

**FROM 'LOGGING CAPITAL' TO 'TOURISM PHENOMENON':  
THE IMPACT OF LITERARY TOURISM ON FORKS, WA., UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

by

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From 'Logging Capital' to 'Tourism Phenomenon':  
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***Disclaimer***

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## List of abbreviations

ATLAS	Association for Leisure and Tourism Education
BCE	Before Common Era
NPS	National Parks Service
ONP	Olympic National Park
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
WA	Washington State
WTO	World Tourism Organisation

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## Summary

Literary tourism refers to any travel inspired by literature. This dissertation considers literary tourism from the perspective of a contemporary literary tourism attraction. It investigates the origins of literary tourism both in the historical context as well as in academic writing as interdisciplinary research between geography and literature. The current state of literary tourism research is also considered and the main research themes at present are identified, that is, authenticity and who the literary tourists are. This study also considers what the future might hold for literary tourism by looking at popular contemporary examples, including the works of J.K. Rowling, G.R.R. Martin, J.R.R. Tolkien, Dan Brown, Stieg Larsson and L.J. Smith. In this context, literary tourism's reciprocal relationship with film tourism is unpacked. This dissertation then moves on to discuss the main focus of this investigation. A mere decade ago, the world was unaware of a book series called *The Twilight Saga* by Stephenie Meyer. Yet in a few short years, the literary tourism associated with this series has turned a small town in northwest Washington State into a tourism phenomenon. This study considers the development, extent and impact of literary tourism on this town, called Forks. It also considers other literary and film tourism sites associated with *The Twilight Saga* to show the vast range of the impact literature can have on tourism.

## Keywords

Literary tourism, film tourism, vampire tourism, The Twilight Saga, Stephenie Meyer, Forks, Washington, heritage and cultural tourism, authenticity

## CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

*“A reader lives a thousand lives before he dies. The man who never reads lives only one.”*

***George R.R. Martin in A Song of Ice and Fire*<sup>1</sup>**

Literature is a form of travel, albeit in imaginary form. When readers pick up a book, they immediately travel to another place, whether it is to Narnia or New York. Readers can travel to myriad places during these ‘thousand lives’ through their imagination. It is not hard to imagine that readers, when they have the means, may be inspired by the literature to travel to the real place where a favourite story is set, or where a favourite author may have lived. And when these imaginary journeys are realized, we start speaking of literary tourism: travel inspired by literature.

Readers can visit the places where a novel is set and vast amounts of time may be spent trying to locate these landscapes, since settings are often very well disguised. An example of this is Thomas Hardy’s Wessex, which is based on the real Dorset in England. Readers can also visit an attraction that was specifically developed and based on some fictional world from a novel, like the *Harry Potter* theme park at Universal Studios’ Orlando resort in Florida, United States of America (USA). Lastly, readers can pay homage by visiting the birthplace, home, haunts and the eventual grave of a favourite author, or a monument or shrine dedicated to the author. A stellar example of this would be 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.

This dissertation looks at all the facets of the remarkable phenomenon that is literary tourism. Some scholars maintain that literary tourism goes so far back in time as the religious pilgrimages of ancient times. After all, the pilgrims of old did read wonderful stories in their holy scriptures and then sought to see the places mentioned in these scriptures for obligatory religious reasons, or due to fervent interest. This dissertation will look at this development of literary tourism, from its origins in ancient times to its humble academic beginnings as a field of interdisciplinary study between geography and literature to its future, seemingly tied to film tourism. The remarkable development of a literary tourism destination and the economic benefits of this form of tourism will be discussed through the case study of Forks, Washington State (WA) in the United States of America, associated with the populist *Twilight Saga* by author Stephenie Meyer.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> G.R.R. Martin, *A Dance with Dragons 1: Dreams and Dust*, p. 526.

<sup>2</sup> S. Meyer, *Twilight*; S. Meyer, *New Moon*; S. Meyer, *Eclipse*; S. Meyer, *Breaking Dawn*.

The dissertation is divided into six chapters. After this brief introduction, definitions will be discussed for relevant concepts, including tourism, heritage, culture, heritage tourism, cultural tourism, literary tourism, film tourism, and vampire tourism. In chapter two, literary tourism will be discussed in depth. This chapter includes a literature review looking at the origins of literary tourism in the disciplines of geography and literature, and also the current state of literary tourism research by reviewing the most important literature on the topic and identifying the main themes studied in literary tourism research, that is, authenticity and who visits different literary sites. The development of a literary tourism site will also be explored. The future of literary tourism will be considered by looking at contemporary examples of literary tourism that have proven extremely popular. This chapter will also investigate the extremely important and reciprocal relationship between literary and film tourism as a possible and viable avenue of future research.

Chapter three provides contextual background for the case study. The quartet of novels, the author and the film franchise associated with *The Twilight Saga* will be discussed. This will also highlight the phenomenal success of this series of books. In chapter four the focus moves to the case study itself, the town of Forks. This chapter will provide an introduction and history of Forks. The history can be divided into four periods, namely Quileute history; pioneers, homesteads and farming; the 'Logging Capital of the World'; and the advent of tourism. The remainder of the chapter will consider the arrival of *Twilight* in Forks and what *Twilight* attractions are available for visitors. Finally, this chapter will also include a look at other sites associated with *The Twilight Saga* books, including Port Angeles, and filming locations, including Vancouver in Canada, Montepulciano in Italy and Portland in Oregon.

In chapter five a synthesis of the theory of literary tourism and the case study of Forks will be provided. It will discuss how Forks has fared in terms of the traditional criteria of evaluating a literary tourism site, as well as what information this very popular form of literary tourism can provide for us about the future of literary tourism. Chapter six is the closing chapter and will provide the concluding remarks of this dissertation.

## 1.1 Definitions and concepts

Literary tourism forms part of the larger heritage and cultural tourism sector. Before we can go on to look at the definition of literary tourism itself, it may be useful to first gain an understanding of the much broader concepts of 'tourism', 'culture' and 'heritage'.

The concept of tourism is a complicated one to define. Not only are there many different definitions to choose from, but there are different ways and different purposes for defining tourism. According to the *Reader's Digest Great Illustrated Dictionary*, tourism can be defined 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.<sup>3</sup> In addition to this distinction, tourism definitions can also either be conceptual or technical, which enable the volume and value of tourism to be measured.<sup>4</sup> Conceptual definitions can be very wide-ranging. For example, the Institute of Tourism in the United Kingdom in 1976 defined tourism as "the temporary short-term movement of people to destinations outside the places where they normally live and work, and activities during their stay at these destinations; it includes movement for all purposes, as well as day visits and excursions."<sup>5</sup> Conceptual definitions of tourism then focus on the idea of trips or excursions away from the normal place of residence, involving at least an overnight stay. It also maintains that tourism usually occurs in specially designated blocks of time. It is true that tourism can be interwoven with other activities such as business trips, but it predominantly takes the form of a single-purpose holiday.<sup>6</sup>

The World Tourism Organization (WTO) created a technical definition and it is still the most widely accepted definition of the concept 'tourism'. It defined tourism as "the activities of persons during their travel and stay in a place outside their usual place of residence, for a continuous period of less than one year, for leisure, business or other purposes".<sup>7</sup> It is this definition and its reference to leisure that relates best to the focus of this dissertation.

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<sup>3</sup> *Reader's Digest Great Illustrated Dictionary*, p. 1748.

<sup>4</sup> S.L.J. Smith, Defining Tourism, A Supply-Side View, *Annals of Tourism Research* 15(2), 1988, pp.179-190.

<sup>5</sup> J.C. Holloway, *The Business of Tourism*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>6</sup> D.T. Herbert, Heritage Places, Leisure and Tourism, in D.T. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> G. Richards (ed.), *Cultural Tourism in Europe*, p. 20.

Culture is one of the most difficult concepts to define in any study, simply because it has an interminable number of meanings.<sup>8</sup> Culture is regarded as “learned behaviour acquired by individuals as members of a social group”.<sup>9</sup> Culture is also “that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society”.<sup>10</sup> It includes the activities associated with everyday life, such as etiquette and food habits, as well as the refined arts of a society. It can also be considered as the sum total of human knowledge and acquired behaviour of humankind, and may also refer to the general symbol system of society.<sup>11</sup> J. Tomlinson notes that many definitions of culture exist, which would indicate that culture is a large and all-encompassing concept that can accommodate all these definitions.<sup>12</sup>

To Tomlinson, the solution then is not to seek a one-size-fits-all definition for such a vast concept, but to rather consider the different ways in which the concept is used.<sup>13</sup> R. Williams has identified three broad contemporary ways in which culture is used, namely:

- As a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development;
- As a particular way of life; and
- As the works and practices of intellectual and artistic activities.<sup>14</sup>

Culture may also be defined as either a process or a product. The notion of culture as a process originated in the disciplines of anthropology and sociology and has to do with how people give meaning and make sense of themselves.<sup>15</sup> The notion of culture as a product comes from the field of literary criticism, where culture is regarded as the product of an individual or group and meaning is attached to this product. Culture may finally also be categorized as elitist high culture or mass popular culture, and may include tangible (material culture) and intangible (spiritual culture) elements.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> M.K. Smith, *Issues in Cultural Tourism Studies*, pp. 9-11; P. Burns, *An Introduction to Tourism and Anthropology*, pp. 55-66.

<sup>9</sup> *Grolier Academic Encyclopedia*, p. 384.

<sup>10</sup> E.B. Tylor, *Primitive culture: researches into the development of mythology, philosophy, religion language, art, and custom*, p.1.

<sup>11</sup> E.T. Hall, *Beyond Culture*.

<sup>12</sup> J. Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism: a Critical Introduction*, p.4.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> R. Williams, *Keywords: a Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, p. 91.

<sup>15</sup> G. Richards (ed.), *Cultural Tourism in Europe*.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

Not unlike many keywords in tourism and other research fields, the term 'heritage' is also a challenging one to define. Put simply, heritage refers to something of value that may be inherited. Quite frequently with definitions of this concept, the issue of ownership arises: whose heritage are we talking about? Heritage can be personal, like familial heritage, or communal, like national heritage. According to E.T. Hall, "heritage is a network of interrelated elements, tangible and intangible, natural and cultural (human), personal and collective".<sup>17</sup> Heritage may also mean different things to different people, which indicate that a value judgment is involved when evaluating heritage. For example, a historical monument that may be of great heritage value to one person might be of no value to another.

The most widely used definition of heritage was posited by the National Heritage Conference held in 1983 in the United Kingdom and it defined heritage as: "That which a past generation has preserved and handed on to the present and which a significant group of the population wishes to hand on to the future."<sup>18</sup> Heritage products are remarkably similar to cultural products and may vary in size from historical artifacts to massive monuments. J.S. Swarbrooke argues that heritage in the context of tourism refers to the history, culture and the land on which people live. This includes both tangible and intangible elements: historic buildings and monuments; sites of important past events, like battles; traditional landscapes; indigenous wildlife; language, literature, music and art; traditional events and folklore practices; and traditional lifestyles, including food, drink and sport.<sup>19</sup>

So far we have considered what 'tourism', 'culture' and 'heritage' mean as individual concepts, but what is the relationship of heritage and culture to tourism? With regard to cultural tourism, the European Association for Leisure and Tourism Education (ATLAS) provides both process-based and product-based definitions of cultural tourism. The product-based definition was considered to be necessary for the measurement of cultural tourism, whereas the process-based definition sought to explain cultural tourism as an activity.<sup>20</sup> The conceptual (process-based) definition states that cultural tourism is: "The movement of persons to cultural attractions away from their normal place of residence, with the intention of gathering new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs." On the other hand, the technical (product-based) definition reads: "All movements

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<sup>17</sup> E.T. Hall, *Beyond Culture*.

<sup>18</sup> R. Hewison, 'Heritage: an interpretation', p. 16.

<sup>19</sup> J.S. Swarbrooke, *The future heritage attractions*, p. 222.

<sup>20</sup> G. Richards (ed.), *Cultural Tourism in Europe*, p. 23.

of persons to specific cultural attractions, such as heritage sites, artistic and cultural manifestations, arts and drama outside their normal place of residence.”<sup>21</sup>

G. Richards also provides a list to illustrate typical examples of cultural tourism attractions. These include:

- Archaeological museums and sites;
- Architecture (famous buildings, ruins and whole towns);
- Arts, crafts, sculpture, galleries, events and festivals;
- Music and dance;
- Drama (films, theatre and dramatists);
- Language and literature study, events and tours;
- Pilgrimages and religious festivals; and
- Complete cultures and sub-cultures.<sup>22</sup>

In the past, most of these cultural activities could be described as ‘high culture’, that is, being enjoyed by an elitist minority. Yet the scope of cultural tourism is widening to include ‘popular culture’ as well, and there is a growing need to make cultural tourism attractions as accessible as possible to draw as many visitors as possible. This trend is causing the boundary between high and popular culture to become less distinguishable.

Another shift occurred when cultural tourism became more ‘active’. Cultural tourism no longer only represents passive consumption, that is, *only looking* at monuments and museums, paintings, or theatre productions. Many tourists increasingly want to *participate* in activities. Therefore, M.K. Smith suggests the following definition for cultural tourism: “Passive, active and interactive engagement with cultures and communities, whereby the visitor gains new experiences of an educational, creative and/or entertaining nature.”<sup>23</sup> For the purpose of this dissertation, the following definition of cultural tourism will be utilized: “Cultural tourism could be defined as tourism that focuses on cultural attractions, activities and practices as major motivating factors for travel.”<sup>24</sup>

Cultural tourism can be divided into sub-sectors, and one such field is heritage tourism. Heritage tourism can be defined as travel focusing on historic attractions, buildings and objects, as well as

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>23</sup> M.K. Smith, *Issues in Global Cultural Tourism*, p. 23.

<sup>24</sup> M.K. Smith *et al.*, *Key Concepts in Tourist Studies*, p. 30.

intangible forms of culture such as the traditions and lifestyles of communities.<sup>25</sup> Heritage attractions may include the following:

- Built heritage attractions, such as monuments, historic buildings, architecture, archaeological sites;
- Natural heritage attractions, such as national parks, landscapes, coastlines or caves;
- Religious heritage attractions, such as churches, cathedrals, temples, mosques, synagogues, pilgrimage routes and cities;
- Industrial heritage attractions, such as mines, factories and industrial landscapes;
- Literary heritage attractions, such as houses or hometowns of famous writers;
- Artistic heritage attractions, such as the landscapes and environments which inspired artists; and
- Cultural heritage attractions, such as traditional festivals, events, dance or folk museums.<sup>26</sup>

While most authors prefer to keep heritage and cultural tourism separate, it is recognized here that the differences, if they exist at all, are subtle. In *Cultural Heritage and Tourism: an Introduction*, published in 2011, D.J. Timothy suggested the composite term cultural heritage tourism, or cultural and heritage tourism, could be used interchangeably.<sup>27</sup> W. Jamieson also defines cultural tourism and heritage tourism as a merged concept. Jamieson points out that cultural heritage tourism, defined as “travel concerned with experiencing the visual and performing arts, heritage buildings, areas, landscapes, and special lifestyles, values, traditions and events”, has become a key influence within the tourism industry.<sup>28</sup> For Jamieson, cultural heritage tourism includes most of the categories of attractions mentioned above by M.K. Smith *et al.* and Richards, but he adds the following: gastronomy, ‘sense of place’, ‘the nature of the work environment and technology, education, and dress.’<sup>29</sup>

In the past few years, an infinite number of special interest tourisms have developed.<sup>30</sup> Termed “niche tourisms” by M. Novelli, cultural tourism was one of these, which then consequently

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

<sup>27</sup> D.J. Timothy, *Cultural Heritage and Tourism*, p. 6.

<sup>28</sup> W. Jamieson, Cultural Heritage Tourism Planning and development: defining the field and its challenges, *APT Bulletin* 29(3/4), 1998, pp. 65-67.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>30</sup> N. Douglas, N. Douglas and R. Derrett (eds.), *Special interest tourism*.

continued to split into ever more niches. Literary and film tourism are two of the niche tourisms that form part of the larger heritage and cultural tourism industry.<sup>31</sup>

In defining literary places, D.T. Herbert claims they are a “fusion of the real worlds in which the writers lived with the worlds portrayed in the novels.” He also states that visitors are unlikely to make any distinction between the two in their minds.<sup>32</sup> K.A. Smith agrees that two broad types of literary attractions can be identified: ‘real-life’ and ‘imagined’ places. Focusing on real-life places, she explains that they have some connection to the author’s life, and can be connected to different stages in that author’s lifetime. Birthplaces are often of particular interest to visitors since they provide clues to the background of the author and give an indication of the author’s social standing before they became famous. The place where the author chose to live as an adult, on the other hand, is a reflection of his/her interests and desires.<sup>33</sup>

Following K. Marsh, K.A. Smith also distinguishes between places made famous for their literary connotations, and places that are famous despite their prominent literary associations. The latter includes buildings that are important out of their own right, like fine pieces of architecture. These buildings have an architectural and historical value, in addition to the association with an author. On the other hand there are also those properties that would not have survived had it not been for their association with a famous writer. In this regard, it is the person, not the place, that is of importance and interesting vernacular architecture that would otherwise have been lost have been preserved.<sup>34</sup>

The second group of literary places is the one associated with the writer’s works, the so-called ‘imagined places’. Some imagined places can have their origins in the real world, for example Hardy’s Wessex is a fictional region, but based on the real Dorset. Other locations may be more difficult to uncover. I. Ousby writes that:

[writers]... frustrate the literal-minded researcher by moving real places across the country in obedience to imaginative requirements, by conflating several into

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<sup>31</sup> M. Novelli, *Niche Tourism: Contemporary Issues, Trends and Cases*.

<sup>32</sup> D.T. Herbert, ‘Heritage as Literary Place’, p. 33.

<sup>33</sup> K.A. Smith, *Literary Enthusiasts as Visitors and Volunteers*, p. 84.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84; K. Marsh, *Writers and Their Houses*.

one composite fictional entity, or simply by inventing a single place to epitomise the character of a whole terrain.<sup>35</sup>

To this, M.K. Smith *et al.* have added a third category in the form of a socially constructed site. These sites have been deliberately created in order to attract visitors. Literary theme parks, literary trails and book and literary towns qualify under this category. These destinations promote their association with famous authors and/or literary works and allow the site to develop a vast range of themed visitor attractions.<sup>36</sup>

For the purposes of this dissertation, I will use the very comprehensive definition proposed by M.K. Smith *et al.*:

Literary tourism describes tourism activity that is motivated by interest in an author, a literary creation or setting, or the literary heritage of a destination. Literary tourism has a number of dimensions: [t]ourists enjoy visiting birthplaces, burial sites, museums, literary trails and other sites associated with authors and literary creations.<sup>37</sup>

To this can be added an aspect mentioned by S.J. Squire. She defined literary tourism as that which is “associated with places celebrated for literary depictions and/or connections with literary figures”. According to K.A. Smith, her use of the word ‘celebrated’ indicates that some form of tourism promotion and management has been applied. Thus literary tourist sites can also be promoted and marketed for their literary connections, just as any other tourist attraction chooses to market its main attraction points.<sup>38</sup> It is thus firmly part of the heritage and cultural tourism *industry*.

