #1 *New York Times*-bestselling *Outlander* novels. She was born on 11 January 1952 in Williams, Arizona, but grew up in Flagstaff.[19] She is of English and Mexican American descent. She obtained a Bachelor of Science degree in zoology from Northern Arizona University, a Master of Science degree in marine biology from the Scripps Institution of Oceanography at the University of California-San Diego, and a Ph.D. in quantitative behavioural ecology from Northern Arizona University.[20] She also received an honorary degree as a Doctor of Humane Letters from the University of Glasgow.[21] She spent a dozen years as a university professor specialising in scientific computation at Arizona State University, before switching to writing fiction permanently. She already had extensive writing and research experience, having written scientific and technical articles, textbooks, and software reviews, worked as a contributing editor on the MacMillan *Encyclopedia of Computers*, and founded the scientific-computation journal *Science Software Quarterly*. Gabaldon has also written numerous comic-book scripts for Disney.[22]

Initially, Gabaldon did not intend to write a book. She had always wanted to be a novelist and started writing *Outlander* by accident on 6 March 1988 when she decided to write a novel for practise.[23] At the outset, her goals were to learn what it took to write a novel and to decide whether writing novels might be something she wanted to do.[24] She decided a historical novel

---

[18] Neil Drysdale, N.d., 'The Outlander effect: the big interview', Available: https://pressandjournal.shorthandstories.com/outlander-big-interview/, accessed: 29 June 2023.

[19] Diana Gabaldon, 16 July 2021, 'Myth and mountain birthdays', Available: https://dianagabaldon.com/wordpress/about-diana/myth-and-mountain-birthdays/, accessed: 29 June 2023.

[20] Bev Eckman-Onyskow, 26 August 2009, 'Santa Fe author ready to release new book', Available: https://web.archive.org/web/20131112073342/http://www.alamogordonews.com/news/ci_13204389, accessed: 29 June 2023.

[21] University of Glasgow, 28 June 2022, 'University of Glasgow honorary degree for Outlander author', Available: https://www.gla.ac.uk/news/headline_856196_en.html#:~:text=Dr%20Diana%20Gabaldon%2C%20the%20author,Glasgow%20for%20services%20to%20Literature., accessed: 20 September 2023.

[22] Diana Gabaldon, 17 August 2016, 'Bio', Available: http://www.dianagabaldon.com/about-diana/bio/, accessed: 15 January 2019.

[23] Diana Gabaldon, 7 March 2021, 'So, on March 6th, 1988, I started writing a book...', Available: https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=278695370287391&set=a.257419099081685&type=3&mibextid=SDPelY, accessed: 7 March 2021.

[24] Diana Gabaldon, N.d., 'The Outlander Series', Available: http://www.dianagabaldon.com/books/outlander-series/, accessed: 15 January 2019.

might be the easiest to research and write, as she had after all had much experience in these fields as an academic. She conducted meticulous research and amassed over 4,000 books dealing with eighteenth century Scottish culture, North Carolina, and the American Revolution, as well as "a collection of 70 to 80 herbals about the medical use of plants" for Claire's healing.[25] Gabaldon opted to pick Scotland as her setting after watching a rerun episode of the British science fiction television series, *Doctor Who,* which featured a kilted young Highlander named Jamie McCrimmon from 1745, played by Frazer Hines. She had also meant to write a straightforward historical novel, until she introduced Claire. After a "belligerent" Claire took over the story as narrator, "making smart-ass modern remarks about everything", Gabaldon decided to introduce the time-travel component that would place a modern woman in the eighteenth century.[26] She even published an article on the "Gabaldon theory of time travel" in the *Journal of Transfigural Mathematics.*[27]

Gabaldon did not plan to show her work to anyone, but after getting into an argument with a man online over what it felt like to be pregnant, she posted a relevant excerpt of *Outlander* describing the experience on the *CompuServe Literary Forum.* Several members liked it, and fellow author, John Stith, offered to introduce her to his literary agent, Perry Knowlton. Knowlton decided to take her on, even though the manuscript was unfinished. Once it was finished, he sent it to five editors whom he thought might be interested. Four days later, three of them responded with offers. Gabaldon had indicated to Knowlton that there was still more of the story left after *Outlander* and the publisher, Delacorte, signed Gabaldon for a three-book contract. This was when she retired from an academic career to begin writing full-time.[28]

As an unexpected consequence, Gabaldon has taken on a near ambassadorial role for Scottish culture, history, and tourism. She encourages collaboration with fan initiatives and tourism organisations alike and often visits Scotland, at least once or twice per year. For example, in

---

[25] Bev Eckman-Onyskow, 26 August 2009, 'Santa Fe author ready to release new book', Available: https://web.archive.org/web/20131112073342/http://www.alamogordonews.com/news/ci_13204389, accessed: 29 June 2023.

[26] Diana Gabaldon, 7 March 2021, 'So, on March 6th, 1988, I started writing a book...', Available: https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=278695370287391&set=a.257419099081685&type=3&mibextid=SDPelY, accessed: 7 March 2021.

[27] Alison Flood, 23 November 2021, "Outlander author Diana Gabaldon: 'I needed Scotsmen because of the kilt factor'", Available: https://www.theguardian.com/books/2021/nov/23/outlander-tv-series-author-diana-gabaldon, accessed: 23 November 2021.

[28] Diana Gabaldon, 7 March 2021, 'So, on March 6th, 1988, I started writing a book...', Available: https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=278695370287391&set=a.257419099081685&type=3&mibextid=SDPelY, accessed: 7 March 2021.

2021, Gabaldon was the keynote speaker at Inverness *Outlanders'* commemoration of 275 years since the Battle of Culloden. The group is a collective of fans of the novels and TV series based in Inverness, connecting other fans to the homeland of the Frasers through, for example, creating maps of the literary locations in the area.[29] Gabaldon also states that upon visiting Scotland for the first time in 1992, she was left "feeling oddly as though I had come home".[30] She has been fascinated with Scotland, since starting her research for the first novel and actively advocated for Scotland to feature as a "character" in the TV series, as much as Jamie and Claire did.[31] And in this she has clearly succeeded. This involvement and genuine interest in all thing Scottish have seen Gabaldon win a number of accolades over the years, most notably the special "International Contribution to Scottish Tourism" award from VisitScotland at the Scottish Thistle Awards, widely regarded as the "Scottish tourism Oscars" (2019); and the National Trust for Scotland Foundation USA's "Great Scot" award for "her extraordinary contributions to Scotland and America's shared heritage" (2022).[32]

---

[29] Louise Glen, 13 April 2021, 'Author Diana Gabaldon to speak at Inverness Outlanders commemoration of the Battle of Culloden this Friday', Available: https://www.inverness-courier.co.uk/news/author-diana-gabaldon-to-speak-at-inverness-outlanders-comme-234779/, accessed: 16 April 2021.

[30] Neil Drysdale, N.d., 'The Outlander effect: the big interview', Available: https://pressandjournal.shorthandstories.com/outlander-big-interview/, accessed: 29 June 2023.

[31] Lorraine Wilson, 24 March 2019, 'Outlander's Diana Gabaldon: The story of the First Lady of Lallybroch', Available: https://www.thenational.scot/news/17522123.outlanders-diana-gabaldon-story-first-lady-lallybroch/, accessed: 29 June 2023.

[32] Hamish Hutchinson, 14 March 2019, 'Outlander author recognised with national tourism award', Available: https://toolkit.visitscotland.org/asset-page/111309-outlander-author-recognised-with-national-tourism-award-2847406, accessed: 14 March 2019; Chiara Lombatti, April 2022, 'Diana Gabaldon Honored by National Trust for Scotland Foundation with Great Scot Award!', Available: https://survivedtheshows.com/language/en/diana-gabaldon-honored-by-national-trust-for-scotland-foundation-with-great-scot-award/, accessed: 15 April 2022.

Figure 12: Diana Gabaldon visiting the historic town of Culross in Scotland on a publicity trip before receiving her Thistle Award
From: https://pressandjournal. shorthandstories.com/outlander-big-interview/; accessed: 29 June 2023.

Gabaldon consults as a co-producer and advisor for the popular *Outlander* television series. She has also written scripts for episodes of the series and played a cameo role in an episode in season one.[33] She resides in Scottsdale, Arizona, but maintains the family residence in Flagstaff, especially as an escape to go write. Gabaldon and her husband, Doug Watkins, have three adult children: Laura, Jenny, and Sam Sykes, who is also a published author, and two grandchildren.[34]

4.3. About the television series

The *Outlander* television series was developed by Ronald D. Moore, who also developed the revival of *Battlestar Galactica* and *Star Trek: The Next Generation*. It is produced by Tall Ship Productions, Left Bank Pictures and Sony Pictures Television for the Starz network. The show premiered on 9 August 2014 in the United States. It stars Caitríona Balfe (*Belfast, Ford v Ferrari*) as Claire Beauchamp Randall, Sam Heughan (*A Princess for Christmas, Love Again*) as Jamie Fraser, and Tobias Menzies (*Casino Royale, The Crown*) as Frank Randall and "Black Jack" Randall. The series also introduced numerous younger actors and helped them to make

---

[33] Diana Gabaldon, 17 August 2016, 'Bio', available at: http://www.dianagabaldon.com/about-diana/bio/, accessed: 15 January 2019.
[34] Diana Gabaldon, 17 August 2016, 'Bio', available at: http://www.dianagabaldon.com/about-diana/bio/, accessed: 15 January 2019.

names for themselves, including Sophie Skelton, who plays Brianna Randall Fraser, Richard Rankin, who plays Roger Wakefield MacKenzie, John Bell, who plays Young Ian Murray, and César Domboy, who plays an Fergus. The show is currently in its seventh season and Starz has renewed the series for an eighth and final season.[35]

Figures 13a-13g: The television series' posters from seasons 1-7
From: https://www.imdb.com/title/tt3006802/?ref_=tt_mv_close, accessed: 29 June 2023.

Sony Pictures had distributed *Outlander* to more than 87 territories and that is just for the first season.[36] The series has also received wide critical acclaim. The first season was interestingly

---

[35] IMDB, 2023, 'Outlander', Available: https://www.imdb.com/title/tt3006802/, accessed: 29 June 2023.
[36] VisitScotland, 6 March 2019, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: March 2019.

praised for its authentic adaptation and landscapes, amongst other things, with one reviewer on the *Rotten Tomatoes* website[37] stating that "*Outlander* is a unique, satisfying adaptation of its source material, brought to life by lush scenery and potent chemistry between its leads".[38] Another reviewer picked up on the multiplicity of genres that seemed to have translated from the page to the screen: "The series is a canny mixture of romance, fantasy, history, adventure, violence, sex, Druids, kilts, time-travel, and unkempt hair. In short, it has everything".[39] The show has maintained the high praises throughout its run, averaging an impressive 86-92% for its *Rotten Tomatoes* score. Season 2 received some of the most glowing reviews: "To put it plainly: it is one of the smartest and most proactive shows on television, embracing love and passion and intrigue and refusing to apologise".[40]

Outlander has been nominated for 4 Primetime Emmy awards and 6 Golden Globes and has racked up a further 70 nominations and 33 wins. These include the Saturn awards for the Best Actor and Actress in a Television Series (for Caitríona Balfe and Sam Heughan) and the Best Fantasy Television Series; the BAFTA Scotland award for the Best Actress – Television (for Caitríona Balfe); the Critics Choice Television Award for the Most Bingeworthy Show; and the People's Choice Award for Favourite Cable Sci-Fi/Fantasy TV Show.[41]

Much like Diana Gabaldon, the series' lead actor, Sam Heughan, has also emerged as a true ambassador for Scotland and the Scottish tourism and screen sectors. Notably, the Scottish actor and philanthropist has written a *New York Times* bestselling travelogue called *Clanlands: Whisky, Warfare, and a Scottish Adventure Like No Other* with co-star Graham McTavish about their road trip around Scotland; created an award-winning whisky brand called *The Sassenach* of which he states that "[h]opefully wherever you are in the world, if you taste it, it'll take you back to Scotland"; as well as filmed a travel show featuring Scotland, called *Men*

---

[37] *Rotten Tomatoes* is an American website which aggregates reviews for films and TV series. They are considered an authoritative source when it comes to entertainment reviews.

[38] Sean Murphy, 28 December 2021, 'How Rotten Tomatoes rates each season of Outlander and what critics had to say', Available: https://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/scotland-now/outlander-fans-critics-rotten-tomatoes-25793749, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[39] Sean Murphy, 28 December 2021, 'How Rotten Tomatoes rates each season of Outlander and what critics had to say', Available: https://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/scotland-now/outlander-fans-critics-rotten-tomatoes-25793749, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[40] Sean Murphy, 28 December 2021, 'How Rotten Tomatoes rates each season of Outlander and what critics had to say', Available: https://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/scotland-now/outlander-fans-critics-rotten-tomatoes-25793749, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[41] IMDB, 2023, 'Outlander', Available: https://www.imdb.com/title/tt3006802/, accessed: 29 June 2023.

in Kilts: A Roadtrip with Sam and Graham, once again in collaboration with McTavish.[42] The series features the pair, a loaded camper van, and Scotland, with stops in Edinburgh, Glencoe, Skye, Lewis, Inverness, Braemar and more, exploring Scotland's food, sports, music, superstitions, history, and culture.[43]

In 2022, Heughan also published the autobiographical travelogue, *Waypoints: My Scottish Journey,* which featured him setting out along the rugged, 154 km-long West Highland Way from Milngavie to Fort William, to uncover the moments that shaped him as an individual.[44] In addition to this already impressive resumé, Heughan also founded the "My Peak Challenge" health and fitness initiative, which has become a "global movement dedicated to educating and inspiring its members to live healthier, happier, and more balanced lives while raising funds to change lives".[45] The initiative started in 2015 and has grown exponentially with each passing year. Since 2017, it has hosted an annual gala event in Scotland, drawing hundreds of "Peakers" from all over the world to the country and has raised almost $7 million for its charity partners, including research projects for treating blood cancer, environmental concerns, hospice care, and ending hunger worldwide.[46] Due to these phenomenal contributions to charitable causes, as well as for his artistic success, in 2019 Heughan received honorary doctorates from the University of Glasgow and the University of Stirling.[47]

Heughan has been very vocal about the positive impact of *Outlander* and has said the show has been "life-changing" for the Scottish tourism industry, as well as his career: "*Outlander* has spawned an interest in Scotland, it's created a film studio that wasn't there before… Scotland is always at the heart of *Outlander* - I've always said it's like another character in the show."[48]

---

[42] Sarah Khan, 12 February 2021, 'On Location: Sam Heughan on His 'Men in Kilts' Road Trip Through Scotland', Available: https://www.cntraveler.com/story/on-location-sam-heughan-men-in-kilts, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[43] Sarah Khan, 12 February 2021, 'On Location: Sam Heughan on His 'Men in Kilts' Road Trip Through Scotland', Available: https://www.cntraveler.com/story/on-location-sam-heughan-men-in-kilts, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[44] Sam Heughan, *Waypoints: My Scottish Journey,* (S.l.: Voracious, 2022).

[45] Angus Robertson, 2 May 2022, 'Sam Heughan is a genuine star (and not just because of his acting) – Angus Robertson', Available: https://www.edinburghnews.scotsman.com/news/opinion/columnists/sam-heughan-is-a-genuine-star-and-not-just-because-of-his-acting-angus-robertson-3677237, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[46] My Peak Challenge, 2023, 'Our story', Available: https://www.mypeakchallenge.com/pages/our-story, accessed: 29 June 2023.

[47] Sam Heughan & Graham McTavish, *Clanlands: Whisky, Warfare, and a Scottish Adventure Like No Other,* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2020).

[48] Ellie Forbes & Sean Murphy, 9 November 2021, 'Outlander star Sam Heughan says show has been 'life-changing' for Scotland's tourism industry as well as his career', Available: https://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/scotland-now/outlander-star-sam-heughan-says-25413675, accessed: 14 May 2022.

In an interview about *Men in Kilts: A Roadtrip with Sam and Graham,* Heughan stated that the motivation for the show sprouted from the enthusiasm for all things Scotland elicited by *Outlander.* Initially planned as a podcast, the idea fully developed into a travel TV show "exploring Scottish culture and sharing that with the rest of the world. Who wouldn't want to go on a road trip and eat great food and see great sights?"[49]
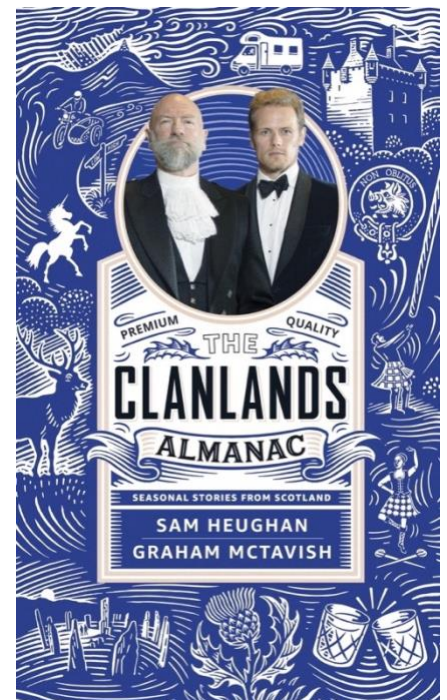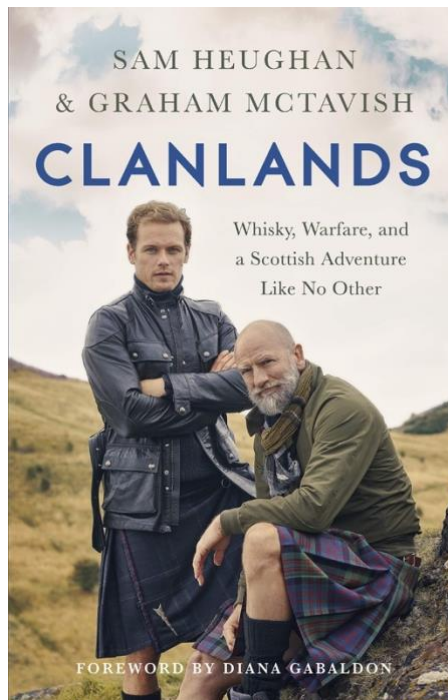
Figures 14a-14c: The *Men in Kilts* production poster; cover of the *Clanlands* book; cover of *The Clanlands Almanac*
From: https://www.facebook.com/MenInKiltsSTARZ/photos/216666160080059, accessed: 9 January 2021; https://www.amazon.com/Clanlands-Whisky-Warfare-Scottish-Adventure/dp/1529342007, accessed: 10 May 2022; https://www.kobo.com/za/en/ebook/the-clanlands-almanac-1, accessed: 10 May 2022.

Heughan is also very aware of the impact that *Outlander* has had on Scottish tourism and the historical heritage sites used for filming, in particular. Stating that he feels "very honoured" that Scotland as a whole has been celebrated through *Outlander,* he elaborates that:

> Certain historic buildings that we've shot at have received incredible numbers of tourists – Doune Castle, which we feature in *Men in Kilts* but also in *Outlander*, had over 200 percent increase – and a lot of these buildings have been able to regenerate and rebuild. So it's been a fantastic

---

[49] Sarah Khan, 12 February 2021, 'On Location: Sam Heughan on His 'Men in Kilts' Road Trip Through Scotland', Available: https://www.cntraveler.com/story/on-location-sam-heughan-men-in-kilts, accessed: 14 May 2022.

way to support these historic buildings and the tourism industry. I learned

a lot about Scotland doing *Outlander*, and just wanted to learn more.[50]

In fact, Heughan becomes quite lyrical about Scotland's embarrassment of scenic riches:

> Most people who come to Scotland go to Edinburgh and drive
> straight up the coast and back. But if you can get to the islands, they
> really are magnificent. They have their own character. When we go
> to Lewis and Skye, they are just incredible to visit. One of my
> favourite things to do is get a ferry from the mainland to the islands.
> You get to see the mainland and the wildlife - there's dolphins,
> whales, sea eagles. And then of course when you approach, the
> island sort of comes out of the mist and it is very romantic and quite
> powerful.[51]

Always the tourism ambassador for Scotland, Heughan also highlights his favourite moments of the trip as "the marching bands on Calton Hill… [visiting] Culloden with historians… surfing… the castles we visit", as well as the visit to Murrayfield Stadium.[52] For a full breakdown of the episode themes and locations, see Table 4 below.

Episode	Theme	Locations
Season 1 Episode 1	Food and drink	Edinburgh (The Kitchin restaurant)
		Pittenweem
		Laphroaig (Islay)
Season 1 Episode 2	Sport	Balquhidder (lifting/strong-man competition)
		Braemar (Highland Games)
		St. Andrews (golf)
		Murrayfield Stadium (rugby union)

Sarah Khan, 12 February 2021, 'On Location: Sam Heughan on His 'Men in Kilts' Road Trip Through Scotland', Available: https://www.cntraveler.com/story/on-location-sam-heughan-men-in-kilts, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[51] Sarah Khan, 12 February 2021, 'On Location: Sam Heughan on His 'Men in Kilts' Road Trip Through Scotland', Available: https://www.cntraveler.com/story/on-location-sam-heughan-men-in-kilts, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[52] Sarah Khan, 12 February 2021, 'On Location: Sam Heughan on His 'Men in Kilts' Road Trip Through Scotland', Available: https://www.cntraveler.com/story/on-location-sam-heughan-men-in-kilts, accessed: 14 May 2022.

Season 1 Episode 3	Song and dance	Glencoe (Glencoe Folk Museum)
		Doune Castle
		Calton Hill
		(Edinburgh Military Tattoo – mentioned)
		Borthwick Castle (ceilidh)
Season 1 Episode 4	Witchcraft and superstitions	Greyfriars Kirkyard
		Wormistone House, Crail
		Calanais Standing Stones, Isle of Lewis
		Beltane fire festival
Season 1 Episode 5	Culture and tradition	Stewart Christie & Co., Edinburgh (Tweed)
		(Gaelic language, herbal lore, basket-weaving)
		Isle of Skye (crofting, sheep-shearing)
Season 1 Episode 6	Scotland by land, air and sea	The Minch ferry crossing (Isle of Lewis)
		Loch Ness
		Isle of Skye (The Quiraing, the Old Man of Storr,
		the Fairy Pools, Kilt Rock)
		Loch Lomond and Ben Lomond
Season 1 Episode 7	Clans and tartans	Isle of Skye (Trumpan Church)
		Prickly Thistle textile mill, Evanton
		Badenoch Waulking Group
		Balquhidder (Balquhidder Parish Church – Rob
		Roy MacGregor's alleged grave)
		Lock Sween (Castle Sween)
		Beauly (Beaufort Castle)
Season 1 Episode 8	Battle of Culloden	Doune Castle
		Inverness (Culloden battlefield)

Table 4: Themes and locations featured in *Men in Kilts: A Roadtrip with Sam and Graham*
Source: *Men in Kilts*, season 1. Directed by Kevin Johnston. First aired February 14, 2021.

4.4. An *Outlander* history of Scotland

Outlander is set against the backdrop of the 1745 Jacobite Rising. The Jacobites can be described as a group of supporters of King James II and his descendants, who wanted to restore a Stuart (and Roman Catholic) king to the British throne. The political importance of the

132

Jacobite movement extended from 1688 until at least the 1750s.[53] The Jacobite movement was particularly strong in Scotland, where supporters favoured the Stuart lineage and many still practised Roman Catholic Christianity. These two attributes that James II and his descendants engendered, albeit in varying degrees.[54] Between 1688-1689, the so-called "Glorious Revolution" saw the deposition of King James II of England and the accession of one of his daughters, Mary II, and her husband, William III of Orange. James's overt Roman Catholicism, amongst other things, led to widespread discontent, particularly under the English Protestants. As James's support dwindled, he was unable to oppose Mary and William and he fled to France, as William and Mary were crowned joint rulers.[55]

Within sixty years after the Glorious Revolution, five attempts at a Stuart restoration to the throne were made. In March 1689, James II himself landed in Ireland, and a parliament summoned to Dublin acknowledged him as king. However, his Irish-French army was defeated by William III's Anglo-Dutch army at the Battle of the Boyne (1690), and he was forced to return to France. In 1708, a second French invasion failed completely (1708). The third attempt, the "Fifteen Rebellion", was a more significant effort.[56] In the summer of 1715 John Erskine, sixth Earl of Mar, a former supporter of the Revolution, raised a force comprising of the Jacobite clans and the Episcopal northeast. Mar was however hesitant to engage the Duke of Argyll's smaller opposition force, which eventually resulted in a draw at the Battle of Sheriffmuir. When a southern rising failed to materialise, the chief supporters of this rebellion were forced into exile in France. The fourth Jacobite effort was a west Scottish Highland rising, aided by Spain, which was quickly aborted at Glenshiel (1719).[57]

---

[53] Alistair Moffat, *Scotland: a history from earliest times,* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2015); Murray G.H. Pittock, *British History in Perspective: Jacobitism,* (London: Macmillan Education UK, 1998).

[54] Gregory Fremont-Barnes, *The Jacobite Rebellion 1745-46,* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2011); John S. Morrill, 11 August 2023, 'Jacobite', Available: https://www.britannica.com/topic/Jacobite-British-history, accessed: 29 August 2023; Murray G.H. Pittock, *British History in Perspective: Jacobitism,* (London: Macmillan Education UK, 1998).

[55] Encyclopaedia Britannica, 16 August 2023, 'Glorious Revolution', Available: https://www.britannica.com/event/Glorious-Revolution, accessed: 29 August 2023; Murray G.H. Pittock, *British History in Perspective: Jacobitism,* (London: Macmillan Education UK, 1998).

[56] Alistair Moffat, *Scotland: a history from earliest times,* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2015); John S. Morrill, 11 August 2023, 'Jacobite', Available: https://www.britannica.com/topic/Jacobite-British-history, accessed: 29 August 2023; Murray G.H. Pittock, *British History in Perspective: Jacobitism,* (London: Macmillan Education UK, 1998).

[57] Gregory Fremont-Barnes, *The Jacobite Rebellion 1745-46,* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2011); John S. Morrill, 11 August 2023, 'Jacobite', Available: https://www.britannica.com/topic/Jacobite-British-history, accessed: 29 August 2023; Murray G.H. Pittock, *British History in Perspective: Jacobitism,* (London: Macmillan Education UK, 1998).

The final rebellion, the heavily romanticised "Forty-five Rebellion", was the most formidable effort. The outlook in 1745 seemed dismal, as it seemed no aid would be forthcoming from the French allies. At home, things were not looking much better as the number of Scottish Highlanders prepared to turn out was smaller than in 1715, and the Lowlands were apathetic or outright hostile. It was however the charming and daring character of the young prince, Charles Edward (later called the 'Young Pretender' or affectionately 'Bonnie Prince Charlie'), combined with the absence of the government troops (most were away fighting on the Continent) that contributed to a more dangerous rising.[58] Within a few weeks of the start, Charles was "master of Scotland" and "victor of Prestonpans" (1745). He marched as far south as Derby in England and won another battle at Falkirk (1746), but after adequate support failed to materialise out of England, he retreated to the Highlands.[59]

In the spring of 1746, the Jacobite rising was in trouble. The decision to return north from Derby, rather than press on to London, marked a turning point in their fortunes. Despite their victories, the Jacobites had not capitalised on their success. Charles now intended to meet George II's government army (led by the Duke of Cumberland, George's son)[60] in the Highlands, to prevent them from taking Inverness. However, many Jacobite troops were still far from Inverness and were urgently summoned to join the Prince. Food and money were in short supply and the army was not at full force, and as a result, few commanders thought they could win a battle in this state. In contrast, Cumberland marched his refreshed and well-supplied troops from Aberdeen. They were closing in on the Jacobite army and the overall feeling was that the next conflict would be the decisive one. Morale was high as they camped at Nairn on 15 April, also Cumberland's 25th birthday. He gave his soldiers extra rations and drink in celebration.[61]

---

[58] Gregory Fremont-Barnes, *The Jacobite Rebellion 1745-46*, (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2011); Murray G.H. Pittock, *Great Battles: Culloden,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

[59] Gregory Fremont-Barnes, *The Jacobite Rebellion 1745-46*, (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2011); John S. Morrill, 11 August 2023, 'Jacobite', Available: https://www.britannica.com/topic/Jacobite-British-history, accessed: 29 August 2023; Murray G.H. Pittock, *Great Battles: Culloden,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

[60] Prof. Murray G.H. Pittock has noted that what the Jacobites faced on that fateful day cannot be described as merely "government forces" or "the Hanoverians", but the well-trained, professional British army, cf. Murray G.H. Pittock, 19 July 2023, 'What happened at Culloden and what happened next?', Plenary Presentation at the *Outlander Conference Glasgow,* University of Glasgow.

[61] Gregory Fremont-Barnes, *The Jacobite Rebellion 1745-46*, (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2011); National Trust for Scotland, N.d., 'The battle of Culloden', Available: https://www.nts.org.uk/visit/places/ culloden/the-battle-of-culloden, accessed: 15 December 2022; Murray G.H. Pittock, *Great Battles: Culloden,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

Rather than risk a pitched battle in their weakened state, the Jacobites agreed on a final desperate plan: a surprise night attack.[62] This could have been a brilliant strategy had it worked. The sleeping Government troops would have been easily overcome by the Jacobites. In reality, the hungry and exhausted Jacobite column stumbled along in the dark, their progress was too slow, and they had to turn back. As dawn broke, battle was still not inevitable, as there was time for the Jacobites to withdraw to Inverness and regain their strength. Bitter arguments broke out between the senior commanders and even the French envoy pleaded for the Prince to withdraw. However, the Prince was resolute and determined to fight there and then. His troops were still not at full strength. Many of his soldiers were exhausted from the night march, while others were away looking for food or had yet to arrive in the area. Some Jacobite leaders favoured a retreat to obtain the high ground south of the River Nairn. The Prince preferred their present position, on Drummossie Moor at Culloden. With Cumberland's army in sight, the pipers began to play and the tired army steeled themselves for the conflict.[63]

On 16 April 1746 the final Jacobite Rising came to a brutal head in one of the most harrowing battles in British history.[64] At around 1pm, the Jacobite artillery opened fire on government soldiers. The government responded with their own cannon, and the Battle of Culloden began. Bombarded by cannon shot and mortar bombs, the Jacobite clans held back, waiting for the order to attack. When at last they moved forward, it was through driving rain, smoke, gunfire, and grapeshot. In these conditions, they could not even deploy the "Highland charge", which had stood them in good stead in the other battles, even more so for the uncertain, boggy land of the moor under their feet. Upon reaching the government lines, some fought ferociously, but many others never even reached enemy lines. This time the government troops were now also prepared for the dreaded Highland charge, and under a new rotation of brutal gunfire and deadly bayonets, the Jacobites were forced to retreat. It was the last pitched battle on British soil and, in less than an hour, around 1,600 men were slain – 1,500 of them Jacobites. Charles

---

[62] Alistair Moffat, *Scotland: a history from earliest times,* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2015); Murray G.H. Pittock, *Great Battles: Culloden,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).
[63] Gregory Fremont-Barnes, *The Jacobite Rebellion 1745-46*, (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2011); National Trust for Scotland, N.d., 'The battle of Culloden', Available: https://www.nts.org.uk/visit/places/ culloden/the-battle-of-culloden, accessed: 15 December 2022; Murray G.H. Pittock, *Great Battles: Culloden,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).
[64] Gregory Fremont-Barnes, *The Jacobite Rebellion 1745-46*, (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2011); Alistair Moffat, *Scotland: a history from earliest times,* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2015); Murray G.H. Pittock, *Great Battles: Culloden,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

watched from safety as the Duke of Cumberland emerged victorious.[65] After the battle, he was hounded for months all over the Highlands and islands by government searching parties, but eventually escaped into exile on the Continent in September 1746.[66]

Although a short battle by European standards, it was an exceptionally bloody one and its aftermath changed life in the Highlands forever.[67] The course of British, European and world history was also changed at Culloden.[68] It is set against the backdrop of the total collapse of the Highland way of life and the forced transportations of many Scots, Jacobite or not, to the 'New World', that *Outlander* also moves to the Caribbean and a fledgling United States. However, since the scope of this thesis focuses on Scotland, the relevant history of the 'New World' will not be discussed.