Film tourism has been investigated under several designations: from movie-induced tourism and film-induced tourism to media-based tourism and cinematic tourism.<sup>39</sup> Film tourism can be 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”;<sup>40</sup> or as “visitation to sites where movies or TV programmes have been filmed as well as tours to production studios, including film-related

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<sup>35</sup> K.A. Smith, *Literary Enthusiasts as Visitors and Volunteers*, p. 85.

<sup>36</sup> M.K. Smith *et al.*, *Key Concepts in Tourist Studies*, p. 110-111.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>38</sup> K.A. Smith, *Literary Enthusiasts as Visitors and Volunteers*, p. 85.

<sup>39</sup> M.K. Smith *et al.*, *Key Concepts in Tourist Studies*, pp. 71-74.

<sup>40</sup> S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, p. 6.

theme parks”.<sup>41</sup> M.K. Smith *et al.* curiously employ the term film and TV tourism, even though it is assumed by other authors that film tourism is an all-encompassing term, including film and television in its scope. In addition, they point out an interesting aspect in that film tourism can also include visits to sites associated with film or television characters and celebrities.<sup>42</sup> 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).<sup>43</sup>

They assert that this type of 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.<sup>44</sup> Thus, film tourism has an important inherent aspect of destination marketing and promotion – it is like an advertisement (oftentimes more vivid and accessible than reading a book that could inspire literary tourism) 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 organizations and local film commissions to encourage the use of local sites for filming, as well as publicizing the resulting productions.<sup>45</sup>

For the purposes of this dissertation, film tourism will be viewed as an offshoot and subset of literary tourism. Literary tourism is the main focus of this study, but it will also take cognizance of literary tourism’s relationship with film tourism, since films and film tourism play an integral role in the promotion of literature and literary tourism, and vice versa. It is also almost impossible in most cases to separate the effects of the one from the other.

Another niche closely related to literary and film tourism is ‘vampire tourism’. This is of particular significance to the case study of this dissertation. Arguably, the most renowned example of vampire tourism is found in Transylvania and is related to Bram Stoker’s novel, *Dracula*, as well as

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<sup>41</sup> S. Beeton, *Film-induced tourism*, p. 11.

<sup>42</sup> M.K. Smith *et al.*, *Key Concepts in Tourist Studies*, p. 71.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

the numerous related and unrelated films and novels that were inspired by this classic vampire. Another example is the vampire tourism in New Orleans, associated with Anne Rice's *Vampire Chronicles*, which features a series of books, as well as two films: *Interview with a Vampire* and *Queen of the Damned*. The case study in this dissertation also provides an excellent example. The success of Stephenie Meyer's *The Twilight Saga* as regards the development of tourism to Forks, was initially only related to the success of the books. This has however been hugely augmented by the release of the films based on the novels.

No viable definition of vampire tourism appears to be evident. This is probably due to the fact that vampire tourism can be regarded as a combined form of both literary and film tourism. Most vampires are either literary or film figures, or both. Put simply though, vampire tourism involves travel to any location associated with vampires found in films or literature, or to locations where historical evidence or significant speculation exists of individuals associated with vampirism.<sup>46</sup> It can be argued that the whole concept of vampire tourism is one that embraces both the physical location, or landscape, as well as the realm of the imagination. To misquote J. Urry's concept of the 'tourist gaze', one can, in the context of this study, refer to this phenomenon as a process whereby the tourists' imagination/imaging of the supernatural realm in the text or film is transferred onto the landscape of reality, a "convergence of the popular imagination and the 'tourist gaze'".<sup>47</sup> The 'tourist gaze' is in this instance complicated further as another interpretive filter is placed over the landscape to be perceived, decoded and consumed.<sup>48</sup>

From the above, it is clear that literary tourism refers to travel inspired by literature. But literary tourism does not just end there and can borrow from and interact with numerous other tourism fields and niches, from culture to heritage to film. Literary tourism and all its facets are examined in detail in the next chapter.

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<sup>46</sup> C. Herselman, "Under a near-constant cover of clouds": the rise of a literary tourism attraction in Forks, Washington, USA, p. 6.

<sup>47</sup> S. Reijnders, Stalking the Count: Dracula, Fandom and Tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research* 38(1), 2011, p. 233.

<sup>48</sup> J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*.

## CHAPTER 2 – LITERARY TOURISM

Literary tourism is a very recent and fairly young field of study. This is perhaps as a result of the fact that tourism studies itself is relatively new. Tourism research only really started appearing in the 1970s, with a definite increase in publications from the 1980s onwards. This chapter aims to provide a brief literature overview of literary tourism. Firstly, it will look at the history of literary tourism, both in terms of academic writing on the subject, which originated as interdisciplinary research between geography and literature studies, as well as the actual history of literary tourism, from pilgrimages to its heyday during the Grand Tour. The chapter will also discuss the current state and focus of literary tourism research. In the last section, the future of literary tourism will be considered by looking at viable options of contemporary literary tourism for prospective research. Literary tourism's mutually beneficial relationship with film tourism will also be considered.

### 2.1. The genesis of literary tourism

Literary tourism has a long history. Some academics maintain that the religious pilgrimages of old were forms of literary tourism and D. MacCannell even suggested that the original tours were actually religious pilgrimages.<sup>1</sup> At a more conservative estimate, H. Hendrix traces the earliest known occurrence of literary tourism practices to the Ancient Roman world. Cicero (106-43 BCE) wrote of his reverence for writers' tombs in *De legibus*,<sup>2</sup> and after his death in 19 BCE, Virgil's tomb outside Naples was reportedly a great tourist attraction.<sup>3</sup> From the time of the European Grand Tour in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, literature has been a particularly powerful inspiration for travel.<sup>4</sup> Yet despite this ancient lineage, literary tourism as a research field had to wait until the latter half of the twentieth century to receive widespread acclaim and acceptance.

The origins of academic writing on literary tourism may be traced to endeavours of interdisciplinary research between the older, more established and traditional disciplines of literature and geography, specifically humanistic and cultural geography. As a consequence, professional

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<sup>1</sup> D. MacCannell, Staged authenticity: arrangements of social space in tourist settings, *The American Journal of Sociology* 79(3), 1973, pp. 589-603. See also S. Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism*; D.T. Herbert, Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001, pp. 312-333; I. Ousby, *The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism*; and L. Miller, *The Brontë Myth*.

<sup>2</sup> H. Hendrix, From Early Modern to Romantic literary tourism: a Diachronical Perspective, in N.J. Watson (ed.), *Literary Tourism and the Nineteenth-Century Culture*.

<sup>3</sup> N.J. Watson, *The Literary Tourist: Readers and Places in Romantic and Victorian Britain*.

<sup>4</sup> J. Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*; J. Towner, The Grand Tour: a Key Phase in the History of Tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research* 12(3), 1985, pp. 297-333.

geographers, literary critics and even creative writers most often did this type of research. Much of their research was preoccupied with defending the validity of the use of literary sources in geography, while also demonstrating how literature studies could benefit from the geographer's input in locating landscapes mentioned in novels.

According to C.L. Salter and W.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.<sup>5</sup> Yet by 1977, when Salter and Lloyd were writing their resource paper for tertiary-level geography on the use of literature in geography, this use of literature had as yet not made its way into mainstream geography as “a supplemental and special source of landscape insight”.<sup>6</sup> The bulk of their research paper defends and highlights the use of literary landscape in geography. According to them, literature is by nature ‘evocative’ and geographers may benefit from capturing this power of literature and directing it towards a better understanding of humanized cultural landscapes. They explain that the main reason for the resistance to the use of literature by geographers in the past is that literature appears “too ‘unscientific’, too personal and subjective”.<sup>7</sup> And yet, some geographers were increasingly finding themselves dissatisfied with the insensitive and ineffective observations of the purely scientific approach to geography, instead turning to “humanistic geography”, also known as human geography.<sup>8</sup>

It was argued by Salter and Lloyd that the ideal would be to use the more sensitive environmental perception and appreciation of the writer, but to take caution as regards *how* literature is used in geography, recognizing its strengths as well as its limitations. They also provide a handy guide in their paper on how to achieve this. For example, geography cannot just find recourse to the discipline of literature's use of content or structural analysis, as that would dilute the strength of the literature.<sup>9</sup> Yet when literature is indeed used in order to add landscape data to geography, one should bear in mind that the authors of creative literature are under no obligation to keep to any disciplinary rules.<sup>10</sup> However, authors generally tend to be reasonably accurate when they locate their stories in identifiable time-space contexts, otherwise the credibility of their work may suffer.<sup>11</sup> An author's accuracy in representing landscape need not always occupy such an important place

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<sup>5</sup> C.L. Salter and W.J. Lloyd, *Landscape in Literature*, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

in the studies of landscape in literature. Salter and Lloyd cite ‘fantasy’ or ‘futuristic fiction’ and ‘metaphoric and symbolic meanings’ as notable exceptions. They even contend that each of these can also add to the geographic understanding of a landscape, but caution that although this “esoteric realm of symbolic landscape meaning” is even more difficult to work with than ordinary literature, yet it should not be ignored.<sup>12</sup> Ultimately, we as humans are responsible for the way in which we view our world. Much of this view is shaped by literature. The authors make a compelling case for the use of literature as a means of enlightening certain less accessible parts of the geographic discipline.

In his 1981 edited volume on human geography and literature, D.C.D. Pocock writes that geographers value imaginative literature as an alternative way of gaining insight into humanity’s relationship with their environment with specific reference to the “experience of place”.<sup>13</sup> This author is again preoccupied with defending the validity of using literature in geography and also includes a few case studies demonstrating its usefulness. Pocock emphasizes that it is not only geography that benefits from a closer relationship with literature, but that students of literature can also gain great benefits by making use of geography.<sup>14</sup> He firmly believes that literature has a place in geographic research, since “literature is universal and speaks to the human condition, [thus] it cannot belong exclusively to students of literature”.<sup>15</sup> He also highlights the importance of place to literature – in novels, events ‘take place’.<sup>16</sup> The location of a landscape can sometimes be so important in a work of creative fiction that it is almost a ‘character’ itself. He acknowledges that the “contemporary influence of imaginative literature as a source of environmental knowledge might be questioned in view of the small part it constitutes of the vast, heterogeneous output in the field of publications”, but immediately dismisses that notion as due to the influence of visual media and the “popular arts”, literature is receiving wider distribution than ever.<sup>17</sup>

Another significant contribution in this volume looks specifically at how literature can help shape tourist taste. P.T. Newby writes that there can be no doubt that in some instances writers have

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<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>13</sup> D.C.D. Pocock, Preface, in D.C.D. Pocock (ed.), *Humanistic Geography and Literature: Essays on the Experience of Place*, p. i.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. i.

<sup>15</sup> D.C.D. Pocock, Introduction: Imaginative Literature and the Geographer, in D.C.D. Pocock (ed.), *Humanistic Geography and Literature: Essays on the Experience of Place*, p. 9.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

helped establish a tourist attraction.<sup>18</sup> He elaborates on this view by looking at how specific authors have shaped touristic tastes in the Lake District in Britain, the French Riviera and the Mediterranean, by considering authors such as William Wordsworth, F. Scott Fitzgerald and Lawrence Durrell respectively. Wordsworth's poetry praised the natural world, specifically landscapes of mountains and lakes, which encouraged the development of scenic tourism in the Lake District. Scott Fitzgerald influenced tourist tastes, mainly through the publication of *Tender is the Night* in 1934, by taking the American idea of a beach holiday, transporting it to the European location of the French Riviera and popularizing a season of the year, in this case summer. Durrell's influence owed much to the fact that the popular style at the time had become too widely available. He then popularized the Greek islands and introduced the exoticism of native life. Newby again acknowledges that literature has not been traditionally accepted in the geographer's toolkit to analyze economic and social events and trends. He maintains that in the case of tourism, being primarily concerned with people's images ("their anticipation and responses to fashion"), knowledge of literature is indispensable to understanding the reasons for a particular style's appeal or change.<sup>19</sup>

In the preface to another of these interdisciplinary endeavours, editors W.E. Mallory and P. Simpson-Housley attempt to emphasize the mutual benefits to be had when geography makes use of literature, and *vice versa*. They write that "evocative descriptions" of landscapes by writers and poets are of great use to literature *and* geography students.<sup>20</sup> To the student of literature, they enable the essences of place to be felt strongly. To the cultural geographer, they can illustrate the human impact upon landscapes. Geographers also need to understand that a place is more than just the sum of its physical components: places have a deeper significance that may rather deal with 'attitudes' and 'values' and are more easily captured by writers and poets. Overall, literature offers a more creative description than may be achieved through an objective geography orientation. Most literary landscapes are, however, rooted in reality and geographers can help the student of literature locate even the most highly symbolic literary landscape in reality.<sup>21</sup> Thus the one supplements the other: literature can add information and appreciation of a place, which is especially relevant to cultural and human geography, while geography may be used as a form of

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<sup>18</sup> P.T. Newby, Literature and the Fashioning of Tourist Taste, in D.C.D. Pocock (ed.), *Humanistic Geography and Literature: Essays on the Experience of Place*, p. 130.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 139-140.

<sup>20</sup> W.E. Mallory and P. Simpson-Housley, Preface, in W.E. Mallory and P. Simpson-Housley (eds.), *Geography and Literature: a meeting of the disciplines*, p. xi.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xi-xii.

symbolism in literature. More importantly for literary tourism, geography can help locate literary landscapes, providing readers with places to visit.

Another study on literature and geography was done by K. Mitchell. He explores the relationship at a broader level by explaining that different countries have distinctive literatures due to the physical differences between countries, which he terms “the very, very real differences of geography”.<sup>22</sup> Geography has a profound influence in shaping any society, and Mitchell believes that literature, like all art, is ultimately a reflection and illustration of the landscape that produced it.<sup>23</sup> Mitchell validates this conviction by looking at examples from British, Canadian and American literature. For example, he concludes that the British Isles’ literature is greatly influenced by the fact that it is located on an island, and that this insularity has created a literature with a great social awareness and a sensitivity to relationships, which celebrates social complexity.<sup>24</sup> American literature, on the other hand, evolved from the insularity of Britain to American expansion. He links the creation of the American superhero, with his attendant, almost-stereotypical attributes, to the excitement of conquest of the frontier, which had reached a mythic dimension.<sup>25</sup> By contrast, he argues that Canadian literature has been influenced by a bitterly hostile landscape and climate, where man does not so easily become the conquering hero. This actively hostile Nature creates an isolated or ‘alienated’ man with feelings of insignificance, and is also reflected in the fact that Nature quite frequently kills characters in Canadian literature.<sup>26</sup>

Pocock, who also contributed to this volume, was one of the earliest authors to specifically look at the travel dimension in an interdisciplinary manner in terms of geography and literature.<sup>27</sup> 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”.<sup>28</sup> In this precursory study to literary tourism, 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.<sup>29</sup> He also provided one of the first

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<sup>22</sup> K. Mitchell, Landscape and Literature, in W.E. Mallory and P. Simpson-Housley (eds.), *Geography and Literature: a meeting of the disciplines*, p. 23.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>27</sup> D.C.D. Pocock, Haworth: the Experience of Literary Place, in W.E. Mallory and P. Simpson-Housley (eds.), *Geography and Literature: a meeting of the disciplines*, pp. 135-142.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.

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.”<sup>30</sup>

The focus of Pocock’s study is 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 ‘pilgrims’ to this so-called literary shrine.<sup>31</sup> (The notion of literary visitors as pilgrims also became important in research on literary tourism, as will be seen later on in this 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.<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup>

It was however not only geographers who advocated this reciprocal relationship between geography and literature. L. Lutwack, formerly a professor in English literature, also published on the role of ‘place’ in literature, considering the additions geography can make to the discipline of literature. Literature studies are ultimately concerned with unlocking the secrets of a work of fiction in order to understand the work better holistically. In this context, the study of place and landscape in literature is a very important pursuit. Although the role of place in literature is a topic of ancient lineage in the history of literary criticism, it still lacked in-depth treatment at the time Lutwack was completing this volume. Biographers, for example, had shown the importance of geographical places in the works and lives of some authors, yet no single study had yet attempted to explain the very common element of place in literature in any great detail.<sup>34</sup> Literary criticism as a discipline does not advance in the same way as the sciences do, but a sense of progress may be gained from the fact that the concerns of one age of critics may become completely obsolete in a next. The next generation will then discover new points of discussion and analysis ostensibly neglected

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<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 137-139.

<sup>34</sup> L. Lutwack, *The Role of Place in Literature*, p. vii-viii.

by the previous age of critics. Whenever the style of writing changes or society changes radically, new perspectives on literature emerge and Lutwack's study was a result of the new concern for place.<sup>35</sup>

The above discussion clearly illustrates the crucial and reciprocal relationship between landscape (geography) and literature. Not all of this interdisciplinary research between geography and literature was, of course, strictly relevant to literary tourism. These disciplines were working towards their own benefit. Yet, from the above examples, it can clearly be seen that the tourism aspect had already been introduced to the relationship of geography and literature. This is fitting, as without literature and geography, the tourist would have no literary place to travel to. The stage was set for literary tourism to become a field of study in its own right.

## 2.2. Literary tourism at present

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.<sup>36</sup> This includes a large amount of work on 'authenticity' and the visitor profiles of literary destinations. Authenticity has been a buzzword in tourism research, and it is therefore unsurprising that literary tourism researchers would investigate how the concept applied to their sector. This research 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' literary sites are, particularly those sites with 'real-world' ties involving the life of the author, for example residences, birthplaces and graves.<sup>37</sup> In terms of the visitor profiles, research considers 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)<sup>38</sup>, Haworth (Charlotte, Emily and Anne Brontë)<sup>39</sup> or Chawton (Jane Austen)<sup>40</sup>.

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<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>36</sup> C. Herselman, "Under a near-constant cover of clouds": the rise of a literary tourism attraction in Forks, Washington, USA.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> D. Kennedy, Shakespeare and Cultural Tourism, *Theatre Journal* 50(2), 1998, pp. 175-188; G. Marshall, Women Re-read Shakespeare Country, in N.J. Watson (ed.), *Literary Tourism and the Nineteenth-Century Culture*, pp. 95-105.

<sup>39</sup> R. Barnard, Tourism Comes to Haworth, in M. Robinson & H.C. Andersen (eds.), *Literature and Tourism: Reading and Writing Tourism Texts*, pp. 143-154; D.C.D. Pocock, Haworth: the Experience of Literary Place, in W.E. Mallory and P. Simpson-Housley (eds.), *Geography and Literature: a meeting of the disciplines*, pp.

One of the first and most prominent authors to specifically focus on literary tourism was S.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.<sup>41</sup> Squire investigates the links between Potter and popular values for rural life, fascination for England's countryside and country imagined from the city. She uses surveys and interviews 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'.<sup>42</sup> 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.<sup>43</sup> 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.<sup>44</sup>

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 in excess of 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, almost all 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".<sup>45</sup> Pocock also briefly looks at the authenticity of this travel, and discovers similarities in the Cookson trail, museum and local guides reminiscent of MacCannell's 'staged authenticity'.<sup>46</sup> He concludes

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135-142; S. Tetley & B. Bramwell, Tourists and the Cultural Construction of Haworth's Literary Landscape, in M. Robinson & H.C. Andersen (eds.), *Literature and Tourism: Reading and Writing Tourism Texts*, pp. 155-169.

<sup>40</sup> D.T. Herbert, Heritage as Literary Place, in D.T. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, pp. 32-48; D.T. Herbert, Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001, pp. 312-333.

<sup>41</sup> S.J. Squire, Valuing Countryside: Reflections on Beatrix Potter Tourism, *Area* 25(1), 1993, pp. 5-10.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>44</sup> S.J. Squire, The Cultural Values of Literary Tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research* 21, 1994, pp. 103-120.

<sup>45</sup> D.C.D. Pocock, Catherine Cookson Country: Tourist Expectation and Experience, *Geography* 77(3), 1992, p. 236.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 236; see also section 2.2 in this dissertation.

that travel and expectation go hand-in-hand – one rarely travels to a new destination without being influenced by some kind of secondary source, albeit a brochure, word-of-mouth, or *literature*. The success of the trip greatly depends on whether those expectations are satisfactorily confirmed.<sup>47</sup>

D.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.<sup>48</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup> 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.”<sup>50</sup> 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.”<sup>51</sup>

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. Cultural studies theory is again used 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.<sup>52</sup> He affirms Crompton’s findings<sup>53</sup> 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

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<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 236-243.

<sup>48</sup> D.T. Herbert, Heritage as Literary Place, in D.T. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, pp. 32-48.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> D.T. Herbert, Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001, pp. 312-333.

<sup>53</sup> J.L. Crompton, Motivations for pleasure vacation, *Annals of Tourism Research* 6, 1979, pp. 408-424.

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 an 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 generalizations are valid, but that each visitor “has some individual form of chemistry” with the literary attraction too.<sup>54</sup>

One of the most important texts dealing specifically with literary tourism is *Literature and Tourism: Reading and Writing Tourism Texts*, edited by M. Robinson and H.C. Andersen and published in 2002.<sup>55</sup> This book contains some general discussions on the growing theory associated with literary tourism, and includes specific case studies from the UK due 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 do still frequently write about literary tourism. The essays in this volume can be divided into two main categories. The first explores various authors and 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.<sup>56</sup>

Another edited volume by N.J. Watson focuses more on literary tourism from a historical perspective, specifically during the nineteenth century.<sup>57</sup> 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

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<sup>54</sup> D.T. Herbert, Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001, pp. 325-327.

<sup>55</sup> M. Robinson and H.C. Andersen (eds.), *Literature and Tourism: Reading and Writing Tourism Texts*.

<sup>56</sup> I. McConnell, Review - Literature and Tourism: Reading and Writing Tourism Texts, *International Journal of Tourism Research* 5(6), 2003, pp. 463-465.

<sup>57</sup> N.J. Watson (ed.), *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture*.

readers experienced their encounters with literary tourism. In her review of N.J. Watson's edited study, A. Rigney criticizes 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".<sup>58</sup>

In K.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. 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.<sup>59</sup> K.A. 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.<sup>60</sup>

Another smaller branch of inquiry into literary tourism, and particularly the commodification thereof, has looked at the promotion of literary tourism: how a place is portrayed in literature and how the subsequent tourism has impacted on local residents. For example, A. Muresan and K.A. Smith discuss 'Dracula tourism' and consider the economics of this kind of vampire-related literary tourism. They find that heritage tourism, and especially the literary and film tourism markets, are forming increasingly important elements of the tourism product offered by transitional countries like Romania.<sup>61</sup> Muresan and Smith look at the conflicting marketing strategies employed for Dracula and other forms of tourism in Romania by the tourism agencies and the government respectively. They point out that in the Romanian case, the image of Dracula is reinforced not only through the novel, but also by its numerous film adaptations, particularly Francis Ford Coppola's 1993

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<sup>58</sup> A. Rigney, Review: Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture, *Victorian Studies* 53(2), 2011, pp. 367-369.

<sup>59</sup> K.A. Smith, Literary Enthusiasts as Visitors and Volunteers, *International Journal of Tourism Research* 5, 2003, pp. 83-95.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> A. Muresan and K.A. Smith, Dracula's Castle in Romania: Conflicting Heritage Marketing Strategies, *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 4(2), 1998, pp. 73-85.

blockbuster film in which Dracula is directly linked to Vlad Țepeș (or Vlad the Impaler), a ruler of a Romanian province in the fifteenth century, in the prologue.<sup>62</sup> They conduct a case study of the so-called ‘Dracula’s castle’ (which is actually Bran Castle, unrelated to both the real and fictional Draculas), on the border between the Romanian provinces of Transylvania and Walachia, and reach the conclusion that visitors to Romania are confronted with two conflicting marketing strategies: the government’s fact-oriented focus on Vlad Țepeș and the travel agencies and local entrepreneurial initiatives’ fiction-oriented approach to Dracula.<sup>63</sup>

Another author focusing on ‘*Dracula* tourism’ is D. Light. He looks at the historical development of this kind of tourism in Romania, especially in Transylvania, and the effect this created ‘place myth’ has had on Romanians.<sup>64</sup> He presents the interesting fact that 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, Western and especially American tourists have been going to Romania since the 1970s “in search of Count Dracula”.<sup>65</sup> 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. Many Romanians find the portrayal of Dracula as Vlad Țepeș highly offensive as it associates a national hero with a vampire.<sup>66</sup> This once again points to the difficulty of distinguishing between absolute historical reality and the imaginary world of a novel with creative liberties. Light also considers the role of the state and cultural politics in tourism development by reviewing the Romanian government’s involvement in and management of Dracula tourism since the time of communist rule. Light returned to Dracula tourism in 2009, but instead of focusing on how the Romanian government and tourism agencies portrayed and managed this type of tourism, he now considered the role of tourist performances in the making of tourist places. Through ethnographic fieldwork with a group of Western tourists visiting Transylvania for Halloween, he looked at how tourists ‘performed’ the place-myth of Transylvania as the home of Dracula. Light concluded that these tourists were not free to experience the ‘real’ Transylvania, instead clinging to place stereotypes they had brought with from their home cultures and were performing “a Transylvania as they imagined it to be”. Hereby, they

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<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> D. Light, Dracula Tourism in Romania: Cultural Identity and the State, *Annals of Tourism Research* 34(3), 2007, pp. 746-765.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

were actively reinforcing and transposing the already-existing and popular, albeit false, Transylvania tourist place myth.<sup>67</sup>

From the above discussion, it becomes evident that the main points of focus in contemporary literary tourism research has 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. The next two subsections will take a brief look at these aspects, as well as considering how literary tourism destinations develop.

### **2.2.1. Who are the literary tourists?**

Before we can consider the specific attributes of literary tourists, it is appropriate to first consider the parameters of what a tourist is. A tourist is simply defined as “a person who is travelling for pleasure”.<sup>68</sup> Adding to this basic definition, Herbert states that people become tourists when they leave their homes for a significant period of time to visit places, to experience a range of activities, and to enjoy time spent relaxing or doing something different from their normal routines.<sup>69</sup>

These definitions however leave out several important aspects. At the United Nations Conference on International Travel and Tourism in Rome in 1963, the term ‘visitor’ was decided upon as a standard concept and was defined as “any person travelling to a place other than that of his/her usual environment for less than 12 months and whose main purpose of the trip is other than the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited.”<sup>70</sup> Visitors were divided into two categories. Firstly, tourists are temporary visitors staying over twenty-four hours in the country visited, whose journey falls into one of the following categories: leisure, recreation, holiday, sport, health, study, religion, business, family, friends, mission or meetings. Secondly, excursionists include temporary visitors staying less than twenty-four hours in the country visited, including cruise passengers.”<sup>71</sup>

The anthropologist V.L. Smith introduced another dimension to the concept by defining the tourist as a “temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of

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<sup>67</sup> D. Light, Performing Transylvania: tourism, fantasy and play in a liminal place, *Tourist Studies* 9(3), 2009, pp. 240-258.

<sup>68</sup> *Reader's Digest Great Illustrated Dictionary*, p. 1748.

<sup>69</sup> D.T. Herbert, Heritage Places, Leisure and Tourism, in D.T. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*.

<sup>70</sup> United Nations and World Tourism Organization, *Recommendations on Tourism Statistics*, pp. 3-7.

<sup>71</sup> L.E. Hudman & D.E. Hawkins, *Tourism in Contemporary Society*, p. 5.

experiencing a change”.<sup>72</sup> This added component introduced the search for the reasons of travel, which will be looked at in the next section’s discussion on authenticity. Scholars have also been very keen to distinguish between travellers and tourists, and this distinction is important for this dissertation too, since most scholars tend to place literary tourists in the former category.<sup>73</sup> Urry’s distinction between tourists of the ‘romantic gaze’ and ‘collective gaze’ becomes useful here. Tourists of the romantic gaze belong to an elite group “who are more aware, who possess the cultural capital to draw meaning from places, who value and appreciate solitude and magnificent scenery”.<sup>74</sup> These are the travellers, instead of ‘mere’ tourists. The collective gaze is that of the majority, the masses, the ‘tourists’. This type of gaze “necessitates the presence of large numbers of people... Other people give an atmosphere or a sense of carnival to a place. They indicate that this is the place to be and that one should not be elsewhere.”<sup>75</sup> Herbert argues that in the case of literary tourists, we are dealing with “travellers rather than tourists, with the romantic rather than the collective gaze.”<sup>76</sup>

Consideration also needs to be given to the characteristics of literary tourists in order to generate a profile of the typical literary tourist. The majority of heritage tourists are drawn from the so-called service class, which includes professional and business people and white-collar workers. “As a broad group, the service classes enjoy superior work situations and have educational credentials that distinguish them from other groups.”<sup>77</sup> Thus, they have more leisure time for vacations and enough cultural capital to appreciate heritage attractions. Since literary tourism forms part of the heritage and cultural tourism sector, literary tourists can be classed as users of heritage. A number of scholars have analyzed the basic profile of literary tourists – specifically relating to age, gender and occupational factors – using a number of different case studies. These include amongst others Squire, Herbert and K.A. Smith.

Squire studied tourism at Beatrix Potter’s Hill Top Farm in the Lake District in England and found that 63% of the 626 adult interviewees were engaged in professional and managerial occupations, and 55% of the interviewees were between the ages of 25 and 44. Interest in Beatrix Potter

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<sup>72</sup> V.L. Smith, Introduction, in V.L. Smith (ed.), *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, p. 1.

<sup>73</sup> D. Boorstin, *The Image: a Guide to Pseudo-events in America*.

<sup>74</sup> J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze. Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*, pp. 45-46.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 45-46.

<sup>76</sup> D.T. Herbert, Heritage as Literary Place, in D.T. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, p. 34.

<sup>77</sup> D.T. Herbert, Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001, p. 314.

seemed to be gender-specific, with 72% of respondents being female.<sup>78</sup> Herbert on the other hand, studied visitors to Jane Austen's residence in Chawton, Hampshire, also in England. He found that 60% of the 223 people who were interviewed were professional or business people. An additional 30% consisted of students, housewives and retirees. He notes that blue-collar and less-skilled workers were under-represented at the site.<sup>79</sup> Regarding the age range of the visitors, 23.4% were under the age of 34, and 40.5% were between the ages of 35 and 54.<sup>80</sup> Herbert also studied visitors to Laugharne in South Wales, the presumed setting of Dylan Thomas' *Under Milk Wood*, as well as the location of the Boathouse, Thomas' previous residence and now the site of a museum dedicated to the poet. Here the studies indicated that 49% of the 218 interviewees were managerial, professional or skilled white-collar workers. The sample also indicated that 48.3% were aged between 35 and 54 years, 25.1% were under the age of 35 and 10.9% were older than 64.<sup>81</sup>

In addition to the above-mentioned UK sites, Herbert also visited Cabourg in Normandy, France and investigated the visitor statistics at this site, believed to be the fictional Balbec featured prominently in Marcel Proust's novels (specifically *Within a Budding Grove*). Among the 151 people interviewed here, only 35.4% were professional, managerial or white-collar workers. 46.6% were students, retirees and housewives, and notably, 16% were blue-collar, semi-skilled or unskilled workers. The age range was quite varied: 31.5% were under the age of 34, 32.2% were between the ages of 35 and 54, and 23.5% were older than 65.<sup>82</sup> These findings are tabulated below in Tables 1 and 2.

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<sup>78</sup> S. Squire, The Cultural Values of Literary Tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research* 21, 1994, pp. 103-120.

<sup>79</sup> D.T. Herbert, Heritage as Literary Place, in D.T. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*; D.T. Herbert, Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001.

<sup>80</sup> D.T. Herbert, Heritage as Literary Place, in D.T. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, p. 37.

<sup>81</sup> D.T. Herbert, Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001.

<sup>82</sup> D.T. Herbert, Heritage as Literary Place, in D.T. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*.

Place	Hill Top	Chawton	Laugharne	Cabourg
<b>Associated writer</b>	Beatrix Potter	Jane Austen	Dylan Thomas	Marcel Proust
<b>Number of respondents</b>	626	223	218	151
<b>Age range</b>	55% 25 to 44	23.4% under 34 40.5% 35 to 54 10.4% over 64	25.1% under 35 48.3% 35 to 54 10.9% over 64	31.5% under 34 32.2% 35 to 54 23.5% over 65

Table 1: The age range of literary tourists

Place	Hill Top	Chawton	Laugharne	Cabourg
<b>Associated writer</b>	Beatrix Potter	Jane Austen	Dylan Thomas	Marcel Proust
<b>Number of respondents</b>	626	223	218	151
<b>Managerial/white collar</b>	63%	60%	49%	35.4%
<b>Student/retiree/housewife</b>	/	30%	30%	46.6%
<b>Blue collar/unskilled</b>	/	/	/	16%

Table 2: Occupations of literary tourists

K.A. Smith notes that surveys conducted by the British Tourism Research Group and the Wordsworth Trust at Dove Cottage in the Lake District, associated with the poet William Wordsworth, tended to agree with these initial studies. Visitors were mostly drawn from the professional classes, were well educated, and more than half were over the age of 45.<sup>83</sup> In terms of area of residence and international distribution of visitors, Squire's surveys at Hill Top Farm showed that over half (61%) of the visitors were from the UK, 20 per cent were from North America, 7 per cent were from Japan, and the remainder came from Australia/New Zealand, Europe and elsewhere.<sup>84</sup>

From the above case studies it becomes clear that literary tourists are primarily drawn from the service class, with the implication that they have higher levels of income, more leave for holidays and greater levels of education. The case studies also seem to suggest that the majority of literary tourists form part of an older age category, particularly between the ages of 35 and 54. T. Silberberg's study affirms these findings for cultural tourism. Cultural tourists tend to earn more

<sup>83</sup> K.A. Smith, Literary Enthusiasts as Visitors and Volunteers, *International Journal of Tourism Research* 5, 2003, p. 87.

<sup>84</sup> S.J. Squire, Valuing Countryside: Reflections on Beatrix Potter Tourism, *Area* 25(1), 1993, p. 6.

money, and also spend more on vacation, they are better educated than the general public, they include more women than men, and they tend to be older than other types of tourists.<sup>85</sup>

Since we now have a basic profile of a literary tourist, we can consider their motivations for travelling to literary sites to determine whether Herbert was correct in classifying them as visitors practising the 'romantic gaze', rather than the 'collective gaze'. Herbert identified four reasons that motivate tourists to visit literary sites. First, visitors are attracted to places with direct connections to the lives of certain authors. Such places, especially the former residences of writers, where they lived and worked, where their stories were conceived can "create a sense of nostalgia and inspire awe and reverence".<sup>86</sup> Second, visitors may be attracted to places that serve as the setting of novels. Fiction may be set in locations that writers knew well (or not at all) and there is "a merging of the real and imagined that gives such places a special meaning. Fictional characters and events often generate the strongest imagery."<sup>87</sup> In this regard Pocock also found that visitors to Haworth were less concerned with treading in the Brontë sisters' footsteps through the moors than "with the thought that Heathcliff might appear".<sup>88</sup> The main case study in this dissertation also primarily depends on this rather unlikely motivation.

The third motivation is that visitors may be drawn to a place for some broader and deeper emotion than the specific writer or the story.<sup>89</sup> This is evident in, for example, Squire and Fawcett and Cormack's case studies of Beatrix Potter and L.M. Montgomery, where visitors to these sites are encouraged to recapture memories of childhood.<sup>90</sup> The fourth reason is less concerned with the literature than with some dramatic event in the writer's life.<sup>91</sup> The tourism industry has taken advantage of this aspect and this has led to, for example, the creation of a "literary pub-crawl" in Dublin glorifying the drinking exploits of some of this city's most famous authors.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> T. Silberberg, Cultural Tourism and Business Opportunities for Museums and Heritage Sites, *Tourism Management* 16(5), 1995, p. 363.

<sup>86</sup> D.T. Herbert, Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001, p. 314.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid*, p. 314.

<sup>88</sup> D.C.D. Pocock, Haworth: the Experience of Literary Place, in W.E. Mallory and P. Simpson-Housley (eds.), *Geography and Literature: a meeting of the disciplines*, p. 138.

<sup>89</sup> D.T. Herbert, Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001, p. 314.

<sup>90</sup> S. Squire, The Cultural Values of Literary Tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research* 21, 1994, pp. 103-120; C. Fawcett and P. Cormack, Guarding Authenticity at Literary Tourism Sites, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(3), 2001, pp. 686-704.

<sup>91</sup> D.T. Herbert, Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001, p. 314.

<sup>92</sup> Y. Smith, *Literary Tourism as a Developing Genre: South Africa as a Case Study*, p. 23.