4.5. The *Outlander* locations

As already indicated, for the most part the series is filmed in Scotland. Various historical sites and buildings were utilised for filming throughout the running of the series. Tourism associated with *Outlander* started picking up shortly after the 2014 release date and pretty soon became known as the '*Outlander* effect'.[69] Initially, the series was most popular in the United States and the majority of the visitors to *Outlander*-related attractions were American. The series only premiered on public television in the United Kingdom in 2017, after being exclusively available on the streaming platform *Amazon Prime UK*.[70] This no doubt affected domestic

---

[65] Gregory Fremont-Barnes, *The Jacobite Rebellion 1745-46*, (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2011); National Trust for Scotland, N.d., 'Culloden', Available: https://www.nts.org.uk/visit/places/culloden, accessed: 15 December 2022; Murray G.H. Pittock, *Great Battles: Culloden,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

[66] John S. Morrill, 11 August 2023, 'Jacobite', Available: https://www.britannica.com/topic/Jacobite-British-history, accessed: 29 August 2023; Murray G.H. Pittock, *Great Battles: Culloden,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

[67] Gregory Fremont-Barnes, *The Jacobite Rebellion 1745-46*, (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2011); National Trust for Scotland, N.d., 'The battle of Culloden', Available: https://www.nts.org.uk/visit/places/ culloden/the-battle-of-culloden, accessed: 15 December 2022; Murray G.H. Pittock, *Great Battles: Culloden,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Murray G.H. Pittock, 19 July 2023, 'What happened at Culloden and what happened next?', Plenary Presentation at the *Outlander Conference Glasgow,* University of Glasgow.

[68] Gregory Fremont-Barnes, *The Jacobite Rebellion 1745-46*, (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2011); Alistair Moffat, *Scotland: a history from earliest times,* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2015); National Trust for Scotland, N.d., 'The battle of Culloden', Available: https://www.nts.org.uk/visit/places/ culloden/the-battle-of-culloden, accessed: 15 December 2022; Murray G.H. Pittock, *Great Battles: Culloden,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

[69] The Scotsman, 6 April 2015, 'Outlander boost to Scottish tourism', Available: https://www.scotsman.com/ lifestyle/travel/outlander-boost-to-scottish-tourism-1-3739460, accessed: 14 September 2015.

[70] Sarah Ksiazek, 14 June 2017, '"Outlander" comes to U.K. TV screens on More4', Available: http://www.outlandertvnews.com/2017/06/outlander-comes-to-u-k-tv-screens-on-more4/, accessed: 14 June 2017.

tourism statistics, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. Aside from this, several companies have been running *Outlander* literary tours of Scotland that were based on locations mentioned in the books since the 1990s. Some of these tours are even endorsed by the author on her website. They include: the official VisitScotland guide, Clans and Castles: The Diana Gabaldon Trail, customised individual tours by Hugh Allison, Celtic Journeys, and Auto Europe's Scottish Highlands Do-It-Yourself planner.[71]

Table 5 below lists all the *Outlander* filming locations, as promoted by VisitScotland on their *Outlander* film locations map.[72] VisitScotland however stopped updating their locations map after season 4 (2018-2019), no doubt due to the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. However, the Table also includes filming locations for later seasons collated and included from other sources in order to present a complete overview of the filming locations. While this thesis lists and describes all these filming sites, several prominent sites were selected for further discussion and analysis in Chapter 5. Figure 15 indicates the locations of most of the filming sites listed in the Table. The tabulated format includes 42 locations identified on the VisitScotland map, along with six additional locations. It specifies the location, the historical date of foundation, as well as indicating in which season of the series the location is featured. In addition, the tabulated analysis also considers both the *Outlander* filmic significance, along with the tourism significance.

---

[71] Diana Gabaldon, 14 August 2015, 'OUTLANDER-based tours of Scotland', Available: http://www.dianagabaldon.com/resources/outlander-based-tours-of-scotland/, accessed: 14 September 2015.
[72] VisitScotland, 2018, '*Outlander* film locations', Available: http://static.visitscotland.com/pdf/outlander-film-locations.pdf, accessed: 15 July 2018.
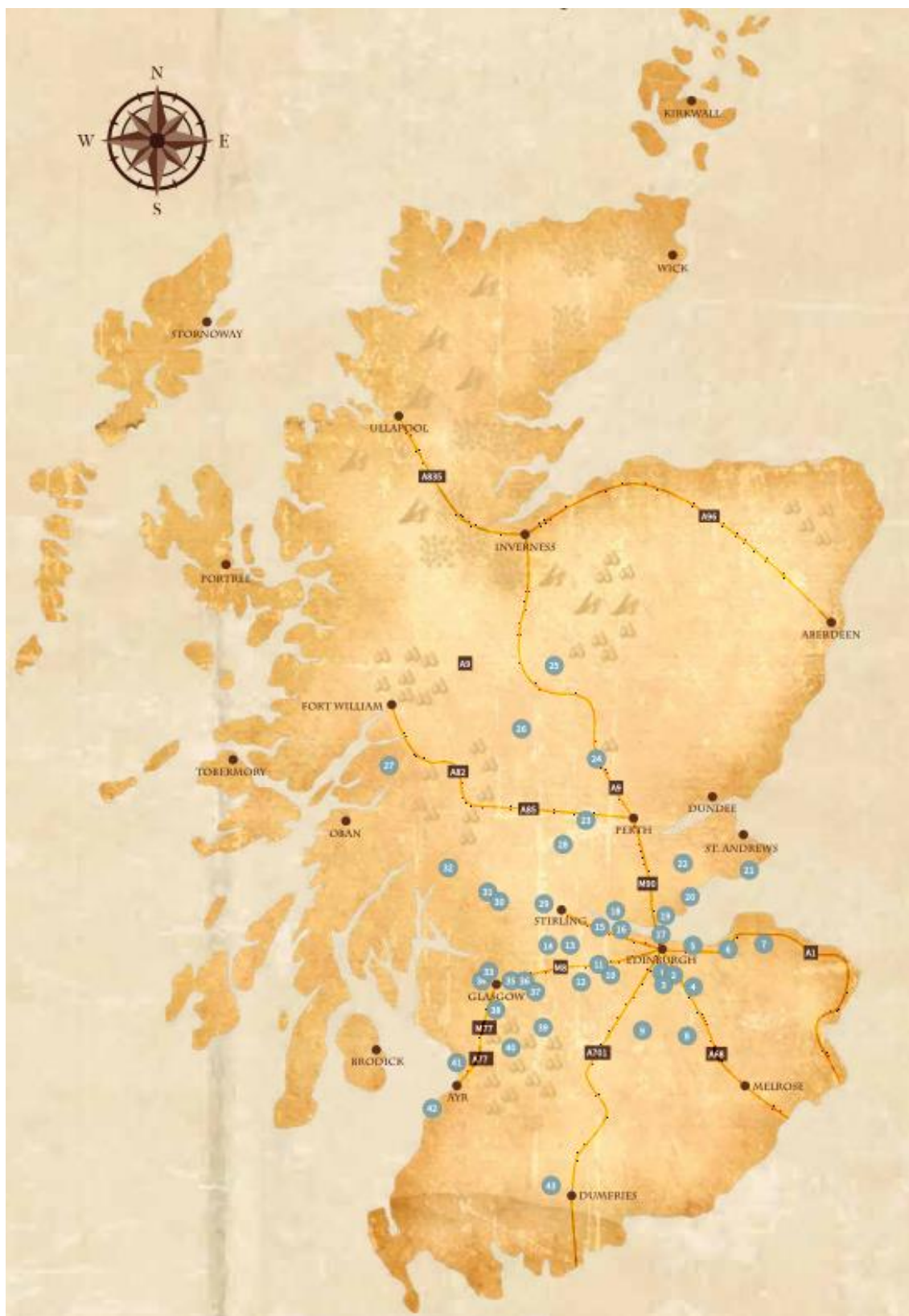
Figure 15: The *Outlander* filming locations throughout Scotland
From: http://static.visitscotland.com/pdf/outlander-film-locations.pdf, accessed: 30 July 2023

Number on the map	Name	Location	Year founded	Season
1	**Tweeddale Court**	Edinburgh	c. 1576	Season 3
Outlander significance: • The hustle and bustle of the market where Claire is reunited with Fergus was filmed in Tweeddale Court.				
Tourism significance: • Situated in one of the oldest parts of Edinburgh, the entrance to this "time capsule" of a street is from Edinburgh's historic Royal Mile.[73]				
2	**Bakehouse Close**	Edinburgh	c. 1700	Season 3
Outlander significance: • The setting for the fictional Carfax Close, home to Jamie's Print Shop where Claire reunites with Jamie after years of separation.				
Tourism significance: • Located just off Edinburgh's Royal Mile, this is one of the best-preserved closes in the city.[74]				
3	**Signet Library**	Edinburgh	1822	Season 3
Outlander significance: • The stunning interior of the Signet Library in Edinburgh's Old Town was transformed into the Governor's Mansion in Jamaica, where a ball was hosted in season 3.				
Tourism significance: • The library is home to the prestigious Society of Writers to her Majesty's Signet (also known as the WS Society), which dates back to the fifteenth century. The 'writers' of documents sealed them with 'the Signet', the private seal of the Scottish kings.[75]				
4	**Craigmillar Castle**	Edinburgh	c. 1300	Season 3
Outlander significance: • Featured as Ardsmuir Prison, the place of Jamie's incarceration after the failed Jacobite uprising, in season three.				
Tourism significance: • Known as "Edinburgh's other castle", Craigmillar is considered one of the best-preserved medieval castles in Scotland and offers stunning views across Edinburgh.[76] • Originally constructed as a simple tower house, the castle grew into a complex of structures and spaces as each owner improved its comfort and facilities, but the original tower house dating to the late 1300s remains at the core.[77] • The castle has also featured prominently in Scottish history, as Mary Queen of Scots is said to have sheltered here in 1566, before she was imprisoned.[78] • As well as featuring on *Outlander*, Craigmillar Castle has been used for several other films and TV series, notably *Outlaw King* (2018) and the 1997 BBC TV production of *Ivanhoe*.[79] • The castle is a Historic Environment Scotland property.				

[73] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Tweeddale Court', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[74] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Bakehouse Close', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[75] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Signet Library', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[76] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Craigmillar Castle', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[77] Historic Environment Scotland, N.d., 'Craigmillar Castle', Available: https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/craigmillar-castle/history/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[78] Historic Environment Scotland, N.d., 'Craigmillar Castle', Available: https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/craigmillar-castle/history/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[79] Anonymous, 2023, 'Craigmillar Castle', Available: http://www.outlanderlocations.com/locations/craigmillar-castle/, accessed: 30 July 2023.

5	**Newhailes House**	Musselburgh	1686	Season 4

Outlander significance:
- Served as Governor Tryon's home in North Carolina, where Jamie discussed the offer of a land grant in exchange for service to the English Crown in season 4.
- The dining room and library at Newhailes also featured when Jamie and Claire were introduced to Wilmington Society.

Tourism significance:
- This seventeenth century Palladian villa hosts a "300-year-old treasure trove of curiosities", from fine art collection to its cosmopolitan interiors inspired by various styles from China to Italy.[80]
- The estate is under the custodial care of the National Trust for Scotland.[81]
- This location is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

6	**Gosford House**	Longniddry	c. 1790	Season 2 & 3

Outlander significance:
- Gosford House and its grounds doubled as the luxurious stables in Versailles, France in season 2 and Helwater and Ellesmere in season 3. The stables doubled as the stables where Jamie lived and worked as a groom.
- The south wing's impressive Marble Hall was used as the interior of the Earl of Ellesmere's home.[82]

Tourism significance:
- The estate is the seat of the Earls of Wemyss and March and is set in 5,000 acres of combined coast and parkland on the south side of the Firth of Forth.[83]
- The imposing neo-classical mansion was one of the last architectural commissions of the renowned Scots architect, Robert Adam.[84]
- Over the years, the house was much altered and the original wings demolished. The tenth Earl of Wemyss then commissioned William Young to recreate them (c. 1891).[85]
- The house is only open for visiting on certain days, but private tours can also be arranged in advance.

7	**Preston Mill**	East Linton	c. 1700	Season 1

Outlander significance:
- Provided the backdrop for one of the series more iconic scenes, where Jamie mends the waterwheel at Lallybroch Mill, but when soldiers arrive, he must hide underwater for a long while to escape their notice.
- Some scenes in the courtroom, when Claire and Geillis were accused of witchcraft, were also filmed here, while the surrounding countryside was used for some outside scenes.[86]

Tourism significance:
- The idyllic Preston Mill and Phantassie Doocot is one of the oldest working, water-driven meal mills in Scotland.[87]

---

[80] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland Seasons 4-6,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2023), pp. 22-23; VisitScotland, 2022, 'Newhailes House', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[81] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland Seasons 4-6,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2023), pp. 22-23; VisitScotland, 2022, 'Newhailes House', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[82] Ali Wood, *Scotland: an Outlander tour,* (Great Britain: TVTraveller, 2020), p. 42; VisitScotland, 2022, 'Gosford House', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[83] Gosford House, 2022, 'About Gosford House', Available: https://www.gosfordhouse.co.uk/about-us/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[84] Gosford House, 2022, 'About Gosford House', Available: https://www.gosfordhouse.co.uk/about-us/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[85] Gosford House, 2022, 'About Gosford House', Available: https://www.gosfordhouse.co.uk/about-us/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[86] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), p. 30; VisitScotland, 2022, 'Preston Mill', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[87] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), p. 30; VisitScotland, 2022, 'Preston Mill', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

- "With its curious Dutch-style conical roof, the mill is an architectural oddity that will beguile visitors as much as it delights painters and photographers."[88]
- This National Trust for Scotland property can be visited to see and hear the mill's mechanisms in action, or catch an exhibition on the history of Preston Mill and the people who lived and worked there.[89]
- Just across the River Tyne lies the unusual structure of Phantassie Doocot, built in the sixteenth century to house 500 pigeons.[90]

8	**Arniston House**	Gorebridge	1571	Season 4

Outlander significance:
- Doubled as both the theatre entrance and lobby where Jamie and Claire attended a play in Wilmington with Governor Tryon.

Tourism significance:
- This stately mansion house is set in beautiful parkland and is the home of the Dundas family with a history spanning over 400 years.[91]
- The Arniston House collection contains generations of family portraits and other significant artworks by artists such as Ramsay, Raeburn and Nasmyth, as well as striking period furniture, architecture, and stucco work.[92]
- Also offers a range of *Outlander*-focused tours.[93]

9	**Glencorse Old Kirk**	Milton Bridge	c. 1600	Season 1

Outlander significance:
- The charming Glencorse Old Kirk, nestled in the grounds of Glencorse House, is where Claire and Jamie tie the knot.

Tourism significance:
- With its lush parkland, lake, and splendid garden, it is a wonderfully atmospheric venue, and although the house is a private residence and only open for weddings and private functions, a private tour of the kirk can be pre-arranged by contacting Glencorse House.[94]

10	**Beecraigs Country Park**	Linlithgow	1980	Season 4

Outlander significance:
- The park provided a stand-in location for North Carolina's pinewoods and mossy, fern-clad glades, which feature extensively as Jamie and Claire rode through after leaving River Run.

Tourism significance:
- The park is set in the Bathgate Hills and consists of over 370 hectares of farm, meadow, and woodland.[95]
- A popular and attractive recreation site, including Beecraigs loch, and is an ideal place for seeing red deer and Highland cattle.[96]

---

[88] National Trust for Scotland, N.d., 'Preston Mill & Phantassie Doocot', Available: https://www.nts.org.uk/visit/places/preston-mill, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[89] National Trust for Scotland, N.d., 'Preston Mill & Phantassie Doocot', Available: https://www.nts.org.uk/visit/places/preston-mill, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[90] National Trust for Scotland, N.d., 'Preston Mill & Phantassie Doocot', Available: https://www.nts.org.uk/visit/places/preston-mill, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[91] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Arniston House', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[92] Arniston House, 2022, 'Welcome to Arniston House', Available: https://arnistonhouse.com/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[93] Anonymous, 2023, 'Arniston House', Available: http://www.outlanderlocations.com/locations/arniston-house/, accessed: 30 July 2023.

[94] Ali Wood, *Scotland: an Outlander tour,* (Great Britain: TVTraveller, 2020), p. 42.

[95] West Lothian Council, 2 February 2022, 'A brief history of Beecraigs Country Park', Available: https://www.westlothian.gov.uk/media/1346/History-of-Beecraigs/pdf/ 20220202_beecraigs-history.pdf?m=637794074971870000#:~:text=In%201914%2C%20the%20reservoir%2C%20now,using%20a%20winch%2D%20powered%20railway, accessed: 30 July 2023.

[96] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland Seasons 4-6,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2023), p. 15.

11	**Linlithgow Palace**	Linlithgow	c. 1100	Season 1

Outlander significance:
- The entrance and corridors of this impressive, albeit roofless and ruined palace were used as Wentworth Prison where Jamie was imprisoned at the end of season 1.

Tourism significance:
- This fifteenth century site was once a favoured royal residence of the Stewart kings and queens and was the birthplace of Mary Queen of Scots, and a bronze statue in the grounds commemorates this event.[97]
- The site was occupied from as far back as Roman times (approximately 2,000 years ago).[98]
- There has been a royal residence here since at least the reign of David I (1124–53). He also founded the town that grew up around the royal residence.[99]
- James I ordered work on the palace to begin in 1424, after a fire had severely damaged the earlier residence. The elegant, new "pleasure palace" became a welcome rest stop for royals on the busy road between Edinburgh Castle and Stirling Castle.[100]
- Unfortunately, the palace quickly fell into decline when James VI moved the royal court to London in 1603, following his coronation as James I of England.[101]
- The inevitable end came in 1746, when a fire swept through the palace when the Duke of Cumberland's troops left their fires burning on the way to Culloden.[102]

12	**Muiravonside Country Park**	Linlithgow/Falkirk	1977	Season 2

Outlander significance:
- The park was a backdrop to the dramatic Battle of Prestonpans and doubled as a British encampment and the English countryside in season 2.

Tourism significance:
- Visitors can explore acres of woodland and parkland, follow the River Avon Heritage Trail to see relics of industrial archaeology, and explore the spectacular river gorge. The park also includes a mini demonstration farm and sculpture trail.[103]

13	**Gray Buchanan Park**	Polmont/Falkirk	c. 1400s	Season 4

Outlander significance:
- This is where Jamie and Young Ian buried Gavin Hayes after he was hanged for stealing in Charleston, South Carolina. There is no graveyard in the park, having been specially erected for the filming of the series.[104]

---

[97] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Linlithgow Palace', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022; Mary's Meanders, *Midhope and more: Memories from Outlander filming locations*, (S.l.: Mary's Meanders and Edinburgh Sketcher, 2017).

[98] Historic Environment Scotland, N.d., 'History', Available: https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/linlithgow-palace/history/, accessed: 14 May 2022; Mary's Meanders, *Midhope and more: Memories from Outlander filming locations*, (S.l.: Mary's Meanders and Edinburgh Sketcher, 2017).

[99] Historic Environment Scotland, N.d., 'History', Available: https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/linlithgow-palace/history/, accessed: 14 May 2022; Mary's Meanders, *Midhope and more: Memories from Outlander filming locations*, (S.l.: Mary's Meanders and Edinburgh Sketcher, 2017).

[100] Historic Environment Scotland, N.d., 'History', Available: https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/linlithgow-palace/history/, accessed: 14 May 2022; Mary's Meanders, *Midhope and more: Memories from Outlander filming locations*, (S.l.: Mary's Meanders and Edinburgh Sketcher, 2017).

[101] Historic Environment Scotland, N.d., 'History', Available: https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/linlithgow-palace/history/, accessed: 14 May 2022; Mary's Meanders, *Midhope and more: Memories from Outlander filming locations*, (S.l.: Mary's Meanders and Edinburgh Sketcher, 2017).

[102] Historic Environment Scotland, N.d., 'History', Available: https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/linlithgow-palace/history/, accessed: 14 May 2022; Mary's Meanders, *Midhope and more: Memories from Outlander filming locations*, (S.l.: Mary's Meanders and Edinburgh Sketcher, 2017).

[103] Ali Wood, *Scotland: an Outlander tour,* (Great Britain: TVTraveller, 2020), p. 51; VisitScotland, 2022, 'Muiravonside Country Park', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[104] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Gray Buchanan Park', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

	Tourism significance:			
	• Known locally as Parkhill, the site has woodland areas alongside the meandering Polmont Burn and large rolling parkland areas with mature tree avenues			
14	**Callendar House**	Falkirk	c. 1300	Season 2

Outlander significance:
- The authentic Georgian working kitchen was used as the kitchen of Bellhurst Manor, the home of the Duke of Sandringham, and where the duke met his untimely demise in season 2.

Tourism significance:
- This large, historical and gorgeously decorated fourteenth century French chateau-styled house is a true architectural gem.[105]
- The house is set within the historic grounds of Callendar Park in Falkirk, which is famous for containing a section of the Roman Antonine Wall, a UNESCO World Heritage Site.[106]
- The restored 1825 kitchen is very much a highlight, with costumed interpreters creating an exciting interactive experience demonstrating working life in a large household, including samples of early-nineteenth century food for visitors.[107]
- The house also has a distinct connection to the real history behind *Outlander,* with its former owner, the Earl of Kilmarnock, taking part in the 1745 Jacobite uprising.[108]

15	**Bo'Ness and Kinneil Railway**	Bo'Ness	-	Season 1

Outlander significance:
- Was transformed into a wartime London railway station where Claire and Frank said their goodbyes before heading off to serve in the Second World War (1939-1945) in season 1.

Tourism significance:
- Visitors can tour the heritage railway and explore the adjacent Museum of Scottish Railways, before taking the chance to board a preserved vintage steam or diesel-hauled train travelling between Bo'ness and Manuel Junction.[109]

16	**Blackness Castle**	Blackness	1440s	Season 1 & 2

Outlander significance:
- Provided the setting for the Fort William headquarters of Black Jack Randall, where Jamie was incarcerated and flogged in season 1.
- The site also featured in season 2, when Roger and Brianna visited there in the 1960s.[110]

Tourism significance:
- Built as a lordly residence for the Crichtons, one of Scotland's more powerful families, the castle fulfilled many roles over its lifetime: a royal castle (1453), a garrison fortress, a state prison, and an ammunition depot (nineteenth century).
- The castle was decommissioned after the First World War (1914-1919) and passed into state care as a visitor attraction.
- Today, Blackness Castle falls under the custodial care of Historic Environment Scotland.[111]
- This location is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

[105] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Callendar House', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[106] Falkirk Council, N.d., 'Callendar House and Park', Available: https://www.visitfalkirk.com/things-to-do/family-days-out/callendar-house-and-park/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[107] Falkirk Council, N.d., 'Callendar House and Park', Available: https://www.visitfalkirk.com/things-to-do/family-days-out/callendar-house-and-park/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[108] Anonymous, 2023, 'Callendar House', Available: http://www.outlanderlocations.com/locations/callendar-house/, accessed: 30 July 2023.

[109] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Bo'Ness and Kinneil Railway', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[110] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Blackness Castle', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[111] Historic Environment Scotland, N.d., 'Blackness Castle', Available: https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/blackness-castle/history/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

17	**Hopetoun House**	South Queensferry	1699	Season 1-7

Outlander significance:

- Doubled as the stately home of the Duke of Sandringham in season 1; provided the backdrop for Parisian streets, the spare room in Jamie and Claire's Paris apartment, and the Hawkins Estate in season 2; and Ellesmere and the stables at Helwater in season 3. In reality, the house is so vast that some of its wings were digitally erased for the show.[112]
- Another iconic part of the Hopetoun Estate is the ruined Midhope Castle, the filming location for the memorable home of Jamie Fraser and his family – Lallybroch. Midhope Castle is explored in more detail in Chapter 5.

Tourism significance:

- Often referred to as "Scotland's finest stately home", Hopetoun has been home to the Hope family since the seventeenth century.[113]
- Hopetoun House itself is a marriage of two contrasting building styles that clearly illustrates the changing fashions and tastes that took place at the turn of the eighteenth century.[114]
- The magnificent interiors, which have remained virtually unchanged for three centuries, reflect the elegance of the Georgian era and are decorated with the best period furniture, paintings, tapestries and clocks, with beautifully crafted finishes of carving, gilding and plaster work.[115] Of particular interest is the Red Drawing Room. It is arranged in its eighteenth-century state, known as "Parade style", with furniture specially designed for it around the walls. The walls are hung in French red damask purchased for the room in 1766. A coved ceiling exquisitely decorated in the rococo style and a marble chimneypiece complete the room.[116] This room was used largely *as is* in season 2 of *Outlander* as a room in the Duke of Sandringham's home, where Jamie and Claire confront the Duke. The room is instantly recognisable for fans.

18	**Culross**	Culross	1217	Season 1, 2 & 4

Outlander significance:

- This small town has featured extensively in *Outlander*, notably standing in as the fictional village of Cranesmuir, close to Castle Leoch in season 1.
- Culross Palace, a striking ochre-coloured former merchant's mansion dating from the seventeenth century, has featured in multiple episodes: the little 'Withdrawing Room' stepped in as Geillis Duncan's parlour where Jamie collected Claire after her visit with Geillis in season 1; the courtyard and stairway were used as a camp where Claire extracts a tooth for a local villager in season 2; the kitchen and pantry stood in as a tavern, while the High Hall hosted the Jacobite assembly, also in season 2; and lastly, the Kings Room was used as a bedroom for a scene between Jamie and Claire in season 2.[117]
- In season 4, the high hall and its beautifully painted chamber also feature as the inside of Laoghaire MacKenzie's house and one can see the wooden walls and diamond-paned windows on screen.[118]
- The garden above the palace doubled as the herb garden at Castle Leoch where Claire and Geillis collected medicinal plants in season 1, albeit with Doune Castle transported into the background through computer-generated imagery (CGI).[119]
- The area around the Mercat (market) Cross, which traditionally stands at the centre of Scottish towns and villages, was transformed into the fictional village of Cranesmuir where Geillis lived in the tall white house next to this market

---

[112] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Hopetoun House', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[113] Hopetoun House, *Hopetoun: Scotland's finest stately home*, (Peterborough, UK: Jarrold Publishing, n.d.), p. 46.

[114] Hopetoun House, *Welcome to Hopetoun* (information brochure), (Hopetoun House, 2018).

[115] Hopetoun, 2022, 'Visit house and grounds', Available: https://hopetoun.co.uk/house-and-grounds/visit-the-house-and-grounds/, accessed 14 May 2022.

[116] Hopetoun House, *Hopetoun: Scotland's finest stately home*, (Peterborough, UK: Jarrold Publishing, n.d.), pp. 28-29.

[117] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), p. 26.

[118] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland Seasons 4-6,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2023), p. 31.

[119] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), p. 26.

square. In reality, this house is known as 'The Study', a seventeenth-century merchant house featuring a tower and painted ceilings.[120]

- It is also at this Mercat Cross that Claire pretends to faint as a distraction for Jamie to save a boy whose ear had been nailed to the pillory and where Geillis is sentenced for being a witch. The surrounding buildings were grey-washed for filming, and despite being painted white again, the location is instantly recognisable.[121]
- The ruined West Kirk, which was the "haunted" Black Kirk in season 1, where several boys fell ill after mistaking lily-of-the-valley for wood garlic, as identified by Claire, is a short walk away from the village centre.[122]
- The town was also a backdrop to the Jacobite encampment and makeshift hospital scenes in season 2 and doubled as the location of Balriggan Cottage where Laoghaire and her daughter Joan lived in season 4.[123]

Tourism significance:

- The rustic town of Culross is a time-traveller's treat, cared for by the National Trust for Scotland.
- With its cobblestone streets and cottages, overlooking the Firth of Forth, Culross offers a unique example of what a royal burgh would have looked like in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Scotland.[124]

19	**Aberdour Castle**	Aberdour	c. 1200	Season 1

Outlander significance:

- Doubled as the fictional Benedictine monastery, Abbey Sainte Anne de Beaupre, where Claire and Murtagh took Jamie to recover after his ordeal at the prison in season one.
- The Old Kitchen, Long Gallery, and stables were used for filming.

Tourism significance:

- Was once a lavish Renaissance home
- Amongst the oldest standing masonry castles in Scotland.
- Today, this maze of buildings from different centuries is sadly in ruins, but its structures and roofed buildings stand as a clear demonstration of how a medieval castle could be extended and adapted over time.
- First built to provide a secure place of strength and comfortable lodgings, Aberdour was later enlarged in several stages.
- It developed into an expansive, outward-looking residence surrounded by beautiful gardens and pleasure grounds.
- The castle serves as a historic record cataloguing architectural and fashion changes over several eras.[125]

20	**Dysart Harbour**	Dysart	c. 1200	Season 2

Outlander significance:

- The picturesque harbour of Dysart, with the Harbourmaster's House, was transformed into the bustling French port of Le Havre in the 1740s where Jamie and Claire landed when they escaped to France in season 2.
- The harbourmaster's house doubled as the inn where Claire and Jamie stay in Le Havre.

Tourism significance:

- Situated right on the Fife Coastal Path, the harbour is part of a conservation area retaining many original buildings.[126]

---

[120] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland Seasons 4-6,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2023), p. 31.
[121] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), p. 27.
[122] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Culross', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.
[123] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Culross', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.
[124] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), p. 26.
[125] Historic Environment Scotland, N.d., 'Aberdour Castle and Gardens', Available: https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/aberdour-castle-and-gardens/history/, accessed: 14 May 2022; VisitScotland, 2022, 'Aberdour Castle', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022; Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), p. 28.
[126] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), pp. 28-29; VisitScotland, 2022, 'Dysart Harbour', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

21	**The Scottish Fisheries Museum and the Reaper Tall Ship**	Anstruther harbour	1902	Season 2

Outlander significance:
- The *Reaper* is an historic two-masted 'Fifie' fishing boat that appeared as one of the vessels in Dysart Harbour, which portrayed the port of Le Havre in season 2.

Tourism significance:
- The *Reaper* is cared for by the Scottish Fisheries Museum. She is the last surviving Scottish herring lugger.[127]
- The museum provides fascinating insight not only into fishing, but also life in coastal communities.[128]

22	**Falkland**	Falkland	1160	Season 1, 2 & 4

Outlander significance:
- The town is another iconic *Outlander* location to visit, used to portray 1940s Inverness in season 1 and 1960s-70s Inverness in seasons 2 and 4.
- The Covenanter Hotel stood in for cosy Mrs. Baird's Guesthouse; the Bruce Fountain featured when the ghost of Jamie looked up at Claire's room; Fayre Earth Gift Shop doubled as Farrell's General Store; and Campbell's Coffee House and Eatery was Campbell's Coffee Shop in season 1 and a greengrocer in season 4.[129]
- As Claire turns away from 'Farrell's General Store', Falkland palace is briefly visible in the background with its distinctive architecture. In season 2, the stone kitchen in the basement of the palace appears as the apothecary Claire visits to replenish her supplies.[130]
- Several houses also have lintels commemorating eighteenth century marriages over their doors. It is on one of these lintels, marked with the couples' initials and wedding date, that Claire and Frank notice a smear of blood as they arrive in the town in episode 1, a phenomenon Frank puts down as a Pagan ritual.[131]
- In season 2, the town hall also features as the 'County Records Office' when Claire returns to 1960s Inverness to search for historical traces of Jamie.[132]

Tourism significance:
- Falkland, nestled between the two Lomond Hills, is a picturesque town in Fife, famous for its royal palace.
- This royal dwelling was once the country residence of the Stewart kings and queens as they hunted deer and wild boar in the forests of Fife. Built between 1501 and 1541 by James IV and James V, the palace has some of the most exceptional architecture of its time in Britain. It is also home to one of only two sixteenth century tennis courts in Britain.[133]

23	**Tibbermore Church**	Perth	1632	Season 1

Outlander significance:
- This characterful church featured as Cranesmuir Church for the scene of the infamous witch trial. It is here that a shocked Claire and Geillis are seen standing in the pulpit before Geillis is sentenced to death and Claire escapes with Jamie.

---

[127] Ali Wood, *Scotland: an Outlander tour,* (Great Britain: TVTraveller, 2020), p. 62; VisitScotland, 2022, "'Fifie' Fishing Boat The Reaper", Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.
[128] Ali Wood, *Scotland: an Outlander tour,* (Great Britain: TVTraveller, 2020), p. 62; VisitScotland, 2022, "'Fifie' Fishing Boat The Reaper", Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.
[129] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Falkland', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.
[130] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), pp. 13-15.
[131] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), pp. 13-15.
[132] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), pp. 13-15.
[133] VisitScotland, 2023, 'Falkland', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/info/towns-villages/falkland-p238941, accessed: 30 July 2023.

	Tourism significance:			
	• The present church dates from 1632, though the site has been a place of worship from the Middle Ages onwards.[134] • The church was remodelled several times over the centuries. The present interior is little altered since the interior was refurnished in 1874.[135] • The church was transferred to the ownership of Historic Churches Scotland in 2001.[136]			
24	**Dunkeld House Hotel**	Dunkeld	1898-1900	Season 4
	Outlander significance: • The woodlands surrounding the hotel doubled as the North Carolina wilderness where Jamie, Claire and Young Ian set off in search of Roger when he was sold to the Mohawk.[137]			
	Tourism significance: • This location is an accommodation establishment and sits within 280 acres of woodland overlooking Scotland's longest river, the Tay, renowned for its salmon fishing.[138]			
25	**Highland Folk Museum**	Newtonmore	1935	Season 1
	Outlander significance: • The replicas of eighteenth-century turf-roofed crofts at the Highland Folk Museum made the ideal choice for period scenes, including when Dougal collected the rents, in the first season.[139] • Also hosts the very popular annual celebration for World Outlander Day around June 1, including displays of traditional skills and living history, like cloth dying and weaving in the 1700s, cloth waulking, Jacobite history and weapons, and a fancy dress competition.[140]			
	Tourism significance: • This living history museum is situated within the picturesque Cairngorms National Park and allows visitors to experience 250 years of Highland and Islands history, including how Scottish Highlanders lived, built their homes, and dressed during these different historical periods.[141] • The 80-acre site is filled with historic buildings, complete with their interiors.[142] • The museum includes diverse displays of Highland life from the 1700s to the 1950s, including a 1930s working farm and a 1700s Township.[143] • The museum was founded by Dr Isabel F. Grant, a pioneer of British folk life studies and the author of the acclaimed *Highland Folk Ways* (published in 1961) and was Britain's first open air museum.[144]			

---

[134] Scotland's Churches Trust, 2022, 'Church overview', Available: https://scotlandschurchestrust.org.uk/church/tibbermore-church/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[135] Scotland's Churches Trust, 2022, 'Church overview', Available: https://scotlandschurchestrust.org.uk/church/tibbermore-church/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[136] Scotland's Churches Trust, 2022, 'Church overview', Available: https://scotlandschurchestrust.org.uk/church/tibbermore-church/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[137] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Dunkeld House Hotel', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[138] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Dunkeld House Hotel', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[139] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Highland Folk Museum', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[140] High Life Highland, *Highland Folk Museum Visitors Guide,* (Newtonmore, Scotland: High Life Highland, 2017), p. 51; High Life Highland, 2019, 'Outlander Day', Available: https://www.highlifehighland.com/highlandfolkmuseum/outlander-day/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[141] High Life Highland, *Highland Folk Museum Visitors Guide,* (Newtonmore, Scotland: High Life Highland, 2017).

[142] High Life Highland, *Highland Folk Museum Visitors Guide,* (Newtonmore, Scotland: High Life Highland, 2017).

[143] High Life Highland, *Highland Folk Museum Visitors Guide,* (Newtonmore, Scotland: High Life Highland, 2017).

[144] High Life Highland, *Highland Folk Museum Visitors Guide,* (Newtonmore, Scotland: High Life Highland, 2017), pp. 2-3.

•	In 2015, the museum was awarded 'Recognised' status for its entire holdings by the Recognition Scheme, owned and funded by the Scottish government. This scheme provides formalised recognition and investment in "outstanding and irreplaceable collections of national significance in non-national museums and galleries in Scotland".[145]			
•	Owned by the Highland Council.			
26	**Kinloch Rannoch**	Rannoch Moor	-	Season 1

Outlander significance:

- This idyllic area around Loch Rannoch and Kinloch Rannoch was seen in the background as Claire and Frank enjoyed their second honeymoon, following the end of the War.
- This is also the setting of the fictional Craigh Na Dun, where Claire disappears through the stones. While the standing stones seen in the show were sadly made of Styrofoam and installed on location, everything else about the site will be instantly recognisable.

Tourism significance:

- The countryside with its breath-taking scenery of high mountains and sparkling lochs is part of the 17,000-acre Dunalastair Estate, which has been home to the Bunten/de Sales La Terrière family for 120 years. Visitors can also rent holiday cottages on the estate.[146]

27	**Glen Coe & Glen Etive**	Glencoe	-	Season 1 & 6

Outlander significance:

- Features rather iconically in *Outlander*'s opening credits.
- Nearby Glen Etive appears at the start of the sixth season, when we see flashbacks to Jamie's grim years imprisoned at Ardsmuir Prison.
- Sam Heughan and Graham McTavish also visited the Glen Coe Folk Museum in their *Men in Kilts: A Roadtrip with Sam and Graham* series.

Tourism significance:

- The spectacular valley of Glen Coe is a world-famous Scottish location of high mountain peaks, ridges, rushing rivers and waterfalls.
- The Glen Coe Folk Museum, situated in two thatched crofters' cottages, showcases Jacobite glass, swords, and a pistol that was discovered on the battlefield at Culloden in 1746. The museum also houses a chair and some lace cuffs that belonged to Bonnie Prince Charlie.[147]
- In some related "real" history, just beyond nearby Fort William is the legendary Glenfinnan Monument where Bonnie Prince Charlie raised his standard and started the second Jacobite Rising in 1745.[148]

28	**Drummond Castle Gardens**	Crieff	c. 1630	Season 2

Outlander significance:

- Stand-in for the ornate park and orchard of the Palace of Versailles in France in season 2.

Tourism significance:

- The Drummond Castle Gardens are rated as one of Europe's finest examples of a formal garden.

---

[145] High Life Highland, *Highland Folk Museum Visitors Guide,* (Newtonmore, Scotland: High Life Highland, 2017), p. 5.

[146] Ali Wood, *Scotland: an Outlander tour,* (Great Britain: TVTraveller, 2020), pp. 69-70; VisitScotland, 2022, 'Kinloch Rannoch', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[147] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland Seasons 4-6,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2023), pp. 4-5; VisitScotland, 2022, 'Glen Coe', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[148] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland Seasons 4-6,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2023), pp. 4-5; VisitScotland, 2022, 'Glen Coe', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

- Designed in the Italian parterre style, Drummond has all the hallmarks of a courtly, seventeenth century Scottish Renaissance garden. It is a composite garden, restructured in early Victorian times and renewed again in the twentieth century when the garden framework and the original nineteenth century design were carefully preserved.[149]
- In some real *Outlander* history, the formal gardens were abandoned following the second Jacobite Rising in 1745 and the annexation of the estate.[150]
- Queen Victoria visited Drummond Castle in 1842, and after she and Prince Albert walked the garden, she described it as "really very fine, with terraces, like an old French garden".[151]
- Aside from its impressive showing in *Outlander,* the gardens also featured in the iconic 1995 film *Rob Roy.*[152]
- While the gardens are happy to welcome visitors, the castle is not open to the public.[153]

29	**Stirling University**	Stirling	1967	Season 4

Outlander significance:
- A walkway between university buildings doubled as the walkway at Boston Airport, where Brianna met Roger off the plane from Scotland when he came to visit.

Tourism significance:
- Located on the edge of historic Stirling, the University is situated on the site of the old Airthrey Estate, which includes the Robert Adam-designed eighteenth-century Airthrey Castle.[154]
- Established in 1967, the university has a community of over 14,000 students.[155]

30	**Doune Castle**	Doune	c. 1400	Season 1

Outlander significance:
- Doune Castle played a leading role in the show, starring as the fictional Castle Leoch, home to Colum MacKenzie and his clan in the eighteenth century in season 1.
- It also featured in the twentieth century when Claire and Frank visited the ruined castle on a day trip.

Tourism significance:
- The site has a long history of settlement, dating back to Roman times and the first century CE.[156]
- The first references to Doune Castle occur in documents dated 1381.[157]
- The stone-arched kitchen is so impressive, that it inspired *Outlander*'s production team to build a replica as Mrs. Fitz's kitchen in the studio. They did not film in the actual kitchen as they did not want to damage the medieval stonework.[158]
- Doune is no stranger to filmic success, having featured in *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* (1975) and as the fictional Winterfell in the pilot episode of the hugely popular and acclaimed *Game of Thrones.* The castle even sells coconuts in its giftshop, along with numerous *Outlander* souvenirs.[159]

---

[149] Grimsthorpe and Drummond Castle Trust, N.d., 'The history of the garden', Available: https://www.drummondcastlegardens.co.uk/garden-history/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[150] Grimsthorpe and Drummond Castle Trust, N.d., 'The history of the garden', Available: https://www.drummondcastlegardens.co.uk/garden-history/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[151] Grimsthorpe and Drummond Castle Trust, N.d., 'The history of the garden', Available: https://www.drummondcastlegardens.co.uk/garden-history/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[152] Grimsthorpe and Drummond Castle Trust, N.d., 'The history of the garden', Available: https://www.drummondcastlegardens.co.uk/garden-history/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[153] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Drummond Castle Gardens', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[154] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Stirling University', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[155] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Stirling University', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[156] Nicki Scott, *Doune Castle Official Souvenir Guide,* (Edinburgh: Historic Environment Scotland, 2017), pp. 30-31.

[157] Historic Environment Scotland, N.d., 'Doune Castle', Available: https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/doune-castle/history/, accessed: 14 May 2022; Nicki Scott, *Doune Castle Official Souvenir Guide,* (Edinburgh: Historic Environment Scotland, 2017), p. 29.

[158] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), p. 20.

[159] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), p. 18.

• The official audio guide elaborates on all its starring roles. In fact, Terry Jones (of *Monty Python* fame) narrates the audio guide, but *Outlander* has been so influential in its use of Doune that Sam Heughan narrates some sections of the audio guide, explaining what it was like to film at Doune and to learn Gaelic.[160]				
• Doune Castle is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.				
31	**Deanston Distillery**	Doune	1965	Season 2
Outlander significance:				
• Housed in a former cotton mill, Deanston Distillery provided the setting for Jamie's cousin's wine warehouse on the docks of Le Havre in season 2.				
Tourism significance:				
• Visitors can take a behind-the-scenes tour of the distillery to discover the centuries-old story of how whisky is distilled.[161]				
32	**Loch Katrine**	Loch Lomond & The Trossachs National Park	-	Season 2
Outlander significance:				
• Roger and Brianna explored this beauty spot when they first got to know each other after meeting in Inverness in season 2 – the scenes were filmed at Brenachoile Point on the northern shore of the loch.				
• Visitors can also take an *Outlander* themed trip along Loch Katrine aboard the SS Sir Walter Scott Steamship.[162]				
Tourism significance:				
• Set within the iconic Trossachs landscape, this loch served as the inspiration and setting for Sir Walter Scott's poem "The Lady of the Lake".[163]				
33	**Glasgow University**	Glasgow	1451	Season 3 & 4
Outlander significance:				
• The University of Glasgow doubled for Harvard University where Frank taught as a professor of history and where Brianna and Claire visited in seasons 3 and 4.				
• In the first episode of season 3, we see the neo-Gothic tower and crow-stepped gable over an elegant oriel window of the University's Gilbert Scott Building, named after the architect who designed it.				
• Also, as Frank's colleague, Dean Jackson, leads a discussion on America's post-war power, the Victorian turrets of the University quads are visible through the window.				
• However, the most recognisable part of the University used in filming is probably the Cloisters, also known as "the undercroft", where Claire and Brianna have a poignant conversation.				
Tourism significance:				
• The University of Glasgow is the fourth oldest in the English-speaking world and has around 38,000 students.[164]				
• The beautiful, vaulted arches of the Cloisters were actually constructed in the late nineteenth century, when the University moved its campus to the West End of Glasgow, to support the lofty Bute Hall above it, where graduations are held, and was funded by public money, granting the people of Glasgow unlimited access to the University.[165]				
• The Cloisters have also featured in other screen productions, such as *Outlaw King* (2018) and *Cloud Atlas* (2012).[166]				

---

[160] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), p. 18.
[161] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Deanston Distillery', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.
[162] Ali Wood, *Scotland: an Outlander tour,* (Great Britain: TVTraveller, 2020), pp. 88-89; VisitScotland, 2022, 'Loch Katrine', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.
[163] Ali Wood, *Scotland: an Outlander tour,* (Great Britain: TVTraveller, 2020), pp. 88-89; VisitScotland, 2022, 'Loch Katrine', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.
[164] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Glasgow University', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.
[165] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), pp. 34-35.
[166] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), pp. 34-35.

• The Hunterian Museum, Scotland's oldest public museum, can also be found within the University's historic campus.[167]				
34	**Kelvingrove Park**	Glasgow	1852	Season 3

Outlander significance:
- Doubled for the Boston Park where Claire frequently took walks in season 3.
- The park also featured when she pushed Brianna in her pram over the bridge in Kelvingrove Park. We later see a bagpiper playing on this bridge above the Kelvin River on a gloomy autumn day. Claire stops to give him some money, before walking off across the park.
- Close to the park and Glasgow University, is the house (number 124) in Dowanhill Street used for exterior shots of Frank and Claire's home in Boston, where they live while Brianna grows up and Claire studies to become a surgeon.[168]

Tourism significance:
- The public park is very popular, containing many statues, monuments, and varied wildlife and the nearby renowned Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum is a must to visit.[169]

35	**George Square**	Glasgow	1781	Season 1

Outlander significance:
- The historic civic space in the very centre of Glasgow, George Square and the Glasgow City Chambers, were transformed into the 1940s City of Westminster's Registers Office to film Frank's spontaneous proposal to Claire.

Tourism significance:
- This area features some of Glasgow's impressive architecture, as the city is home to many lavishly decorated buildings with period features.[170]

36	**Glasgow Cathedral**	Glasgow	1136	Season 2

Outlander significance:
- The crypt of this imposing medieval cathedral doubled as L'Hopital Des Anges in Paris where Claire volunteered to work in season 2.
- The cathedral also features a gift shop that even includes numerous *Outlander* items and includes a sign acknowledging the filming of the series at the cathedral.

Tourism significance:
- The cathedral predates the city of Glasgow and is a stunning example of Gothic architecture. It contains one of the finest post-war collections of stained-glass windows in Britain and is also one of the few Scottish medieval churches to have survived through the Reformation.[171]
- The present building was consecrated in 1197. Remarkably since then, the Cathedral has never been "un-roofed" and worship has been carried out within its walls for more than 800 years.[172]
- Today, the Cathedral still has a regular and active congregation, though unusually, the church is property of the Crown and is cared for by Historic Environment Scotland on behalf of Scottish Ministers.[173]

---

[167] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Glasgow University', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[168] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), p. 35; VisitScotland, 2022, 'Kelvingrove Park', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[169] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), p. 35; VisitScotland, 2022, 'Kelvingrove Park', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[170] VisitScotland, 2022, 'George Square', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[171] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Glasgow Cathedral', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[172] Glasgow Cathedral, N.d., 'About the cathedral', Available: https://www.glasgowcathedral.org/about/, accessed 14 May 2022.

[173] Glasgow Cathedral, N.d., 'About the cathedral', Available: https://www.glasgowcathedral.org/about/, accessed 14 May 2022.

| 37 | **Pollok Country Park** | Glasgow | 1966 | Season 1 & 2 |

Outlander significance:
- Featured extensively in *Outlander.*
- The park doubled as the grounds surrounding the fictional Castle Leoch and the rhododendron-filled woods in the boar hunt scene in season 1.
- The park also stood in for the French countryside that the characters travelled through between Le Havre and Paris in season 2, with the garden pavilions near Pollok House, the weir, and the neighbouring sawmill all being visible in the background.
- Also in season 2, Jamie and Black Jack Randall duel in a field fringed with meadowsweet and willow, as Claire stumbles through a copse of trees to stop them (and fails). Later, she rides over the elegant White Cart Bridge, heading to the hospital in distress.
- In season 4, a grassy site here became the Scottish festival that Brianna and Roger attended in North Carolina.[174]

Tourism significance:
- Filled with historic buildings, woods and riverside meadows, this park was once voted the best park in Britain and Europe.[175]
- Visitors can also stop by the landmark National Trust for Scotland mansion, Pollok House, filled with mid-eighteenth-century grandeur and a fine collection of paintings.[176]
- Across the river from Pollok House, visitors can also visit the famous Highland cattle.[177]
- In the far north of Pollok's woods, visitors can also view the Iron Age fort.[178]

| 38 | **Calderglen Country Park** | East Kilbride | 1982 | Season 4 |

Outlander significance:
- Stood in for the North Carolinian wilderness, where Jamie took his son Willie on a hunting, fishing, and camping trip in season 4.

Tourism significance:
- This recreational park is home to a zoo, tropical conservatory, ornamental gardens, nature trails, toddler and adventure play areas, golf course, and the historic Torrance House, an impressive seventeenth century tower house.
- The park stretches along a picturesque, wooded glen, forged by the Rotten Calder River, a tributary of the River Clyde.
- The glen extends over 5 kilometres and has many attractive waterfalls and important geological features.[179]

| 39 | **Dean Castle** | Kilmarnock | c. 1300 | Season 2 |

Outlander significance:
- This fourteenth century castle stood in for Beaufort Castle near Beauly in the Highlands in season 2. Claire and Jamie visited Lord Lovat here to persuade him to send his men to aid Charles Stuart.

---

[174] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), pp. 36-37; Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland Seasons 4-6,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2023), p. 11; VisitScotland, 2022, 'Pollok Country Park', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[175] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), pp. 36-37.

[176] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), pp. 36-37.

[177] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), pp. 36-37.

[178] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), pp. 36-37.

[179] Historic Environment Scotland, N.d., 'CALDERGLEN COUNTRY PARK (FORMERLY TORRANCE HOUSE ESTATE), STATUE OF SIR JOHN FALSTAFF', Available: http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/LB26625#:~:text=The%20park%20once%20belonged%20to,to%20Torrance%20House%20in%20 1939, accessed: 30 July 2023; South Lanarkshire Leisure and Culture SCIO, N.d., 'Calderglen Country Park', Available: https://www.slleisureandculture.co.uk/info/113/calderglen_country_park, accessed: 30 July 2023; VisitScotland, 2022, 'Calderglen Country Park', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

Tourism significance:				

- The recently renovated castle houses world-class collections and a rich history about the Boyd family, medieval life, a collection of arms and armour, and an important collection of early musical instruments.[180]
- *Outlander* fans can also enjoy the actor Steven Cree, who plays Ian Murray in the show and hails from Kilmarnock, talking them through the history of the Boyds in a brand-new audio-visual presentation in the castle's Keep.[181]

40	**Troon**	Troon, Ayrshire	-	Season 1

Outlander significance:
- The quaint seaside town of Troon was the setting for the scene where Claire, Jamie and Murtagh arrived at the coast and boarded a ship to deliver Jamie to safety in France in season 1.

Tourism significance:
- Overlooking the Isle of Arran and Ailsa Craig, Troon boasts stunning sandy beaches, perfect for a relaxing sea holiday, and the Royal Troon Golf Club, an Open Championship venue.[182]

41	**Dunure Harbour & Castle**	Dunure	c. 1800	Season 3 & 4

Outlander significance:
- Featured as the ruined castle on 'Silkie Island' that Jamie swims out to, looking for Claire, in season 3.
- The cliffs here were also used for a pivotal conversation between Jamie and Claire, as they watched Ian swim out to the island among the windswept gorse.
- The local harbour featured as the port where Claire and Jamie meet up with his cousin Jared again to board a ship bound for the Caribbean. The distinctive round tower at the end of the quay can clearly be seen in the background of the scene.
- The harbour featured again in season four, where Brianna and Roger were reunited in Wilmington, North Carolina.

Tourism significance:
- The castle, situated on a picturesque rocky promontory, has incredible views looking towards the volcanic isle comprising of granite, Ailsa Craig, and across towards the mountainous Isle of Arran.[183]

42	**Drumlanrig Castle**	Thornhill	c. 1600	Season 2

Outlander significance:
- The exterior, living rooms and bedrooms were used as Bellhurst Manor, the Duke of Sandringham's residence, in season 2, including a bedroom once slept in by the real Bonnie Prince Charlie on his way north to Culloden.[184]

Tourism significance:
- This magnificent Renaissance castle boasts over 40 acres of beautiful gardens and impressive collections of silver, French furniture, and art.[185]
- The castle features 120 rooms, 17 turrets and four towers, while the finely hewn red sandstone on the exterior has given this "Pink Palace" its affectionate nickname.[186]

---

[180] VisitScotland, 2023, 'Dean Castle Country Park', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/info/see-do/dean-castle-country-park-p293891, accessed: 30 July 2023.

[181] VisitScotland, 2023, 'Dean Castle Country Park', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/info/see-do/dean-castle-country-park-p293891, accessed: 30 July 2023.

[182] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Troon', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[183] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), p. 38; VisitScotland, 2022, 'Dunure Castle and Harbour', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[184] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Drumlanrig Castle', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[185] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Drumlanrig Castle', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[186] Drumlanrig Castle, N.d., 'Drumlanrig Castle', Available: https://www.drumlanrigcastle.co.uk/drumlanrig-castle/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

• The impressive inside of the castle also includes grand reception rooms, marvellous staircases, ornate period features, and cosy parlours to provide the feeling of having stepped back into another era.[187]			
Other locations not included on the VisitScotland map:			
Balgonie Castle	Markinch	1360s	Season 1
Outlander significance:			
• Features as the MacRannoch's home, where Claire, Dougal and the MacKenzies rest ahead of raiding Wentworth Prison using Highland cattle in order to free Jamie.			
• The hall and courtyard of Balgonie Castle were used filming.			
Tourism significance:			
• Commonly considered as one of the "most haunted places" in Britain.[188]			
• Now closed to the public - the former owner used to welcome *Outlander* visitors and would gladly show them around, but he unfortunately passed away a few years ago.			
Duncarron Medieval Village	Denny	2019	Season 7
Outlander significance:			
• Duncarron Medieval Village does not feature on the VisitScotland map, as the site only featured in the seventh season of the series, long after the creation of the map.			
• Duncarron featured as Fort Ticonderoga in the United States in season 7 and the production left a bastion, outbuildings, and tower for the medieval village, after filming finished.[189]			
Tourism significance:			
• Duncarron is a modern reproduction of a fortified village from the early Middle Ages of Scotland. The village had been hand built by a team of volunteers over a period of twenty years and opened fully in 2019.[190]			
• The reproduction includes a lookout tower, gatehouse, murder hole, two large longhouses (one being the residence of the chief), and various cabins, workshops, and period siege machines.[191]			
• Attractions include a battering ram from the 2010 blockbuster *Robin Hood,* donated from the set by actor Russell Crowe, a working trebuchet catapult, donated by the production team of Netflix's *Outlaw King,* and a considerable collection of authentic replica weapons, costumes, and equipment.[192]			
• The village is also the home of the Clanranald Trust for Scotland, formed in 1994. The aim of the Trust is to promote Scottish culture and heritage through education and entertainment. These objectives are achieved through educational visits to schools, corporate entertainment and public events, from demonstrations and performances to full living history camps, battles, living history displays, and supplying skilled combat performers for film and TV productions, including *Outlander.*[193]			
Thomas Coates Memorial Church	Paisley	1894	Season 5
Outlander significance:			
• The church is not included on the official VisitScotland map, as it features in a later season than the ones recorded on the map.			

---

[187] Drumlanrig Castle, N.d., 'Drumlanrig Castle', Available: https://www.drumlanrigcastle.co.uk/drumlanrig-castle/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[188] Anonymous, 2023, 'Balgonie Castle', Available: http://www.outlanderlocations.com/locations/balgonie-castle/, accessed: 30 July 2023.

[189] Duncarron Medieval Fort, N.d., 'About Duncarron', Available: https://www.duncarron.com/index.php/about-us, accessed: 30 July 2023.

[190] Duncarron Medieval Fort, N.d., 'About Duncarron', Available: https://www.duncarron.com/index.php/about-us, accessed: 30 July 2023.

[191] Duncarron Medieval Fort, N.d., 'About Duncarron', Available: https://www.duncarron.com/index.php/about-us, accessed: 30 July 2023.

[192] Duncarron Medieval Fort, N.d., 'About Duncarron', Available: https://www.duncarron.com/index.php/about-us, accessed: 30 July 2023.

[193] Duncarron Medieval Fort, N.d., 'The Clanranald Trust for Scotland, Available: https://www.duncarron.com/index.php/our-pillars/the-clanranald, accessed: 30 July 2023.

• Standing in for the Church of St. Finbar in Boston in the 1960s, Claire visits the Thomas Coats Memorial Church after losing a Scottish patient, a Mr. Menzies, to a penicillin allergy. Her patient was a congregant at the church and he made Claire promise that he would be able to attend his 4 o'clock shift of the perpetual adoration after his gall bladder surgery, a tradition he kept up every week since the passing of his wife.			
• Scenes were filmed both inside and outside the church.			

Tourism significance:
- This Grade A-listed building is sometimes referred to as the "Baptist Cathedral of Europe".[194]
- The impressive sandstone structure is unfortunately no longer used as a place of worship but kept going with the help of local groups and being used for weddings and graduations.[195]

Faskally Forest	Pitlochry	1800s	Season 4

Outlander significance:
- Faskally Forest was transformed into a Mohawk Village for filming for season 4.
- The wigwams and other structures were created in the loch-side pine groves for the filming but were all removed.

Tourism significance:
- Created in the nineteenth century as a "model forest".
- Visitors can learn about the tree species present in the Foresters' classroom or enjoy a walk around the trails.
- The forest also hosts the 'Enchanted Forest' music and light show every October, awarded the title of UK's Best Cultural Event.[196]

Kinclaven Bluebell Wood	Murthly	-	Season 4

Outlander significance:
- In season 4, when Claire and Jamie arrive and name Fraser's Ridge, one of the first things they do is to mark the boundary of their lands. Young Ian points out two magnificent beech trees growing close together and Jamie calls them "the witness trees", which marks the furthest boundary of their land. He carves "F.R." into the trees as a boundary marker to show people they are entering Fraser's Ridge. These beautiful trees can be seen in Kinclaven Bluebell Wood.[197]

Tourism significance:
- One of Scotland's largest oak woods and the best place for seeing carpets of bluebells when in season.[198]

Queens Park	Glasgow	Late 1800s	Season 5

Outlander significance:
- Stand-in location for 1960s Boston.
- The park is not officially part of the VisitScotland map, as it featured in a later season.
- In episode 5, Claire is sitting in a park and we see Brianna running towards her. The camera pans out providing a beautiful view of 'Boston' and the Berkeley Building on the horizon. As they chat, Claire and Brianna walk down a wide flight of steps and visitors can follow their path through this park into the streets nearby.
- Close by is the Old Victoria Infirmary, where scenes in the hospital where Claire works in Boston were filmed.[199]

Tourism significance:
- This nineteenth-century Glaswegian park offers spectacular views over the city.

Table 5: Locations featured in the *Outlander* series

---

[194] Anonymous, 2023, 'Thomas Coats Memorial Church', Available: http://www.outlanderlocations.com/locations/thomas-coats-memorial-church/, accessed: 30 July 2023.

[195] Anonymous, 2023, 'Thomas Coats Memorial Church', Available: http://www.outlanderlocations.com/locations/thomas-coats-memorial-church/, accessed: 30 July 2023.

[196] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland Seasons 4-6,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2023), p.38; Ali Wood, *Scotland: an Outlander tour,* (Great Britain: TVTraveller, 2020), pp. 68-69.

[197] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland Seasons 4-6,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2023), p. 35.

[198] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland Seasons 4-6,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2023), p. 35.

[199] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland Seasons 4-6,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2023), pp. 10-11.

This Table presents a detailed analysis of the film and heritage components covering the seven seasons of the television series. In juxtaposing the *Outlander* significance with the touristic or heritage significance, the symbiotic relationship between the two becomes distinctly apparent. It is thus unequivocally clear that *Outlander* and its filmic dimension is closely aligned with the history and heritage of the areas used for filming.

4.6. Other *Outlander* locations

While this list of filming locations constitutes an already solid collection, more locations will certainly be added for upcoming seasons of the show and some of the above locations will also feature again. Additionally, as already mentioned, *Outlander* contains a strong literary component and many tours visit locations mentioned in the books (and series, but not used as filming locations). These sites have also been experiencing "the *Outlander* effect" and two prominent sites are also included here for discussion, that is, the Culloden battlefield visitor centre and the Wardlaw Mausoleum. It should be noted at this point that tourism associated with *Outlander* has shown massive growth over the past few years. For example, their association with *Outlander* now frequently sees Doune Castle, Glasgow Cathedral and Linlithgow Palace, amongst other, feature on the top ten list of the most visited Historic Environment Scotland properties.[200] A detailed discussion of the statistics and impact of "the *Outlander* effect" will be provided in Chapter 5.

Even sites without a direct film or literary link, but with a historical association with the content of *Outlander* have shared in the effect. One such example is the Wardlaw Mausoleum, located in the Wardlaw Graveyard at the top of Wardlaw Road in Kirkhill, west of Inverness. It was built in 1634 as the burial place for the Lovat Frasers on the end of the original parish church.[201] The roof of the mausoleum was raised and a tower added in 1722 by the then Lord Lovat, the 'Old Fox' of the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion who was said to be buried in the crypt after his

---

[200] A. Campsie, 27 February 2019, '"Outlander effect" drives tourist surge as home-grown interest also booms', available at: https://www.scotsman.com/business/companies/media-leisure/outlander-effect-drives-tourist-surge-as-home-grown-interest-also-booms-1-4880043, accessed: 27 February 2019; Press Association, 27 February 2019, '"Outlander effect" helps boost visitor numbers to Scotland's castles', available at: https://www.pressandjournal. co.uk/news/scotland/1687246/outlander-effect-helps-boost-visitor-numbers-to-scotlands-castles/, accessed: 27 February 2019.
[201] Wardlaw Mausoleum, N.d., 'Wardlaw Mausoleum', Available: http://wardlawmausoleum.com/, accessed: 15 December 2022.

execution at the Tower of London in 1747.[202] It was used by the Lovats until the early nineteenth century. The building then fell into disrepair until the 1990s when the Wardlaw Mausoleum Trust was formed to rescue it. This led to a restoration project with Historic Scotland and Lottery funding. The Mausoleum is listed as Grade 'A' by Historic Scotland, the highest level of importance.[203]

The site has also benefited from endorsement by some of the actors in the television series, with Sophie Skelton sharing pictures of her visit to the Wardlaw Mausoleum with Richard Rankin on her social media accounts.[204] The Mausoleum also reported on the visit, tagging Richard Rankin, who responded to their post. [205] Clive Russell, who portrayed Simon Lord Lovat in the series, also visited the site and his visit was promoted on *Twitter*.[206] The Mausoleum frequently promotes themselves using #Outlander to connect with fans.

Figure 16: Sophie Skelton and Richard Rankin at the Wardlaw Mausoleum
From: https://invernessoutlanders.wordpress.com/2016/05/11/the-wardlaw-mausoleum-and-outlander/;
accessed: 15 December 2022.

---

[202] Dame Prof. Sue Black and her research team instead discovered that the casket said to contain his remains actually belonged to an 18th century woman. See for example: BBC News, 28 January 2019, 'Woman found in Old Fox casket may have been from London', Available: https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-highlands-islands-47027975, accessed: 15 December 2022.

[203] Wardlaw Mausoleum, N.d., 'Wardlaw Mausoleum', Available: http://wardlawmausoleum.com/, accessed: 15 December 2022.

[204] Sophie Skelton, 6 February 2016, 'Bree and Roger brushing up on their Fraser history…', Available: https://twitter.com/SkeltonSophie/status/696039295820414980, accessed: 15 December 2022.

[205] Wardlaw Mausoleum, 6 February 2016, 'The Old Fox's Great Granddaughter Bree and her husband Roger paying their respects!', Available: https://twitter.com/WardlawMaus/status/696088159671738368, accessed: 15 December 2022.

[206] Wardlaw Mausoleum, 26 August 2018, 'We were honoured to have Clive Russel, who played Simon Lord Lovat in @Outlander_STARZ out at the mausoleum today', Available: https://twitter.com/WardlawMaus/status/1033781733882298369, accessed: 15 December 2022.