In a more recent take on the motivations of literary tourists, S. Reijnders looked at literary travellers seeking out sites connected with *Dracula*. He questions why readers feel the need to associate their favourite stories with specific, identifiable locations.<sup>93</sup> He affirms that readers are encouraged in this process by other media, like film and television, where the literature has crossed over to the visual realm. He concludes that based on *Dracula*, tourists are primarily motivated to make a concrete comparison between the landscape they are visiting and the picture they have created of that landscape based on the book or films. If the landscape is very accurately and realistically portrayed in the story this motivation may be even more emphasized. This motivation can ultimately encourage a reader to visit the landscape in person in order to experience the 'truth' behind the story. According to Reijnders, this is a very intuitive, emotional experience of the imaginary realm. Readers participate in literary tourism in order to 'come closer' to their cherished story and to 'make a connection' through the symbiosis of reality and the imagination.<sup>94</sup>

Scholars have also referred to a very dedicated literary tourist as a 'literary pilgrim'. This term was first used by Pocock in his 1992 article, "Catherine Cookson Country: Tourist Expectation and Experience", although as mentioned earlier, the idea of linking tourism and religious pilgrimage has existed for a while already.<sup>95</sup> D. Eagle and H. Carnell elaborate on this by pointing out that: "There is a fascination about places associated with writers that has often prompted readers to become pilgrims..."<sup>96</sup> It is not difficult to see how a tourist travelling to a literary attraction due to a devotedness to a particular writer, can be regarded as a literary pilgrim. For Herbert, a literary pilgrim is a "dedicated scholar prepared to travel long distances to experience places linked with writers of prose, drama, or poetry..."<sup>97</sup>

The literary pilgrim is a well-educated tourist, versed in the classics and has the cultural capital to understand this form of heritage. To test this hypothesis, we once again return to study the already utilized case studies of Herbert. Three aspects need to be considered: the cultural capital, general literary awareness and specific motivations of literary tourists. The first aspect relates to the degree of knowledge tourists possess of the particular writer's works. Herbert found that at both

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<sup>93</sup> S. Reijnders, Stalking the Count: *Dracula*, Fandom and Tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research* 38(1), 2011, p. 232.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245.

<sup>95</sup> D.C.D. Pocock, Catherine Cookson Country: Tourist Expectation and Experience, *Geography* 77, 1992, pp. 236-243.

<sup>96</sup> D. Eagle and H. Carnell, *The Oxford Literary Guide to the British Isles*, p. v.

<sup>97</sup> D.T. Herbert, Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001, p. 312.

Laugharne and Chawton, visitors showed high levels of literary awareness.<sup>98</sup> Pocock received similar results for both Haworth (the Brontës) and Catherine Cookson Country.<sup>99</sup> Contrary to this, Herbert found that literary awareness was low at Cabourg, where 47% of the interviewees had read none of Marcel Proust's work.<sup>100</sup>

The accessibility of a literary work may also influence this first aspect. Austen and the Brontë sisters wrote in a clear, accessible style. In addition, the numerous film and television adaptations have also made their works even more accessible to a greater amount of people. Herbert notes that Austen is even included in many school curricula throughout the world.<sup>101</sup> Cookson's novels qualify as historical romantic fiction and are also very readable. Thomas' poetry is very memorable, though it may be complicated at times. Proust's work, however, is complicated and is usually the preserve of serious students of literature. As such, his work is more inaccessible than the others.

The second aspect to test is the general literary awareness of visitors by asking them to name other literary sites in their countries. Herbert again found that visitors at Chawton and Laugharne showed a high level of general literary awareness, yet he noted that writer-place associations usually tended to be common knowledge (at least in the UK). Cabourg again showed different results with visitors having a low general literary awareness. These visitors do not resemble the general characteristics of the dedicated literary pilgrim. The fact that Herbert employed different surveying techniques may account for these contradicting results: he spent a whole summer gathering information at Chawton, yet only part of a day at Cabourg. The fact that the literary tourism associated with Cabourg is only one of a number of attractions at this attractive resort might also contribute, since the main attractions at Laugharne and Chawton are their associations with prominent authors.<sup>102</sup> In fact, Herbert discovered that most of the respondents in Cabourg were attracted by the "more conventional combination of seashore, promenade, gardens, old buildings and an attractive shopping centre", instead of the Proust literary association.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> D.T. Herbert, *Heritage as Literary Place*, in D.T. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*; D.T. Herbert, *Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience*, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001.

<sup>99</sup> D.C.D. Pocock, *Haworth: the Experience of Literary Place*, in W.E. Mallory and P. Simpson-Housley (eds.), *Geography and Literature: a meeting of the disciplines*; D.C.D. Pocock, *Catherine Cookson Country: Tourist Expectation and Experience*, *Geography* 77, 1992, pp. 236-243.

<sup>100</sup> D.T. Herbert, *Heritage as Literary Place*, in D.T. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid*, p. 35.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid*; D.T. Herbert, *Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience*, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001, pp. 312-333.

<sup>103</sup> D.T. Herbert, *Heritage as Literary Place*, in D.T. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, p. 81.

The third aspect relates to whether literary tourists are indeed “seeking to learn and be educated in a discerning way”.<sup>104</sup> In addition to the four main motivations listed earlier, additional qualities of literary places can also attract visitors.<sup>105</sup> In the first instance, geographical convenience and physical accessibility may play a role since the literary place can be a stopping point along a general tourism itinerary. In addition, there is also the setting of the site and its scenic environments, as well as the range of facilities on offer, including a restaurant, coffee shop and souvenirs. Thus it is a reasonable assumption that not all tourists to literary attractions have literature-specific motivations for travel.

While we cannot definitively surmise that all literary tourists are literary pilgrims, it seems that in a fair number of instances literary tourists do have a lot in common with the pilgrims, the travellers of the ‘romantic gaze’. It greatly depends on the type of attraction visited too - whether the site is primarily known for its literary associations (like Chawton and Laugharne) or whether the literary association is merely another attraction, one of many, at the specific site (like Cabourg). It is also very difficult to pinpoint the motivations of tourists, since one tourist might have more than one reason for visiting a place. Herbert writes that:

There was a widely held interest in the literary connotations of Chawton. For some, this was the specific motivation for being there; for others, it was much more peripheral. Many were able to combine interest and relaxation in ways they found to be acceptable and pleasurable and these were not mutually exclusive features of the visit.<sup>106</sup>

An educational and informative experience can be combined with leisure. To be considered a literary pilgrim, “sites with literary associations must be actively and purposefully sought out by the tourist”.<sup>107</sup> This seems to suggest that there may be many different types of literary tourists with different degrees of cultural capital, and different ideas of how leisure time should be spent. There are of course still literary pilgrims, but since literary sites are now being created, packaged and

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<sup>104</sup> D.T. Herbert, *Heritage as Literary Place*, in D.T. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, p. 34.

<sup>105</sup> D.T. Herbert, *Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience*, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001, p. 314.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid*, p. 326.

<sup>107</sup> Y. Smith, *Literary Tourism as a Developing Genre: South Africa as a Case Study*, pp. 32-33.

promoted for the purpose of attracting as many visitors as possible, general interest tourists in all likelihood outnumber the literary pilgrims quite significantly.<sup>108</sup>

### 2.2.2. AUTHENTICITY AND LITERARY SITES

Before we can look at the authenticity of literary sites specifically, we need to understand the use of the concept 'authenticity' in tourism studies. Authenticity has been a frequent theme for discussion in tourism literature since D. MacCannell and D. Boorstin first introduced the concept to tourism studies in the early 1970s.<sup>109</sup> Since then the discussions on authenticity have been very diverse and highly contested.<sup>110</sup> To date, despite the numerous studies, there is no consensus on what the term implies in tourism studies and no agreement on its interpretation in the field.

Some of the initial studies on authenticity in tourism were essentially negative. Boorstin conducted some of the first research on the link between authenticity and tourism and wrote that mass tourism creates 'pseudo-events', which is a result of the commoditization of culture.<sup>111</sup> This presentation of contrived performance or appearance is seen as negative and inaccurate.

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<sup>108</sup> *Ibid*, p. 33.

<sup>109</sup> D. Boorstin, *The Image: a Guide to Pseudo-events in America*; D. MacCannell, Staged authenticity: arrangements of social space in tourist settings, *The American Journal of Sociology* 79(3), 1973, pp. 589-603.

<sup>110</sup> K.M. Adams, Come to Tana Toraja, 'Land of the Heavenly Kings': Travel Agents as Brokers in ethnicity, *Annals of Tourism Research* 11, 1984, pp. 469-485; E. Cohen, Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research* 15, 1988, pp. 371-386; S. Cole, Beyond Authenticity and Commodification, *Annals of Tourism Research* 34(4), 2007, pp. 943-960; A. Ehrentraut, Heritage Authenticity and Domestic Tourism in Japan, *Annals of Tourism Research* 20, 1993, pp. 262-278; A. Gottlieb, Americans' Vacations, *Annals of Tourism Research* 9, 1982, pp. 165-187; D.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*; M. Harkin, Modernist Anthropology and Tourism of the Authentic, *Annals of Tourism Research* 22(3), 1995, pp. 650-670; G. Hughes, Authenticity in Tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research* 22(4), 1995, pp. 781-803; H. Kim and T. Jamal, Touristic Quest for Existential Authenticity, *Annals of Tourism Research* 34(1), 2007, pp. 181-201; J.D. Laxson, How 'We' See 'Them': Tourism and Native Americans, *Annals of Tourism Research* 18, 1991, pp. 365-391; A.J. McIntosh and R.C. Prentice, Affirming Authenticity: Confirming Cultural Heritage, *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(3), 1999, pp. 589-612; G.M. Moscardo and P.L. Pearce, Historic Theme Parks: an Australian Experience in Authenticity, *Annals of Tourism Research* 13, 1986, pp. 467-479; G.M. Moscardo and P.L. Pearce, Understanding Ethnic Tourists, *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999, pp. 416-434; Y. Reisinger and C.J. Steiner, Reconceptualizing Object Authenticity, *Annals of Tourism Research* 33(1), 2006, pp. 65-86; Y. Reisinger and C.J. Steiner, Understanding Existential Authenticity, *Annals of Tourism Research* 33(2), 2006, pp. 299-318; F.A. Salamone, Authenticity in Tourism: the San Angel Inns, *Annals of Tourism Research* 24(2), 1997, pp. 305-321; I. Silver, Marketing Authenticity in Third World Countries, *Annals of Tourism Research* 20, 1993, pp. 302-318; J.P. Taylor, Authenticity and Sincerity in Tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(1), 2001, pp. 7-26; N. Wang, Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999, pp. 349-370; to name but a few studies.

<sup>111</sup> D. Boorstin, *The Image: a Guide to Pseudo-events in America*.

MacCannell, on the other hand, says that some tourists actively search for authenticity and in a sense are then being deceived.<sup>112</sup> Tourists desire authentic experiences because of the shallowness of their daily lives and the inauthenticity of their everyday experiences.<sup>113</sup> Furthermore, expanding on E. Goffman's 'front' and 'back' area typology, he doubted tourists' ability to actually witness what is authentic in foreign cultures, since host populations, 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.<sup>114</sup>

MacCannell also introduced the concept of 'staged authenticity'. By this he refers to the setting up of false 'back regions' to deceive tourists, which 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 organizes 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 a living museum. However, tourists cannot always recognize this superficiality and they also tend to be forgiving towards it.<sup>115</sup>

These early writers tended to view authenticity as only relating to objects (objective authenticity) and only the 'original' objects could be authentic. However, Wang believes that to view authenticity as only the original or an attribute of the original is too simple to capture the concept's true complexity, and many of these scholars' early work has subsequently been questioned.<sup>116</sup> They argue that authenticity can be many things at once. It can relate to the toured objects and events, it can be a state of mind or a mode of being towards tourism. It applies to objects and experiences alike. It can be universal or personal, in the eye of the beholder or defined by hosts and marketers.<sup>117</sup> According to Y. Reisinger and C.J. Steiner, the original use for authenticity in tourism was in 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

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<sup>112</sup> D. MacCannell, Staged authenticity: arrangements of social space in tourist settings, *The American Journal of Sociology* 79(3), 1973, p. 600.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid*, p. 590.

<sup>114</sup> Y. Reisinger and C.J. Steiner, Reconceptualizing Object Authenticity, *Annals of Tourism Research* 33(1), 2006, p. 67.

<sup>115</sup> D. MacCannell, Staged authenticity: arrangements of social space in tourist settings, *The American Journal of Sociology* 79(3), 1973, p. 595.

<sup>116</sup> N. Wang, Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999, pp. 349-370.

<sup>117</sup> Y. Reisinger and C.J. Steiner, Reconceptualizing Object Authenticity, *Annals of Tourism Research* 33(1), 2006, p. 65.

admiration they are being given".<sup>118</sup> This usage has been extended to include cultural 'products' like rituals, festivals, cuisine, dress, or housing. It may then reasonably be concluded that authenticity can be defined in myriad ways.

In their review of objective authenticity, Reisinger and Steiner identify three paradigms for observing authenticity: modernism/realism, constructivism, and postmodernism. A case for knowable authenticity is usually made by the modernists/realists/objectivists. For objectivists, experts and not tourists judge authenticity, but the modernist sense of authenticity as genuineness, actuality, accuracy, originality or truth that can be determined objectively, reflects a way of thinking that has become outdated in the academic community.<sup>119</sup> Constructivists on the other hand feel the authenticity of objects is a much more fluid and debatable phenomenon about which judgements should not be made. For constructivists, authenticity is negotiable because authenticity is a projection of tourists' own beliefs, expectations, preferences, stereotyped images, and consciousness onto toured objects. This viewpoint allows for so-called mass tourists to experience toured objects as authentic even though experts might disagree.<sup>120</sup> It is then also conceivable that different kinds of tourists are satisfied with different levels of authenticity. Tourists of the 'collective gaze' (mass tourists) will expect less authenticity, or an authenticity more fitting to their preconceived stereotypes, than tourists of the 'romantic gaze', or experts.

In considering this constructivist dimension, E. Cohen also distinguishes between different types of tourists and their respective needs for authenticity. The further one moves down the scale of modes of touristic experiences, the less strict the criteria of authenticity employed by the visitor will become.<sup>121</sup> First we have the existential tourists, who are the most purist and who strive to go farthest from the beaten track and get in closest with the locals. Authentic experiences are vitally important to them. The second and third categories, experimental and experiential tourists respectively, still closely resemble the existential tourists. They seek to participate vicariously in the authentic life of others and they also tend to employ fairly strict criteria for measuring authenticity. The fourth category, recreational tourists, seek mainly enjoyable restoration and recuperation in the Other, and hence approach the cultural products encountered on the trip with a playful attitude of make-believe. They have much broader criteria of authenticity. In fact, they may be prepared to accept a product as authentic for the sake of experience, even though 'deep down' they are not

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<sup>118</sup> *Ibid*, p. 67.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid*, p. 69.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid*, p. 70.

<sup>121</sup> E. Cohen, Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research* 15, 1988, p. 377.

convinced of this authenticity. Hence a less ingenuous 'staging' will be sufficient to make this kind of tourist accept a product as authentic, though their conviction of its authenticity will also be less deep than that of existential tourists. Finally, diversionary tourists seek diversion and oblivion on their trip, and are totally indifferent and unconcerned with the problem of authenticity.

Postmodernists believe that it is irrelevant whether something is real or false, original or a copy; authenticity is so meaningless as to be of little concern to tourists. According to 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 commoditization process maintain characteristics that satisfy tourists, they will 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.<sup>122</sup>

A typical postmodernist argument is that of Umberto Eco concerning 'hyperreality'. For Eco, the most perfect example of this 'hyperreality' is Disneyland or Disney World, since they are born out of 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.<sup>123</sup> Continuing Eco's idea, the French philosopher J. Baudrillard writes that '[t]oday's world is a simulation which admits no originals, no origins...'<sup>124</sup> Also for the postmodernist, in contrast to MacCannell, tourists are now questing for inauthenticity: 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.<sup>125</sup>

As a consequence of these varying viewpoints, Reisinger and Steiner conclude that if the modernists are correct in their claim that authenticity is an "objectively measurable quality of toured objects, then this should be easily discernible empirically, so it does not need to be studied and researched".<sup>126</sup> Commenting on the constructivist argument, they claim that if the constructivists are right in stating "that authenticity is socially constructed, then object authenticity as a phenomenon is so fluid, insubstantial, and beyond consensus that it is useless as a basis for future

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<sup>122</sup> Y. Reisinger and C.J. Steiner, Reconceptualizing Object Authenticity, *Annals of Tourism Research* 33(1), 2006, p. 72.

<sup>123</sup> N. Wang, Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999, p. 356.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid*, p. 356.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid*, p. 357.

<sup>126</sup> Y. Reisinger and C.J. Steiner, Reconceptualizing Object Authenticity, *Annals of Tourism Research* 33(1), 2006, p. 73.

research and knowledge making”.<sup>127</sup> Finally, if the postmodernist claims that tourists are less concerned about authenticity are correct, then worrying about object authenticity is a waste of time, since no one cares about it any more.<sup>128</sup> Their overall conclusion is that:

There does not seem to be one argument for continuing to mention object authenticity in tourism research anymore. Members of the academic community in this field are well within their power and rights to declare that from this day forward, the term authenticity and authentic will never again be applied to objects in tourism research.<sup>129</sup>

Yet before completely dismissing authenticity, they believe that the phenomenologist M. Heidegger’s perspective, which argues that object authenticity relates to how people see themselves in relation to the object, be taken into account.<sup>130</sup> Heidegger believes 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.’<sup>131</sup> But tourists also have preconceived notions about an attraction, whether they get it from tourist guides or previous tourists, or from other sources like 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 set their standards for authenticity.<sup>132</sup>

According to E. Bruner, authenticity can also take on four mutually exclusive forms. Firstly, originals as opposed to copies, implying that no reproduction can be authentic. Second, a historically accurate and immaculate simulation which acknowledges its nature as a copy of the original, or an authentic reproduction. This then implies an authenticity that is constructed. The thirds is a historically accurate replication that resembles the original enough to look credible. Here authenticity is in the eye of the beholder. Lastly, the authority or power that certifies and legally validates any of these forms of authenticity, which means its authenticity is extrinsically determined.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

Interestingly, something that is deemed to be inauthentic today may in time grow into being an authentic object. This process is called ‘emergent authenticity’. Tourism products that were initially considered to be artificial and obviously constructed are eventually incorporated into the local culture and perceived as such.<sup>134</sup> Here, Disney World is the perfect example.