Culloden Battlefield, near Inverness, is another example of a site without a direct filmic association to the series, but in this case, the site has a very clear link with the books. This "powerfully emotive and atmospheric" battlefield is where the 1745 Jacobite Rising came to its tragic conclusion.[207] The excellent, richly researched, and sensitive visitor and interpretation centre on the battlefield offers a realistic interpretation of what the battle would have looked like to those fighting in it in the 360-degree battle immersion theatre. It also presents a detailed retelling of the history of the 1745 Rising, from both the Jacobite and Government perspectives, in the accredited museum, where weapons and unique artefacts are displayed.[208] The site also features panoramic views of the battlefield and the surrounding countryside from the roof garden, the restored eighteenth-century Leanach Cottage, and an award-winning shop with unique exclusive gifts, including jewellery crafted from the flowers of the battlefield, books, food, Culloden whisky, and of course, *Outlander*-related souvenirs.[209] Many *Outlander* fans visit the battlefield to pay their respects to Clan Fraser at the commemoration stone, depicted in Figure 17 below. In fact, Prof. Murray Pittock rated Culloden as Scotland's most visited battlefield and attributed this feat to *Outlander* at the recent *Outlander Conference Glasgow*.[210]

---

[207] National Trust for Scotland, N.d., 'Culloden', Available: https://www.nts.org.uk/visit/places/culloden, accessed: 15 December 2022.
[208] Culloden Battlefield, 26 August 2016, Site visit by researcher, Culloden Battlefield, Inverness, IV2 5EU, United Kingdom.
[209] National Trust for Scotland, N.d., 'Culloden', Available: https://www.nts.org.uk/visit/places/culloden, accessed: 15 December 2022.
[210] Murray G.H. Pittock, 19 July 2023, 'Writing history – between fact and fiction', Roundtable discussion at the *Outlander Conference Glasgow,* University of Glasgow.

Figure 17: The Clan Fraser commemoration stone on Culloden battlefield
From: Researcher's own photo from site visit (26 August 2016)

Outlander has of course had a very strong literary tourism component as well and many sites in North Carolina and Virginia in the United States have been part of literary tours associated (especially) with the later books, even if the screen representations of these sites were set in Scotland. These destinations include Ocracoke, Southport, Brunswick Town, Wilmington, Tryon Palace, New Bern, Moore's Creek National Battlefield, Edenton, the Great Dismal Swamp, the Piedmont, the Cape Fear River, Campbellton, Cross Creek, the Alamance Battleground, Hillsborough, and western North Carolina (Grandfather Mountain, Blowing Rock, which is the best estimate for the location of the fictional Fraser's Ridge).[211] In fact, some companies, like *Novel Adventures,* even host annual tours and events related to *Outlander* in North Carolina.[212]

---

[211] Beth Pittman, Carolyn Baker and Dawn Woo, 19 November 2021, 'Fraser's footsteps: a North Carolina travelogue', talk presented during the Wake County Public Libraries celebration event "Outlander: Kilts in Carolina" for the launch of Diana Gabaldon's *Go Tell The Bees That I Am Gone.*

[212] Novel Adventures, 2023, 'Novel Adventures', Available: https://www.facebook.com/noveladventure/, accessed: 15 December 2022.

Figure 18: Sam Heughan (Jamie Fraser) and César Domboy (Fergus) visit "Fraser's Ridge"
From: https://www.facebook.com/noveladventure/; accessed: 1 July 2021.

Aside from being mostly filmed in Scotland, *Outlander* also filmed some scenes for season 2 in the Czech Republic and the second half of season 3 in South Africa. Locations in Prague included Na Kampe, a street close to Charles Bridge on the west bank of the Vlatava River, which was used for many outdoor scenes set in Paris. The impressive façade of the Vojensky kostel svateho Jana Nepomuckeho ('Military Church of St. John of Nepomuk') was used as the entrance of the L'Hopital des Anges. The iconic steps of Radnicke Schody ('Town Hall Stairs') were often seen when Claire would visit Master Raymond's apothecary shop. The decadent interiors of the library at Strahov Monastery were used as the library at the Palace of Versailles.[213] The *Outlander* cast and crew spent several months filming for season 3 in South Africa, most notably at the Cape Town Film Studios. Much of the *Black Sails* set was used, to allow filming of the many ship-based sequences, as well as providing sets for the Caribbean scenes. Other locations used include the Theology Faculty Building at the University of Stellenbosch (recognisable as the outside of the Governor's mansion), De Grendel Wine Estate and Restaurant (used as Rose House), and Silverstroom Beach, where Claire is reunited with

---

[213] Anonymous, 2023, 'Outlander locations in Czech Republic', Available: http://www.outlanderlocations.com/map/outlander-locations-in-czech-republic/, accessed: 30 July 2023.

Jamie after being separated and spending time with Father Fogden and Mamacita on Hispaniola.[214]

As can be seen from the above, the *Outlander* phenomenon is a truly extensive one, from its literary roots to the extensive use of on-location filming sites, often making use of real historical heritage sites. Added to that is the genuine ambassadorial role that many of the individuals involved in the making of *Outlander* have happily embraced, from the author, Diana Gabaldon, to individual actors, to promote Scotland's history, heritage, culture, and tourism.

---

[214] Anonymous, 2023, 'Outlander locations in South Africa', Available: http://www.outlanderlocations.com/map/outlander-locations-in-south-africa/, accessed: 30 July 2023.

CHAPTER 5 – *OUTLANDER* AND SCOTLAND: AN INTEGRATION OF THEORY AND CASE STUDY

5.1. Introduction

This chapter integrates the theoretical background discussed in Chapters 1, 2 and 3 with the information about the case study described in Chapter 4. As such, it considers *Outlander* as a perfect example of the film tourism typology and as an archetypal embodiment of History, Heritage, Literary and Film Tourism (HHLFT). In addition, it also explores the cultural affinity surrounding *Outlander,* the '*Outlander* effect', *Outlander's* impact on Scotland's destination image, *Outlander's* impact on history and heritage, and *Outlander's* authenticity.

5.2. *Outlander* as film tourism

In terms of Beeton's typology discussed in Chapter 1, *Outlander* is an example of almost every single type of film tourism. Under the 'Motivation' category, where film tourism is described as the primary motivation for travel and the location is well-known enough to motivate visitation on its own merits,[1] Doune Castle may be used as an example. Known for its filmic legacy and notably *Monty Python* as well, this castle is one of the most visited *Outlander* locations. Where film tourism can be classified as only a part of a holiday and film locations are treated as stops on a larger holiday,[2] one can refer to the fact that most of the *Outlander* locations are located along the Edinburgh-Glasgow corridor and are convenient attractions to stop at along the way, as is evident from the map (p. 138).

The next category discussed by Beeton consider on location film tourism. This includes film tourism pilgrimages, where sites associated with a favourite screen production are visited to pay homage, and possibly re-enact scenes from that production.[3] As the fictional home of Jamie Fraser, 'Lallybroch', Midhope Castle is a must-see for most film pilgrims, as they re-enact some of series' most memorable scenes (see Figure 31 below). This category also includes

---

[1] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 10; Sue Beeton, *Travel, tourism and the moving image*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2015), pp. 32-34.
[2] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 10; Sue Beeton, *Travel, tourism and the moving image*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2015), pp. 32-34.
[3] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 10; Sue Beeton, *Travel, tourism and the moving image*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2015), pp. 32-34.

nostalgic film tourism, where film locations representing another era are visited.[4] Most of the *Outlander* locations hark back to another era, with viewers longing for the rustic romanticism and 'simplicity' of an earlier time, whether it is the eighteenth or twentieth century. The rustic Culross as an authentic example of a seventeenth to eighteenth century royal burgh is an apt example here.

The third category considers one-off or recurring events. Here, Beeton refers to events like movie premieres and fan-based events.[5] For example, the *Outlander* season 6 world premiere took place at the Royal Festival Hall in London in 2022. In terms of fan-based events, Beeton refers to events, like conventions, where fans cosplay, meet actors, and purchase memorabilia.[6] An *Outlander* example of this would be Star Fury Conventions' 'The Highlanders' convention, held annually in Birmingham, UK.

The fourth category of film tourism Beeton identifies considers commercial locations. This includes film/movie tours, specially developed to take in filming locations.[7] Several companies offer *Outlander*-themed tours, like Mary's Meanders, Edinburgh Tour Guides, Slainte Scotland, Highlander Tours, Rabbie's Tours, etc. The category also includes guided tours at specific on-location sets.[8] Examples specific to *Outlander* include Midhope Castle, Doune Castle, Blackness Castle, and Hopetoun House. Lastly, the category includes constructed film attractions, which refers to attractions constructed after filming purely to attract visitors.[9] The *Outlander* filming crew has been pretty meticulous about removing sets after they wrap up filming, but hopefully once the series has concluded, some sets may be turned into tourist attractions, as has been the custom with other film and TV series.

The fifth category discusses mistaken identities. By this, Beeton refers to film tourism to destinations where filming is only believed to have taken place. Screen productions filmed in

---

[4] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 10; Sue Beeton, *Travel, tourism and the moving image*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2015), pp. 32-34.
[5] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 11; Sue Beeton, *Travel, tourism and the moving image*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2015), pp. 32-34.
[6] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 11; Sue Beeton, *Travel, tourism and the moving image*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2015), pp. 32-34.
[7] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 10; Sue Beeton, *Travel, tourism and the moving image*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2015), pp. 32-34.
[8] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 10; Sue Beeton, *Travel, tourism and the moving image*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2015), pp. 32-34.
[9] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 10; Sue Beeton, *Travel, tourism and the moving image*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2015), pp. 32-34.

one place is made to look like another, often for financial reasons. These are also known as 'runaway productions' or 'stand-in locations'.[10] An *Outlander* example would be Drummond Castle Gardens, standing in for the ornate gardens and orchards of the Palace of Versailles in France. The category also includes film tourism to places where film is set, but not filmed. Screen productions can raise interest in a place where the story takes place, but no filming takes place there.[11] An excellent example of this would be Culloden Battlefield.

The penultimate category Beeton identifies looks at off-location film tourism. This includes tours of working film studios, where the filming process can be seen.[12] While they do not offers tours, fans are welcome to visit and view the outside area of Wardpark Studios in Cumbernauld, where the *Outlander* series is filmed and it has also become a site of pilgrimage for fans. The category also includes visits to museums exhibiting film-related content or an individual exhibition at a general museum.[13] Some museums, like the American Revolution Museum in Yorktown, have incorporated *Outlander*-related history in their exhibits.[14]

The final category of film tourism revolves around armchair travels. This includes television travel programmes, which Beeton describes as the successor to travel guides and travelogues.[15] An *Outlander*-related example of this would be the *Men in Kilts: A Roadtrip with Sam and Graham* series, starring *Outlander* stars Sam Heughan and Graham McTavish, and which extensively features the bountiful heritage and tourism treasures of Scotland. Also included in this category is gastronomy programmes: cooking shows that showcase a region through local cuisine.[16] A good example of this would be the *Men in Kilts: A Roadtrip with Sam and Graham* episode which focused on Scottish food and drink. The last section of this category refers to documentaries, both cultural and natural. These typically do not focus on tourism promotion,

---

[10] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 10; Sue Beeton, *Travel, tourism and the moving image*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2015), pp. 32-34.
[11] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 10; Sue Beeton, *Travel, tourism and the moving image*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2015), pp. 32-34.
[12] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 11; Sue Beeton, *Travel, tourism and the moving image*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2015), pp. 32-34.
[13] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 11; Sue Beeton, *Travel, tourism and the moving image*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2015), pp. 32-34.
[14] Jillian Appel, 28 August 2023, 'JYF Using Popular Media to Inspire Learning About History', Available: https://wydaily.com/our-community/series/our-historic-home/2023/08/28/media-and-history/, accessed: 28 August 2023.
[15] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 11; Sue Beeton, *Travel, tourism and the moving image*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2015), pp. 32-34.
[16] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 11; Sue Beeton, *Travel, tourism and the moving image*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2015), pp. 32-34.

but they showcase unique features in the world, which may inspire travel.[17] *Men in Kilts: A Roadtrip with Sam and Graham* would again be the perfect example, with its featured episodes on the culture and traditions, sport, song and dance, clans and tartans, and witchcraft and superstitions of Scotland, as well as the Battle of Culloden.[18]

5.3. The '*Outlander* effect' quantified

As is evident, Scotland's history and landscapes play a profound and integral role in both the *Outlander* literature and TV series. *Outlander* has created a loyal, interested and committed fan base which has demonstrated an extraordinary eagerness to travel to Scotland to visit locations described in the books or used for filming the series, or often both of these simultaneously. Referring to this literary and filmic inspiration to travel, VisitScotland has described the '*Outlander* effect' as a phenomenon that has "had a profound legacy on the locations used in the production".[19]

Research by VisitScotland has attempted to quantify the impact of *Outlander*. In a report produced by the Moffat Centre for Travel and Tourism at Glasgow Caledonian University, it was demonstrated that the TV series caused visitor numbers to soar by 67% between 2013 and 2017 (see Figure 19 below).

---

[17] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 11; Sue Beeton, *Travel, tourism and the moving image*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2015), pp. 32-34.
[18] *Men in Kilts: a Roadtrip with Sam and Graham*, season 1. Directed by Kevin Johnston. First aired February 14, 2021.
[19] VisitScotland, 6 March 2019, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: March 2019, p. 2.
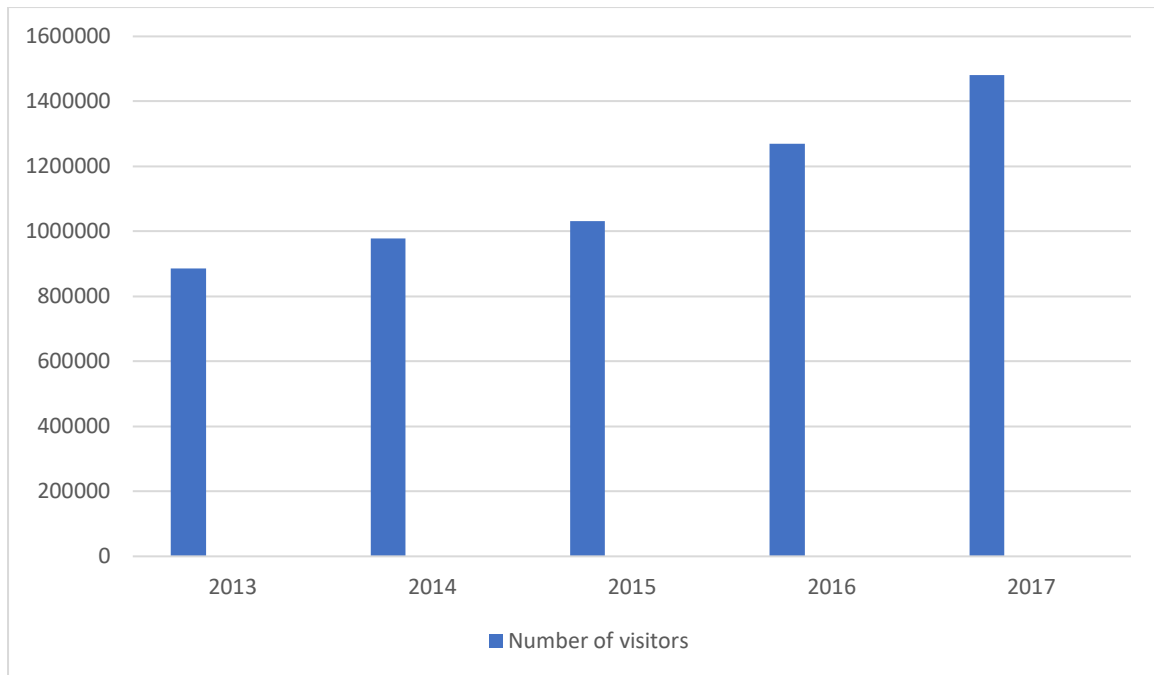
Figure 19: Growth in visits to attractions used as *Outlander* filming locations in Scotland (per year)
After: VisitScotland, 6 March 2019, *Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism*, Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: March 2019, p. 9.

In a Visitor Attraction Monitor report, the Moffat Centre for Travel and Tourism also indicated the growth in attendance at selected *Outlander* locations from 2013 to 2021. Table 6 below indicates these annual visitor statistics for 20 *Outlander*-related sites.[20] Also indicated are the owners of these sites, where 'HES' refers to Historic Environment Scotland, 'NTS' refers to the National Trust for Scotland, 'LA' refers to a local authority, 'PVT' refers to private ownership, and 'CoT' refers to a charity or trust. The first appearance of each location in the series is also indicated in blue. 'CL' refers to the attraction being closed for that year, such as during the COVID-19 lockdowns, or in the case of Dean Castle, for extensive renovations. 'N/D' refers to no data being available for that specific year.

---

[20] VisitScotland, June 2022, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: 30 July 2023, p. 9.

Outlander Seasons	Release year	Aberdour Castle	Arniston House	Beecraigs Country Park	Blackness Castle	Bo' ness & Kinneil Railway	Callendar House	Craigmillar Castle	Culloden Visitor Centre	Culross Palace	Dean Castle	Doune Castle	Glasgow Cathedral	Glencoe Visitor Centre	Highland Folk Museum	Hopetoun House	Linlithgow Palace	Muiravonside Country Park	Newhailes House	Preston Mill & Phantassie Doocot	Scottish Fisheries Museum
	2013	12,518	690	436,749	15,197	68,306	36,060	18,639	109,063	10,446	29,827	38,081	233,172	114,284	53,364	51,879	66,500	N/D	4,307	2,298	11,406
S1	2014	13,184	711	518,367	16,559	68,329	32,514	20,971	98,780	10,669	22,806	47,069	219,947	130,006	54,065	35,502	63,274	117,099	4,831	1,872	12,648
	2015	14,107	533	552,276	21,556	73,380	45,491	21,098	117,814	11,556	24,767	68,518	182,205	133,444	66,251	29,300	66,324	124,229	5,351	2,383	11,745
S2	2016	15,392	590	596,181	30,053	69,085	34,981	23,221	141,776	13,112	21,778	90,279	296,062	199,327	64,078	31,478	74,428	132,941	5,425	2,217	11,431
S3	2017	19,381	676	764,670	42,810	65,634	51,882	20,877	180,875	16,022	13,541	124,341	389,101	165,303	69,857	32,449	86,596	146,517	5,388	2,748	11,764
S4	2018	27,507	400	1,061,747	58,388	67,038	61,533	35,473	200,646	24,445	CL	142,091	482,783	213,343	N/D	36,776	94,718	138,912	68,360	2,967	10,633
	2019	24,768	829	1,112,856	79,265	60,822	62,465	40,634	209,011	25,209	CL	152,987	537,415	436,924	N/D	37,940	103,312	143,851	65,395	2,590	10,689
S5	2020	4,384	114	1,209,106	10,212	2,014	15,017	7,100	182,496	CL	CL	15,549	33,900	93,547	N/D	3,536	12,128	140,869	7,383	601	1,693
	2021	9,255	N/D	N/D	12,663	22,880	15,478	11,876	57,778	10,733	CL	3,171	33,788	129,829	N/D	N/D	2,489	158,340	65,470	1,835	2,856
% Change	2014-2019	87.9	16.6	114.7	378.7	-11	92.1	93.8	111.6	136.3	N/A	225	144.3	236.1	30.91	6.9	63.3	22.9	1253.7	38.4	-15.5
Owner		HES	PVT	LA	HES	CoT	LA	HES	NTS	NTS	LA	HES	HES	NTS	LA	CoT	HES	LA	NTS	NTS	CoT

Table 6: Visitor growth for selected *Outlander*-related locations (per year)

From: VisitScotland, June 2022, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: 30 July 2023, p. 9.

167

As indicated in Chapter 4, these *Outlander* locations comprise a varied range of different attractions, from historical to heritage to nature to culture. The benefits of being featured in a screened product and cultural phenomenon is well-distributed across different genres of attraction, as well as geographically across Scotland. These attractions also range in popularity and size, demonstrating that the impact of film tourism is not just limited to already popular attractions. After being featured in *Outlander,* most attractions included in Table 6 have witnessed double digit increases in visitation between 2013 and 2019. In 2020, they still showed good attendance (outside of the lockdown periods), despite the lack of international visitors. This trend also continued into 2021. A few noticeable exceptions in visitor numbers declining between 2020 and 2021 were due to maintenance closures (particularly Linlithgow Palace and Doune Castle).[21]

The relatively unknown Newhailes House was the most significant beneficiary of the '*Outlander* effect', with a massive 1253.7% increase in visitation, from 4,307 visitors in 2013 to 68,360 in 2018, the year it featured in season 4 of *Outlander.*[22] Located just east of Edinburgh, this seventeenth century Palladian villa served as Governor Tryon's home in North Carolina, where Jamie discussed the offer of a land grant in exchange for service to the English Crown in season 4. The dining room and library at Newhailes also featured when Jamie and Claire were introduced to Wilmington Society. The extensive and historic Newhailes Estate is open to the public all year and offers unspoilt views across the Forth. The estate is under the custodial care of the National Trust for Scotland.[23]

Visitors can take a tour of the house to explore a 300-year-old treasure trove of curiosities. The house has an abundance of beautiful interiors, fine art, furniture, and ceramics that offer an insight into the lives of the generations of Dalrymple family who once lived here. With its Rococo interiors, Italian marble fireplaces, Chinese sitting room and impressive fine art

---

[21] VisitScotland, June 2022, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: 30 July 2023, p. 9.
[22] VisitScotland, June 2022, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: 30 July 2023, p. 9.
[23] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland Seasons 4-6,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2023), pp. 22-23; VisitScotland, 2022, 'Newhailes House', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

collection, Newhailes House has been described as "a place of innovation and creativity".[24] This spirit is kept alive today by collaborating with artists. For example, the estate has a resident potter and sculpture installation, as well as a variety of creative events taking place, including art workshops, open-air theatre, and a monthly farmers' market.[25]

The grounds, designed in the eighteenth century, offers the opportunity to spot wildlife on the woodland walks, including the Shell Grotto, Tea House, and Ladies' Walk. The estate also includes apiaries, allotments (maintained by volunteers), the recently renovated Stables Café, a playpark, and even an ice cream parlour in the Old Dairy.[26]

Figure 20: Newhailes House
From: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Newhailes_House#/media/File:Newhailes,_near_Musselburgh.JPG; accessed: 14 May 2022.

In second place, with a visitor increase of 378.7%, is Blackness Castle. Visitor numbers at Blackness Castle increased from 15,197 in 2013 to 79,265 in 2019.[27] Graeme Sinclair, the Monument Manager at Blackness Castle, believes that based on the consistent year-on-year growth, that the site would be welcoming about 100,000 visitors by now, without the interruption caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. This year (2023) they expect to at least match the impressive 2019 figure. An estimated 40% can also be added on top of these figures to

---

[24] National Trust for Scotland, N.d., 'Newhailes House & Gardens', Available: https://www.nts.org.uk/visit/places/newhailes, accessed: 14 May 2022.
[25] National Trust for Scotland, N.d., 'Newhailes House & Gardens', Available: https://www.nts.org.uk/visit/places/newhailes, accessed: 14 May 2022.
[26] National Trust for Scotland, N.d., 'Newhailes House & Gardens', Available: https://www.nts.org.uk/visit/places/newhailes, accessed: 14 May 2022.
[27] VisitScotland, June 2022, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: 30 July 2023, p. 9.

account for those who come to the site to enjoy the wonderful views and environment, take some refreshment, or buy souvenirs, without paying to enter the actual castle itself.[28]

Looking out over the Firth of Forth and the Forth bridges near Edinburgh, the impressive Blackness Castle is often referred to as "the ship that never sailed" due to the fact that it resembles a ship run aground from the seaward side. This fifteenth century fortress provided the setting for the Fort William headquarters of Black Jack Randall, where Jamie was incarcerated and flogged in season 1. The site also featured in season 2, when Roger and Brianna visited there in the 1960s.[29]

Blackness Castle is situated at the port that served the royal burgh of Linlithgow in medieval times. Though built as a lordly residence for the Crichtons, one of Scotland's more powerful families, the castle fulfilled many roles over its lifetime: a royal castle (1453), a garrison fortress, a state prison, and an ammunition depot (nineteenth century). The castle was decommissioned after the First World War (1914-1919) and passed into state care as a visitor attraction. Today, Blackness Castle falls under the custodial care of Historic Environment Scotland.[30]

As already mentioned, Blackness was intended to provide a suitable residence for a nobleman, but its principal use was as a garrison stronghold and a state prison on behalf of the reigning sovereign. Between 1537 and 1542, James V began to convert the castle into a state prison and artillery fortification. This ambitious project was in answer to the looming threat from Henry VIII's Protestant England. "Mighty Blackness wasn't subtle like the great Italianate artillery fortifications. Instead, enemies approaching from the land met with a brute mass of masonry (the 'stern' tower) and cannons fired through great gunholes positioned to give all-round firepower."[31] The castle saw much action and withstood many sieges, until Oliver Cromwell's 1650 attack and heavy artillery devastated the defences, forcing the garrison to surrender. The scars of this attack are still visible today.[32]

---

[28] Graeme Sinclair, Email interview: graeme.sinclair@hes.scot, 25 August 2023.

[29] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Blackness Castle', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[30] Historic Environment Scotland, N.d., 'Blackness Castle', Available: https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/blackness-castle/history/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[31] Historic Environment Scotland, N.d., 'Blackness Castle', Available: https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/blackness-castle/history/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[32] Historic Environment Scotland, N.d., 'Blackness Castle', Available: https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/blackness-castle/history/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

Many high-status prisoners were held at Blackness in later medieval times. The most famous was Cardinal David Beaton, Archbishop of St Andrews, in 1543, who was one of the main rivals of the Earl of Arran, who served as Regent of Scotland for Mary Queen of Scots. In the "Killing Time" of the 1670s-1680s, Charles II and James VII imprisoned many Covenanters here. In the later 1700s, Blackness was a prison of war for sailors and soldiers captured during the conflicts with France, Spain, and the embryonic USA.[33]

In addition to this rich history, Blackness also boasts significant natural heritage. The foreshore and mudflats to the east of the castle are part of the River Forth Site of Special Scientific Interest. This protected site is an important feeding area for overwintering birds. The rare plant, glasswort, also grows on this foreshore. The plant was used as a vegetable, but it gets its name from its other historic use in the making of soap and glass.[34]

Figure 21: Blackness Castle
From: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Blackness_Castle,_Blackness,_Scotland.jpg, accessed: 14 May 2022.

---

[33] Historic Environment Scotland, N.d., 'Blackness Castle', Available: https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/blackness-castle/history/, accessed: 14 May 2022.
[34] Historic Environment Scotland, N.d., 'Blackness Castle', Available: https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/blackness-castle/history/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

Graeme Sinclair, the Monument Manager at Blackness Castle, emphasised that Historic Environment Scotland, its individual sites utilised in filming for *Outlander,* as well Scotland in general, benefited greatly from film tourism. He comments that smaller sites can often benefit significantly from niche tourism, like film: "if you get the conditions right, offer the venue at a reasonable price, the real profit to be made is through increased footfall and retail sales, without expensive marketing (press and TV news handled this free of charge!)".[35] Blackness Castle is also very keen to share its history and other aspects of Scottish culture with visitors, with Mr. Sinclair being known to play the bagpipes for visiting *Outlander* tour groups. They have also meticulously kept record of the *Outlander* filming at the site and eagerly share photos taken of the filming process to fans. They also sell numerous *Outlander*-related souvenirs in the gift shop.[36]

In third place, with a visitor increase of 236.1%, going from 114,284 visitors in 2013 to 436,924 visitors in 2019, is the Glen Coe Visitor Centre.[37] As can be seen from these figures, the site was already quite popular with visitors, presumably for its scenic beauty. This increase can also partly be ascribed to a general increase in visitation to Scotland as whole over the past few years, but the *Outlander* connection will have no doubt raised the profile of Glen Coe as well.

The spectacular valley of Glen Coe is a world-famous Scottish location of high mountain peaks, ridges, rushing rivers and waterfalls and features rather iconically in *Outlander*'s opening credits. Nearby Glen Etive appears at the start of the sixth season, when we see flashbacks to Jamie's grim years imprisoned at Ardsmuir Prison. Sam Heughan and Graham McTavish also visited the Glen Coe Folk Museum in their *Men in Kilts: A Roadtrip with Sam and Graham* series.[38] The museum, situated in two thatched crofters' cottages, showcases Jacobite glass, swords, and a pistol that was discovered on the battlefield at Culloden in 1746. The museum also houses a chair and some lace cuffs that belonged to Bonnie Prince Charlie. In some related "real" history, just beyond nearby Fort William is the legendary Glenfinnan Monument where Bonnie Prince Charlie raised his standard and started the second Jacobite

---

[35] Graeme Sinclair, Email interview: graeme.sinclair@hes.scot, 25 August 2023.
[36] Blackness Castle. 4 August 2018. Site visit by researcher. Blackness, Linlithgow, EH49 7NH, United Kingdom.
[37] VisitScotland, June 2022, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: 30 July 2023, p. 9.
[38] *Men in Kilts: A Roadtrip with Sam and Graham*, season 1, episode 3, "Song and Dance". Directed by Kevin Johnston. First aired February 28, 2021.

Rising in 1745.[39] The museum also extended their Jacobite exhibition in 2019 in anticipation of *Outlander* visitors who want to learn more about the Jacobite movement and stocked their gift shop with *Outlander*/Jacobite items.[40]

Figure 22: Glen Coe as featured in the *Outlander* opening credits
From: *Outlander,* season 1, episode 1, "Sassenach", directed by John Dahl, first aired August 9, 2014, available (in South Africa) https://www.netflix.com/za/title/70285581.

In fourth place, with a visitor increase of another impressive 225%, going from 38,081 visitors in 2013 to 152,987 visitors in 2019, is another 'hidden gem' in the form of Doune Castle.[41] This is even more significant if we consider that Doune Castle received 23,000 visitors annually in 2003, and over a third were already film tourists, visiting for *Monty Python*.[42] The massive increase over ten years from 2003 to 2013 truly demonstrates the impact of the '*Outlander* effect', with visitor numbers virtually quadrupling in just six years. Doune Castle played a leading role in the show, starring as the fictional Castle Leoch, home to Colum

---

[39] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland Seasons 4-6,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2023), pp. 4-5; VisitScotland, 2022, 'Glen Coe', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

[40] VisitScotland, June 2022, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: 30 July 2023, p. 12.

[41] VisitScotland, June 2022, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: 30 July 2023, p. 9.

[42] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 46.

MacKenzie and his clan in the eighteenth century in season 1. It also featured in the twentieth century when Claire and Frank visited the ruined castle on a day trip.[43]

Doune Castle is strategically positioned on a promontory formed by the meeting place of the River Teith and Ardoch Burn. The site has a long history of settlement. An excellently preserved Roman fort, constructed of timber and earth, was discovered in 1983 to the north of the castle, between the castle and the present village. It is estimated that the fort dates from the first century CE, when Agricola's armies pushed northwards into Caledonia. A local dun or tribal fort possibly stood on the site of the present Doune Castle between 500 and 600 CE.[44]

The present castle is largely attributed to "Scotland's uncrowned king". Doune was the seat of Robert Stewart, the first Duke of Albany and Governor of Scotland. He acquired the castle in 1361, when he married Margaret Graham, Countess of Menteith. Albany was a member of the royal house of Stewart. Although he was never king himself, he held the reins of government for an impressive 22 years between 1388 and 1420 and was a key political figure throughout the period.[45] The first references to Doune Castle occur in documents dated 1381. It was presumably habitable by 1401 when Albany was recorded as writing letters from there to Henry IV of England. Doune only officially became a royal castle after the death of both Albany and his son Murdoch, who was executed by James I on his return to Scotland from imprisonment in England in 1424. Doune was a safe and secure residence, but it was neither regarded as well organised nor as comfortable as Edinburgh Castle or Stirling Castle. Still, many Stewart monarchs enjoyed the castle's hospitality and surroundings, but its role as a royal retreat ended in 1603, when James VI left for London, to become James I of England.[46]

There is a sense that what remains today is only half a castle, but whether Doune was completed, and what might have been lost, is unclear.[47] Doune seems to be missing its south

---

[43] VisitScotland, 2022, 'Doune Castle', Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/, accessed: 14 May 2022.
[44] Nicki Scott, *Doune Castle Official Souvenir Guide,* (Edinburgh: Historic Environment Scotland, 2017), pp. 30-31.
[45] Historic Environment Scotland, N.d., 'Doune Castle', Available: https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/doune-castle/history/, accessed: 14 May 2022; Nicki Scott, *Doune Castle Official Souvenir Guide,* (Edinburgh: Historic Environment Scotland, 2017), p. 29.
[46] Historic Environment Scotland, N.d., 'Doune Castle', Available: https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/doune-castle/history/, accessed: 14 May 2022; Nicki Scott, *Doune Castle Official Souvenir Guide,* (Edinburgh: Historic Environment Scotland, 2017), p. 29.
[47] Historic Environment Scotland, N.d., 'Doune Castle', Available: https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/doune-castle/history/, accessed: 14 May 2022.

and west ranges of buildings. Projecting "tusks" on the kitchen tower and impressive windows in the south wall indicate that either the two ranges were planned but not completed, or did exist at a stage, but were taken down, leaving very little trace of the original structure. Historical records show that Albany entertained great numbers of important dignitaries, which supports the belief that the castle is not as big as it once was. Architectural analysis and archaeological excavation suggest that there is more to be discovered here.[48]

No expense was spared on Doune and even in its ruined state, the castle inspires awe in visitors. Making a show of one's wealth and status was vital to maintain authority and good governance in Albany's age, and Albany was certainly adept at this.[49] Doune exudes an imposing presence and the great hall, Duke's Hall and the kitchen tower certainly impress most. The cathedral-like great hall has a minstrels' gallery and a distinctive central hearth. The Duke's Hall, which was restored in 1883 as part of the renovations ordered by the Earl of Moray, features a musicians' gallery, double fireplace, and carved oak screen. At the other end of the great hall is the kitchen tower. The kitchen tower housed an impressive kitchen, as well as two floors of high-status chambers.[50] In fact, so impressive was this stone-arched kitchen, that it inspired *Outlander*'s production team to build a replica as Mrs. Fitz's kitchen in the studio. They did not film in the actual kitchen as they did not want to damage the medieval stonework.[51]

---

[48] Historic Environment Scotland, N.d., 'Doune Castle', Available: https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/doune-castle/history/, accessed: 14 May 2022.
[49] Historic Environment Scotland, N.d., 'Doune Castle', Available: https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/doune-castle/history/, accessed: 14 May 2022.
[50] Historic Environment Scotland, N.d., 'Doune Castle', Available: https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/doune-castle/history/, accessed: 14 May 2022.
[51] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), p. 20.

Figure 23: Doune Castle
From: Researcher's own photo from site visit (27 August 2016)

As already mentioned, Doune is no stranger to filmic success, having featured in *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* (1975) and as the fictional Winterfell in the pilot episode of the hugely popular and acclaimed *Game of Thrones*. The castle eagerly embraces its film associations and even sells coconuts (from *Monty Python* fame) in its giftshop, along with numerous *Outlander*-related souvenirs, including T-shirts and other clothing items, mugs, coasters, keyrings, and books. Visitors are also encouraged to dress up in *Outlander* costumes in the gift shop.

Figure 24: A corner of the gift shop at Doune Castle encourages visitors to dress up in an *Outlander* costume and take photos in front of the castle backdrop
From: Researcher's own photo from site visit (12 August 2018)

Even the official audio guide elaborates on all its starring roles. In fact, Terry Jones (of *Monty Python* fame) narrates the audio guide, but *Outlander* has been so influential in its use of Doune that Sam Heughan narrates some sections of the audio guide, explaining what it was like to film at Doune and to learn Gaelic.[52] The castle has also included a sign (Figure 25 below) in one of the rooms discussing the filming of *Outlander* at Doune Castle and referring visitors to other close by filming locations.[53] The growth in visitor numbers has been so drastic that the infrastructure at Doune Castle has struggled to keep up, most notably the limited parking lot. This has prompted the local council to approve the creation of a new parking lot in Doune, reusing a derelict former council depot. The new parking lot will open later in 2023 and it is hoped that it will alleviate some of the congestion and parking issues in Doune, as well as encourage visitors to spend some time in the village.[54]

---

[52] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), p. 18.
[53] Doune Castle, 12 August 2018, Site visit by researcher, Doune Castle, Doune, FK16 6EA, United Kingdom.
[54] Kaiya Marjoribanks, 18 March 2022, '"Outlander effect' leads to plans for new Doune car park", Available: https://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/local-news/outlander-effect-leads-plans-new-26500592, accessed: 9 August 2023.

Figure 25: A sign describing the filming of *Outlander* at Doune Castle
From: Researcher's own photo from site visit (12 August 2018)

Figure 26: Grappling with the sudden visitor increase, Doune Castle had to arrange temporary parking for tour buses
From: Researcher's own photo from site visit (12 August 2018)

178

A recent VisitScotland study surveyed a number of Scottish visitor attractions to discover how film tourism and *Outlander* has impacted on their business. A majority (92% positive, 1% negative, 7% do not know) of the respondents considered film tourism as positive for the industry. For attractions that are not filming locations themselves, but were situated in close proximity to an *Outlander* location, a fifth of these saw an increase in visitor numbers and 5% saw interest from other media productions.[55] The responses on the benefits of being an attraction used as an *Outlander* location are illustrated below:
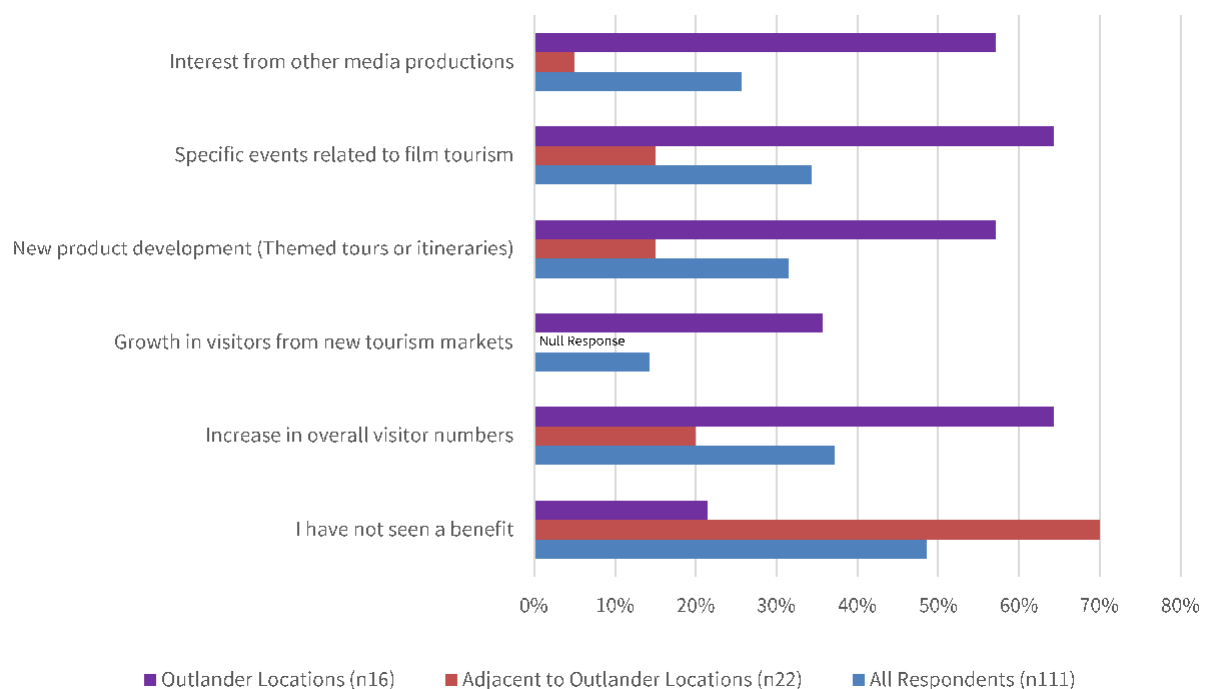

Figure 27: The benefits of being an attraction used as an *Outlander* location
From: VisitScotland, June 2022, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: 30 July 2023, p. 11.

The benefits are clearly evident among attractions directly involved in the production, with them witnessing increased interest from other media productions, the development of new products (like themed tours) and specific events, growth in new tourism markets, and an

---

[55] VisitScotland, June 2022, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: 30 July 2023, p. 10.

increase in overall visitor numbers.[56] This clearly indicates the tangible benefits associated with being involved in a screened production, and in this case, specifically demonstrating the benefits of being associated with *Outlander*.

Just how big the '*Outlander* effect' has been, can be witnessed when comparing the visitor growth for *Outlander* locations with other HES properties. While the general attractions saw visitor numbers grow by a modest 1-7% in 2018, *Outlander* locations (in bold) saw double digit increases:[57]

1. Edinburgh Castle = 2,111,578 (2%)
2. Stirling Castle = 605,241 (7%)
3. Urquhart Castle = 518,195 (6%)
4. **Glasgow Cathedral = 482,783 (24%)**
5. **Doune Castle 142,091 = (14%)**
6. Skara Brae 111,921 = (2%)
7. **Linlithgow Palace = 94,718 (9%)**
8. St Andrew's Castle = 91,302 (1%)
9. Fort George = 71,906 (-5%)
10. Iona Abbey = 64,183 (-3%)

5.4. *Outlander* and Scotland's destination image

Outlander has undoubtedly augmented the cultural value and left an indelible mark on the Scottish landscape. Moreover, *Outlander* has managed to create a 'screen-induced cultural affinity' for all things Scotland.[58] In this, *Outlander* also demonstrates a significant multiplier effect. *Outlander* fans have demonstrated a remarkable eagerness to learn more about the history and culture of Scotland, as well as their own Scottish ancestry, immersing themselves

---

[56] VisitScotland, June 2022, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: 30 July 2023, p. 11.

[57] The Newsroom, 27 February 2019, '"Outlander effect" drives tourist surge as home-grown interest also booms', available at: https://www.scotsman.com/business/companies/media-leisure/outlander-effect-drives-tourist-surge-as-home-grown-interest-also-booms-1-4880043, accessed: 27 February 2019; Press Association, 27 February 2019, '"Outlander effect" helps boost visitor numbers to Scotland's castles', available at: https://www.pressandjournal. co.uk/news/scotland/1687246/outlander-effect-helps-boost-visitor-numbers-to-scotlands-castles/, accessed: 27 February 2019.

[58] See p. 80 of this thesis for the discussion on cultural affinity.

in the history, heritage and culture of their ancestors.[59] Whenever locations are listed and described, there is a tendency to add on more related sites for fans to explore, driving the *Outlander* effect to even more heritage sites which may not have been directly involved in filming for the series. This is both the case on VisitScotland's website and *Outlander* guidebooks, like the ones compiled by Phoebe Taplin, as indicated in Chapter 4. On the VisitScotland page, the top beneficiaries of this multiplier effect were standing stones, ancestry, castles, and other filming locations.[60]

As mentioned in the literature review in Chapter 2, Garrison also demonstrated this cultural affinity of *Outlander* fans in her doctoral thesis. She illustrated how fans were inspired to learn more about Jacobite and Scottish history in general. She even discovered that some English fans were eager to unlearn the biased version of history they were taught at school, in favour of a more holistic approach that included the Scottish perspective as well.[61] This interest is not just limited to history, but many fans are eager to learn to speak Gaelic. In fact, in 2022 it was announced that the language learning application, *Duolingo*, had more than 1.5 million learners for Gaelic.[62] This is even more significant when one considers that based on a census in 2011 Gaelic was spoken by less than 60,000 people.[63] *Outlander's* significant cultural appeal even delayed the airing of the series in the UK, as the then Prime Minister David Cameron had met with Sony Pictures executives to discuss the impact that the series could have had on the 2014 Scottish independence referendum, as reported in emails released by Wikileaks.[64]

In terms of the general destination image and place promotion, *Outlander* certainly facilitates "the continual positive perceptions of a country or culture".[65] In fact, the series aligns so well

[59] VisitScotland, June 2022, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: 30 July 2023, p. 15.
[60] VisitScotland, 6 March 2019, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: March 2019, p. 7.
[61] Stephanie Garrison, Outlander *fandom and networked fans in the digital era,* (Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen, 2020).
[62] Hector MacKenzie, 30 November 2022, 'Duolingo's St Andrew's Day milestone for Gaelic triggers teenage memories of being lost for words', Available: https://www.ross-shirejournal.co.uk/news/appy-days-as-duolingos-gaelic-language-st-andrews-day-mile-295087/, accessed: 9 August 2023.
[63] The Scotsman, 4 December 2019, "Duolingo Scottish Gaelic app 'has more users than people who can speak language'", Available: https://www.scotsman.com/news/people/duolingo-scottish-gaelic-app-has-more-users-than-people-who-can-speak-language-1400703, accessed: 9 August 2023.
[64] The Newsroom, 20 April 2015, "David Cameron 'met Sony over Outlander UK release'", Available: https://www.scotsman.com/news/uk-news/david-cameron-met-sony-over-outlander-uk-release-1507098, accessed: 9 August 2023.
[65] See p. 80 of this thesis.

with destination image of Scotland, that it enjoys official endorsement at the highest level from VisitScotland. The tourism organisation has compiled an excellent *Outlander* Film Location Map (see Figures 30a and 30b below) and *Outlander* audio guide. The production company even approached VisitScotland about utilising their map on the DVD release for season one through an official collaboration.[66] VisitScotland also regularly promotes Scottish destinations through *Outlander* through their social media accounts (see for example Figure 28 below, where *Outlander*'s iconic theme song is used to promote the Callanish Standing Stones on the Isle of Lewis, cited as the inspiration for the stone circle on Craigh Na Dun that Claire uses to travel back in time and therefore not even directly related to the book or television series).

This place promotion has also taken place at a regional level with, for example, the Fife local authority producing an *Outlander* map of locations available to visit in their area (see Figures 29a and 29b below). The Inverness Outlanders fan group also produced a similar map for the Inverness area, mostly focusing on literary attractions mentioned in the books, while collaborating with local businesses for promotion on their map. They also have an accompanying audio tour on the *Geotourist* app. It can be noted that Scotland is extremely keen to use *Outlander* as promotion for its culture and history and as a vehicle to explore the bountiful Scottish heritage.

Figure 28: Visit Scotland using *Outlander* to promote a destination on *Facebook*
From: https://www.facebook.com/visitscotland/photos/pb.100064678033145.-2207520000/10159782486221468/?type=3, accessed: 4 September 2021.

---

[66] Jenni Steele, Personal interview as Film and Creative Industries Manager at VisitScotland, 2016-08-23.

Figures 29a and 29b: Regional place promotion through _Outlander_ locations for Fife and West Lothian

From: Fife and West Lothian Councils, 2018, 'Be inspired by Outlander', official marketing brochure.

OUTLANDER

VISIT THE SCOTTISH LOCATIONS AS SEEN IN THE HIT TV SERIES

SEASONS ONE TO FOUR

Visit Scotland | Alba

Access to some Historic Environment Scotland sites may be temporarily altered - please check before visiting.

KEY

- National Trust for Scotland Location
- Historic Environment Scotland Location
- Parking / Parking Nearby
- Cafe / Restaurant
- Shop / Visitor Centre
- £ Admission Fee
- Toilet Facilities

For access information please visit individual property website

Get inspired and plan your Scottish Outlander adventure at
www.visitscotland.com/outlander

Images 1,3,5,6,8,9,11,20,22,28,29,30,35,37,38
© Sony Pictures Television Inc. All Rights Reserved.

All information is provided for general reference only and is correct at the time of publication. VisitScotland accepts no responsibility for any error or misrepresentation and excludes all liability for loss or damage caused by any reliance placed on the information contained in this document.

OUTLANDER

FILM LOCATIONS TO VISIT

SEASONS ONE TO FOUR

Delve into the world of Outlander and discover the locations which featured in the hit TV series. From Castle Leoch to the North Carolina wilderness, follow this map and explore for yourself the Scottish sites that were used in filming Claire and Jamie's adventures.

1 Tweeddale Court - Edinburgh
Season 3

The hustle and bustle of the market where Claire is reunited with Fergus was filmed here. The entrance to this time capsule of a street is from the historic Royal Mile. Take time to explore one of the oldest parts of Edinburgh.
Edinburgh, EH1 1TE
www.ewh.org.uk

2 Bakehouse Close - Edinburgh
Season 3

Bakehouse Close just off Edinburgh's Royal Mile was the setting for Jamie's Print Shop and where Claire reunited with Jamie after years of separation. This is one of the best-preserved closes in the city and was transformed into 18th century Edinburgh for exterior shots of the Print Shop. Why not visit the fascinating Museum of Edinburgh next door.
Edinburgh, EH8 8DD
www.edinburghmuseums.org.uk

3 Signet Library - Edinburgh
Season 3

The stunning interior of the Signet Library in Edinburgh's Old Town was transformed into the Governor's Mansion in Jamaica. The library is home to the prestigious Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet which dates back to the 15th century. The library is not open to the public but the 'Colonnades' are open all year for lunch and afternoon tea.
Edinburgh, EH1 1RF
www.thesignetlibrary.co.uk

4 Craigmillar Castle - Edinburgh
Season 3

The ruined medieval castle of Craigmillar became Ardsmuir Prison, the place of Jamie's incarceration. Visit the castle to admire the views across Edinburgh. Interesting fact: Mary Queen of Scots used the castle as a safe-haven in 1566. Open All Year.
Edinburgh, EH16 4SY
www.historicenvironment.scot

5 Newhailes House - East Lothian
Season 4

Located just a few miles east of Edinburgh, this 17th century Palladian villa served as Governor Tryon's home in North Carolina, where Jamie discussed the offer of a land grant in exchange for service to the English Crown. Newhailes also featured when Jamie and Claire were introduced to Wilmington Society. The house is currently closed for restoration work, but Newhailes Estate is open to the public all year and offers unspoilt views of the house and across the Forth.
Musselburgh, EH21 6RY.
www.nts.org.uk

6 Gosford House - East Lothian
Seasons 2 & 3

Originally designed by one of Scotland's greatest architects, Robert Adam, the grounds that surround this lavishly decorated house doubled as the Palace of Versailles in France (S2) and Helwater and Ellesmere (S3). Note: part of the grounds is available for public use, but the house is only open for visiting on certain days. Please check before you travel.
Longniddry, EH32 0PY
www.gosfordhouse.co.uk

7 Preston Mill - East Lothian
Season 1

In the village of East Linton is the picturesque Preston Mill – one of the oldest working, water-driven meal mills in Scotland. It provided the backdrop for several scenes during the Jacobite Uprisings. Tour the mill to see the mechanisms in action and learn about its history and the people who lived and worked there. Open May - Sept.
East Linton, EH40 3DS
www.nts.org.uk

8 Arniston House - Midlothian
Season 4

Home to the Dundas Family for over 400 years, this magnificent mansion house set in acres of parkland is located 11 miles from Edinburgh. It doubled as both the theatre entrance and lobby where Jamie and Claire attended a play in Wilmington with Governor Tryon, and where Claire's medical skills saved Edward Fanning's life. Open certain days only.
Gorebridge, EH23 4RY
www.arnistonhouse.com

9 Glencorse Old Kirk - Penicuik
Season 1

This charming church, nestled in the grounds of Glencorse House in the foothills of the Pentlands, is where Claire and Jamie tied the knot. With its lush parkland, lake and splendid garden, it is a wonderfully atmospheric and romantic wedding venue for any Outlander fan. Please note that visits to the Kirk are by appointment only by contacting Glencorse House.
Milton Bridge, EH26 0NZ
www.glencorsehouse.co.uk

10 Beecraigs Country Park - West Lothian
Season 4

Situated near the town of Linlithgow, this 913-acre country park is a great place for enjoying the countryside and visiting the red deer and Highland cattle at the animal attraction. Have fun at the play area or stay for longer at the caravan & camping site. The park doubled as the North Carolina wilderness which Jamie and Claire rode through after leaving River Run. On the journey through the forest, they became separated during a thunder storm and Claire was haunted by the ghost of Otter-Tooth.
Linlithgow, EH49 6PL
www.westlothian.gov.uk

11 Linlithgow Palace - Linlithgow
Season 1

The entrance and corridors of this ruined palace were used as Wentworth Prison where Jamie was imprisoned. Once a favoured royal residence of the Stewart kings and queens and the birthplace of Mary Queen of Scots, this wonderful 15th century site, with its elegant courtyard, still oozes charm. Open All Year.
Linlithgow, EH49 7AL
www.historicenvironment.scot

12 Muiravonside Country Park - Linlithgow
Season 2

Located between Linlithgow and Falkirk, the park lent its backdrop to the dramatic Battle of Prestonpans, and doubled both as a British encampment and the English countryside. Open All Year.
Whitecross, EH49 6LW
www.falkirkcommunitytrust.org.uk

13 Gray Buchanan Park - Falkirk
Season 4

Known locally as Parkhill, the site has pretty woodland areas alongside the meandering Polmont Burn, and large rolling parkland areas with mature tree avenues. This is where Jamie and Young Ian buried Gavin Hayes after he was hanged for stealing in Charleston, South Carolina. Please note there is no graveyard in the park.
Polmont, FK2 0XR
www.falkirk.gov.uk

14 Callendar House - Falkirk
Season 2

Steeped in history, this gorgeously decorated 14th century house, set within the grounds of Callendar Park, is an architectural gem. The authentic Georgian working kitchen was used as part of Bellhurst Manor, the home of the Duke of Sandringham. Open All Year (closed Tuesdays).
Falkirk, FK1 1YR
www.falkirkcommunitytrust.org.uk

15 Bo'ness & Kinneil Railway - Bo'ness
Season 1

The Bo'ness & Kinneil Railway was transformed into a wartime London railway station where Claire and Frank said their goodbyes. Tour this heritage railway and explore Scotland's largest railway museum, before taking the chance to board a preserved vintage steam or diesel-hauled train. Open Mar - Oct.
Bo'ness Station, EH51 9AQ
www.bkrailway.co.uk

16 Blackness Castle - By Linlithgow
Seasons 1 & 2

Standing looking out over the Firth of Forth near Edinburgh is the impressive Blackness Castle, often referred to as 'the ship that never sailed' due to its ship-like shape. This 15th century fortress provided the setting for the Fort William headquarters of Black Jack Randall, and also featured in the heart-wrenching scene of Jamie's incarceration. Open All Year.
Blackness, EH49 7NH
www.historicenvironment.scot

Figures 30a and 30b: VisitScotland *Outlander* locations map, Seasons 1-4
From: VisitScotland, 2019, Available: http://static.visitscotland.com/pdf/outlander-film-locations.pdf, accessed: 9 August 2023.

17 Hopetoun House - South Queensferry
Seasons 1, 2, 3

One of the finest examples of grand architecture in Scotland, Hopetoun House doubled as the stately home of the Duke of Sandringham (S1); provided the backdrop for Parisian streets; a room in Jamie and Claire's Paris apartment; and the Hawkins Estate (S2); and Ellesmere and the stables at Helwater (S3). Open Apr - Sept.
South Queensferry, EH30 9RW
www.hopetoun.co.uk

18 Culross - Fife
Seasons 1, 2 & 4

The Mercat Cross in the coastal village of Culross was transformed into Cranesmuir, and its Palace grounds as Claire's herb garden at Castle Leoch (S1). The ruined Black Kirk (S1) is not far from the village centre. Culross also featured as a Jacobite encampment and makeshift hospital (S2) and Balriggan Cottage where Laoghaire lived (S4). See website for opening times.
Culross, KY12 8JH
www.nts.org.uk

19 Aberdour Castle - Fife
Season 1

This 12th century castle doubled as the monastery where Claire and Murtagh brought Jamie to recover after his ordeal at the prison, with the Old Kitchen and Long Gallery used for filming. Situated on the Fife coast, this splendid ruined castle is amongst the oldest standing masonry castles in Scotland. Open All Year.
Aberdour, KY3 0SL
www.historicenvironment.scot

20 Dysart Harbour - Fife
Season 2

Situated on the Fife Coastal Path, this picturesque harbour became the French port of Le Havre where Jamie and Claire landed after their escape to France, and the location of St. Germain's warehouse. Open all year.
Dysart, KY1 2TQ
www.fifecoastalpath.co.uk

21 The Scottish Fisheries Museum - Fife
Season 2

The Reaper is an historic two-masted 'Fifie' fishing boat that appeared as one of the vessels in Dysart Harbour, which portrayed the port of Le Havre in Outlander. She is currently being restored to her original glory and is one of the last authentic survivors of this type of vessel. Berthed in Anstruther harbour, she is cared for by the Scottish Fisheries Museum. Note: access to the ship is not currently possible as restorations continue.
The Scottish Fisheries Museum is open all year.
Anstruther, KY10 3AB
www.scotfishmuseum.org

22 Falkland - Fife
Seasons 1, 2 & 4

The town of Falkland was transformed into 1940s (S1) and 1960s (S2, S4) Inverness. The Covenanter Hotel became Mrs. Baird's Guesthouse; the Bruce Fountain was where Jamie's ghost looked up at Claire's window; Fayre Earth Gift Shop doubled as Farrell's Hardware and Furniture Store; and Campbell's Coffee House and Eatery featured as itself.
Falkland, KY15
www.welcometofife.com

23 Tibbermore Parish Church - Perthshire
Season 1

This characterful church featured as Cranesmuir Church for the scene of the infamous witch trial. Why not stand in Claire and Geillis's footsteps in the pulpit – if you dare! Note: There is no parking available at the church – please show consideration when parking nearby.
Open by arrangement with Historic Churches Scotland.
Tibbermore, Perth, PH11QJ
www.historicchurches.scot

24 Dunkeld House Hotel - Perthshire
Season 4

Nestled in the beautiful Perthshire countryside and overlooking the River Tay, this hotel sits in 280 acres of woodland which doubled as the North Carolina wilderness where Jamie, Claire and Young Ian set off in search of Roger who had been sold to the Mohawk. Open All Year.
Dunkeld, PH8 0HX
www.dunkeldhousehotel.co.uk

25 Highland Folk Museum - Newtonmore
Season 1

Replicas of 18th century turf-roofed crofts at the Highland Folk Museum in Newtonmore made the ideal choice for period scenes, including when Dougal collected the rent. Visit to learn how Scottish Highlanders lived during this century.
Open Apr - Oct. Donations welcome.
Newtonmore, PH20 1AY
www.highlifehighland.com

26 Kinloch Rannoch - Perthshire
Season 1

The idyllic area around Loch Rannoch and Kinloch Rannoch, in Highland Perthshire, was seen in the background as Claire and Frank enjoyed their second honeymoon, following the end of the war. Why not take your own tour of the area and explore the awe-inspiring scenery of high mountains and sparkling lochs, as enjoyed by the couple in the first episode? Open All Year.
Kinloch Rannoch, PH16
www.rannochandtummel.co.uk

27 Glen Coe - Highlands
Season 1 - opening credits

One of the highlights of any trip to Scotland, the spectacular Glen Coe is a world-famous Scottish landmark with high mountain peaks, ridges, rushing rivers and waterfalls. Not far away is the legendary Glenfinnan Monument where Bonnie Prince Charlie raised his standard and started the Jacobite Rising of 1745. Open All Year.
Ballachulish, PH49 4HX
www.nts.org.uk

28 Drummond Castle Gardens - Perthshire
Season 2

These stunning gardens, designed in the Italian Parterre style, stood in for the Palace of Versailles, and are approached by a mile-long driveway of beech trees. Note: the castle is not open to the public. Castle Closed/Gardens open May - Sept.
Muthill, Crieff PH7 4HN
www.drummondcastlegardens.co.uk

29 Stirling University - Stirling
Season 4

The University is situated on the outskirts of the city of Stirling, on the site of the historic Airthrey Estate. The walkway between the university buildings doubled as the walkway at Boston Airport where Brianna met Roger when he came to visit her.
Open All Year.
Stirling, FK9 4LA
www.stir.ac.uk

30 Doune Castle - Stirlingshire
Season 1

Stunning Doune Castle near Stirling plays a leading role in the show, substituting for the fictional Castle Leoch – home to Colum MacKenzie and his clan in the 18th century. It also features in the 20th century episode when Claire and Frank visited the castle in ruins on a day trip. Open All Year.
Doune, FK16 6EA
www.historicenvironment.scot

31 Deanston Distillery - Perthshire
Season 2

Housed in a former cotton mill, Deanston Distillery provided the setting for Jamie's cousin Jared's wine warehouse at the docks in Le Havre. Take a behind-the-scenes tour of the distillery to discover the centuries-old tradition of whisky distilling. Open All Year.
Doune, FK16 6AG
www.deanstonmalt.com

32 Loch Katrine - Loch Lomond & Trossachs
Season 2

Soak up the peace and tranquility of the area, and discover the roads travelled by Roger and Brianna when they first became friends after meeting in Inverness. Open all year. Boat trips from the Trossachs Pier.
Callander, FK18 8HZ
www.lochkatrine.com

33 Glasgow University - Glasgow
Seasons 3 & 4

Glasgow University doubled as Harvard University where Frank taught as a professor and where Brianna visited him in his office. Established in 1451, Glasgow University is the 4th oldest university in the English-speaking world. Pre-bookable Guided Tours for visitors. Open All Year.
Glasgow, G12 8QQ
www.gla.ac.uk

34 Kelvingrove Park - Glasgow
Season 3

The beautiful Kelvingrove Park in Glasgow became the Boston Park where Claire frequently took walks. Visit the park with its many statues, monuments and varied wildlife and the nearby Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum. Open All Year.
Glasgow, G3 6BY
www.glasgow.gov.uk

35 George Square - Glasgow
Season 1

The historic George Square in Glasgow was turned into a 1940s set to film Frank's spontaneous proposal to Claire. Look up at the impressive architecture around you, as Glasgow is home to many ornate buildings with fine period features. Open All Year.
Glasgow, G2 1AL
www.glasgow.gov.uk

36 Glasgow Cathedral - Glasgow
Season 2

The crypt of this imposing medieval cathedral doubled as L'Hôpital Des Anges in Paris where Claire volunteered as a nurse. The cathedral is a stunning example of Gothic architecture and boasts one of the finest post-war collections of stained glass windows in Britain. Open All Year.
Glasgow, G4 0QZ
www.glasgowcathedral.org.uk

37 Pollok Country Park - Glasgow
Seasons 1 & 2

This beautiful park doubled as the grounds surrounding the fictional Castle Leoch (S1), and also became the French countryside that the characters travelled through between Le Havre and Paris (S2). Explore this extensive woodland area which was once voted the best park in Britain and Europe. Open All Year.
Glasgow, G43 1AT
www.glasgow.gov.uk

38 Calderglen Country Park - East Kilbride
Season 4

This park, situated 30 minutes outside Glasgow, is home to a zoo, nature trails, golf course, gardens and the historic Torrance House. The park was used as the backdrop when Jamie took Willie on a hunting and fishing trip with dangerous consequences. Open All Year. Admission charge to zoo.
East Kilbride, G75 0QZ
www.southlanarkshire.gov.uk

39 Dean Castle - East Ayrshire
Season 2

Set in a wooded glen, this 14th century castle doubled as Beaufort Castle where Claire and Jamie asked Lord Lovat for aid for Charles Stuart. Although presently closed for restoration, you can explore the castle grounds. Discover its history and collections at the nearby Dick Institute Museum and Gallery. Grounds Open All Year.
Kilmarnock, KA3 1XB
www.eastayrshireleisure.com

40 Troon - South Ayrshire
Season 1

The quaint seaside town of Troon was the setting for the scene where Claire, Jamie and Murtagh arrived at the coast and boarded a 17th century ship to deliver Jamie to France. Overlooking the Isle of Arran, Troon boasts stunning sandy beaches and is a wonderful destination for a relaxing seaside holiday. Open All Year.
Troon, KA10
www.south-ayrshire.gov.uk

41 Dunure Harbour - South Ayrshire
Seasons 3 & 4

This little harbour stands in for Ayr Harbour where Claire and Jamie left Scotland in pursuit of Young Ian in Season 3 and where Brianna and Roger are reunited in Wilmington, North Carolina in Season 4. Nearby, is Dunure Castle which featured as Silkie Island in Season 3. Facilities in the village. The castle is a ruin.
Dunure, KA7 4LN
www.south-ayrshire.gov.uk

42 Drumlanrig Castle - Dumfries & Galloway
Season 2

This 17th century castle situated near Thornhill boasts over 40 acres of beautiful gardens. The exterior, living rooms and bedrooms doubled as Bellhurst Manor, including a bedroom once slept in by the real Bonnie Prince Charlie on his way north to Culloden. Open Apr - Sept.
Thornhill, DG3 4AQ
www.drumlanrigcastle.co.uk

Additional locations coming soon

This map has been created by VisitScotland

Scotland | Alba

In association with Sony Pictures Television

SONY PICTURES

Watch Outlander via these broadcasters

5.5. Who are the *Outlander* visitors?

Surveys conducted over 2015-2016 by VisitScotland have indicated that screened products exert a powerful influence in drawing visitors to Scotland: 8% of leisure visitors to Scotland were influenced by a TV programme about Scotland, 6% were influenced by a film, 10% were influenced by a travel feature, 6% by a book about or set in Scotland, and 4% were inspired by online video content about Scotland. Travel features, films, TV series, and books influenced European visitors, especially from France and Germany, and long haul visitors particularly strongly. When prompted to list the TV programmes that inspired them to visit Scotland, *Outlander* was very clearly and significantly in the lead, particularly amongst visitors from the United States, Australia, and China.[67]

VisitScotland also analysed the visitors to its *Outlander*-related webpages and found some interesting characteristics. Perhaps unsurprisingly, most visitors (77%) were female, as compared to the average of 58% across the rest of their website. They are also likely to fall within the 25-54 age range, with a quarter of them being in the 25-34 age group.[68] These statistics align well with those found by Roesch (mentioned in Chapter 3) and are reinforced by actual visitors who went on tour with the tour operator, Mary's Meanders. They found that the majority of their clients taking *Outlander* tours were female, aged 45 and up, and originated from the United States, Canada, Australia, Germany, and Scandinavia. The UK market was also increasing rapidly prior to the COVID-19 pandemic and resultant lockdowns. Many visitors were solo travellers who had been inspired to get their first passport and travel to Scotland by *Outlander*. *Outlander* fans also tended to return many times and were inspired to research their own Scottish ancestry. They were also likely to share the word about their good experiences on social media, encouraging others to take similar trips as well.[69]

Outlander fans may comfortably be described as 'specific film tourists' and 'film pilgrims'.[70] Their visits to Scotland are deeply rooted in "nostalgia, romance, fantasy, self-identity and self-

---

[67] VisitScotland, 6 March 2019, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: March 2019, p. 3.
[68] VisitScotland, 6 March 2019, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: March 2019, p. 7.
[69] VisitScotland, June 2022, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: 30 July 2023, p. 13.
[70] See pp. 90-93 of this thesis.

actualisation".[71] These fans often go to great expense and trouble to visit Scotland and to ensure that they see as many *Outlander* locations as possible. They also participate in many of the classic examples of activities to enhance the mystical experiences when visiting these sites. For example, many visitors to *Outlander* sites have posted images of themselves recreating scenes and shots in iconic locations, like the season 3 poster where Claire and Jamie each stand on the opposite side of a standing stone, signifying the vast divide of time between them, or Claire's iconic visit to Lallybroch in the twentieth century, where she sits in the doorway and is overcome with memories of Jamie. In this way, fans also interact with site markers and handle film-related items, like putting on traditional costumes from the time, as mentioned at Doune Castle. Many guides will also demonstrate how to put on a kilt at stops on an *Outlander* tour, notably Blackness Castle. Fans also notably engage in miniature positioning (see Figure 32 below) and souvenir collection is an important rite of passage on these pilgrimages, as most *Outlander* locations contain gift shops selling *Outlander* and miscellaneous related souvenirs.