Authenticity can also be divided into ‘hot’ and ‘cool’ authenticity, as differentiated by T. Selwyn. The former refers to accepted, but enjoyed fake versions, while the latter refers to the real, original or genuine.<sup>135</sup> For Cohen, there also exists a continuum leading from complete authenticity, through various stages of partial authenticity, to complete falseness. For some tourists, the mere adoption of plastic cups in a cultural village can be offending and inauthentic, while to others the use of a communal drinking vessel to drink out of is considered unhygienic and unacceptable.<sup>136</sup>

Other scholars have tasked themselves with identifying different kinds of authenticity. A. Chronis completed such a study of the different kinds of authenticity by making use of the Battle of Gettysburg storyscape,<sup>137</sup> where one of the American Civil War’s bloodiest battles took place in July 1863, as an example. In doing so he constructed a seven-point take on the authentic dimension:

1. *Locational authenticity* refers to the originality of place, that is, the actual site where an event happened.<sup>138</sup>
2. *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.<sup>139</sup>
3. *Constructive authenticity*: In this instance of authenticity, a site or object can be seen as a ‘complete and immaculate simulation’.<sup>140</sup>
4. *Perceived authenticity* is established through the involvement and authority of the government or specialists.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> E. Cohen, Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research* 15, 1988, p. 379.

<sup>135</sup> S. Cole, Beyond Authenticity and Commodification, *Annals of Tourism Research* 34(4), 2007, p. 944.

<sup>136</sup> E. Cohen, Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research* 15, 1988, p. 378.

<sup>137</sup> A storyscape is a commercial environment where narratives are shaped, negotiated and transformed through the interaction of producers and consumers.

<sup>138</sup> A. Chronis, Coconstructing Heritage at the Gettysburg Storyscape, *Annals of Tourism Research* 32, 2005, p. 391.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid*, p. 391.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid*, p. 391.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid*, p. 392.

5. *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.<sup>142</sup>
6. *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.<sup>143</sup>
7. *Personage authenticity* relates to the authenticity of people, that is, the actual participants in an event.<sup>144</sup>

Cutting across all these versions of authenticity is the concern that authenticity raises the question of ownership, in the form of who decides what is authentic and what is not. Does the community being toured and observed by the tourists even possess such a concept, and if so, which parts of their culture do they consider as authentic? Cohen states that this question is very rarely answered. Also, it seems that it is mostly tourists and academics who decide what can be defined as authentic and what not.<sup>145</sup> N. Wang however did differentiate between the authenticity of tourist experiences and the authenticity of toured objects in his groundbreaking article on existential authenticity.<sup>146</sup> Wang effectively redefined authenticity in tourism studies by introducing the concept of 'existential authenticity'. He distinguishes between three different kinds of authenticity: objective authenticity, the museum version; constructive authenticity, something that can emerge or acquire recognition as authentic; and existential authenticity, 'a special existential state of being in which individuals are true to themselves'.<sup>147</sup> These three types of authenticity as classified by Wang can be tabulated as follows:

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<sup>142</sup> *Ibid*, p. 392.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid*, p. 392.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid*, p. 392.

<sup>145</sup> E. Cohen, Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research* 15, 1988, p. 374.

<sup>146</sup> N. Wang, Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999, p. 351.

<sup>147</sup> S. Cole, Beyond Authenticity and Commodification, *Annals of Tourism Research* 34(4), 2007, p. 944.

Object-related authenticity in tourism	Activity-related authenticity in tourism
Objective 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.	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 the liminal process of tourism. Existential authenticity can have nothing to do with the authenticity of toured objects.
Constructive 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.	

**Table 3: Three types of authenticity in tourist experiences**  
**From: Ning Wang, 1999, *Rethinking authenticity in tourist experience*, p. 352.**

Existential authenticity is not a product of tourism research, but rather has a long philosophical lineage concerned with what it means to be human, what it means to be happy and what it means to be oneself.<sup>148</sup> Existential authenticity research provides the perfect opportunity for interdisciplinary research. According to M. Laenen, the main reason for the massive interest in heritage and the escape to the past is the present moral, social and cultural identity crisis in our 'consumer society'.<sup>149</sup> In an article focusing specifically on existential authenticity, Reisinger and Steiner once again make use of Heidegger's frameworks to illuminate this kind of authenticity in a different way. For Heidegger, the term 'authenticity' indicates that someone is being himself or herself existentially, so there are no authentic and inauthentic tourists, as scholars would claim. Some tourists might prefer to be authentic most of the time, while others prefer to be inauthentic most of

<sup>148</sup> Y. Reisinger and C.J. Steiner, Understanding Existential Authenticity, *Annals of Tourism Research* 33(2), 2006, p. 300.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid*, p. 302.

the time. All tourists have the capacity to change from being inauthentic to being authentic and *vice versa* at any moment.<sup>150</sup>

According to Heidegger, people are prone to ignore their own unique possibilities and to adopt the common possibilities they share with others. This is the basis for conformity that he calls inauthenticity, which does not mean that conformists are not truly human. They are simply not being themselves. They are pursuing the possibilities of anyone and consequently have the experiences of anyone, rather than their own experiences.<sup>151</sup>

Throughout his article, Wang argues that objective authenticity in Boorstin and MacCannell's sense (the modernist perspective) has become obsolete.<sup>152</sup> Instead, authenticity now relates to constructivist and postmodernist arguments and tends to gravitate towards the authenticity of experience and activity. Thus, existential authenticity, unlike the object-related version, can often have nothing to do with the issue of whether toured objects are real. So for example tourists participating in a dance may make it inauthentic in MacCannell's sense, since they bring in their own creativity and change the traditional dance, but in terms of Wang's existential authenticity, these tourists will have a very authentic experience.<sup>153</sup>

With existential authenticity, tourists are not literally concerned with the authenticity of the toured objects at all. They are rather in search of their own authentic selves with the aid of activities or toured objects.<sup>154</sup> Existential authenticity can be divided into two dimensions and either dimension can be achieved by means of tourism. The first is intra-personal authenticity, which comprises of two forms. Firstly, bodily feelings where the bodily dimension forms an important part of tourism, relating to relaxation, rehabilitation, diversion, recreation, entertainment, refreshment, sensation-seeking, sensual pleasures, excitement, and play.<sup>155</sup> The second is self-making. In the modern world, people rarely feel like their authentic selves in routine situations and so they look for extra-mundane experiences to discover themselves, or to forge a new self. These experiences relate to,

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<sup>150</sup> *Ibid*, p. 303.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid*, p. 306.

<sup>152</sup> N. Wang, Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999, p. 356.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid*, p. 359.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid*, p. 360.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 361-363.

for example, adventure (like mountaineering) and tourism (like cruise ships). According to Wang, self-making is an implicit motivation for tourism.<sup>156</sup>

The second dimension is inter-personal authenticity, which also has two types. Firstly, there are family ties. Tourists do not just look for authenticity of the Other, but they also quest for the authenticity of, and between, themselves. The toured objects function as a means by which the tourists are called together, and then, an authentic inter-personal relationship between them is experienced through shared experiences.<sup>157</sup> The other is touristic *communitas* where tourism also gives access to authentically experienced Turnerian *communitas*. According to V. Turner, *communitas* is characterized by a state of 'liminality', which 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).<sup>158</sup> *Communitas* is an unmediated, pure inter-personal relationship among pilgrims who confront one another as social equals based on a common humanity. Turner indicated that this relationship among pilgrims could also be extended to tourists, as tourism acts as a form of rite of passage.<sup>159</sup> Tourists can free themselves of the pressures stemming from an inauthentic social hierarchy and status distinctions. Tourism also makes it easy for people to make new friends. '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.'<sup>160</sup>

C. Fawcett and P. 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.<sup>161</sup> 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

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<sup>156</sup> *Ibid*, p. 363.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid*, p. 364.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid*, p. 364.

<sup>159</sup> See also D. MacCannell, Staged authenticity: arrangements of social space in tourist settings, *The American Journal of Sociology* 79(3), 1973, pp. 589-603.

<sup>160</sup> N. Wang, Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999, pp. 364-365.

<sup>161</sup> C. Fawcett and P. Cormack, Guarding Authenticity at Literary Tourism Sites, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(3), 2001, p. 687.

historical scholarship.<sup>162</sup> 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.<sup>163</sup>

Authenticity has through this discussion emerged to be a highly subjective and relative concept. For its multifaceted definition, it depends on so many factors. It is also what the individual makes of it, based on values, expectations, prior knowledge, and stereotypes. It also seems to be place specific. In other words, what is authentic in one place may not carry the same status in another. The same applies for authenticity at literary tourism sites. Yet the authenticity of literary sites gains an extra dimension, as these sites are often the meeting place between reality and an imagined world.

### 2.2.3 The development of literary tourism sites

Another relevant point of discussion, which has perhaps not received as much specific attention is the development of literary tourism sites. Many models have been proposed to classify the development of tourism sites. One of the most enduring is R. Butler’s ‘tourism area life cycle’, which remains the most widely cited conceptual framework for understanding the dynamics of tourism destinations.<sup>164</sup> Numerous studies continue to use the Butler model – or TALC (Tourism Area Life Cycle) as it has become known – with a range of adaptations, such as S. Cole, G.R. Hovinen and D. Getz.<sup>165</sup> Tourism sites are by no means static, and may evolve in positive and negative ways over the course of their existence. According to P. Van Dyk, the life cycle of a destination can typically be divided into six distinct phases, but in some cases one or more of the phases may be absent.<sup>166</sup> This classification is based on the six stages initially suggested by Butler, as adapted by Van Dyk.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 695.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 701.

<sup>164</sup> S. Cole, Beyond the resort life cycle: the micro-dynamics of destination tourism, *The Journal of Regional Analysis and Policy* 37(3), 2007, p. 266.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 266; D. Getz, Tourism Planning and Destination Life Cycle, *Annals of Tourism Research* 19, 1992, p. 763; G.R. Hovinen, Revisiting the Destination Lifecycle Model, *Annals of Tourism Research* 29(1), 2002, pp. 209-230.

<sup>166</sup> P. van Dyk, *Introduction to Tourist Guiding*, p. 17.

<sup>167</sup> R. Butler, The Concept of a Tourist Area Life Cycle of Evolution: Implications for Management of Resources, *Canadian Geographer* 24, 1980, pp. 5-12.

During the initial exploration phase, few people visit an attraction due to the fact that it is inaccessible, unknown or lacks tourist facilities. The visitors during this stage are typically those who prefer to explore new and off-the-beaten-track destinations. They use the existing local facilities and contact with the local community is high. These visitors are known as explorers and often travel in small groups, leaving the area relatively unspoilt. As more people learn about this exotic destination, the visitor numbers start to increase. If the destination can sustain the interest, it may be targeted by the tourism industry for further development.<sup>168</sup>

With the second stage, the involvement phase, the local community realizes that there is money to be made and start promoting their destination. The visitor numbers continue to increase and facilities are upgraded. Gradually a tourist season and market starts to develop. At this stage, local residents provide most of the facilities and contact between tourists and residents may increase further.<sup>169</sup>

The development phase is one in which control of resources, policies and development is usually taken out of the hands of the residents by large developers. The number of tourists exceeds the number of residents and the area's economy becomes almost entirely dependent on the tourism industry. Fashionable new facilities are developed, replacing the old ones. These new facilities can potentially spoil the natural beauty of the environment. Careful planning is necessary to prevent the misuse of the destination. Local residents often find themselves in conflict with the aims of developers during this stage. Long-term sustainability is only possible when tourism development is balanced against the negative influences of the industry, like the building of more amenities and the increase in tourist numbers.<sup>170</sup>

During the fourth stage, the consolidation phase, the number of tourists continues to increase, although not at the same rate as previously. Advertising campaigns are usually increased and measures are implemented to lengthen the tourist season. New tourist markets are explored. At this stage most retail chains are represented at the destination and recreation and business districts are easily identifiable.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> P. van Dyk, *Introduction to Tourist Guiding*, p. 18.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

In the stagnation phase, the number of visitors peaks. The destination begins to rely more on return visits from tourists, since the area is not as fashionable as it used to be. Environmental, social and economic problems start to become more obvious.<sup>172</sup> This then leads on to a turning point, which is either one of decline or rejuvenation. Keeping in mind that only truly unique areas can anticipate an almost everlasting attractiveness, even these areas can also experience an upward or downward trend. In most cases, decline does eventually set in and the destination starts to lose an increasing number of tourists to other competing destinations. During this stage, the destination begins to rely more on day visitors and weekenders, while facilities may be converted to serve other purposes.<sup>173</sup>

It is useful to remember that the tourism area life cycle only serves as a useful means of classification. Often phases may overlap or they may be difficult to identify. To ensure the long-term survival of a destination, careful planning is an absolute necessity.<sup>174</sup> Also using Butler's model, D. Getz investigates the development phases at the iconic attraction of the Niagara Falls and tabulates his findings. This information is reflected in Table 4:

Stage	Indicator
Exploration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Small number of "allocentrics" or "explorers"</li> <li>▪ Little or no tourist infrastructure</li> <li>▪ Natural or cultural attractions</li> </ul>
Involvement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Local investment in tourism</li> <li>▪ Pronounced tourist season</li> <li>▪ Advertising the destination</li> <li>▪ Emerging market area</li> <li>▪ Public investment in infrastructure</li> </ul>
Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Rapid growth in visitation</li> <li>▪ Visitors outnumber residents</li> <li>▪ Well-defined market-area</li> <li>▪ Heavy advertising</li> <li>▪ External investment leads to loss of local control</li> <li>▪ Man-made attractions emerge to replace cultural or natural</li> <li>▪ "Mid-centrics" replace explorers and allocentrics</li> </ul>

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

Consolidation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Slowing growth rates</li> <li>▪ Extensive advertising to overcome seasonality and develop new markets</li> <li>▪ “Psychocentrics” attracted</li> <li>▪ Residents appreciate the importance of tourism</li> </ul>
Stagnation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Peak visitor numbers reached</li> <li>▪ Capacity limits reached</li> <li>▪ Resort image divorced from environment</li> <li>▪ Area no longer fashionable</li> <li>▪ Heavy reliance on repeat trade</li> <li>▪ Low occupancy rates</li> <li>▪ Frequent ownership changes</li> <li>▪ Development peripheral to original developments</li> </ul>
Decline	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Spatial and numerical decrease in markets</li> <li>▪ A move out of tourism; local investment might replace abandonment by outsiders</li> <li>▪ Tourism infrastructure is rundown and might be replaced by other uses</li> </ul>
Rejuvenation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Completely new attractions replace original lures or new natural resources used</li> </ul>

**Table 4: The different phases of the tourism area life cycle<sup>175</sup>**

Curiously, the development of literary tourism sites does not receive a lot of coverage besides the cursory historiographical analyses in literary guides on authors. One such discussion looks at the development of literary tourism in Haworth. In fact, in keeping with the theme of literary pilgrimages, L. Miller describes Haworth as “an easily identifiable shrine” to Charlotte Brontë.<sup>176</sup> Haworth, having been the place where Brontë had spent nearly all her life, developed as her cult centre, complete with pilgrims and relics. Although literary cults were not confined to the Brontës during the latter half of the nineteenth century, Charlotte inspired a fervent following unlike any other. As one newspaper put it: “Miss Austen and Thackeray have admirers; Charlotte Brontë has worshippers.”<sup>177</sup>

Even before her death, some determined fans travelled to Haworth to see its most famous inhabitant, but it was not until after the publication of the famous biography, *The Life of Charlotte*

<sup>175</sup> D. Getz, Tourism Planning and Destination Life Cycle, *Annals of Tourism Research* 19, 1992, p. 763.

<sup>176</sup> L. Miller, *The Brontë Myth*, p. 98.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

*Brontë* by Elizabeth Gaskell, in 1857 that literary visitors became a regular sight in Haworth. Gaskell's thorough and romantic description of Brontë's hometown "made it inevitable that readers would want to see the village, even though some who came were disappointed that the reality did not live up to expectation", preempting literary tourism research themes that would only follow more than a 150 years later.<sup>178</sup> Miller even catalogues the increase in visitor numbers and how the town began to capitalize on literary tourism, from displaying pictures of Brontë destinations in shop windows to the selling of Charlotte's works. By 1861, Haworth was even offering souvenirs for these self-proclaimed pilgrims to take home. By 1874, the town had received more than 3,000 visitors going back fifteen years, as evidenced from church's visitors book. Some enthusiasts were going to great lengths to visit Haworth. In 1866, Miss Emma Cullum Huidekoper travelled all the way from Pennsylvania, even interrupting her trip to Italy to fulfill her long-held ambition of visiting the home of the Brontës. By the 1890s, these literary pilgrimages were described as a "Brontë epidemic", with Haworth receiving 10,000 visitors during the summer of 1895 alone.<sup>179</sup>

Closely related to the development of literary tourism is the addition of literary-themed festivals. Various authors consider cultural festivals to be an essential cultural tourism attraction, as illustrated in the definitions listed in chapter one.<sup>180</sup> E. Inskeep agrees that festivals can turn into major attractions for destinations and he differentiates between different types of festivals related to local traditions and arts, from religious to music festivals.<sup>181</sup> Literary festivals, as an example of this phenomenon, focus on the celebration of literature or authors, or both. This type of festival may include activities such as performances, live readings, lectures and discussions (often by renowned contemporary writers and literary critics) and literary tours. Even though these are usually celebrated by the local community, these festivals may also attract tourists from other regions and even international visitors. For example, the Alabama Shakespeare Festival, while not even on the same continent as the genuine Shakespearean literary sites, draws over 300,000 visitors from more than 60 countries annually.<sup>182</sup>

Another concept that is very relevant to the development of a tourism destination is the idea of 'sustainable development'. Over the last two decades, the increasing awareness of the impacts

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<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 99-101.

<sup>180</sup> W. Jamieson, Cultural Heritage Tourism Planning and development: defining the field and its challenges, *APT Bulletin* 29(3/4), 1998, pp. 65-67; G. Richards (ed.), *Cultural Tourism in Europe*, p. 20; M.K. Smith et al., *Key Concepts in Tourist Studies*, pp. 94-95.

<sup>181</sup> E. Inskeep, *Tourism planning: an integrated sustainable development approach*, p. 85.

<sup>182</sup> M. Robinson & H.C. Andersen, Reading between the lines: literature and the creation of touristic spaces, in M. Robinson & H.C. Andersen (eds.), *Literature and Tourism: Reading and Writing Tourism Texts*, p. 2.

that tourism brings to the environment, economy and cultures of a destination has led to the development of sustainable tourism theory and practice.<sup>183</sup> The idea of sustainability actually goes back much further, having developed in the alternative development paradigm of development theory as a reaction against the purely economic focus of some preceding development paradigms, including dependency, modernization and economic neoliberalism. Alternative and sustainable development demanded that in addition to economic considerations, any development must also strive to make use of the environment and surrounding cultures in a viable fashion.<sup>184</sup> Sustainable tourism then needs to:

[M]eet the needs and wants of the local host community in terms of improved living standards and quality of life; satisfy the demands of tourists and the tourism industry, and continue to attract them in order to meet the first aim; and, safeguard the environmental resource base for tourism, encompassing natural, built and cultural components, in order to achieve both of the preceding aims.<sup>185</sup>

These days, it is a requirement for all kinds of tourism development to be as sustainable as possible. Though traditionally considered mostly in an environmental sense, the above definitions indicate wider applications for sustainability in tourism. In 2004, the WTO affirmed this by establishing a set of principles that proposed that sustainable tourism should “make optimal use of environmental resources; respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities; and *ensure viable and long-term economic operations, providing socio-economic benefits to all stakeholders [my emphasis].*”<sup>186</sup>

### 2.3. The future of literary tourism

As illustrated in the above discussion, literary tourism can be described as an inter- and multidisciplinary field of study. Several other aspects also become clear: firstly, that literary tourism research has tended to focus on certain specific topics, such as the authenticity of literary sites and the visitor statistics of such sites, and secondly, that most case studies are set in Europe and concern examples from the Classics of literature. Yet, in recent years, a whole new category of

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<sup>183</sup> M.K. Smith *et al.*, *Key Concepts in Tourist Studies*, p. 170.