Figure 31: A fan re-creating the iconic scene where Claire, sitting on the steps of a twentieth century Lallybroch, sees a memory of Jamie standing in the entrance gate
From: https://broadsabroad.au/outlander-tour/, accessed: 9 August 2023.

Figure 32: Posing of *Funko Pop!* Jamie and Claire miniatures at Doune Castle
From: https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10160051405701775&set=pb.614721774.-2207520000&type=3; accessed: 9 August 2023.

---

[71] See p. 90 of this thesis.

Much can also be said about the different levels of authenticity involved in *Outlander*. Firstly, the series depicts most of the filming locations in true form with very little alteration or computer-generated imagery (CGI) applied. This makes these screened locations immediately recognisable for fans visiting these sites, creating a feeling of authenticity as if they have just walked into an episode of *Outlander* themselves. For example, the Red Drawing Room at Hopetoun House is largely used as is and instantly recognisable as such as the meeting place where Jamie and Claire request a pardon from the Duke of Sandringham. Blackness Castle is also instantly recognisable as the Fort William headquarters of Black Jack Randall, even down to keeping an obstructed (and not particularly aesthetic) half window in the background of scenes filmed there. At Doune Castle, much of the filming was carried out in the castle grounds, instead of in front of a green screen or on sets, and the filming crew went to great pains to ensure that the castle was left in the same pristine condition as they found it. This for example meant that the medieval cobbles had to be covered to protect them, with layers of plastic and straw, and then very real mud to create an authentic setting.[72] *Outlander* very much allows the locations to 'star' as itself.

A second form of authenticity refers to the authenticity of the story: thanks to Diana Gabaldon's meticulous historical research, the events in *Outlander* are often regarded as very true to form and a fair interpretation of the historical record, in contrast to most other historical productions. She does of course make some embellishment, for example, the witch trial for Claire and Geillis Duncan which takes place in 1743, when the last judicial execution of a person (Janet Horne) charged with witchcraft in Scotland took place some twenty years earlier in 1727. Geillis Duncan was of course a real historical figure who lived much earlier in the sixteenth century and was executed as a witch. Gabaldon has stated that she has a preference for reading historical documents written by a historical figure when available, to get the tone of that person captured authentically in her writing.[73]

In terms of more objectively measurable authenticity, *Outlander* can also be classified in terms of Chronis's different kinds of authenticity:[74]

---

[72] Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland,* (London: Pitkin Publishing, 2018), p. 18.
[73] Diana Gabaldon, 18 July 2023, 'Why Scotland? Why not Mexico? Genes, borders, culture and fiction: why they matter and when they don't', Plenary Presentation at the *Outlander Conference Glasgow,* University of Glasgow.
[74]

- *Locational authenticity*: *Outlander* certainly contains elements of this, as fans can for example, visit real locations mentioned in the story, like Culloden Battlefield.

- *Objective authenticity: Outlander* fans can also experience the originality of historical artefacts, as they can for example, interact with many historical displays and objects from the Jacobite uprising, like at the Culloden Battlefield heritage site or the Glencoe Folk Museum.

- *Constructive authenticity*: For a discussion on *Outlander's* constructive authenticity, please see the discussion below.

- *Perceived authenticity: Outlander's* authenticity certainly benefits from the involvement and authority of the government or specialists, from individual museums and heritage sites to national organisations, like HES and VisitScotland.

- *Environmental authenticity*: *Outlander* very much encourages the preservation of landscape and restoration of buildings and other structures (please see discussion 5.6 below).

- *Factual authenticity:* As mentioned above, *Outlander* benefits greatly from both the great deal of historical accuracy portrayed in the story, as well as the authenticity of the screened locations. Both these instances provide an excellent platform for sites to use as a staring point to portray their history and heritage, as *Outlander* does not confuse visitors with vastly differing historical perspectives.

- *Personage authenticity*: *Outlander* does portray many real historical persons, as mentioned above, allowing another avenue for exploring the real historical record.

In terms of Wang's constructive authenticity,[75] a case can certainly be made for *Outlander* emerging or acquiring recognition as authentic. Some sites may not exist in real life, notably Craigh na Dun, Castle Leoch and Lallybroch, but by locating these fictional places in the 'reality' of a filming location, a new kind of constructive authenticity emerges. When fans visit these sites, they experience the authenticity of seeing an easily recognisable filming location, i.e. the filmic location is transformed into a 'real' place with different layers of cultural value. Fans can be free to engage in film pilgrimage and a shift to Wang's more profound existential authenticity.[76] They can engage in all levels of existential authenticity, from intra-personal authenticity relating to bodily feelings, like notably diversion, entertainment, excitement, and

---

[75] See p. 102 of this thesis for the theoretical discussion on constructive authenticity.
[76] See pp. 102-105 of this thesis for the theoretical discussion on existential authenticity.

play, to self-making, where fans can discover themselves or create a new self through these immersions into the fantasy of a fictional realm. Fans can also certainly experience the inter-personal authenticity, as they search for (and find) authenticity between themselves. Through shared experiences a sort of Turnerian *communitas* develops for these *Outlander* fans, whether they are travelling with a group of friends or relatives or in a tour group with strangers. Some tour operators have noted that *Outlander* tours provide opportunities for participants to form new friendships through the shared bonding experience of travel and many of these friendships remain in effect after the conclusion of the tour.[77]

5.6. *Outlander* as History Heritage Literary and Film Tourism (HHLFT)

Outlander sits perfectly at the nexus between history, heritage, literary and film tourism. As already mentioned, *Outlander* has inspired many to explore the real history behind the fictional story. Through the '*Outlander* effect', the series has boosted many historical heritage sites, most notably in terms of visitor numbers, but also through many other benefits, some of which will be addressed below. *Outlander* has a strong dimension of literary tourism, being based on a book series first and foremost, many *Outlander* tours based on the novels have been running in Scotland since the mid-nineties.[78] And *Outlander* is undeniably an excellent example of the multiple benefits of film tourism.

Outlander forms part of all the types of literary and film tourism combined, as discussed in Chapter 3. Firstly, where filming sites are the exact location described in the book it is based on. For example, some of the scenes of Claire's journey to reunite with Jamie twenty years after Culloden take place in an Edinburgh close, which in this case was filmed at Bakehouse Close in Edinburgh. Secondly, the filming location and the setting of the book can be two (or more) separate places, for example the fictional stone circle of Craigh na Dun is situated on the outskirts of Inverness in the books, but is actually filmed on a hilltop near Kinloch Rannoch with a replica of the Callanish standing stones. The third category is where filming locations actually provide destinations for literary tourists to visit. Many *Outlander* locations fall into

---

[77] VisitScotland, June 2022, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: 30 July 2023, p. 13.
[78] Diana Gabaldon, 14 August 2015, 'OUTLANDER-based tours of Scotland', Available: http://www.dianagabaldon.com/ resources/outlander-based-tours-of-scotland/, accessed: 14 September 2015.

this category. For example, Lallybroch is a fictional place, but found a very endearing home in Midhope Castle.

There are of course numerous benefits for historical heritage sites to be used in filming, from the actual process itself to the resultant film tourism. *Outlander* has consistently been credited with 'saving' lesser-known heritage sites from ruin. For example, in 2019, the Preston Mill, featured in season 1, was in desperate need to repair its water wheel. In order to raise funds for this necessary restoration work, the NTS launched a highly successful fundraising appeal, which generated £12,000-worth of donations. The initiative was even supported by Sam Heughan and Diana Gabaldon.[79] This demonstrates the potential of film tourism to raise the profile and awareness of historical heritage sites in order to secure their future.

Another example is Midhope Castle. An iconic part of the Hopetoun Estate, this ruined castle features as the filming location for the memorable home of Jamie Fraser and his family – Lallybroch. In 1458, the first reference to 'Medhope' is made in a document concerning a boundary dispute between Henry Levingstone and John Martyne, the laird of Medhope. John Martyne then built Medhope Castle, where he remained as laird until his death in 1478, when Midhope passed over to a Henry Levingstone. In 1582, Midhope is once again passed over to Alexander Drummond and his wife Marjorie Bruce. In 1587, Alexander Drummond rebuilt the tower and turrets and a date stone containing their initials commemorates this. This date stone was originally located in the lintel of the front door but can now be seen on the gateway. The present doorway and lintel are the work of 'G. L.' George Livingston, third earl of Linlithgow, in 1664. It was during his lifetime that the castle began to take the shape which we see today. In 1678, the castle was acquired by John Hope and given a facelift when an entrance tower was removed and the extension to the east was heightened and extended. A new doorway was added along with a small courtyard.[80]

In 1710, Sir Robert Sibbald described 'Meidhope' as a "fine tower house with excellent gardens, one of the seats of the Earls of Hopetoun". The 1851 census revealed that there were 53 people in 10 families living around Midhope, including 4 game keepers, 4 foresters, 2 labourers, a groom, a carter, a gardener, a joiner, and a number of paupers. By 1926, records

---

[79] Cameron Ritchie, 15 January 2020, "'Disgusting' vandalism at Preston Mill causes £1,000 of damage", Available: https://www.eastlothiancourier.com/news/18162258.disgusting-vandalism-preston-mill-causes-1-000-damage/, accessed: 15 January 2020.

[80] Hopetoun, N.d., 'Midhope Castle: a brief history', Available: https://hopetoun.co.uk/wp-hopetoun-house/wp-content/uploads/interpretation-board-FINAL-design-2016-2.pdf; accessed: 14 May 2022.

described the Castle as deteriorating including a fine oak staircase with twisted balusters "now sadly dilapidated" rising in the East Range from the first to fourth floors. In 1988, restoration work commenced, including the replacement of the roof on the East Range, a new roof for the West Tower as well as the insertion of new window frames into the existing openings. In 2013, Midhope is chosen as a film location for the *Outlander* series, unlocking the next great chapter for this structure.[81]

Figure 33: Midhope Castle
From: Researcher's own photo from site visit (4 August 2018)

Initially, *Outlander* fans could visit this ruined castle free of charge, but with caution, as the structure was part of a working farm on the Hopetoun Estate and the castle was a ruin. When the researcher visited this site in 2016, the increasing visitor numbers had caused the Estate to realise that they could use Midhope's filmic success to raise funds to conduct some necessary restoration work on the structure. They had consequently imposed new visitor guidelines, requesting visitors to pay a small fee of £2 per person at the Estate's farm shop to visit Midhope Castle. By 2018, this had developed into a full-blown ticketing booth at the site, with increased prices, a donations box, and a sign outlining the history of Midhope Castle. It is anticipated that the castle will receive 60,000 visitors in 2023 – a significant increase for a ruined castle that had virtually no claim to fame and no interest less than a decade before.[82] Hopetoun Estate have also announced plans to restore Midhope Castle to eventually include visitor

---

[81] Hopetoun, N.d., 'Midhope Castle: a brief history', Available: https://hopetoun.co.uk/wp-hopetoun-house/wp-content/uploads/interpretation-board-FINAL-design-2016-2.pdf; accessed: 14 May 2022.
[82] Anne Daly, 22 July 2023, 'A love letter to Scotland: heritage through the lens of Outlander', Roundtable discussion at the *Outlander Conference Glasgow,* University of Glasgow.

accommodation, while a new whisky distillery, service buildings, landscaping, access road, and parking will be constructed on the castle grounds.[83]

Unfortunately, the 'Outlander effect' has not been without some negative impacts. Finnich Glen in Stirlingshire, also called the Devil's Pulpit, is another Outlander location used as the 'Liar's Spring' in season one, where Dougal asks Claire to drink from the spring as a sign that he can trust her.[84] However, since featuring on Outlander, the popularity of this natural beauty spot, which features waterfalls and a stream flowing through a sandstone gorge, has caused some major road traffic issues and fears about erosion at the site. The site has been receiving visitors far in excess of what it can handle, estimated at 70,000 visitors per year, and is actually also quite dangerous to access down a steep stone staircase. As a result, this site, while an iconic Outlander location, does not form part of the official VisitScotland map, ostensibly because of these negative impacts associated with over-visitation. In 2020, controversial plans were announced to put up a 150-space car park, visitor centre, café, toilets and a shop, as well as bridges to aid access, at the Devil's Pulpit to alleviate some of the problems the site was experiencing. A path network around the gorge was also proposed to stop the erosion caused by visitors making their own way through the glen. These developments were however criticised by planning officers at the local authority as they would "significantly, irrevocably impact the unique landscape of the Finnich Glen natural environment".[85] The Stirling Council had already temporarily closed the site in 2020 because of the number of cars parked along the road illegally, which blocked access for emergency vehicles who needed to access the site after a member of the public was hurt in a fall at the Devil's Pulpit.[86]

Similarly, Kinclaven Bluebell Wood, which features as Fraser's Ridge in season four, have seen some negative impacts associated with Outlander. The two large beech trees, or so-called 'witness trees', that mark the edge of Jamie's land, marked by Jamie with a carving of 'F.R' in the series to signify this boundary, has in fact been marked in a similar was by fans visiting the wood. This does not only spoil the natural look of the tree, but also allows pathogens to infect

[83] Rosalind Erskine, 14 April 2021, 'Outlander castle whisky distillery plans get the go ahead', Available: https://foodanddrink.scotsman.com/drink/whisky/planning-permission-granted-for-distillery-at-west-lothian-castle-that-featured-in-outlander/, accessed: 14 April 2021.
[84] Outlander, season 1, episode 6, "The Garrison Commander". Directed by Brian Kelly. First aired September 13, 2014. Available (in South Africa) https://www.netflix.com/za/title/70285581.
[85] BBC News, 7 October 2020, 'Outlander Devil's Pulpit revamp agreed despite planning fears', Available: https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-tayside-central-54437899, accessed: 7 October 2020.
[86] BBC News, 19 October 2020, 'Devil's Pulpit rescue held up by 'inconsiderate' parking', Available: https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-tayside-central-54606684, accessed: 19 October 2020.

the tree, shortening its lifespan. The scene where Jamie carves the initials into the bark was made using an imitation silicon mould that was fixed to the tree and then removed. Thus, even when the production crew went to great pains to protect the heritage of the location being filmed at, film tourists can cause significant damage in an effort to interact 'authentically' with these locations. Since filming, the Woodland Trust Scotland has diverted the path to these trees as there is a risk of branches or even whole trees coming down, but fans are still walking under the canopy to get up close to these trees.[87]

The Culloden battlefield has also suffered from *Outlander* overtourism since 2018. In 2023, it was again reported that the Clan Fraser stone would temporarily be out of bounds to visitors due to damage caused by heavy footfall at the marker for the Jacobite soldiers who died at the Battle of Culloden in 1746. The NTS had to carry out work around the stone to halt the deterioration of the area and had to cordon off the area to allow the ground to firm up and the grass to re-grow. While stopping short of blaming *Outlander* fans for this deterioration, the NTS did point out that the wear and tear around the Fraser grave marker was more extensive than in other parts of the battlefield, especially due to visitors wanting to take pictures with the stone. Many *Outlander* fans may also want to re-create the iconic scene where Claire visits Culloden in season 2. The NTS urged visitors to give the area "space" and reminded prospective visitors that the burial site for those who died on the field should be "respected".[88]

Fortunately, the overall benefits of *Outlander's* impact on history, heritage and conservation have been more positive than negative. It has repeatedly been documented that the *Outlander* production has been meticulous about how they use the historical properties they film at, making sure with the custodial organisations as to what would be permitted, particularly in relation to the heavy modern filming equipment and large film crews.[89] VisitScotland also provided suggestions for best practice for historical heritage sites wanting to become involved with film tourism. These guidelines were compiled in the updated 2022 report, entitled "The *Outlander* effect & tourism" and although they are based on information gathered from

---

[87] Ali Wood, *Scotland: an Outlander tour,* (Great Britain: TVTraveller, 2020), pp. 67-68.
[88] Alison Campsie, 16 March 2023, 'Culloden visitors asked to 'respect' burial ground after Outlander pilgrimage site sealed off', Available: https://www.scotsman.com/heritage-and-retro/heritage/culloden-visitors-asked-to-respect-burial-ground-after-outlander-pilgrimage-site-sealed-off-4066997, accessed: 16 March 2023.
[89] Lorraine Wilson, 24 March 2019, 'Outlander's Diana Gabaldon: The story of the First Lady of Lallybroch', Available: https://www.thenational.scot/news/17522123.outlanders-diana-gabaldon-story-first-lady-lallybroch/, accessed: 29 June 2023.

Outlander locations, the application of these suggestions are of generic value. These suggestions include:

- Ensure that the staff at your site has at least a basic knowledge of the production that took place in your local area. This could include filming locations, plot summaries, and anecdotes, so they can speak confidently to guests. They suggest developing a FAQ handbook, where staff can record questions asked and research the answers. Consider changing guided tours to meet the growing demand, so that heritage tourists receive the historical information and film tourists receive a locations tour.[90]

- Highlight your connections with film tourism for potential guests on your website, blogs, social media, and newsletters. Also encourage visitors to post and interact on social media to develop referrals and user-generated content.[91]

- If you run an attraction with historic and film tourism connections, consider how to integrate these two often contrasting domains. Tell the story in an engaging and interactive way to truly bring the story to life – film tourism can often help with this.[92]

- Collaborate with similar-minded businesses to set up film tourism partnerships. Organise themed events for fans, develop self-guided tours, and compile a knowledge base for recommendations on the best sites for guests to receive authentic experiences.[93]

Diana Gabaldon has also managed to inspire a host of fans to care about and for Scotland's historical heritage. Commenting on Diana Gabaldon's influence on Scottish heritage and its conservation, Kirstin Bridier, the executive director of the National Trust for Scotland Foundation USA, states:

> I have seen first-hand how American readers have embraced Scottish culture through their love of Outlander. Many of her readers have contributed generously to the preservation of National Trust for Scotland

---

[90] VisitScotland, June 2022, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: 30 July 2023, p. 16.
[91] VisitScotland, June 2022, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: 30 July 2023, p. 16.
[92] VisitScotland, June 2022, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: 30 July 2023, p. 16.
[93] VisitScotland, June 2022, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: 30 July 2023, p. 16.

sites associated with the novels and television show—sites like Preston Mill. We could not ask for a better ambassador for our work.[94]

Another great example is the 'Ladies of Lallybroch'. They are a community of *Outlander* fans who have contributed to the restoration of the Culloden Memorial Cairn, originally erected on the site of the famous battle in 1881.[95] Here again we see the consequence of the close and mutually beneficial collaboration and cooperation between film tourism and heritage.

5.7. Conclusion

This chapter featured an integration of the theoretical discussion of film tourism with the case study, namely *Outlander* tourism in Scotland. The chapter quantified the impact and value of *Outlander* for tourism and Scotland and also qualitatively considered how *Outlander* has affect Scotland's destination image. The chapter then outlined who the *Outlander* visitors are and what experiences they are looking for when engaging with *Outlander* at Scottish attractions. Lastly, the chapter examined *Outlander* as the perfect example of the newly conceived concept of HHLFT by considering the impacts, both positive and negative, that this production has had on historical heritage sites in Scotland.

---

[94] Chiara Lombatti, April 2022, 'Diana Gabaldon Honored by National Trust for Scotland Foundation with Great Scot Award!', Available: https://survivedtheshows.com/language/en/diana-gabaldon-honored-by-national-trust-for-scotland-foundation-with-great-scot-award/, accessed: 15 April 2022.
[95] Lorraine Wilson, 24 March 2019, 'Outlander's Diana Gabaldon: The story of the First Lady of Lallybroch', Available: https://www.thenational.scot/news/17522123.outlanders-diana-gabaldon-story-first-lady-lallybroch/, accessed: 29 June 2023.

CHAPTER 6 – CONCLUSION

Film tourism can be a remarkable phenomenon. Film tourism, as with other forms of tourism, can yield considerable economic benefits for a destination in addition to creating employment and entrepreneurial opportunities for residents. Moreover, film tourism can also instil pride in a destination's heritage and cultural attractions. Film tourism also represents an opportunity for a new and more profound way of experiencing tourism destinations. The growing consumer trend towards meaningful experiential travel is at the heart of this movement. When one combines this with the growth of user-generated content on social media and the power of referrals for destination promotion, film tourism forms the possibility for new natural advocates and "digital tribes" to be created by way of sharing imagery, blogs, and experiences among the visitors themselves.[1] National Tourist Boards and Regional Destination Management Organisations are increasingly seeing film tourism as a benefit. Firstly, the production itself promotes a destination and may be distributed internationally, with successful productions having a consumer reach into the millions. Secondly, proactive promotion, sustainable management, and careful product development enhances direct expenditure revenue from visitors who travel to see filming destinations.[2]

This thesis focused on many aspects pertinent to film tourism. In Chapter one, definitions were provided for concepts relevant to any study of film tourism, including tourism, heritage, culture, and film tourism and its many related concepts. It was discovered that the general consensus on defining film tourism referred to travel induced by the viewing of a screened product, whether that is a film, television series, online video, or streamed content. It was also discovered that film tourism takes on many forms by exploring Sue Beeton's seminal typology of film tourism. Chapter 1 also elaborated on the aims and objectives, methodology, and sources utilised in this thesis.

Chapter 2 offered a select literature review of film tourism. The Chapter reviewed literature at three nexus points related to film tourism: film and history, heritage and tourism, and film and

---

[1] VisitScotland, 6 March 2019, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: March 2019.

[2] VisitScotland, 6 March 2019, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: March 2019.

tourism. Literary tourism was also reviewed as a crucial forerunner for film tourism. Film tourism was discovered to be an excellent ambassador for multi-, inter- and transdisciplinary study and that various methodologies from a number of disciplines and fields of study have comfortably been applied in research on film tourism.[3]

Chapter 3 contained the main theoretical discussion on film tourism. The Chapter started off by exploring film tourism as a niched alternative to overtourism, drawing visitors away from major mass tourism sites to lesser-known, off-the-beaten-track ones, thus promoting a better geographic spread of tourism benefits. Next, the Chapter explored the numerous benefits of film tourism, including the economic benefits, destination development, and the expansion of a destination's visitor market.[4] The quantified value of film tourism was also explored and it was discovered to be an impressive and significant phenomenon when one considers the volume and impacts of this niche. It was shown that the types of production made no difference and all genres could inspire film tourism, but also that film tourism was an unpredictable phenomenon: featuring in a screened production can have a rapid impact on a destination, leading to visitation very shortly after a screen product is released, but this visitation may often not be sustainable over a longer period.[5]

The Chapter also considered that film tourism may have certain negative impacts, particularly in the social and environmental domains. The Chapter briefly explored the historical development of film tourism, and in particular in the UK, where the main case study of this thesis is based. It was discovered that while film tourism's origins seemingly date back to the 1930s, it was not until the advent of mass tourism and blockbuster film productions in the 1970s and 1980s, that film tourism really took off.[6] Film tourism's indelible link with literary tourism was also explored, as literature was the popular medium which drove visitation prior to film, and these two niches are often still inseparable when it comes to popular culture. The section provided a brief discussion and definition of literary tourism, before exploring the relationship between film and literary tourism. It was suggested that three distinct forms of the combined macro-niche of film and literary tourism exist: where filming sites are the exact

---

[3] Joanne Connell, "Film tourism – evolution, progress and prospects", in *Tourism Management* 33, 2012, pp. 1008-1009.
[4] Roger Riley *et al.*, "Movie-induced tourism", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 25(4), 1998, pp. 919-935; Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition),* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 37.
[5] Olsberg-SPI, *Quantifying Film and Television Tourism in England*, (London: Olsberg-SPI, 2015), p.1.
[6] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), p. 9.

location described in the book it is based on; where the filming location and the setting of the book can be two (or more) separate places; and lastly, where filming locations actually provide destinations for literary tourists to visit.[7] This last category is the perfect blend of literary and film tourism and it demonstrates that myths and fantasy can effectively be used as destination promotion tools on a global scale.[8]

This then moved to the next section of theory which explored film tourism's inherent aspect of destination marketing and promotion. It was discovered that, just like literature before it, film adds cultural value to a destination, acting like a marker to add meaning to an environment, landscape, or attraction. In the end, it is our stories that provide meaning to our landscapes. Without context, a landscape, or any object for that matter, remain just that, not necessarily more meaningful than the next. Think of a museum where many similar objects are displayed, virtually no different from the next. It is when we add the contextual stories that these objects come to life. Storytelling in whichever format has the power to imbue a landscape with the historical and creative context of humanity, inspiring visitors to go see even the most seemingly unremarkable of places. Film tourism's propensity to invoke cultural affinity was also discussed.

Next, the Chapter explored the notion of shaping of a destination's image through film. It was concluded that visual media are the most powerful image-creators rather than traditional marketing, as the effect of these is much subtler and the place promotion is much more organic where landscapes feature iconically in screened productions.[9] The complex collaboration between film and tourism in the creation of a destination image was also explored, and it was suggested that where screened images align with a broader tourism marketing or national image, DMOs and other tourism stakeholders will be eager to take advantage of the 'free' publicity provided by screened productions.[10] The section concluded by considering New Zealand and its close associations with *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Hobbit* trilogies as a seminal example of film affecting a destination's image.

---

[7] Department of Historical and Heritage Studies, *The potential of the creative industry for destination development in South Africa – film tourism as a case study* (report prepared for the National Department of Tourism), (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2017), pp. 31-32.

[8] Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014).

[9] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism,* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), p. 54.

[10] Joanne Connell, "Film tourism – Evolution, progress and prospects", in *Tourism Management* 33, 2012, p. 1021.

The fourth section in this Chapter examined who film tourists are. The Chapter investigated the main motivating factors inspiring film tourists to take part in this specific niche. Next, the idea of film tourists as 'pilgrims' was explored. It was suggested that film tourism "has strong overtones of pilgrimage", since film tourists travel to sites considered sacred through their connection with fame and notions of fantasy. They collect memorabilia of places, actors and characters to take home and share with their peers to enhance their personal estimation. They also often experience a highly emotionally charged reaction to film locations, verging on the spiritual and mystical.[11]

Several authors have also attempted to determine a profile for film tourists, with Roesch concluding that "each tourism-inducing film attracts an individually distinct type of fan".[12] Still, a generic profile emerged indicating that film tourists ranged in age from teenagers to seniors over 60 years of age, with the middle bracket between 20 and 50 years prevalent. Film tourists were also found to be culturally aware, well-educated, well-informed about the destination they were visiting, and wating to participate in existentially authentic activities and experiences. These visitors also tended to form part of the "free independent traveller", or FIT, market segment.[13]

The following section in Chapter 3 considered authenticity and discovered that there are a myriad ways to define and view authenticity. Authenticity was discovered to be a highly subjective and relative concept, which depends on many factors. Objective, constructive and existential authenticity were discussed. It was concluded that objective authenticity referred to the range of authenticity related to originals. Constructive authenticity was something that could become authentic over time. Existential authenticity in turn referred to "a special existential state of being in which individuals are true to themselves". Thus, authenticity moved from being empirically determinable by experts to being validated by touristic experience – if the tourist believed something to be authentic enough, it was.[14] With existential authenticity tourists were in search of their own authentic selves with the aid of activities or toured objects.

---

[11] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition)*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 44.

[12] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), p. 201.

[13] Stefan Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009), pp. 200-201.

[14] Stroma Cole, "Beyond Authenticity and Commodification", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 34(4), 2007, p. 944.

This new kind of authenticity focused on experiences and the authenticity of objects had all but become obsolete.[15] In particular relation to film tourism and authenticity, it was suggested that tourists are well aware of the "inauthenticity" of film sites and easily accept that places may not be where or what they are depicted to be.[16]

The final section of Chapter 3 considered film tourism at historical heritage sites. Several issues pertaining to this phenomenon were discussed, including issues relating to authenticity, sustainability, and the durability of such sites. The section concluded with a discussion of pertinent case studies of film tourism to historical heritage sites with both positive and negative impacts, in order to illustrate the interaction between film, tourism and historical heritage sites.

Chapter 4 discussed the background of this thesis's main case study: *Outlander*-related tourism in Scotland. *Outlander* is an excellent case study for the impact of film tourism on historical heritage sites, since the series films at a considerable number of such sites. The Chapter looked at the background of the *Outlander* series by presenting a synopsis of the various books in the series, discussing the author, Diana Gabaldon, and elaborating on the television series, as well as the ambassadorial roles that the author and some cast members fulfil when it comes to Scottish culture, history, heritage, and tourism. Next, the Chapter recounted a brief history of relevant events relating to *Outlander,* notably centring around the Battle of Culloden (1746). The Chapter concluded with a consideration of the expansive list of *Outlander* filming locations, both in Scotland and elsewhere, as well as some other notable *Outlander*-related locations, including in the US.

The penultimate Chapter investigated *Outlander* as a tourism phenomenon. This Chapter provided the synthesis of the film tourism theory in Chapter 3 with the details of the case study in Chapter 4. The first section considered *Outlander* as a perfect example of film tourism, aligning with almost every single category in Beeton's typology. The next section attempted to quantify the '*Outlander* effect', which describes the increased visitation to historical heritage sites as a result of the series, and the resultant benefits for these sites. Surveying the annual visitor statistics across 20 *Outlander*-related attractions, it was discovered that *Outlander* caused an increase in visitation of up to 1250% for some locations, with most locations at least

---

[15] Ning Wang, Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999, pp. 356-360.

[16] Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition)*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2016), p. 40.

witnessing double digit increases.[17] The Chapter continued by discussing touristic and *Outlander* significance of the top four most visited *Outlander* locations: Newhailes House, Blackness Castle, Glen Coe Visitor Centre, and Doune Castle. These destinations have each more or less embraced *Outlander* in their own unique ways, from signs describing the filming at the site to selling *Outlander* souvenirs.

Based on a VisitScotland survey, the Chapter also outlined the impacts that *Outlander* has had on a number of visitor attractions. These include interest from other media productions, specific events related to film tourism, new product development (in terms of themed tours or itineraries), growth in visitors from new markets, and an increase in overall visitor numbers. The next section of Chapter 4 considered the significant cultural value and indelible mark that *Outlander* has left on the Scottish landscape. *Outlander* has been demonstrated as possessing a multiplier effect when it comes to historical and cultural interest, inspiring viewers/readers/visitors to take an interest in Scottish history, their own genealogy, and the Gaelic language. *Outlander* was also demonstrated to align so well with the destination image of Scotland that it enjoys official endorsement from the highest level, in the form of the locations map created by VisitScotland.

The fifth section of Chapter 5 offered a description of the profile of *Outlander* tourists. *Outlander*-inspired visitors tended to originate from the Global North, notably the US, Canada, France, Germany, and Australia. The majority of these visitors were female, aged between 25 and 54. Many of them were solo travellers, tended to return to Scotland multiple times, and were eager to share their experiences on social media.[18] *Outlander* fans may comfortably be described as 'film pilgrims', as they engage in many of the classic examples of activities to enhance the mystical experiences when visiting these sites.

The section also illustrated the various kinds and levels of authenticity associated with *Outlander.* Authenticity is a highly subjective and relative term, which is made even more complicated in film tourism since a film destination is the fusion of the real world with an

---

[17] VisitScotland, June 2022, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: 30 July 2023, p. 9.
[18] VisitScotland, June 2022, 'Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism', Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf, accessed: 30 July 2023, p. 13.

imagined place. Most of the *Outlander* locations will never possess objective authenticity, since as imagined places, they can never be as authentic as an original in a museum. But if the measure of authenticity is the tourist's experience, like Wang's existential authenticity, then the *Outlander* locations can be classified as authentic. Visitors to these locations perceive them to be very authentic due to Gabaldon's accurate descriptions, their relatively unedited appearance on the screen, and the efforts of site managers to create an encompassing *Outlander* experience and share Scottish culture and heritage. Thus visiting these locations are authentic and enjoyable to tourists at the same time. Additionally, the *Outlander* locations possess all of Chronis' authenticities in varying degrees.

It became clear that a new measure of authenticity was needed when it comes to a niche like film tourism. Just like Chronis created authenticities specifically relevant to a historical attraction, a special kind of authenticity can be crafted for film tourism, keeping in mind its unique circumstances. This authenticity would not measure how 'original' something was, but rather how faithful it was to the film or story it was based on. If it was a good reflection of the fantasy world it represented, the destination will be considered authentic. A particular case was made for mythical tourism, where fantasy worlds that do not exist anywhere on earth, find a location in the 'real world', either through a theme park or at a filming location. Since these are the only portals to visit these fantasy destinations, they must be authentic if the tourist has an enjoyable experience and if the creation is a faithful copy of the imagined place.[19]

The final section of this Chapter discussed *Outlander* as an example of History Heritage Literary and Film Tourism (HHLFT), sitting perfectly at the nexus of literary, film and heritage tourism. It also illustrated the series' vast influence to benefit historical heritage sites, like Preston Mill and Midhope Castle, while also offering a cautionary tale in terms of some negative impacts, like at Finnich Glen, Kinclaven Bluebell Wood, and the Culloden battlefield. On balance, when considering the impact of *Outlander* on historic (and natural) heritage sites, the overwhelming evidence points to its positive impact and the '*Outlander* effect' is far from over. In fact, VisitScotland has also indicated that *Outlander* remains an important catalyst for recovery and growth in the post-pandemic tourism market.

---

[19] Charlene Herselman, *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America,* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2014), pp. 122-123.

There are very clear and compelling reasons for heritage sites to promote themselves as film locations, and then subsequently, as film tourism destinations. In developing countries, like South Africa, where heritage and cultural sites continue to receive inadequate funding in the face of more significant spending needs, filming and film tourism provide viable options for generating much-needed income. It is hoped that by exploring a very compelling case study demonstrating the positive effects of film tourism for historical heritage sites in this thesis, that other heritage sites may be inspired to follow suit and explore their filmic potential.

This thesis has demonstrated that the past is indeed a destination and film tourism is one convenient vehicle to take us on tour to there. Not just do screened productions with a historical theme depict the past, but they also clearly inspire an interest in history for the viewer, albeit in varying degrees. *Outlander* is the perfect case study to demonstrate this phenomenon, as not only does it depict a vast swathe of history, but the books and television series have inspired the reader-viewer to visit an impressive range of historical heritage sites. Some are even just tangentially related to the history depicted in *Outlander* and do not feature as a story or filming location. The *Outlander* effect has also inspired many reader-viewers to start their own research into the past, even if it is just to trace their ancestry. This thesis has also demonstrated that a popular historically-themed productions like *Outlander* can have significant benefits for historical heritage sites. It is for these reasons that the new niche of History, Heritage, Literary and Film Tourism (HHLFT) is proposed.

SOURCE LIST

JOURNALS

BANN, S. 2002. "Cinema and the rescue of historicity", in *History and Theory* 41, pp. 124-133.

BUCHMANN, A. 2005. "From Erewhon to Edoras: Tourism and Myths in New Zealand", in *Tourism, Culture and Communication* 6(1), pp. 181-189.

BUCHMANN, A., MOORE, K. AND FISHER, D. 2010. "Experiencing film tourism: authenticity and fellowship", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 37(1), pp. 229-248.

BUHALIS, D. 2000. "Marketing the competitive destination of the future", in *Tourism Management* 1(21), pp. 97-116.

COHEN, E. 1988. "Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 15, pp. 371-386.

COLE, S. 2007. "Beyond Authenticity and Commodification", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 34(4), pp. 943-960.

CONNELL, J. 2012. "Film tourism: evolution, progress and prospects", in *Tourism Management* 33, pp. 1007-1029.

CROMPTON, J.L. 1979. "Motivations for pleasure vacation", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 6, pp. 408-424.

CROY, W.G. 2010. "Planning for Film Tourism: Active Destination Image Management", in *Tourism and Hospitality Planning & Development* 7(1), pp. 21-30.

CROY, W.G. 2011. "Film tourism: sustained economic contributions to destinations", in *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes* 3(2), pp. 159-164.

DOWNING, T. September 2006. "History on Film/Film on History", in *History Today*, p. 62.

ECHTNER, C.M. AND JAMAL, T.B. 1997. "The Disciplinary Dilemma of Tourism Studies", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 24(4), pp. 868-883.

ENGELEN, L. 2007. "Back to the Future, Ahead to the Past. Film and History: A Status Quaestionis", in *Rethinking History* 11(4), pp. 555-563.

FELL, J. Winter 1984/1985. "Cinema Histories, Cinema Practices", in *Film Quarterly* 38(2), pp. 63-64.

FROST, W. 2006. "Braveheart-ed Ned Kelly: historic films, heritage tourism and destination image", in *Tourism Management* 27(2), pp. 247-254.

GARRISON, S. AND WALLACE, C. 2021. "Media tourism and its role in sustaining Scotland's tourism industry", in *Sustainability* 13(11), DOI: https://doi.org/10.3390/su13116305.

GARTNER, W.C. 1993. "Image formation process", in *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing* 2(2-3), pp. 191-215.

GRUFFUDD, P. 1989. "ROBERT HEWISON, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London: Methuen, 1987. Pp. 160 + £6.95)", in *Journal of Historical Geography* 15(2), pp. 216-217.

HERBERT, D.T. 2001. "Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), pp. 312-333.

HUDSON, S. AND BRENT RITCHIE, J.R. 2006. "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism: an Empirical Identification of Supporting Marketing Initiatives", in *Journal of Travel Research* 44, pp. 387-396.

HUTCHINSON, R. 1988. "The Heritage Industry. Robert Hewison. Methuen, 1987. 160 pp., illus. £6.95 paper. ISBN 0 413 161102", in *Journal of Design History* 1(1), pp. 78-79.

JANSEN-VERBEKE, M. 1995. "Tourism and Heritage Attractions, Richard Prentice, *Routledge, London, New York (1994) 253 pp £35 ISBN 0 415 08525-X",* in *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services* 2(3), pp. 195-196.

KENNEDY, D. 1998. "Shakespeare and Cultural Tourism", in *Theatre Journal* 50(2), pp. 175-188.

KIM, H. AND JAMAL, T. 2007. "Touristic Quest for Existential Authenticity", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 34(1), pp. 181-201.

KARPOVICH, A.I. 2010. "Theoretical Approaches to Film- Motivated Tourism", in *Tourism and Hospitality Planning & Development* 7(1), pp. 7-20.

KIRKUS REVIEWS. 1996. "Possessed by the past", in *Kirkus Reviews* 13.

LIGHT, D. 2007. "Dracula Tourism in Romania: Cultural Identity and the State", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 34(3), pp. 746-765.

MACCANNELL, D. 1973. "Staged authenticity: arrangements of social space in tourist settings", in *The American Journal of Sociology* 79(3), pp. 589-603.

MCCONNELL, I. 2003. "Review - Literature and Tourism: Reading and Writing Tourism Texts", in *International Journal of Tourism Research* 5(6), pp. 463-465.

MCINTOSH, A.J. AND PRENTICE, R.C. 1999. "Affirming Authenticity: Confirming Cultural Heritage", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(3), pp. 589-612.

MENASHE, L. Spring 2007. "*History on Film/Film on History* and *Russian war films: on the cinema front, 1914-2005*", in *Cineaste*, pp. 82-85.

MOSCARDO, G.M. AND PEARCE, P.L. 1999. "Understanding Ethnic Tourists", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), pp. 416-434.

MUNSLOW, A. 2007. "Film and History: Robert A. Rosenstone and *History on Film/Film on History*", in *Rethinking History* 11(4), pp. 565-575.

MURESAN. A. AND SMITH, K.A. 1998. "Dracula's Castle in Romania: Conflicting Heritage Marketing Strategies", in *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 4(2), pp. 73-85.

O'CONNOR, N., FLANAGAN, S. AND GILBERT, D. 2010. "The use of film in re-imaging a tourism destination: a case study of Yorkshire, UK", in *Journal of Vacation Marketing* 16(1), pp. 61-74.

PAVLOPOULOS, J. AND KONSTANTINIDOU, M. 2023. "Computational authorship analysis of the Homeric poems", in *International Journal of Digital Humanities* 5, pp. 45–64.

POCOCK, D.C.D. 1992. "Catherine Cookson Country: Tourist Expectation and Experience", in *Geography* 77(3), pp. 236-243.

PRETORIUS, S. 2019. "Poor whitism : the fictional volksmoeder in South African novels, 1920s–1940s", in *Historia* 64(1), pp. 65-90.

REIJNDERS, S. 2011. "Stalking the Count: Dracula, Fandom and Tourism", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 38(1), pp. 231-248.

REISINGER, Y AND STEINER C.J. 2006. "Reconceptualizing Object Authenticity", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 33(1), pp. 65-86.

REISINGER, Y AND STEINER, C.J. 2006. "Understanding Existential Authenticity", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 33(2), pp. 299-318.

RIGNEY, A. 2011. "Review: Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture", in *Victorian Studies* 53(2), pp. 367-369.

RILEY, R., BAKER, D. AND VAN DOREN, C.S. 1998. "Movie-induced tourism", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 25(4), pp. 919-935.

SARGENT, A. 1998. "The Darcy effect: Regional tourism and costume drama", in *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 4(3-4), pp. 177-186.

SCHOFIELD, P. 1996. "Cinematographic images of a city: alternative heritage tourism in Manchester", in *Tourism Management* 17(5), pp. 333-340.

SIRGY, M.J. AND SU, C. 2000. "Destination image, self-congruity, and travel behaviour: toward an integrative model", in *Journal of Travel Research* 38(4), pp. 340-352.

SMITH, K.A. 2003. "Literary Enthusiasts as Visitors and Volunteers", in *International Journal of Tourism Research* 5, pp. 83-95.

SMYTH, J.E. 2016. "Reviewed Work(s): Cinema and Counter-History by Marcia Landy", in *Film Quarterly* 69(4), pp. 132-134.

SQUIRE, S.J. 1993. "Valuing Countryside: Reflections on Beatrix Potter Tourism", in *Area* 25(1), pp. 5-10.

SQUIRE, S.J. 1994. "The Cultural Values of Literary Tourism", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 21, pp. 103-120.

TILL, K. 1997. "POSSESSED BY THE PAST: The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History. By DAVID LOWENTHAL. Xiii and 338pp.; notes, bibliog., index. New York: Free Press, 1996. $25.00 (cloth), ISBN 0-684-82798-0.", in *Geographical Review* 87(4), pp. 557-559.

TOOKE, N. AND BAKER, M. 1996. "Seeing is believing: the effect of film on visitor numbers to screened locations", in *Tourism Management* 17(2), pp. 87-94.

TOWNER, J. 1985. "The Grand Tour: a Key Phase in the History of Tourism", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 12(3), pp. 297-333.

TRIBE, J. 1997. "The Indiscipline of Tourism", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 24(3), pp. 638-657.

VAN EEDEN, J. 2011. "Surveying the 'empty land' in selected South African landscape portraits", in *International Journal of Tourism Research* 13(6), pp. 600-612.

VAN EEDEN, J. 2015. "A study in purple: the Jacaranda city in postcards", in *Image & Text: a Journal for Design* 25(1), pp. 44-85.

VUGMAN, F.S. 2008. "Reviews/Resenhas: Sobchack, Vivian, ed. *The Persistence of History (Cinema, Television and the Modern Event)*. New York and London: Routledge, 1996. 265 pp. Grindon, Leger. *Shadows on the Past (Studies in the Historical Fiction Film)*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1994, 250 pp", in *Ilha do Desterro* 0(32), pp. 189-191.

WANG, N. 1999. "Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience", in *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), pp. 349-370.

WEBB, E. 1986. "Reviews of books – General – DAVID LOWENTHAL. The Past is a Foreign Country. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1985. pp. xxvii, 489. $27.95.", in *American Historical Review* 91(5), pp. 1158-1159.

WINTER, T. 2002. "Angkor Meets Tomb Raider: setting the scene", in *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 8(4), pp. 323-336.

LITERATURE

AGARWAL, S. AND SHAW, G. 2018. *Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism.* Bristol: Channel View Publications.

ANONYMOUS. N.d. *Hopetoun: Scotland's finest stately home.* Peterborough: Jarrold Publishing.

ANONYMOUS. 2013. *Highclere Castle: The Home of the 8th Earl and Countess of Carnarvon.* Highclere Park, Newbury: Highclere Enterprises LLP.

BARNARD, R. 2002. "Tourism Comes to Haworth", in Mike Robinson and Hans-Christian Andersen (*eds*.), *Literature and Tourism: Reading and Writing Tourism Texts*. London: Continuum.

BEETON, S. 2005. *Film-induced tourism*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications.

BEETON, S. 2015. *Travel, tourism and the moving image*. Bristol: Channel View Publications.

BEETON, S. 2016. *Film-induced tourism (2nd edition)*. Bristol: Channel View Publications.

BLACK, J. 1992. *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.

BOORSTIN, D. 1961. *The Image: a Guide to Pseudo-events in America*. New York: Harper and Row.

BRITISH FILM COMMISSION. 2015. *Film is Great Britain: a guide to visiting film and TV locations in Britain*, Available: http://cdn.londonandpartners.com/visit/campaigns/film-is-great/film_is_great_booklet.pdf.

BUTLER, R., HALL, C.M. AND JENKINS, J.M. 1998. *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas*. Chichester, New York: Wiley.

CANNADINE, D. *(ed.)*. 2004. *History and the media*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

CARLE-SANDERS, T. 2016. *Outlander Kitchen: The Official Outlander Companion Cookbook*. New York, Ny: Delacorte Press.

CARLE-SANDERS, T. 2020. *Outlander Kitchen: To the New World and Back Again*. New York, NY: Random House.

CARNARVON, F. 2013. *Highclere Castle: the home of the 8th Earl & Countess of Carnarvon*. Newbury, UK: Highclere Enterprises LLP.

COHEN, J. 1986. "Promotion of overseas tourism through media fiction", in Joseph, W.B., Moutinho, L and I.R. Vernon (*eds*.), *Tourism services marketing: Advances in theory and practice, Proceedings of the Special Conference on Tourism Services Marketing*. Cleveland, OH: Cleveland State University.

COMOLLI, J. 2009. "Historical fiction: a body too much?", in Marnie Hughes-Warrington (*ed*.), *The History on Film Reader*. New York, NY: Routledge.

CROY, W.G. AND WALKER, R.D. 2016. "Rural tourism and film - issues for strategic rural development", in Hall, D., Roberts, L and M. Mitchell *(eds.)*, *New directions in rural tourism*. New York, NY: Routledge.

CUCCIA, T. AND RIZZO, I. 2014. "Seasonal tourism flows in UNESCO sites: the case of Sicily", in Jaime Kaminski, Angela M. Benson and David Arnold *(eds.), Contemporary Issues in Cultural Heritage Tourism*. London: Routledge.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORICAL AND HERITAGE STUDIES. 2017. *The potential of the creative industry for destination development in South Africa – film tourism as a case study* (report prepared for the National Department of Tourism). Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

DONALD, S.H. AND GAMMACK, J.G. 2007. *Tourism and the branded city: film and identity on the Pacific Rim*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

DOANE, M.A. 2009. "The representability of time", in Marnie Hughes-Warrington (*ed*.), *The History on Film Reader*. New York, NY: Routledge.

FREMONT-BARNES, G. 2011. *The Jacobite Rebellion 1745-46.* Oxford: Osprey Publishing.

GABALDON, D. 2004. *Outlander.* London: Arrow Books.

GABALDON, D. 1992. *Dragonfly in Amber.* New York, NY: Dell Publishing.

GABALDON, D. 1999. *The Outlandish Companion*. Canada: Doubleday.

GABALDON, D. 2001a. *Voyager*. New York, NY: Bantam Dell.

GABALDON, D. 2001b. *Drums of Autumn*. New York, NY: Bantam Dell.

GABALDON, D. 2001c. *The Fiery Cross*. New York, NY: Dell Publishing.

GABALDON, D. 2003. *Lord John and the Private Matter*. New York, NY: Delacorte Press.

GABALDON, D. 2005. *A Breath of Snow and Ashes*. New York, NY: Bantam Dell.

GABALDON, D. 2007a. *Lord John and the Brotherhood of the Blade*. New York, NY: Delacorte Press.

GABALDON, D. 2007b. *Lord John and the Hand of Devils*. New York, NY: Delacorte Press.

GABALDON, D. 2009. *An Echo in the Bone*. New York, NY: Bantam Dell.

GABALDON, D. AND NGUYEN, H. 2010. *The Exile: An Outlander Graphic Novel*. New York, NY: Del Rey.

GABALDON, D. 2011. *The Scottish Prisoner: A Novel*. London: Orion Books.

GABALDON, D. 2014. *Written in My Own Heart's Blood*. London: Orion Books.

GABALDON, D. 2015a. *The Outlandish Companion Volume Two*. Canada: Doubleday.

GABALDON, D. 2015b. *The Official Outlander Coloring Book*. Canada: Doubleday.

GABALDON, D. 2017. *Seven Stones to Stand or Fall: A Collection of Outlander Fiction*. New York, NY: Random House.

GABALDON, D. 2021. *Go Tell The Bees That I Am Gone*. London: Century.

GRAY, A. AND BELL, E. 2013. *History on television*. London: Routledge.

GREENWOOD, D.J. 1989. "Culture by the Pound: an Anthropological Perspective on Tourism as Cultural Commodification", in V.L Smith (*ed.*), *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism (2nd edition)*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

GUYNN, W. 2013. *Writing History in Film*. Hoboken, NJ: Taylor and Francis.

HARPER, G. AND RAYNER, J. 2010. *Cinema and Landscape*. Bristol: Intellect.

HARPER, G. AND RAYNER, J. 2013. *Film landscapes: cinema, environment and visual culture*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.

HARRISON, R*.,* DESILVEY, C., HOLTORF, C., MACDONALD, S., BARTOLINI, N., BREITHOFF, E., FREDHEIM, H., LYONS, A., MAY, S., MORGAN, J., PENROSE, S., HÖGBERG, A., AND G. WOLLENTZ. 2020. *Heritage Futures: Comparative Approaches to Natural and Cultural Heritage Practices*. London: UCL Press.

HENDRIX, H. 2009. "From Early Modern to Romantic literary tourism: a Diachronical Perspective", in Nicola J. Watson (*ed.*), *Literary Tourism and the Nineteenth-Century Culture*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

HERBERT, D.T. 1997. "Heritage as Literary Place", in David T. Herbert (*ed.*), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*. London: Pinter.

HEUGHAN, S. 2022. *Waypoints: My Scottish Journey*. S.l.: Voracious.

HEUGHAN, S. AND G. MCTAVISH. 2020. *Clanlands: Whisky, Warfare, and a Scottish Adventure Like No Other*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

HEWISON, R. 1987. *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline.* London: Methuen.

HEWISON, R. 1989. 'Heritage: an Interpretation', in D.L. Uzzell *(ed.), Heritage Interpretation (Volume 1: the Natural and Built Environment)*. London: Belhaven Press, pp. 15-23.

HIGH LIFE HIGHLAND. 2017. *Highland Folk Museum Visitors Guide*. Newtonmore, Scotland: High Life Highland.

HOPETOUN HOUSE. N.d. *Hopetoun: Scotland's finest stately home*. Peterborough, UK: Jarrold Publishing.

HOPETOUN HOUSE. 2018. *Welcome to Hopetoun* (information brochure obtained during site visit). South Queensferry, Scotland: Hopetoun House.

HUGHES-WARRINGTON, M. *(ed.). 2009. The History on Film Reader*. New York, NY: Routledge.

KAMINSKI, J., BENSON, A.M. AND ARNOLD, D. 2014. *Contemporary Issues in Cultural Heritage Tourism*. London: Routledge.

LANDY, M. 1991. *British Genres: Cinema and Society, 1930-1960.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

LANDY, M. 1997. *Cinematic Uses of the Past.* Minnesota, University of Minnesota Press.

LANDY, M. 2005. *Monty Python's Flying Circus.* Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press.

LANDY, M. 2015. *Cinema and Counter-History.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

LOWENTHAL, D. 1985. *The past is a foreign country.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

LOWENTHAL, D. 1998. *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

LOWENTHAL, D. 2015. *The Past is a Foreign Country – Revisited*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MACIONIS, N. 2004. "Understanding the film-induced tourist", in Warwick Frost, W. Glen Croy and Sue Beeton (*eds*.), *Proceedings of the international tourism and media conference*. Melbourne: Tourism Research Unit, Monash University.

MARSHALL, G. 2009. "Women Re-read Shakespeare Country", in Nicola J. Watson (*ed*.), *Literary Tourism and the Nineteenth-Century Culture*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

MARY'S MEANDERS. 2017. *Midhope and more: Memories from Outlander filming locations*. S.l.: Mary's Meanders and Edinburgh Sketcher.

MILLER, L. 2002. *The Brontë Myth*. London: Vintage, 2002.

MOFFAT, A. 2015. *Scotland: a history from earliest times*. Edinburgh: Birlinn.

NATIONAL TRUST. 2019. *Filming locations in Lacock* (information brochure obtained during site visit). S.l: National Trust.

NEWLAND, P. (*ed*.). 2016. *British rural landscapes on film*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

O'CONNOR, N., FLANAGAN, S. AND GILBERT, D. 2010. *A Film Marketing Action Plan for Film Induced Tourism Destinations: Using Yorkshire as a Case study*. Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing.

OLSBERG-SPI. 2015. *Quantifying Film and Television Tourism in England*. London: Olsberg-SPI.

OUSBY, I. 1990. *The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

PITTOCK, M.G.H. 1998. *British History in Perspective: Jacobitism*. London: Macmillan Education UK.

PITTOCK, M.G.H. 2016. *Great Battles: Culloden*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

POCOCK, D.C.D. 1987. "Haworth: the Experience of Literary Place", in William E. Mallory and Paul Simpson-Housley (*eds*.), *Geography and Literature. A Meeting of the Disciplines*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

PRENTICE, R.C. 1993. *Tourism and Heritage Attractions*. London: Routledge.

READER'S DIGEST. 1984. *Reader's Digest Great Illustrated Dictionary*. London: Reader's Digest Association.

ROBINSON, M. AND ANDERSEN, H. (*eds*.). 2002. *Literature and Tourism: Reading and Writing Tourism Texts*. London: Continuum.

ROESCH, S. 2009. *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*. Bristol: Channel View Publications.

ROSEN, P. 2001. *Change Mummified: Cinema, Historicity, Theory*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

ROSENSTONE, R.A. 1995. *Visions of the past: the challenge of film to our idea of history*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

ROSENSTONE, R.A. 2012. *History on film/film on history* (2nd edition). Harlow: Pearson.

ROYA, B.S. "The value of intangible cultural heritage: the case of the Fallas Festival in Valencia, Spain", in Jaime Kaminski, Angela M. Benson and David Arnold *(eds.)*, *Contemporary Issues in Cultural Heritage Tourism*. London: Routledge.

SALAZAR, J.F. AND BUSHELL, R. 2013. "Heritage for sale: indigenous tourism and misrepresentations of voice in northern Chile", in Russell Staiff, Robyn Bushell and Steve Watson *(eds.)*, *Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, Engagement*. London: Routledge.

SALTER, C.L. AND LLOYD, W.J. 1977. *Landscape in Literature*. Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers.

SCHATZ, T. 2003. "The new Hollywood", in Julian Stringer (*ed*.), *Movie Blockbusters*. London: Routledge.

SCHOUTEN, F.F.J. 1995. "Heritage as historical reality", in David T Herbert (*ed*.) *Heritage, tourism and society*. London: Mansell.

SCOTT, N. 2017. *Doune Castle* (official souvenir guide). Edinburgh: Historic Environment Scotland.

SELLGREN, E. 2011. *Film-induced tourism: the effect films have on destination image formation, motivation and travel behaviour*. Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing.

SHAFER, R.J. 1980. *A Guide to Historical Method* (3rd edition). Chicago, IL: The Dorsey Press.

SINGH, K. 2003. *Film-induced tourism: motivations to the Hobbiton movie set as featured in The Lord of the Rings*. La Trobe University: BB (Hons) thesis.

SMITH, M.K. 2003. *Issues in Cultural Tourism Studies*. London: Routledge.

SMITH, M.K. AND ROBINSON, M. *(eds.)*. 2006. *Cultural tourism in a changing world: politics, participation and (re)presentation*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications.

SMITH, M.K., MACLEOD, N. AND ROBERTSON, M.H. 2010. *Key Concepts in Tourist Studies*. London: Sage Publications.

SMITH, M.K. AND RICHARDS, G. *(eds.)*. 2013. *The Routledge Handbook of Cultural Tourism*. New York, NY: Routledge.

SOBCHACK, V. 1996. *The Persistence of History: Cinema, Television, and the Modern Event*. New York, NY: Routledge.

STAIFF, R. 2013. "Swords, sandals and togas: the cinematic imaginary and the tourist experiences of Roman heritage sites", in Russell Staiff, Robyn Bushell and Steve Watson *(eds.), Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, Engagement*. London: Routledge.

STAIFF, R., BUSHELL, R. AND WATSON, S. 2013. *Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, Engagement.* London: Routledge.

TAPLIN, P. 2018. *Outlander's Scotland.* London: Pitkin Publishing.

TAPLIN, P. 2023. *Outlander's Scotland Seasons 4-6*. London: Pitkin Publishing.

TETLEY, S. AND BRAMWELL, B. 2002. "Tourists and the Cultural Construction of Haworth's Literary Landscape", in Mike Robinson and Hans-Christian Andersen (*eds*.), *Literature and Tourism: Reading and Writing Tourism Texts*. London: Continuum.

TIMOTHY, D.J. 2005. *Shopping tourism, retailing and leisure*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

TIMOTHY, D.J. AND OLSEN, D.H. (*eds*.). 2006. *Tourism, religion, and spiritual journeys*. London: Routledge.

TIMOTHY, D.J. AND NYAUPANE, G.P. 2009. *Cultural heritage and tourism in the developing world: a regional perspective*. London: Routledge.

TIMOTHY, D.J. 2011. *Cultural Heritage and Tourism: an introduction*. Bristol: Channel View Publications.

TIMOTHY, D.J. 2015. *Tourism and Trails: cultural, ecological and management issues*. Bristol: Channel View Publications.

TIMOTHY, D.J. *(ed.)*. 2016. *Heritage cuisines: traditions, identities and tourism*. London: Routledge.

TIMOTHY, D.J. AND TAHAN, L.G. (*eds*.). 2020. *Archaeology and tourism: touring the past*. Bristol: Channel View Publications.

TIMOTHY, D.J. 2021. *Cultural Heritage and Tourism: an introduction* (2nd edition). Bristol: Channel View Publications.

TOWNER, J. 2002. "Literature, tourism and the Grand Tour", in Mike Robinson and Hans Christian Andersen (*eds*.), *Literature and Tourism: Reading and Writing Tourism Texts*. London: Continuum.

TZANELLI, R. 2013. *Heritage in the Digital Era: Cinematic Tourism and the Activist Cause*. Abingdon: Routledge.

UNESCO. July 2021. *Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention*. Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre.

URRY, J. 1990. *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. London: SAGE Publications.

VAN DER POL, H. N.d. "Key role of cultural and creative industries in the economy". Canada: UNESCO Institute for Statistics.

VIDAL, G. 1992. *Screening history*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

WATSON, N.J. 2006. *The Literary Tourist: Readers and Places in Romantic and Victorian Britain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

WATSON, N.J. (*ed.*). 2009. *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

WHITE, H. 2009. "Historiography and historiophoty", in Marnie Hughes-Warrington (*ed.*), *The History on Film Reader*. New York, NY: Routledge.

WILLIAMS, R. 1985. *Keywords: a Vocabulary of Culture and Society.* New Work, NY: Oxford University Press.

WINTER, T. 2013. "Cultures of interpretation", in Russell Staiff, Robyn Bushell and Steve Watson *(eds.), Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, Engagement*. London: Routledge.

WOOD, A. 2020. *Scotland: an Outlander tour*. Great Britain: TVTraveller.

WORLD TOURISM ORGANIZATION (UNWTO); CENTRE OF EXPERTISE LEISURE, TOURISM & HOSPITALITY; NHTV BREDA UNIVERSITY OF APPLIED SCIENCES; AND NHL STENDEN UNIVERSITY OF APPLIED SCIENCES. 2018. *'Overtourism'? – Understanding and Managing Urban Tourism Growth beyond Perceptions*, Executive Summary. Madrid: UNWTO. Available: https://doi.org/10.18111/9789284420070.

WORLD TOURISM ORGANIZATION (UNWTO) AND NETFLIX. 2021. *Cultural Affinity and Screen Tourism: the Case of Internet Entertainment Services.* Madrid: UNWTO. Available: https://doi.org/10.18111/9789284422838.

ELECTRONIC SOURCES

A BREATH OF SNOW AND ASHES. N.d. Available: https://outlander.fandom.com/wiki/A_Breath_of_Snow_and_Ashes. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

AN ECHO IN THE BONE. N.d. Available: https://outlander.fandom.com/wiki/An_Echo_in_the_Bone. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

ANONYMOUS. 24 October 2006. *HP Fan Trips Announces 2007 Tours, VIP 'Phoenix' Screening*. Available: http://www.hpana.com/news.19641.html. Accessed: 15 November 2010.