<sup>184</sup> D.J. Telfer, The Evolution of Tourism and Development Theory, in R. Sharpley and D.J. Telfer (eds.), *Tourism and Development*, pp. 35-78.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>186</sup> M.K. Smith *et al.*, *Key Concepts in Tourist Studies*, p. 172.

sites has begun to emerge, largely associated with contemporary literature and popular culture. This section will take a look at some of the most prominent developments and their future potential.

Firstly, it should be acknowledged that a number of very recent studies in literary tourism have begun to focus attention on this type of tourism in other parts of the world, other than the usual Eurocentric case studies. These include divergent locations such as China, Australia and South Africa.<sup>187</sup> Of particular interest is an article on the potential of literary tourism in the KwaZulu-Natal province of South Africa. L. Stiebel acknowledges that while the UK has a very well developed and established literary tourism industry, the concept of literary tourism is still very new in South Africa. KwaZulu-Natal is a culturally rich province with lots of potential for literary tourism from authors like Alan Paton, Roy Campbell, Rider Haggard, Lewis Nkosi, Lauretta Ngcobo and Daphne Rook.<sup>188</sup> While also considering commodification and authenticity in literary tourism, Stiebel's article focuses more on her research project aimed at producing a database of all past and present published KwaZulu-Natal writers, linking this database to a literary tourist map of the province on a website, and producing documentary films on selected, representative writers aimed at literature students and literary tourists alike. The ultimate goal of such a research project is to encourage interest among visitors and locals in the literary heritage of the province.<sup>189</sup> It might also have a further positive impact by inspiring other provinces to follow suit.

Another field of study that has also gained prominence in the last few years is that of film tourism, a field that is intricately related to literary tourism. Recently, film tourism has become a popular research topic in its own right within tourism studies. Numerous authors have published about this form of tourism.<sup>190</sup> The relationship between literary and film tourism has been reflected on by film

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<sup>187</sup> See for example F.A. Fairer-Wessels, Young Adult Readers as Potential Consumers of Literary Tourism Sites: a Survey of the Readers of Two of the Dalene Matthee Forest Novels, *Mousaion* 28(2), 2010, pp. 134-151; H. Jia, The Construction of Literary Tourism Site, *Tourism* 57(1), 2009, pp. 69-83; Y. Smith, *Literary Tourism as a Developing Genre: South Africa's Potential*; L. Stiebel, Hitting the Hot Spots: Literary Tourism as a Research Field with Particular Reference to KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, *Critical Arts* 18(2), 2004, pp. 31-42; J.N. Yiannakis and A. Davies, Diversifying Rural Economies Through Literary Tourism: a Review of Literary Tourism in Western Australia, *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 7(1), 2012, pp. 33-44.

<sup>188</sup> L. Stiebel, Hitting the Hot Spots: Literary Tourism as a Research Field with Particular Reference to KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, *Critical Arts* 18(2), 2004, p. 34.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>190</sup> See for example S. Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism*; S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*; M.K. Smith *et al.*, *Key Concepts in Tourist Studies*; A. Buchmann *et al.*, Experiencing Film Tourism: Authenticity and Fellowship, *Annals of Tourism Research* 37(1), 2010, pp. 229-248; J. Connell, Film Tourism – Evolution, Progress and Prospects, *Tourism Management* 33, 2012, pp. 1007-1029; K. O'Neill *et al.*, The

tourism writers, but curiously, it is hardly ever mentioned in literary tourism studies. This might be due to the proverbial chicken/egg question – what comes first, literary or film tourism? Literary tourism would eagerly assume the role of parent and view film tourism as an offshoot, while film tourism might reject this view and describe itself as an independent field of study. Academics studying film tourism have noted this absence of academic scrutiny. S. Beeton acknowledges that since the late nineteenth century, cultural representations through literary associations have gained increasing prominence in tourist visitation and promotion throughout the world. She also points out that today, this has been largely superseded by film representations, that is, film can now be used as a destination-marketing tool. Significantly, Beeton acknowledges that “...literary tourism remains popular and its impacts must also be considered and managed, often in conjunction with film-induced tourism”.<sup>191</sup>

Another early proponent for the combined study of literary and film tourism is A. Buchmann with her study on mythical tourism to the literary Erewhon and the film-inspired Edoras in the Upper Rangitata Valley in Canterbury, New Zealand.<sup>192</sup> 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 a background for his novels.<sup>193</sup> The book became a bestseller and within a few weeks of publication, 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. 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, were constructed in another part of the valley. The set has since been disassembled, but the site is still attracting large numbers of film tourists.<sup>194</sup> This last type of tourism refers to film-location induced tourism, and yet it may also stand in for literary tourism, for where else in the world can enthusiastic readers of *The Lord of the Rings* go to see Edoras, if not the film setting where the entirely fictional capital came to life?

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Corellification of Cephallonian Tourism, *Anatolia: an International Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Research* 16(2), 2005, pp. 207-226.

<sup>191</sup> S. Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism*, p. 53.

<sup>192</sup> A. Buchmann, From Erewhon to Edoras: Tourism and Myths in New Zealand, *Tourism, Culture and Communication* 6(1), 2005, p. 181.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 184.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 181.

Buchmann investigates why tourists seek to visit mythical places in their travels, concluding that escape and fantasy are important travel motivators. She also concludes that myths and fantasy are used by destinations to promote their image on a global scale. She illustrates this in her case study, using the unique and iconic images from the mythical Erewhon and Edoras to create favourable tourist place promotion for the Upper Rangitata Valley.<sup>195</sup> Buchmann investigates the implications for locals, who seem to more readily approve of the older Erewhon association than the contemporary Edoras association, and the tourism industry in terms of site management. Her conclusions indicate that while no study has as yet investigated the differences between literary and film tourists, it seems that in the case of the Upper Rangitata Valley these two can co-exist in a peaceful and complementary fashion.<sup>196</sup>

For the purposes of its relationship to literary tourism, the visiting of sites during or after the production of a film or television series is important. Filming location sites can either be the exact destination described in the book it is based on, like Rome and the Vatican in Dan Brown's *Angels and Demons*; or the location can be a separate one, like Stephenie Meyer's *The Twilight Saga* films where the books are set in Forks, Washington, but the movies were filmed mainly at sites in Oregon, USA and Vancouver, Canada.

Examples abound of excellent contemporary literary tourism sites with well-developed film tourism initiatives. This next section will now briefly look at categories of contemporary literary tourism selected for their prominence as popular literary works and their equally impressive claims to being film or television blockbusters. These cases can be divided into three particularly popular categories: firstly, suspenseful quests, including the works of Dan Brown and Stieg Larsson; secondly, fantastical travels, including the works of J.R.R. Tolkien, G.R.R. Martin and J.K. Rowling; and thirdly vampiric allure, looking at the works of L.J. Smith. The literary and film tourism aspects of these case studies are of equal importance and it is therefore difficult to distinguish between these two types of tourism, thereby highlighting the inextricable relationship between literary and film tourism.

As the first example of suspenseful quests, Dan Brown's extremely popular novels, especially *The Da Vinci Code* and *Angels & Demons*, have had a massive influence on tourism. The national Italian tourism agency has used *Angels & Demons* as part of its tourism marketing strategy for

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<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 182-183.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 186-187.

Rome, while Roman tour operators have been offering *Angels & Demons* themed tours since shortly after the release of the novel in 2000.<sup>197</sup> In this case, the statistics are phenomenal. The official tour offered by *Dark Rome Tours* receives 600 clients a month, averaging at \$52,200. Rome's provincial Department of Tourism hoped that the literary and film tourism associated with *Angels & Demons* would relaunch American tourism to the 'Eternal City', which had dropped by 6% in 2008, largely as a result of the weak dollar.<sup>198</sup> After the release of the film in 2009, this was realized when visitor numbers increased 252%, as reflected by hotel reservations in Rome.<sup>199</sup> Exactly what percentage was due to the literary and film tourism contribution is however difficult to determine, but the coincidence cannot be overlooked.

The *Da Vinci Code* tourism has revolved around sites in London, Scotland and France. Rosslyn Chapel in Midlothian, Scotland used to receive 38 000 visitors a year, but after the *Da Vinci Code* movie was released in 2006, visits increased to 176 000 annually.<sup>200</sup> Even the Louvre Museum in Paris offered a *Da Vinci Code* audio tour entitled "A Visit to the Louvre Mixing Fiction and Fact", blending elements from the story with facts about the museum's artefacts.<sup>201</sup> Clearly this is a case of literary tourism existing prior to film tourism, but after the release of the *Da Vinci Code* and *Angels & Demons* films, interest in tourism sites associated with these Dan Brown novels increased significantly, presumably as a result of a greater populist film audience. The *Angels & Demons* film and literary tourism is an interesting case in point, since the novel is set in Rome and the movie was filmed in Rome, raising the question, when is it literary tourism and when is it film tourism, or is it both?

Another relevant and very recent example of suspenseful quests involves tourism associated with the *Millennium Trilogy*, consisting of *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo*, *The Girl Who Played with Fire* and *The Girl Who Kicked the Hornets' Nest*, by Swedish author Stieg Larsson. The Stockholm

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<sup>197</sup> Italian Government Tourist Board – North America. "Angels & Demons" in the eternal city of Rome', <<http://www.italiantourism.com/newsletters/n.86.html>>, s.a. Access: 15 November 2010.

<sup>198</sup> E. Povoledo, 'Dan Brown tourists: next stop, Rome?' <[http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/24/movies/24ange.html?\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/24/movies/24ange.html?_r=1)>, 24 June 2008. Access: 15 November 2010.

<sup>199</sup> Anonymous, 'The Trail of the Lost Symbol: How Dan Brown is Boosting Tourism', <<http://www.skyscanner.net/news/articles/2009/09/002932-on-the-trail-of-the-lost-symbol-with-skyscanner-how-dan-browns-angels-demons-and-da-vinci-code-are-boosting-tourism.html>>, 14 September 2009. Access: 15 November 2010.

<sup>200</sup> E. Povoledo, 'Dan Brown tourists: next stop, Rome?' <[http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/24/movies/24ange.html?\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/24/movies/24ange.html?_r=1)>, 24 June 2008. Access: 15 November 2010.

<sup>201</sup> Anonymous, 'The Trail of the Lost Symbol: How Dan Brown is Boosting Tourism', <<http://www.skyscanner.net/news/articles/2009/09/002932-on-the-trail-of-the-lost-symbol-with-skyscanner-how-dan-browns-angels-demons-and-da-vinci-code-are-boosting-tourism.html>>, 14 September 2009. Access: 15 November 2010.

City Museum launched a walking tour that weaves together details from the plots of the three novels, the history of Stockholm and the life of Larsson. This particular tour is a form of 'pure' literary tourism, because of its focus points. However film tourism is also at play as a result of the Hollywood film about the first book in the trilogy that was filmed in Uppsala, as well as the Swedish film trilogy that was filmed partly in Stockholm itself. Visits to the city increased by 6% from 2009, while the rest of Sweden recorded decreased visitor numbers. The Larsson walking tours have been identified as a major contributor to this increase.<sup>202</sup>

The second category of contemporary literary and film tourism sites relates to fantastical quests. This category is particularly difficult to negotiate, due to the fact that these works of literature fall into the fantasy genre – a non-tangible or almost virtual realm. As such, they have no real-world literary tourism sites to visit. In recent years, these types of literature have become extremely popular material to be turned into blockbuster films or television series. In turn, the film aspect adds real-life locations to these fantasy destinations, which can be visited by fanatics<sup>203</sup> of the films or television series. This category cannot be regarded only as film tourism, as the films were in the first place based on popular works of fiction. Thus, this second category is the perfect blending of literary and film tourism into a new kind of tourism altogether. For this phenomenon, the joining of literature and film, Reijnders suggested the rather ambiguous term of 'media tourism'.<sup>204</sup>

An excellent example of these fantastical destinations would be *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy and *The Hobbit* by J.R.R. Tolkien. Turned into some of the highest-grossing films of all time from 2001 to 2003 and 2012 to 2014 respectively by Peter Jackson,<sup>205</sup> the fictional Middle-Earth found its home in New Zealand. This association has been both cemented and enhanced by New Zealand's national tourism agency using the links to Middle-Earth to promote its country's tourism.<sup>206</sup> The New Zealand government has even appointed a 'Minister of the Rings' to maximise the benefits from film tourism.<sup>207</sup> Since 2002, New Zealand's national airline, Air New Zealand, has been

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<sup>202</sup> F. Radosevich, 'A Stockholm Walking Tour Visits the Sites of Stieg Larsson's "The Girl With The Dragon Tattoo"', <http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/europe/101102/stieg-larsson-millennium-trilogy-walking-tour?page=0,1>, 3 November 2010. Access: 15 November 2010.

<sup>203</sup> The label 'fanatic', or fan, is a subjective self-description, denoting a person with strong feelings of admiration for a particular field of interest, or more specifically, a particular film, book, artist, et cetera.

<sup>204</sup> S. Reijnders, Stalking the Count: Dracula, Fandom and Tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research* 38(1), 2011, p. 233.

<sup>205</sup> Box Office Mojo, 'All Time Box Office', <<http://boxofficemojo.com/alltime/world/>>, 5 January 2014. Access: 5 January 2014.

<sup>206</sup> Tourism New Zealand, 'Explore the real Middle-Earth when you visit New Zealand', <<http://www.newzealand.com/int/>>, s.a. Access: 13 December 2013.

<sup>207</sup> M.K. Smith *et al.*, *Key Concepts in Tourist Studies*, p. 73.

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 film-related images and information.<sup>208</sup> One of the actual film sets, Hobbiton, used in both *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Hobbit* franchises, has been turned into a permanent and very successful tourism destination in Matamata.<sup>209</sup>

Another example is the *Harry Potter* series by J.K. Rowling, which draws literary, and in particular film tourists, to visit various sites in Scotland (e.g. the Glenfinnan Viaduct, the Jacobite Steam Train, Edinburgh Castle, the Scottish Highlands), England (Alnwick Castle, the North Yorkshire moors), London (Gloucester Cathedral, Kings Cross Station) and Oxford (the Bodleian Library at Oxford University).<sup>210</sup> In 2003, Harry Potter tourism was credited with saving the British tourism industry from the bad effects of the foot-and-mouth epidemic.<sup>211</sup> In 2004, a US company – 'HP Fan Trips' - was established to specialize only in *Harry Potter* tours, offering annual trips to the UK.<sup>212</sup> On top of that, Universal Studios' Orlando resort in Florida opened a new theme park: 'The Wizarding World of Harry Potter'. As a result, in 2010 the resort experienced its most successful quarter in its twenty-year history.<sup>213</sup> In fact, the park has proven so successful that Warner Brothers have also opened tours of the studio where the series was filmed called 'The Making of Harry Potter' tour, in London. The studio tour provides visitors with the opportunity to go behind-the-scenes and see how the world of *Harry Potter* was brought to life, from the detailed sets to costumes, props and animatronics.<sup>214</sup> During the visit, tourists can also purchase items in the studio shop, decorated with authentic props from the films, and buy souvenirs including replica wands, candies featured in the series (Bertie Bott's Every-Flavour Beans and Chocolate Frogs),

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<sup>208</sup> A. Buchmann, From Erewhon to Eodoras: Tourism and Myths in New Zealand, *Tourism, Culture and Communication* 6(1), 2005, p. 182.

<sup>209</sup> Hobbiton Movie Set Tours, 'Explore the real Middle-Earth', <<http://www.hobbitontours.com/Home/tabid/38/Default.aspx>>, 2012. Access: 13 December 2013.

<sup>210</sup> Anonymous, 'The Harry Potter Virtual Film Location Tour'. <<http://www.chiff.com/a/harry-potter-travel-tour.htm>>, s.a. Access: 15 November 2010; Anonymous, 'HP Fan Trips Announces 2007 Tours, VIP 'Phoenix' Screening', <<http://www.hpana.com/news.19641.html>>, 24 October 2006. Access: 15 November 2010.

<sup>211</sup> G. Topham, 'Harry Potter is wizard for tourism', <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2003/apr/24/pressandpublishing.theharrypotterfilm>>, 24 April 2003. Access: 15 November 2010.

<sup>212</sup> Anonymous, 'HP Fan Trips Announces 2007 Tours, VIP 'Phoenix' Screening', <<http://www.hpana.com/news.19641.html>>, 24 October 2006. Access: 15 November 2010.

<sup>213</sup> J. Garcia and S.K. Clarke, 'Universal attendance still soaring', <[http://articles.orlandosentinel.com/2010-11-14/business/os-cfb-tourism-harrypotter20101114\\_1\\_universal-orlando-wizarding-world-universal-attendance/2](http://articles.orlandosentinel.com/2010-11-14/business/os-cfb-tourism-harrypotter20101114_1_universal-orlando-wizarding-world-universal-attendance/2)>, 14 November 2010. Access: 15 November 2010.

<sup>214</sup> Warner Bros. Entertainment Inc., 'Warner Bros. Studio Tour London', <<http://www.wbstudiotour.co.uk>>, 2013. Access: 25 October 2013.

Hogwarts robes and school ties, artwork, knitwear and jewellery.<sup>215</sup> Further evidence of this incredible success is that Universal Studios has opened yet another ‘The Wizarding World of Harry Potter’ theme park modeled after their resort in Florida in Osaka, Japan in 2014.<sup>216</sup>

A third example of these fantastical quests relates to the massively popular *HBO* fantasy television drama, *Game of Thrones*. Based on the *A Song of Ice and Fire* series by George R.R. Martin, *Game of Thrones* has been drawing an increasing number of tourists to Northern Ireland. The series is filmed in a Belfast studio and across the Causeway Coast, amongst other places. Tourist visitation as result of the television series has already boosted Northern Ireland’s economy by a phenomenal €77 million. And as the popularity of this series gains momentum and new seasons are commissioned, these economic benefits will just continue to grow, not just from tourism, but also from the actual filming itself.<sup>217</sup> 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 recognize 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 uncharted 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 Night’s Watch protected the Wall from intruders from the north. Fans of the Targaryen dynasty can visit Malta’s Gozo Island and the peculiar natural archway of rocks called the “Azure Window”, the setting for Daenerys Targaryen’s wedding.<sup>218</sup>

The third and final category is closely related to the case study of this dissertation: vampiric allure. The example chosen here is *The Vampire Diaries* by L.J. Smith. This series of young adult fiction

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<sup>215</sup> Warner Bros. Entertainment Inc., ‘Studio Shop’, <<http://www.wbstudiotour.co.uk/en/tour/studio-shop>>, 2013. Access: 25 October 2013.

<sup>216</sup> News 24, ‘Most-anticipated Tourist Attractions Opening in 2014’, <<http://www.news24.com/Travel/International/Most-anticipated-tourist-attractions-opening-in-2014-20140103>>, 3 January 2013. Access: 5 January 2014.

<sup>217</sup> Euronews, “‘GOT’ boosts Northern Ireland’s economy”, <<http://www.euronews.com/2013/06/19/game-of-thrones-boosts-northern-ireland-s-economy/>>, 19 June 2013. Access: 6 July 2013.

<sup>218</sup> Viator, ‘Game of Thrones Sites in Europe’, <<http://www.viator.com/Europe-tourism/Game-of-Thrones-Sites-in-Europe/d6-t10684>>, September 2013. Access: 25 October 2013.

books was turned into a *CW* television series in 2009 and is currently in its sixth season. The fictional Mystic Falls, Virginia, has found its real-world home in Covington, Georgia.<sup>219</sup> The town has recently become an international hotspot for literary and film tourists who want to watch the filming of the hit series. A company called *Vampire Stalkers* is offering tours, and they have been doing so well that the owners have even opened a souvenir store, *On Location Gifts*, in the town square.<sup>220</sup> According to Hunter Hall, the president of the town's Chamber of Commerce, the attraction is becoming the town's lifeblood. In 2012 alone, they received visitors from 44 US states and 33 different countries.<sup>221</sup> Moreover, a restaurant featured in the series, the *Mystic Grill*, is in development and a crowd-funding venture is underway to have the restaurant opened in 2014.<sup>222</sup> This television series has been so successful that *CW* has commissioned a spin-off series in 2013 about the original vampire family featured in *The Vampire Diaries*, called *The Originals*. Even though this new series is set in New Orleans, it is also filmed in Covington, and *Vampire Stalkers* also offer tours to *The Originals* sets and filming locations.

The popularity of these types of tourism is attested by the fact that well-known tour companies like *Viator* feel it prudent to offer these kinds of highly specialized tours. The fact that new companies can start up by exclusively doing literary and film tours is another testimony that literary and film tourism is growing in popularity and definitely here to stay.

Literary and film tourism has become a force to be reckoned with, with the current tourism market trends. Literary tourism, just on its own, apparently contributes approximately £2.6 billion to the UK tourism industry annually.<sup>223</sup> From the above discussion, it is evident that in some instances literary and film tourism is so similar as to be indistinguishable. Academic discourse has tended to enforce the differentiation of these fields in order to establish the one's supremacy over the other. But the question is, is this necessary? This dissertation recommends that instead of viewing the relationship in this way, it is preferable to describe literary and film tourism in terms of a symbiotic and mutually beneficial relationship (see Figure 1 below).

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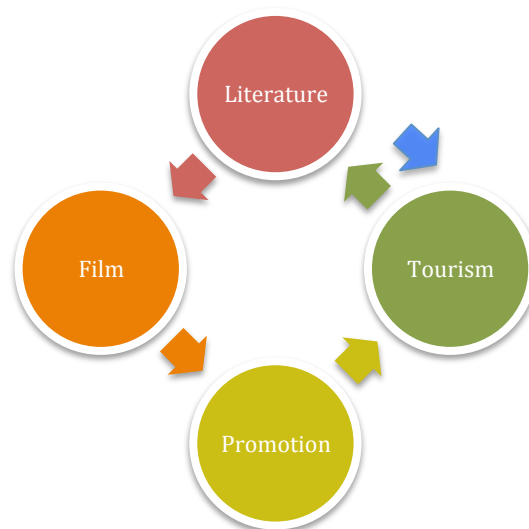
<sup>219</sup> Mystic Falls Tour, 'You have been invited in... to Mystic Falls!!!', <<http://www.mysticfallstour.com/Home.html>>, 2013. Access: 13 December 2013.

<sup>220</sup> J. Lowery, 'Vampire Stalkers/Mystic Falls Tours', <<https://www.facebook.com/pages/Vampire-StalkersMystic-Falls-Tours/165260313516145>>, 29 September 2013. Access: 29 September 2013.

<sup>221</sup> J. Dore, 'Vampire Diary tourists invading north Georgia', <<http://m.wsbtv.com/news/news/local/tourists-going-batty-north-central-georgia/nZQKp/>>, 15 August 2013. Access: 15 August 2013.

<sup>222</sup> A. Beszborn, 'The Mystic Grill is becoming a reality!', <<http://www.kickstarter.com/projects/1368508019/the-mystic-grill-is-becoming-a-reality?ref=live>>, 30 December 2013. Access: 31 December 2013.

<sup>223</sup> J. Maley, 'Dreaming of Darcy, Dreading the Gas Bill', <<http://www.Smh.co.au/news/opinion/dreaming-of-darcy-dreading-the-gas-bill/2007/08/28/1188067110904.html>>, 28 August 2007. Access: 15 November 2010.



**Figure 1: The symbiotic relationship of literary and film tourism**

It is true in many cases that literature provides inspiration for Hollywood's film industry, thus coming first, but there is also a case to be made for 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.<sup>224</sup> This seems to be the case even if the book was already a classic in its own right. Another case in point is that after the release of a remake of F. Scott Fitzgerald's 1925 classic *The Great Gatsby* in 2013, 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.<sup>225</sup> Film, being the more accessible medium, can be used as a way to promote literature and indeed, tourism. While it can usually be seen that some form of literary tourism predates the film release, it is usually after the release of a film that a sharp increase in visitation is evident. This indeed complicates the matter, because can we still talk about literary and film tourism then as separate topics, or are we perhaps seeing the forming of new type of tourism through the amalgamation of two of cultural tourism's most popular niche markets?

<sup>224</sup> A. Lewis, "'Hunger Games' movie fuels sharp rise in books sales", <<http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/hunger-games-twilight-book-sales-versus-jennifer-lawrence-josh-hutcherson-305457>>, 28 March 2012. Access: 5 January 2014.

<sup>225</sup> P. Irish, 'The Great Gatsby the movie boosts sales of The Great Gatsby the book', <[http://www.thestar.com/entertainment/movies/2013/05/09/the\\_great\\_gatsby\\_the\\_movie\\_boosts\\_sales\\_of\\_the\\_great\\_gatsby\\_the\\_book.html](http://www.thestar.com/entertainment/movies/2013/05/09/the_great_gatsby_the_movie_boosts_sales_of_the_great_gatsby_the_book.html)>, 9 May 2013. Access: 5 January 2014.

## CHAPTER 3 – LITERARY PHENOMENON

The following two sections will explore the world of the case study of this dissertation, *The Twilight Saga* by Stephenie Meyer. Initially released in 2005, *The Twilight Saga* has achieved phenomenal success and has morphed into literary, film and tourism phenomena. This chapter will look at *The Twilight Saga* itself. Firstly, the books that make up this saga will be discussed. The second section will look at the author, Stephenie Meyer and in the final section, *Twilight's* journey to the big screen will be reviewed.

### 3.1. *The Twilight Saga*

The *Twilight Saga* consists of a quartet of novels: *Twilight*, *New Moon*, *Eclipse* and *Breaking Dawn* (see figure 3 in Annexure). *Twilight* tells the story of an accident-prone teenaged girl named Isabella (Bella) Swan who moves to rainy Forks to live with her father in order to give her newly-married mother some space with her new husband. On her first day at school, Bella is drawn to a strange group of siblings, the Cullens, particularly to 17-year-old Edward. Bella also intrigues Edward, but as fate would have it, Edward and his family are all vampires and he desperately craves her blood. In spite of this, Bella and Edward fall deeply in love. Soon another coven of nomad vampires shows up and puts Bella's life in danger.<sup>1</sup>

The Cullens are not typical vampires: they do not sleep in coffins or turn to ash in the sun. In fact, they cannot sleep at all, they do not have fangs and their crystal-like marble skins sparkle in the sun. They are superfast and super-strong and they do not need to breathe. They are all unnaturally beautiful and immortal. Some of this new breed of vampires also possesses special abilities, like being able to read thoughts, see the future, control emotions, create hallucinations, and manipulate the elements. The Cullens also do not drink human blood, instead opting to feed off the local wild life. They jokingly refer to themselves as 'vegetarians'.<sup>2</sup>

In *New Moon*, Edward decides to leave Bella for her own safety after an accident at her eighteenth birthday party. This leaves Bella in a miserable state and she seeks comfort with her childhood friend, Jacob Black. Jacob is part of the Quileute Native American tribe living in the reserve at La Push, close to Forks. Soon Bella realizes that Jacob is not entirely normal either and can turn into

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<sup>1</sup> S. Meyer, *Twilight*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164.

a werewolf, a Quileute protective trait triggered by vampires. When Edward mistakenly believes that Bella is dead after having committed suicide by jumping off a cliff (she was actually just cliff diving – a Quileute pastime in the book), he decides to go to the vampire royal family called the Volturi in Volterra, Italy to ask them to kill him too. Fortunately Bella and Edward's 'sister', Alice, arrive in time to save him.<sup>3</sup>

In *Eclipse*, Bella must choose between Edward and Jacob. This choice is set against the backdrop of a major confrontation with the nomad vampire Victoria. She creates an army to help her take on the Cullens, since she wants to kill Bella out of revenge for Edward killing her mate, James, in *Twilight*.<sup>4</sup> In June 2010, Meyer released a novella entitled *The Short Second Life of Bree Tanner*, to complement *Eclipse*. This release also aptly coincided with the release of the film version of *Eclipse*. The novella tells the story of Bree Tanner, who was changed into a vampire by the nomad vampire Victoria. Bree joins Victoria's vampire army bent on fighting the Cullens for the rights to the Seattle area (also in Washington State) against the backdrop of Victoria's personal vendetta against the Cullens.<sup>5</sup>

*Breaking Dawn* starts off with Edward and Bella's wedding. They go off to honeymoon on a private island off the coast of Brazil, where Bella unexpectedly falls pregnant. She returns to Forks to have her baby, but nearly dies during childbirth, necessitating Edward to turn her into a vampire to keep her alive. When she regains consciousness, she is a beautiful immortal with a supernatural daughter named Renesmee. When another vampire sees Bella and her daughter, she reports them to the Volturi, since it is illegal to create child vampires. The Volturi travel to Forks to punish the Cullens, but are dumbstruck by the fact that Renesmee is Bella and Edward's biological child. In the end, the Cullens are exonerated, leaving the protagonists to truly live happily ever after.<sup>6</sup>

Meyer also started work on another novel in the *Twilight Saga* called *Midnight Sun*, essentially *Twilight* from Edward's perspective. After a leak on the Internet, though, she decided to shelve the project indefinitely.<sup>7</sup> In 2011, Meyer released *The Twilight Saga: an Official Illustrated Guide* to complement her series. This guide contains character profiles, additional passages cut during the editing process, an extensive interview with Meyer, genealogical charts, maps, cross-references

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<sup>3</sup> S. Meyer, *New Moon*.

<sup>4</sup> S. Meyer, *Eclipse*.

<sup>5</sup> S. Meyer, *The Short Second Life of Bree Tanner*.

<sup>6</sup> S. Meyer, *Breaking Dawn*.

<sup>7</sup> S. Meyer, 'August 28, 2008', <<http://www.stepheniemeyer.com/midnightsun.html>>, 28 August 2008. Access: 26 July 2009.

and numerous illustrations.<sup>8</sup> In addition to the *Twilight Saga*, Meyer released her first adult science-fiction novel, *The Host* on May 6, 2008.<sup>9</sup>

### 3.2. Stephenie Meyer

Stephenie Meyer (see figure 2 in Annexure) was born on 24 December 1973 in Connecticut, but grew up in Phoenix, Arizona. She is the second oldest child of Stephen and Candace Morgan, and has two sisters and three brothers. Meyer received a National Merit Scholarship to attend Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah, where she majored in English literature. She is married to Christiaan 'Pancho' Meyer and they reside in Phoenix, Arizona with their three sons: Gabe, Seth and Eli.<sup>10</sup>

The story of how this self-proclaimed housewife became a bestselling author is just as remarkable as the success of this series itself. It all started with a dream on June 2, 2003. A young woman and man were in a beautiful, sunlit meadow in the middle of a dark forest. The handsome man was sparkling in the sun, throwing rainbows everywhere. They were in love, but the young man was a vampire. He was telling the young woman how hard it was for him not to kill her.<sup>11</sup> This dream would eventually turn into a chapter in *Twilight*, which would ultimately turn into the first book of the bestselling series, *The Twilight Saga*. This was remarkable in view of the fact that Meyer had never written anything more than a few chapters of other stories before then, and shied away from creative writing classes at university.<sup>12</sup> But the dream had been so vivid and wonderful that she just had to write it down. She had a lot to do for her young children that morning. But she stayed in bed, thinking about the dream and wondering what would have happened next. Reluctantly she got up and set to work. But as soon as she had a free moment, she sat down at the computer and wrote down the dream.<sup>13</sup> For three months, Meyer wrote furiously, mostly after eight in the evening when her children were in bed. By August 2003, she had finished her first novel.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Little Brown Books for Young Readers. 'October 5, 2010', <<http://www.stepheniemeyer.com>>, 5 October 2010. Access: 8 July 2013.

<sup>9</sup> L. Grossman, 'Stephenie Meyer: a New J.K. Rowling?', <<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1734838,00.html>>, 24 April 2008. Access: 9 May 2008.

<sup>10</sup> S. Meyer, 'Unofficial Bio', <[http://www.stepheniemeyer.com/bio\\_unofficial](http://www.stepheniemeyer.com/bio_unofficial)>, s.a. Access: 9 May 2008.

<sup>11</sup> S. Meyer, 'The Story Behind *Twilight*', <<http://www.stepheniemeyer.com/twilight.html>>, s.a. Access: 9 May 2008.

<sup>12</sup> S. Meyer, 'Unofficial Bio', <[http://www.stepheniemeyer.com/bio\\_unofficial](http://www.stepheniemeyer.com/bio_unofficial)>, s.a. Access: 9 May 2008.

<sup>13</sup> S. Meyer, 'The Story Behind *Twilight*', <<http://www.stepheniemeyer.com/twilight.html>>, s.a. Access: 9 May 2008.

<sup>14</sup> L. Grossman, 'Stephenie Meyer: a New J.K. Rowling?', <<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1734838,00.html>>, 24 April 2008. Access: 9 May 2008.

At first she was not planning on writing a book or starting a career as a writer. In fact, it was not until after she had finished *Twilight* and her older sister, Emily Rasmussen, suggested it that Meyer thought of publishing. After sending out fifteen queries to publishing agents and getting eight rejections, she got lucky. Jodi Reamer of Writers House agreed to be her agent. After editing *Twilight*, Reamer pitched the novel to several publishing houses. Little, Brown and Company decided to pick up the book around November 2003 and offered Meyer a massive pre-emptive deal, but Reamer turned them down.<sup>15</sup> Eventually Meyer signed a deal for a three-book series with Little, Brown and Company worth \$750 000 – the most any Young Adult novel had ever been signed for.<sup>16</sup> Meyer herself was shocked by this vast contract: “I’d been hoping for \$10 000 to pay off my minivan”.<sup>17</sup> So in just six months, *Twilight* went from being a dream to a published novel.

Contrary to popular perceptions at present, *Twilight* was not an immediate success. In the beginning, sales were modest, but they were increasing each week. The series’ popularity increased with every book: *Twilight* had an initial printing of 75 000, *New Moon* had a moderate increase to 100 000 copies. Then things started gaining momentum, and before long *Eclipse* was released with an initial printing of 1 million copies, which put the series right in *Harry Potter*’s league.<sup>18</sup> The fourth book, *Breaking Dawn*, had a first printing of 3.2 million copies,<sup>19</sup> and sold more than 1.3 million copies just in the first 24 hours after its release, making it one of the world’s bestselling books of 2008.<sup>20</sup>

The success of the *Twilight Saga* has been nothing short of remarkable. The series has won numerous awards for its author including: a *New York Times* Editor’s Choice, a *Publisher’s Weekly* Best Book of the Year and Most Promising Authors of 2005, an *Amazon* Best Book of the Decade...So Far, a *Teen People* “Hot List” pick, and an American Library Association’s Top Ten Best Book for Young Adults and Top Ten Books for Reluctant Readers. After its release, *New*

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<sup>15</sup> S. Meyer, ‘The Story Behind *Twilight*’, <<http://www.stepheniemeyer.com/twilight.html>>, s.a. Access: 9 May 2008.

<sup>16</sup> G. Koeppl, ‘Valley woman turns vampire dream into book empire’, <[http://www.stepheniemeyer.com/pdf/interviews\\_azbw.pdf](http://www.stepheniemeyer.com/pdf/interviews_azbw.pdf)>, July 2007. Access: 9 May 2008.

<sup>17</sup> K. Valby, The Storyteller, in *Entertainment Weekly*, *Twilight: the Complete Journey*, p. 14.

<sup>18</sup> L. Grossman, ‘It’s *Twilight* in America: the Vampire Saga’, <<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1938712-1,00.html>>, 23 November 2009. Access: 2 December 2009.

<sup>19</sup> C. Memmott, ‘“*Twilight*” author Stephenie Meyer Unfazed as Fame Dawns’, <[http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/life/books/news/2008-07-30-stephenie-meyer-main\\_N.htm](http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/life/books/news/2008-07-30-stephenie-meyer-main_N.htm)>, 1 August 2008. Access: 4 July 2013.

<sup>20</sup> S. Meyer, ‘Bio’, <<http://www.stepheniemeyer.com/bio.html>>, s.a. Access: 4 July 2013.