ANONYMOUS. 8 January 2007. *The Quill Book Awards.* Available: https://web.archive.org/web/20070108151537/http://www.thequills.org/2006.html. Accessed: 29 June 2023.

ANONYMOUS. 14 July 2015. *RITA® Winners*. Available: https://web.archive.org/web/20150714074216/https://www.rwa.org/p/cm/ld/fid=535. Accessed: 29 June 2023.

ANONYMOUS. 2023. *Arniston House*. Available: http://www.outlanderlocations.com/locations/arniston-house/. Accessed: 30 July 2023.

ANONYMOUS. 2023. *Balgonie Castle*. Available: http://www.outlanderlocations.com/locations/balgonie-castle/. Accessed: 30 July 2023.

ANONYMOUS. 2023. *Calendar House*. Available: http://www.outlanderlocations.com/locations/callendar-house/. Accessed: 30 July 2023.

ANONYMOUS. 2023. *Craigmillar Castle*. Available: http://www.outlanderlocations.com/locations/craigmillar-castle/. Accessed: 30 July 2023.

ANONYMOUS. 2023. *Outlander locations in Czech Republic*. Available: http://www.outlanderlocations.com/map/outlander-locations-in-czech-republic/. Accessed: 30 July 2023.

ANONYMOUS. 2023. *Outlander locations in South Africa*. Available: http://www.outlanderlocations.com/map/outlander-locations-in-south-africa/. Accessed: 30 July 2023.

ANONYMOUS. 2023. *Thomas Coats Memorial Church*. Available: http://www.outlanderlocations.com/locations/thomas-coats-memorial-church/. Accessed: 30 July 2023.

ANONYMOUS. S.a. *The Harry Potter Virtual Film Location Tour*. Available: http://www.chiff.com/a/harry-potter-travel-tour.htm. Accessed: 15 November 2010.

APPEL, J. 28 August 2023. *JYF Using Popular Media to Inspire Learning About History*. Available: https://wydaily.com/our-community/series/our-historic-home/2023/08/28/media-and-history/. Accessed: 28 August 2023.

ARNISTON HOUSE. 2022. *Welcome to Arniston House*. Available: https://arnistonhouse.com/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

BAKER, N. 4 February 2020. *'Wrong' to film Star Wars at Skellig Michael*. Available: https://www.irishexaminer.com/news/arid-30979599.html. Accessed: 9 August 2023.

BBC NEWS. 28 January 2019. *Woman found in Old Fox casket may have been from London*. Available: https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-highlands-islands-47027975. Accessed: 15 December 2022.

BBC NEWS. 7 October 2020. *Outlander Devil's Pulpit revamp agreed despite planning fears*. Available: https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-tayside-central-54437899. Accessed: 7 October 2020.

BBC NEWS. 19 October 2020. *Devil's Pulpit rescue held up by 'inconsiderate' parking*. Available: https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-tayside-central-54606684. Accessed: 19 October 2020.

BROWN, M. 19 September 2015. *How Downton Abbey helped to rescue Highclere Castle from ruin*. Available: https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2015/sep/19/downton-abbey-highclere-castle-tourist-cash-funds-repairs. Accessed: 9 August 2023.

CAMPSIE, A. 16 March 2023. *Culloden visitors asked to 'respect' burial ground after Outlander pilgrimage site sealed off*. Available: https://www.scotsman.com/heritage-and-retro/heritage/culloden-visitors-asked-to-respect-burial-ground-after-outlander-pilgrimage-site-sealed-off-4066997. Accessed: 16 March 2023.

COLMAN, M. N.d. *More travellers reject the role of spectator*. Available: http://www.tourismupdate.co.za/article/115410/5165/More-travellers-reject-the-role-of-spectator. Accessed: 28 October 2016.

DELOITTE. 2019. *Economic impact of the film, television, and online video services industry in India, 2019*. Available: https://www2.deloitte.com/in/en/pages/about-deloitte/articles/in-about-deloitte-economic-impact-of-the-film-television-and-ovs-industry.html. Accessed: 9 August 2023.

DESJARDINS, J. 17 February 2018. *Map: the top tourist attraction in every country*. Available: https://www.visualcapitalist.com/map-the-top-tourist-attraction-in-every-country/. Accessed: 9 August 2023.

DRAGONFLY IN AMBER. N.d. Available: https://outlander.fandom.com/wiki/Dragonfly_in_Amber#:~:text=Dragonfly%20in%20Amber%20is%20the,the%20Jacobite%20Rising%20of%201745. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

DRUMLANRIG CASTLE. N.d. *Drumlanrig Castle*. Available: https://www.drumlanrigcastle.co.uk/drumlanrig-castle/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

DRUMS OF AUTUMN. N.d. Available: https://outlander.fandom.com/wiki/Drums_of_Autumn. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

DRYSDALE, N. N.d. The Outlander effect: the big interview. Available: https://pressandjournal.shorthandstories.com/outlander-big-interview/. Accessed: 29 June 2023.

DUNCARRON MEDIEVAL FORT. N.d. *About Duncarron*. Available: https://www.duncarron.com/index.php/about-us. Accessed: 30 July 2023.

DUNCARRON MEDIEVAL FORT. N.d. *The Clanranald Trust for Scotland*. Available: https://www.duncarron.com/index.php/our-pillars/the-clanranald. Accessed: 30 July 2023.

ECKMAN-ONYSKOW, B. 26 August 2009. *Santa Fe author ready to release new book*. Available: https://web.archive.org/web/20131112073342/http://www.alamogordonews.com/news/ci_13204389. Accessed: 29 June 2023.

ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA. 16 August 2023. *Glorious Revolution*. Available: https://www.britannica.com/event/Glorious-Revolution. Accessed: 29 August 2023.

ERSKINE, R. 14 April 2021. *Outlander castle whisky distillery plans get the go ahead*. Available: https://foodanddrink.scotsman.com/drink/whisky/planning-permission-granted-for-distillery-at-west-lothian-castle-that-featured-in-outlander/. Accessed: 14 April 2021.

FALKIRK COUNCIL. N.d. *Callendar House and Park*. Available: https://www.visitfalkirk.com/things-to-do/family-days-out/callendar-house-and-park/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

FANGIRL QUEST. 2023. *Sceneframing*. Available: https://www.fangirlquest.com/sceneframing/. Accessed: 30 June 2023.

FLOOD, A. 23 November 2021. *Outlander author Diana Gabaldon: 'I needed Scotsmen because of the kilt factor'*. Available: https://www.theguardian.com/books/2021/nov/23/outlander-tv-series-author-diana-gabaldon. Accessed: 23 November 2021.

FORBES, E. AND MURPHY, S. 9 November 2021. *Outlander star Sam Heughan says show has been 'life-changing' for Scotland's tourism industry as well as his career*. Available: https://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/scotland-now/outlander-star-sam-heughan-says-25413675. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

GABALDON, D. N.d. *The Outlander Series*. Available: http://www.dianagabaldon.com/books/outlander-series/. Accessed: 15 January 2019.

GABALDON, D. 14 August 2015. *OUTLANDER-based tours of Scotland*. Available: http://www.dianagabaldon.com/resources/outlander-based-tours-of-scotland/. Accessed: 14 September 2015.

GABALDON, D. 17 August 2016. *Bio*. Available: http://www.dianagabaldon.com/about-diana/bio/. Accessed: 15 January 2019.

GABALDON, D. 7 March 2021. *So, on March 6th, 1988, I started writing a book...* Available: https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=278695370287391&set=a.257419099081685&type=3&mibextid=SDPelY. Accessed: 7 March 2021.

GABALDON, D. 16 July 2021. *Myth and mountain birthdays*. Available: https://dianagabaldon.com/wordpress/about-diana/myth-and-mountain-birthdays/. Accessed: 29 June 2023.

GAME OF THRONES STUDIO TOUR. 2023. *Discover the detail*. Available: https://www.gameofthronesstudiotour.com/. Accessed: 9 August 2023.

GARCIA, J. AND CLARKE, S.K. 14 November 2010. Universal attendance still soaring. Available: http://articles.orlandosentinel.com/2010-11-14/business/os-cfb-tourism-harrypotter 20101114_1_universal-orlando-wizarding-world-universal-attendance/2. Accessed: 15 November 2010.

GARRISON, S. 2020. Outlander *fandom and networked fans in the digital era*, unpublished doctoral thesis. Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen. Available: https://abdn.alma.exlibrisgroup. com/discovery/delivery/44ABE_INST:44ABE_VU1/12177624140005941.

GLASGOW CATHEDRAL. N.d. *About the cathedral.* Available: https://www. glasgowcathedral.org/about/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

GLEN, L. 13 April 2021. *Author Diana Gabaldon to speak at Inverness Outlanders commemoration of the Battle of Culloden this Friday.* Available: https://www.inverness-courier.co.uk/news/author-diana-gabaldon-to-speak-at-inverness-outlanders-comme-234779/. Accessed: 16 April 2021.

GOSFORD HOUSE. 2022 *About Gosford House.* Available: https://www. gosfordhouse.co.uk/about-us/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

GO TELL THE BEES THAT I AM GONE. N.d. Available: https://outlander.fandom.com/wiki/Go_Tell_the_Bees_That_I_Am_Gone. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

GRIMSTHORPE AND DRUMMOND CASTLE TRUST. N.d. *The history of the garden.* Available: https://www.drummondcastlegardens.co.uk/garden-history/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

HERSELMAN, C. 2014. *From 'logging capital' to 'tourism phenomenon': the impact of literary tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America*, unpublished MHCS dissertation. Pretoria: University of Pretoria. Available: http://repository.up.ac.za/handle/2263/45925.

HIGHCLERE CASTLE. 2023. *Castle and Gardens*. Available: https://www.highclerecastle. co.uk/castle-and-gardens. Accessed: 9 August 2023.

HIGH LIFE HIGHLAND. 2019. *Outlander Day*. Available: https://www.highlifehighland. com/highlandfolkmuseum/outlander-day/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT SCOTLAND. N.d. *Aberdour Castle and Gardens.* Available: https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/aberdour-castle-and-gardens/history/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT SCOTLAND. N.d. *Blackness Castle.* Available: https://www.historicenvironment.scot/ visit-a-place/places/blackness-castle/history/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT SCOTLAND. N.d. *CALDERGLEN COUNTRY PARK (FORMERLY TORRANCE HOUSE ESTATE), STATUE OF SIR JOHN FALSTAFF*. Available: http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/LB26625#:~:text=The%20park%20once%20belonged%20to,to%20Torrance%20House%20in%201939. Accessed: 30 July 2023.

HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT SCOTLAND. N.d. *Craigmillar Castle.* Available: https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/craigmillar-castle/history/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT SCOTLAND. N.d. *Doune Castle.* Available: https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/doune-castle/history/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT SCOTLAND. N.d. *History*. Available: https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/linlithgow-palace/history/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

HOBBITON MOVIE SET TOURS. 2012. *Explore the real Middle-Earth*. Available: http://www.hobbitontours.com/Home/tabid/38/Default.aspx. Accessed: 6 May 2012.

HOELLER, S. 8 June 2020. *A couple travels around the world to perfectly re-create movie and TV scenes*. Available: https://www.insider.com/couple-re-creates-famous-movie-tv-locations-travel-2020-6. Accessed: 20 September 2023.

HOFFMANN, N.B. 2015. *On-location film-induced tourism: success and sustainability*, unpublished MHCS dissertation. Pretoria: University of Pretoria. Available: http://repository.up.ac.za/handle/2263/50623. Accessed: 20 June 2016.

HOPETOUN. N.d. *Midhope Castle: a brief history*. Available: https://hopetoun.co.uk/wp-hopetoun-house/wp-content/uploads/interpretation-board-FINAL-design-2016-2.pdf. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

HOPETOUN. 2022. *Visit house and grounds*. Available: https://hopetoun.co.uk/house-and-grounds/visit-the-house-and-grounds/. Accessed 14 May 2022.

HUTCHINSON, H. 14 March 2019. *Outlander author recognised with national tourism award.* Available: https://toolkit.visitscotland.org/asset-page/111309-outlander-author-recognised-with-national-tourism-award-2847406. Accessed: 14 March 2019.

IMDB. 2023. *Outlander*. Available: https://www.imdb.com/title/tt3006802/. Accessed: 29 June 2023.

IRISH, P. 9 May 2013. *The Great Gatsby the movie boosts sales of The Great Gatsby the book*. Available: http://www.thestar.com/entertainment/movies/2013/05/09/the_great_ gatsby_the_movie_boosts_sales_of_the_great_gatsby_the_book.html. Accessed: 5 January 2014.

KARANTZAVELOU, V. 28 March 2023. *The rebound of Screen Tourism: a new TCI Research*. Available: https://www.traveldailynews.com/special-interest-travel/the-rebound-of-screen-tourism-a-new-tci-research/. Accessed: 18 September 2023.

KHAN, S. 12 February 2021. *On Location: Sam Heughan on His 'Men in Kilts' Road Trip Through Scotland*. Available: https://www.cntraveler.com/story/on-location-sam-heughan-men-in-kilts. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

KOUMELIS, T. 18 April 2018. *80 million international travellers influenced by films worldwide*. Available: https://www.traveldailynews.com/regional-news/80-million-international-travellers-influenced-by-films-worldwide/. Accessed: 18 September 2023.

KSIAZEK, S. 14 June 2017. *'Outlander' comes to U.K. TV screens on More4*. Available: http://www.outlandertvnews.com/2017/06/outlander-comes-to-u-k-tv-screens-on-more4/. Accessed: 14 June 2017.

LEWIS, L. 28 March 2012. *'Hunger Games' movie fuels sharp rise in books sales*. Available: http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/hunger-games-twlight-book-sales-versus-jennifer-lawrence-josh-hutcherson-305457. Accessed: 5 January 2014.

LOMBATTI, C. April 2022. *Diana Gabaldon Honored by National Trust for Scotland Foundation with Great Scot Award!* Available: https://survivedtheshows.com/language/en/diana-gabaldon-honored-by-national-trust-for-scotland-foundation-with-great-scot-award/. Accessed: 15 April 2022.

LOVROVIĆ, D. 10 April 2019. *Dubrovnik, Game of Thrones and overtourism – in pictures*. Available: https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/gallery/2019/apr/10/dubrovnik-game-of-thrones-and-overtourism-in-pictures. Accessed: 9 August 2023.

MACKENZIE, H. 30 November 2022. *Duolingo's St Andrew's Day milestone for Gaelic triggers teenage memories of being lost for words*. Available: https://www.ross-shirejournal.co.uk/news/appy-days-as-duolingos-gaelic-language-st-andrews-day-mile-295087/. Accessed: 9 August 2023.

MALEY, J. 28 August 2007. *Dreaming of Darcy, Dreading the Gas Bill*. Available: http://www.smh.co.au/news/opinion/dreaming-of-darcy-dreading-the-gas-bill/2007/08/28/1188067110904.html. Accessed: 15 November 2010.

MARJORIBANKS, K. 18 March 2022. *'Outlander effect' leads to plans for new Doune car park*. Available: https://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/local-news/outlander-effect-leads-plans-new-26500592. Accessed: 9 August 2023.

MCCLINTOCK, P. 31 July 2014. *$200 Million and Rising: Hollywood Struggles With Soaring Marketing Costs*. Available: http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/200-million-rising-hollywood-struggles-721818. Accessed: 31 July 2016.

MEMMOTT, M. 30 October 2013. *75 years ago, "War of the Worlds" started a panic. Or did it?* Available at: https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2013/10/30/241797346/75-years-ago-war-of-the-worlds-started-a-panic-or-did-it. Accessed: 24 January 2022.

MORRILL, J.S. 11 August 2023. *Jacobite*. Available: https://www.britannica.com/topic/Jacobite-British-history. Accessed: 29 August 2023

MORRIS, J. 24 October 2019. *Screen tourism: how much money is this tourism trend making in the UK?* Available: https://www.tourism-review.com/film-related-inbound-tourism-in-uk-news11231. Accessed: 24 October 2019.

MURPHY, S. 28 December 2021. *How Rotten Tomatoes rates each season of Outlander and what critics had to say*. Available: https://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/scotland-now/outlander-fans-critics-rotten-tomatoes-25793749. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

MY PEAK CHALLENGE. 2023. *Our story*. Available: https://www.mypeakchallenge.com/pages/our-story. Accessed: 29 June 2023.

NATIONAL TRUST. N.d. *Exploring the village at Lacock*. Available: https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/visit/wiltshire/lacock/exploring-the-village-at-lacock. Accessed: 9 August 2023.

NATIONAL TRUST FOR SCOTLAND N.d. *Culloden.* Available: https://www.nts.org.uk/visit/places/culloden. Accessed: 15 December 2022.

NATIONAL TRUST FOR SCOTLAND. N.d. *Newhailes House & Gardens*. Available: https://www.nts.org.uk/visit/places/newhailes. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

NATIONAL TRUST FOR SCOTLAND N.d. *Preston Mill & Phantassie Doocot*. Available: https://www.nts.org.uk/visit/places/preston-mill. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

NATIONAL TRUST FOR SCOTLAND. N.d. *The battle of Culloden*. Available: https://www.nts.org.uk/visit/places/culloden/the-battle-of-culloden. Accessed: 15 December 2022.

NORTIER, C. *Destinations being loved to death fight back*. Available: https://www.getaway.co.za/travel-news/destinations-loved-death-fight-back/. Accessed: 18 February 2019.

NOVEL ADVENTURES. 2023. *Novel Adventures*. Available: https://www.facebook.com/noveladventure/. Accessed: 15 December 2022.

POLYZOGOPOULOU, A. 22 January 2023. *Film-Induced Tourism: The Case of Game of Thrones and Dubrovnik*. Available: https://www.byarcadia.org/post/film-induced-tourism-the-case-of-game-of-thrones-and-dubrovnik. Accessed: 9 August 2023.

PRESS ASSOCIATION. 27 February 2019. *"Outlander effect" helps boost visitor numbers to Scotland's castles*. Available: https://www.pressandjournal.co.uk/news/scotland/1687246/outlander-effect-helps-boost-visitor-numbers-to-scotlands-castles/. Accessed: 27 February 2019.

RITCHIE, C. 15 January 2020, '*Disgusting' vandalism at Preston Mill causes £1,000 of damage.* Available: https://www.eastlothiancourier.com/news/18162258.disgusting-vandalism-preston-mill-causes-1-000-damage/. Accessed: 15 January 2020.

ROBERTSON, A. 2 May 2022. *Sam Heughan is a genuine star (and not just because of his acting) – Angus Robertson.* Available: https://www.edinburghnews.scotsman.com/news/opinion/columnists/sam-heughan-is-a-genuine-star-and-not-just-because-of-his-acting-angus-robertson-3677237. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

SCHWARTZ, A.B. 6 May 2015. *The infamous "War of the Worlds" radio broadcast was a magnificent fluke.* Available: https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/infamous-war-worlds-radio-broadcast-was-magnificent-fluke-180955180/. Accessed: 24 January 2022.

SCOTLAND'S CHURCHES TRUST. 2022. *Church overview*. Available: https://scotlandschurchestrust.org.uk/church/tibbermore-church/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

SKELLIG MICHAEL. 2023. *Star Wars on Skellig Michael*. Available: https://www.skelligmichael.com/star-wars/. Accessed: 9 August 2023.

SKELTON, S. 6 February 2016. *Bree and Roger brushing up on their Fraser history…* Available: https://twitter.com/SkeltonSophie/status/696039295820414980. Accessed: 15 December 2022.

SO MY FRIENDS AND I WERE IN MALTA LAST WEEK. SOME OF THE SCENERY LOOKED FAMILIAR. Available: https://www.facebook.com/BestofGameofThrones/photos/a.652975884758197.1073741828.652970264758652/1111298892259225/?type=3&theatre. Accessed: 8 October 2016.

SOUTH LANARKSHIRE LEISURE AND CULTURE SCIO. N.d. *Calderglen Country Park.* Available: https://www.slleisureandculture.co.uk/info/113/calderglen_country_park. Accessed: 30 July 2023

TCI RESEARCH. April 2018. *80 million international travellers influenced by films worldwide,* TCI Research newsletter.

THE FIERY CROSS. N.d. Available: https://outlander.fandom.com/wiki/The_Fiery_Cross. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

THE HOBBIT, MAMMA MIA, THE BEACH INSPIRE WANDERLUST. Available: http://www.stuff.co.nz/travel/ destinations/72370244/the-hobbit- mamma-mia- the-beach-inspire-wanderlust. Accessed: 25 September 2015.

THE NEWSROOM. 20 April 2015. *David Cameron 'met Sony over Outlander UK release'*. Available: https://www.scotsman.com/news/uk-news/david-cameron-met-sony-over-outlander-uk-release-1507098. Accessed: 9 August 2023.

THE NEWSROOM. 27 February 2019. *'Outlander effect' drives tourist surge as home-grown interest also booms.* Available: https://www.scotsman.com/business/companies/media-leisure/outlander-effect-drives-tourist-surge-as-home-grown-interest-also-booms-1-4880043. Accessed: 27 February 2019.

THE SCOTSMAN. 6 April 2015. *Outlander boost to Scottish tourism*. Available: https://www.scotsman.com/ lifestyle/travel/outlander-boost-to-scottish-tourism-1-3739460. Accessed: 14 September 2015.

THE SCOTSMAN. 4 December 2019. *Duolingo Scottish Gaelic app 'has more users than people who can speak language'.* Available: https://www.scotsman.com/news/people/duolingo-scottish-gaelic-app-has-more-users-than-people-who-can-speak-language-1400703. Accessed: 9 August 2023.

TOPHAM, G. 24 April 2003. *Harry Potter is wizard for tourism*. Available: http://www. guardian.co.uk/media/2003/apr/24/pressandpublishing.theharrypotterfilms. Accessed: 15 November 2010.

TVSCIENTIFIC. 2023. *The Big List of TV Viewership Statistics [Updated for 2023]*. Available: https://www.tvscientific.com/insight/tv-viewership-statistics#:~:text=Approximately%205.4%20billion%20people%20worldwide,minutes%20a%20day%20watching%20it.. Accessed: 18 September 2023.

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW. 28 June 2022. *University of Glasgow honorary degree for Outlander author*. Available: https://www.gla.ac.uk/news/headline_856196_en.html#:~:text=Dr%20Diana%20Gabaldon%2C%20the%20author,Glasgow%20for%20services%20to%20Literature. Accessed: 20 September 2023.

UNIVERSITY OF STIRLING. 13 February 2020. *Alumni Stories – Séverine Peyrichou.* Available: https://blog.stir.ac.uk/alumni-stories-severine-peyrichou/. Accessed: 18 September 2023.

UNWTO. N.d. *Glossary of tourism terms.* Available: https://www.unwto.org/glossary-tourism-terms. Accessed: 23 November 2021.

VIATOR. September 2013. *Game of Thrones Sites in Europe*. Available: http://www.viator.com/Europe-tourism/Game-of-Thrones-Sites-in-Europe/d6-t10684. Accessed: 25 October 2013.

VISITSCOTLAND. 6 March 2019. *Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism.* Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf. Accessed: March 2019.

VISITSCOTLAND. June 2022. *Insight Department: The Outlander effect & tourism* (updated)*.* Available: https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers/outlander-effect-2022-updated.pdf. Accessed: 30 July 2023.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Aberdour Castle.* Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Arniston House.* Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Bakehouse Close.* Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Blackness Castle.* Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Bo'Ness and Kinneil Railway.* Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Calderglen Country Park.* Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Callendar House.* Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Craigmillar Castle.* Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Culross.* Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Deanston Distillery.* Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Doune Castle.* Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/ see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Drumlanrig Castle.* Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/ see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Drummond Castle Gardens.* Available: https://www.visitscotland. com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Dunkeld House Hotel.* Available: https://www.visitscotland. com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Dunure Harbour & Castle.* Available: https://www.visitscotland. com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Dysart Harbour.* Available: https://www.visitscotland. com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Falkland.* Available: https://www.visitscotland. com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *'Fifie' Fishing Boat The Reaper.* Available: https://www. visitscotland. com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *George Square.* Available: https://www.visitscotland. com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Glasgow Cathedral.* Available: https://www.visitscotland. com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Glasgow University.* Available: https://www.visitscotland. com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Glen Coe.* Available: https://www.visitscotland. com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Gosford House.* Available: https://www.visitscotland. com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Gray Buchanan Park.* Available: https://www.visitscotland. com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Highland Folk Museum.* Available: https://www.visitscotland. com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Hopetoun House.* Available: https://www.visitscotland. com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Kelvingrove Park.* Available: https://www.visitscotland. com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Kinloch Rannoch.* Available: https://www.visitscotland. com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Linlithgow Palace.* Available: https://www.visitscotland. com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Loch Katrine.* Available: https://www.visitscotland. com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Muiravonside Country Park.* Available: https://www.visitscotland. com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Newhailes House.* Available: https://www.visitscotland. com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Pollok Country Park.* Available: https://www.visitscotland. com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Preston Mill.* Available: https://www.visitscotland. com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Signet Library.* Available: https://www.visitscotland. com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Stirling University.* Available: https://www.visitscotland. com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Troon.* Available: https://www.visitscotland. com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2022. *Tweeddale Court.* Available: https://www.visitscotland. com/see-do/ attractions/tv-film/outlander/. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2023. *Dean Castle Country Park.* Available: https://www.visitscotland. com/info/see-do/dean-castle-country-park-p293891. Accessed: 30 July 2023.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2023. *Falkland.* Available: https://www.visitscotland.com/info/towns-villages/falkland-p238941. Accessed: 30 July 2023.

VISITSCOTLAND. 2023. *Outlander film locations.* Available: http://static.visitscotland. com/pdf/outlander-film-locations.pdf. Accessed: 30 July 2023.

VOYAGER. N.d. Available: https://outlander.fandom.com/wiki/Voyager. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

WALTON, J.K. "Tourism and History", in *Contemporary Tourism Reviews*. Available: http://www.goodfellowpublishers.com/free_files/Contemporary-Tourism-Review-City-History-Tourism-e276893ee07b5b6ed16c292b6c73475f.pdf. Accessed: 6 May 2016.

WARDLAW MAUSOLEUM. N.d. *Wardlaw Mausoleum.* Available: http://wardlawmausoleum.com/. Accessed: 15 December 2022.

WARDLAW MAUSOLEUM. 6 February 2016. *The Old Fox's Great Granddaughter Bree and her husband Roger paying their respects!* Available: https://twitter.com/WardlawMaus/status/696088159671738368. Accessed: 15 December 2022.

WARDLAW MAUSOLEUM. 26 August 2018. *We were honoured to have Clive Russel, who played Simon Lord Lovat in @Outlander_STARZ out at the mausoleum today.* Available: https://twitter.com/WardlawMaus/status/1033781733882298369. Accessed: 15 December 2022

WEST LOTHIAN COUNCIL. 2 February 2022. *A brief history of Beecraigs Country Park.* Available: https://www.westlothian.gov.uk/media/1346/History-of-Beecraigs/pdf/20220202_beecraigs-history.pdf?m=637794074971870000#:~:text=In%201914%2C%20the%20reservoir%2C%20now,using%20a%20winch%2D%20powered%20railway. Accessed: 30 July 2023.

WILSON, L. 24 March 2019. *Outlander's Diana Gabaldon: The story of the First Lady of Lallybroch.* Available: https://www.thenational.scot/news/17522123.outlanders-diana-gabaldon-story-first-lady-lallybroch/. Accessed: 29 June 2023.

WRITTEN IN MY OWN HEART'S BLOOD. N.d. Available: https://outlander.fandom.com/wiki/Written_in_My_Own_Heart%27s_Blood. Accessed: 14 May 2022.

CONFERENCES, TALKS, INTERVIEWS, AND SITE VISITS

BLACKNESS CASTLE. 4 August 2018. Site visit by researcher. Blackness, Linlithgow, EH49 7NH, United Kingdom.

CULLODEN BATTLEFIELD. 26 August 2016. Site visit by researcher. Culloden Battlefield, Inverness, IV2 5EU, United Kingdom.

DALY, A. 22 July 2023. "A love letter to Scotland: heritage through the lens of Outlander". Roundtable discussion at the *Outlander Conference Glasgow*, University of Glasgow, 18-22 July 2023.

DOUNE CASTLE. 12 August 2018. Site visit by researcher. Doune Castle, Doune, FK16 6EA, United Kingdom.

EDGINGTON, H. Personal interview as Senior Filming Locations Manager, National Trust, 2016-11-25.

GABALDON, D. 18 July 2023. "Why Scotland? Why not Mexico? Genes, borders, culture and fiction: why they matter and when they don't". Plenary Presentation at the *Outlander Conference Glasgow*, University of Glasgow, 18-22 July 2023.

HIGHCLERE CASTLE. 12 April 2002. Site visit by researcher. Highclere Park, Newbury, RG20 9RN, United Kingdom.

HOPETOUN HOUSE. 4 August 2018. Site visit by researcher. Hopetoun House, South Queensferry, EH30 9RW, United Kingdom.

PITTMAN, B., BAKER, C. AND WOO, D. 19 November 2021. "Fraser's footsteps: a North Carolina travelogue". Talk presented during the Wake County Public Libraries celebration event *Outlander: Kilts in Carolina* (for the launch of Diana Gabaldon's *Go Tell The Bees That I Am Gone*).

PITTOCK, M.G.H. 19 July 2023. "What happened at Culloden and what happened next?". Plenary presentation at the *Outlander Conference Glasgow*, University of Glasgow, 18-22 July 2023.

PITTOCK, M.G.H. 19 July 2023. "Writing history – between fact and fiction". Roundtable discussion at the *Outlander Conference Glasgow*, University of Glasgow, 18-22 July 2023.

SINCLAIR, G. 25 August 2023. Email interview: graeme.sinclair@hes.scot.

STEELE, J. Personal interview as Film and Creative Industries Manager at VisitScotland, 2016-08-23.

VISITBRITAIN. 24 November 2016. "Welcome address". Presentation at *Seen on Screen: The International Screen Tourism Conference 2016*, London (UK), 24 November 2016.

OTHER MEDIA

MEN IN KILTS: A ROADTRIP WITH SAM AND GRAHAM, season 1. Directed by Kevin Johnston. First aired February 14, 2021.

MEN IN KILTS: A ROADTRIP WITH SAM AND GRAHAM, season 1, episode 3, "Song and Dance". Directed by Kevin Johnston. First aired February 28, 2021.

OUTLANDER, season 1, episode 1, "Sassenach". Directed by John Dahl. First aired August 9, 2014. Available (in South Africa) https://www.netflix.com/za/title/70285581.

OUTLANDER, season 1, episode 6, "The Garrison Commander". Directed by Brian Kelly.

    First aired September 13, 2014. Available (in South Africa)

    https://www.netflix.com/za/title/ 70285581.

ANNEXURE

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Humanities 100.
——— 1919 - 2019 ———
Department of Historical
& Heritage Studies

_____ 2019

Letter of Introduction and Informed Consent

I, Charlene Herselman (student no. 04420497), am currently enrolled for a Doctoral degree in Heritage and Cultural Studies at the University of Pretoria. I am doing a dissertation entitled "The Past is a Destination: *Outlander* and Film Tourism at Historical Heritage Sites". For a component of the research for this study, I need to complete field research which will take the form of open-ended interviews with individuals in their professional capacity with first-hand knowledge relevant to this study. This will form part of my primary research as oral evidence and complies with the accepted standards within the academic fraternity. I hereby wish to obtain permission to interview you.

Your input will be acknowledged according to the referencing system prescribed by the Department of Historical and Heritage Studies. If specifically requested, participants may request for their identities to remain confidential. Your interview will be recorded electronically and/or in writing and will be stored in electronic format for a period of 15 years in compliance with the policy of the University's Faculty of Humanities. This material may also be used for further research by the candidate. Your participation is entirely voluntary and you may choose to withdraw from the interview at any stage. I thank you for your willingness to participate in this study.

Yours sincerely,

_____
Charlene Herselman
Tel: +27722340481
Email: charlene.herselman@up.ac.za

_____
I, _____ (the undersigned) agree to participate in the research project of Charlene Herselman (student number 04420497) at the University of Pretoria.
I have read his letter of introduction and agree that my information may be acknowledged according to the prescribed Departmental footnote reference system.

	I give permission for my name to be used in this research.
	I wish for my identity to be kept confidential.

Signed _____   Date _____