*Moon* spent an impressive 25 weeks at number one on *The New York Times* bestseller list.<sup>21</sup> *Twilight* spent a year on the same bestseller list, including four weeks at the top spot.<sup>22</sup> In total, the books of the *Twilight Saga* have spent more than 235 weeks on *The New York Times* bestseller list.<sup>23</sup> In 2008, the four books of the series claimed the top four spots on *USA Today's* year-end bestseller list, making Meyer the first author ever to achieve this feat, as well as being the bestselling author of that year.<sup>24</sup> According to *Amazon*, Meyer was the second best-selling author of the decade (2000-2009), beaten only by J.K. Rowling.<sup>25</sup> The *Twilight Saga's* translation rights have been sold in nearly 50 countries and more than 116 million copies have been sold worldwide.<sup>26</sup> Meyer was ranked in the top 50 of *Time* magazine's "100 Most Influential People" in 2008.<sup>27</sup> She was also included in the *Forbes* Celebrity 100 "List of the world's most powerful celebrities" in 2009 and 2010, with personal annual earnings between \$40-50 million.<sup>28</sup>

In almost every news article published about Meyer, she is in some way compared to the celebrated *Harry Potter* author J.K. Rowling, or celebrated as the second coming of this prolific author.<sup>29</sup> The simple reason for this is that no one expected anyone to be able to live up to the hype that surrounded Rowling and *Harry Potter* and yet it seems Stephenie Meyer has done just

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> C. Goodnow, 'Stephenie Meyer's Forks-based Saga of Teen Vampire Love is Now a Global Hit', <<http://www.seattlepi.com/ae/books/article/Stephenie-Meyer-s-Forks-based-saga-of-teen-1245825.php#page-2>>, 6 August 2007. Access: 4 July 2013.

<sup>23</sup> L. Grossman, 'Stephenie Meyer: a New J.K. Rowling?', <<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1734838,00.html>>, 24 April 2008. Access: 9 May 2008.

<sup>24</sup> B. Minzesheimer & A. DeBarros, 'Sellers basked in Stephenie Meyer's 'Twilight' in 2008', <[http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/life/books/news/2009-01-14-top-sellers-main\\_N.htm](http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/life/books/news/2009-01-14-top-sellers-main_N.htm)>, 16 January 2009. Access: 11 July 2013.

<sup>25</sup> J. Liew, 'Amazon: top 10 best-selling books of the decade', <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/technology/amazon/6825584/Amazon-top-10-best-selling-books-of-the-decade.html>>, 16 December 2009. Access: 11 July 2013.

<sup>26</sup> Little Brown Books for Young Readers. 'October 5, 2010', <<http://www.stepheniemeyer.com>>, 5 October 2010. Access: 8 July 2013.

<sup>27</sup> S. Brown & M. Kung, 'The 2008 TIME 100 Finalists', <[http://www.time.com/time/specials/2007/article/0,28804,1725112\\_1726934\\_1726935,00.html](http://www.time.com/time/specials/2007/article/0,28804,1725112_1726934_1726935,00.html)>, s.a. Access: 11 July 2013.

<sup>28</sup> *Forbes*, 'The Celebrity 100', <[http://www.forbes.com/lists/2010/53/celeb-100-10\\_The-Celebrity-100.html](http://www.forbes.com/lists/2010/53/celeb-100-10_The-Celebrity-100.html)>, 28 June 2010. Access: 11 July 2013.

<sup>29</sup> L. Grossman, 'Stephenie Meyer: a New J.K. Rowling?', <<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1734838,00.html>>, 24 April 2008. Access: 9 May 2008; E. Futterman, "'Twilight' Author Stephenie Meyer on Her Musical Muses, Upcoming Movie and Mermaid Dreams", <<http://www.rollingstone.com/music/news/twilight-author-stephenie-meyer-on-her-musical-muses-upcoming-movie-and-mermaid-dreams-20080808>>, 8 August 2008. Access: 4 July 2013; *The Independent*, "'Twilight' author, Stephenie Meyer is America's JK Rowling", <<http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/books/news/twilight-author-stephenie-meyer-is-americas-quos-jk-rowling-1823480.html>>, 19 November 2009. Access: 11 July 2013; K. Valby, *The Storyteller*, in *Entertainment Weekly*, *Twilight: the Complete Journey*, p. 14; H. Anderson, 'Obama's 'Dreams,' Meyer's Vampires Capture 'Nbbie' Book Awards' <<http://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=newsarchive&sid=atco4IDHLk44&refer=home>>, 3 April 2009. Access: 11 July 2013.

that. She may still be lagging behind in the number of books sold, but in some cases Meyer has surpassed Rowling: she won her first British Book Award for *Breaking Dawn* despite competing against Rowling and her *The Tales of Beedle the Bard*,<sup>30</sup> while *Eclipse* knocked *Harry Potter* off the top spot on *The New York Times* bestseller list after its release.<sup>31</sup>

Meyer is a devout Mormon and her beliefs also profoundly influence her writing, manifesting as strong themes of free will<sup>32</sup> and sexual abstinence before marriage.<sup>33</sup> This moral position is one of the reasons why Meyer is so popular with her fans. Aside from her religion, Meyer's family is another grounding-point in her life. Her family is very supportive of her writing career: her brothers Paul and Jacob help her with any automotive queries; her sister Emily, as mentioned above, was the one who encouraged her to get published; her brother Seth runs her official website; and her parents are always there to encourage her.<sup>34</sup> She also gave her siblings' names to some of her characters in *The Twilight Saga*. And even though her husband had no idea that she was writing a book at first, he has since resigned from his auditor job to become a stay-at-home dad to take care of their children to allow Meyer to meet all her commitments.<sup>35</sup>

She also has an extremely loyal fan base. Many of them are even willing to travel thousands of kilometres and spend thousands of dollars, just to see her appear at a book signing. And when she appears at a bookstore, 3 000 people show up to meet her. There are even *Twilight*-themed rock bands.<sup>36</sup> The books are designated as forming part of young adult fiction, but it is not just teenagers who read *Twilight*. The book has successfully crossed over into the adult market and there is even a website for fans older than 25, *www.twilightmoms.com*.<sup>37</sup> The *Daily Herald* newspaper also notes that while the main audience is teenage girls, young boys and adults of both genders have also been swept up by the phenomenon.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> K. Valby, The Storyteller, in *Entertainment Weekly, Twilight: the Complete Journey*, p. 14.

<sup>32</sup> L. Grossman, 'Stephenie Meyer: a New J.K. Rowling?', <<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1734838,00.html>>, 24 April 2008. Access: 9 May 2008.

<sup>33</sup> 'Interview: Twilight author Stephanie Meyer', <<http://motleyvision.blogspot.com/2005/10/interview-twilight-author-stephanie.html>>, 26 October 2005. Access: 9 May 2008.

<sup>34</sup> L. Grossman, 'Stephenie Meyer: a New J.K. Rowling?', <<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1734838,00.html>>, 24 April 2008. Access: 9 May 2008.

<sup>35</sup> K. Valby, The Storyteller, in *Entertainment Weekly, Twilight: the Complete Journey*, p. 14.

<sup>36</sup> L. Grossman, 'Stephenie Meyer: a New J.K. Rowling?', <<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1734838,00.html>>, 24 April 2008. Access: 9 May 2008.

<sup>37</sup> C. Goodnow, '"Twilight" Author's Teen Fans Have True Love Flowing Through Their Veins', <[http://seattlepi.nwsource.com/books/275668\\_twilight29.html](http://seattlepi.nwsource.com/books/275668_twilight29.html)>, s.a. Access: 9 May 2008.

<sup>38</sup> C. Mack, 'Local libraries prepping for 'Twilight' finale', <<http://www.dailyherald.com/story/?id=223445>>, 28 July 2008. Access: 3 December 2009.

Recently, Meyer has taken a break from publishing books and turned her focus exclusively to the film industry after having her first taste when writing a concept for, and co-directing, a music video for the American band Jack's Mannequin's single, *The Resolution* in 2008.<sup>39</sup> In 2011, she started her own production company called 'Fickle Fish Films', with producer Meghan Hibbett.<sup>40</sup> She has produced the screen versions of her novels *The Twilight Saga: Breaking Dawn Part 1* (2011), *The Twilight Saga: Breaking Dawn Part 2* (2012) and *The Host* (2013).<sup>41</sup> She also produced the romantic comedy *Austenland* about a fanatical literary tourist who travels to a Jane Austen theme park to find her perfect gentleman. This film, released in 2013, premiered at the prestigious Sundance Festival in Utah, USA.<sup>42</sup> Meyer has also had two cameo acting roles in *Twilight* and *Breaking Dawn Part 1*.<sup>43</sup> Meyer's next producing roles will be on a film adaptation of Lois Duncan's *Down a Dark Hall* and Kendare Blake's *Anna Dressed in Blood*.<sup>44</sup>

For the future, she plans on splitting her time between producing and writing: "I don't want to be as active of a producer, physically there all the time. I'd rather be there during the beginning stages... That's why I have a partner, because she's going to do all the physical stuff. I'll be home writing..." She also admits that finding time to write has become more challenging as her children grow up.<sup>45</sup> She has several ideas for books lined up, including turning *The Host* into a trilogy,<sup>46</sup> a ghost story titled *Summer House*, a novel about time-travel, and another about mermaids.<sup>47</sup> Stephenie Meyer is truly a multi-talented woman, with phenomenal success not only in writing, but also in producing films. She has become a remarkable popular culture and literary phenomenon.

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<sup>39</sup> S. Morgan, 'August 28, 2008', <[http://www.stepheniemeyer.com/otherprojects\\_resolution.html](http://www.stepheniemeyer.com/otherprojects_resolution.html)>, 28 August 2008. Access: 4 July 2013.

<sup>40</sup> A.B. Vary, "Stephenie Meyer on optioning suspense novel 'Down a Dark Hall'", <<http://insidemovies.ew.com/2012/04/19/stephenie-meyer-down-a-dark-hall/>>, 19 April 2012. Access: 11 July 2013.

<sup>41</sup> IMDB, 'Stephenie Meyer', <<http://www.imdb.com/name/nm2769412/>>, s.a. Access: 8 July 2013.

<sup>42</sup> IMDB, 'Austenland (2013)', <<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1985019/>>, s.a. Access: 8 July 2013.

<sup>43</sup> IMDB, 'Stephenie Meyer', <<http://www.imdb.com/name/nm2769412/>>, s.a. Access: 8 July 2013.

<sup>44</sup> A. Sims, 'Stephenie Meyer talks about her new life balancing writing books and producing movies', <<http://www.hypable.com/2013/03/17/stephenie-meyer-interview-book-writer-movie-producer/>>, 17 March 2013. Access: 8 July 2013.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> L. Carroll, "'Twilight' Writer Stephenie Meyer Wants Matt Damon For 'Host' Movie, Discusses Her Rabid Fanbase", <<http://www.mtv.com/news/articles/1585112/twilight-writer-stephenie-meyer-wants-matt-damon-host-movie.jhtml>>, 9 April 2008. Access: 11 July 2013.

<sup>47</sup> Entertainment Weekly, 'Stephenie Meyer: Inside the 'Twilight' Saga', <[http://www.ew.com/ew/article/0,,20211938\\_4,00.html](http://www.ew.com/ew/article/0,,20211938_4,00.html)>, 10 July 2008. Access: 11 July 2013.

### 3.3. The *Twilight* Saga film franchise

Stephenie Meyer's *The Twilight Saga* has spawned a billion-dollar industry that includes a very successful film franchise.<sup>48</sup> This film franchise consists of five films: *Twilight*, *New Moon*, *Eclipse*, *Breaking Dawn Part 1* and *Breaking Dawn Part 2* (see figure 4 in Annexure). Kristen Stewart of *Into The Wild* fame, Robert Pattinson of *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire*, and Taylor Lautner of *Cheaper by the Dozen 2* star as the three main protagonists Bella, Edward and Jacob.<sup>49</sup> The films were released by the Summit Entertainment production company and each featured a different director: *Twilight* was directed by Catherine Hardwicke, director of *Thirteen*, *Lords of Dogtown*;<sup>50</sup> *New Moon* by Chris Weitz, who directed *About A Boy* and *The Golden Compass*, amongst others;<sup>51</sup> *Eclipse* by David Slade, director of *30 Days of Night*;<sup>52</sup> and both parts of *Breaking Dawn* by Bill Condon, known for directing *Dreamgirls* and *Kinsey*.<sup>53</sup>

The first film was released on 21 November 2008 and exceeded box office expectations, debuting at number one. The film was made for less than \$ 40 million and had an opening weekend totaling nearly \$ 70 million. The film would go on to earn \$ 392.6 million around the world, nearly ten times its production budget and so a blockbuster franchise was born.<sup>54</sup> The other four films would go on to match and even exceed these figures. The sequel, *The Twilight Saga: New Moon* was released on 20 November 2009. On opening weekend, it made \$ 140 million – the kind of money usually reserved for comic-book heroes – and broke records for both midnight screenings and opening day earnings. It eventually grossed a massive \$ 709.8 million worldwide.<sup>55</sup> The film also broke the record for the most tickets sold prior to a film's release date.<sup>56</sup> *The Twilight Saga: Eclipse*

<sup>48</sup> C. Ayres, 'Stephenie Meyer: the Twilight Zone', <<http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/magazine/article3711425>. ece>, 16 March 2013. Access: 8 July 2013.

<sup>49</sup> IMDB, 'Twilight (I) (2008)', <<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1099212/>>, s.a. Access: 12 July 2013.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> IMDB, 'The Twilight Saga: New Moon (2009)', <<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1259571/>>; s.a. Access: 12 July 2013.

<sup>52</sup> IMDB, 'The Twilight Saga: Eclipse (2010)', <<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1325004/>>, s.a. Access: 12 July 2013.

<sup>53</sup> IMDB, 'The Twilight Saga: Breaking Dawn Part 1 (2011)', <<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1324999/>>, s.a. Access: 12 July 2013.

<sup>54</sup> K. Valby & N. Sperling, Fandemonium! Twilight Premieres, in *Entertainment Weekly*, *Twilight: the Complete Journey*, pp. 36-41.

<sup>55</sup> K. Valby & N. Sperling, New Moon Premieres: Full Moon Fever, in *Entertainment Weekly*, *Twilight: the Complete Journey*, pp. 64-67.

<sup>56</sup> K. Ward, "New Moon" ticket pre-sales breaking records', <<http://hollywoodinsider.ew.com/2009/11/19/new-moon-ticket-pre-sales-breaking-records>>, 19 November 2009. Access: 2 December 2009.

premiered on 30 June 2010 and had a \$ 698.5 million worldwide gross.<sup>57</sup> The first part of *The Twilight Saga: Breaking Dawn* was released on 18 November 2011 and earned \$ 705.1 million worldwide<sup>58</sup>, while the second part released on 16 November 2012, went on to become the franchise's most successful film with a staggering worldwide earnings of \$829.7 million.<sup>59</sup>

South Africa has been no exception to the *Twilight* success. Although the series only really began to gain recognition in South Africa after the first film, its influence has been pervasive on South Africa's premier bookseller, *Exclusive Books*' bestseller lists from 2008 onwards. In 2008, *Twilight*, *New Moon*, *Breaking Dawn* and *Eclipse* claimed the top four spots on the top ten list for that year.<sup>60</sup> In terms of the films, *Twilight* brought in R 8.5 million and *New Moon* R 24 million at the South African box office.<sup>61</sup> With the release of the film version of *New Moon*, 9 000 South African fans attended the special midnight screenings on 20 November 2009. Never before in South Africa had a pre-screening had so many attendees. Nu Metro Cinemas all over the country were compelled to open as many as five separate cinemas in each complex to accommodate public demand.<sup>62</sup> *Eclipse* had the biggest five-day opening in South African box office history, bringing in R 11,786,287.<sup>63</sup> South Africa was also included in *The Twilight Saga: Breaking Dawn Part 2* international promotional tour, with actress Ashley Greene (who portrays Alice Cullen in the film) attending a fan event at the Nu Metro cinema at Montecasino in Johannesburg, a first of its kind.<sup>64</sup> The film then had the biggest three-day opening of all time in South Africa with a R 10.9 million haul at the local box office.<sup>65</sup>

In total, the *Twilight Saga* film franchise earned a total in excess of \$ 3 billion internationally, just in box office receipts. The five films in the *Twilight Saga* are all in the Top 200 of the official movie

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<sup>57</sup> Entertainment Weekly, By the Numbers: Eclipse, in *Entertainment Weekly, Twilight: the Complete Journey*, p. 81.

<sup>58</sup> Entertainment Weekly, By the Numbers: Breaking Dawn – Part 1, in *Entertainment Weekly, Twilight: the Complete Journey*, p. 93.

<sup>59</sup> Box Office Mojo, 'All Time Box Office', <<http://boxofficemojo.com/alltime/world/?pagenum=1&p=.htm>>, 14 July 2013. Access: 15 July 2013.

<sup>60</sup> Exclusive Books, 'Exclusive Books: Top 10 Bestsellers of 2008', <<http://blog.exclusives.co.za/exclusive-books-top-10-bestsellers-of-2008/>>, 26 July 2012. Access: 15 July 2013.

<sup>61</sup> H. Scholtz, Twilight eers ná sonop in Ster-Kinekor te sien, *Rapport*, 27-06-2010, p. 3.

<sup>62</sup> Nu Metro Cinemas, [briantw@numetro.co.za](mailto:briantw@numetro.co.za), 19 November 2009.

<sup>63</sup> P. van Wyk, Harry Potter en die meeste fliekoggels, *Beeld*, 19/07/2011, p. 3.

<sup>64</sup> M. Vomo, Lady and the Vamp Soon to Part Ways', *Pretoria News Tonight*, 16/11/2012, p. 6.

<sup>65</sup> Channel 24, Breaking Dawn bites into SA box office, <<http://www.channel24.co.za/Movies/News/Breaking-Dawn-bites-into-SA-box-office-20121120>>, 20 November 2012. Access: 15 July 2013.

records website *Box Office Mojo*'s all time highest-grossing films.<sup>66</sup> This success also makes the *Twilight Saga* the ninth most successful film franchise of *Box Office Mojo*'s franchises list.<sup>67</sup> The films have brought super-stardom to Stewart, Pattinson and Lautner. Thousands of avid fans from around the world had, for example camped out in tents in Los Angeles for days ahead of the premieres of the last three films in the franchise to see their favourite actors. These inhabitants of what has affectionately been called 'Tent City' (see figure 5 in Annexure) range in age from teenagers to grandmothers.<sup>68</sup> The actors have been transformed into international icons, as recently indicated when they were invited to have their hand- and footprints immortalized in cement outside Grauman's Chinese Theatre, a verifiable rite of passage in Hollywood.<sup>69</sup> Pattinson and Stewart have been named Hollywood's highest grossing romantic couple by a *Forbes* poll, bringing in \$ 1.17 billion at the box office between 2010 and 2013.<sup>70</sup>

*The Twilight Saga* has also helped to ignite a popular culture thirst for vampires and werewolves, paving the way for numerous other vampire films and television series, like the much-acclaimed *The CW's The Vampire Diaries* and *HBO's True Blood*. *NBC* has even commissioned a revival series starring the original vampire, *Dracula*, as a result of the current rising popularity of vampires. The phenomenal success of the *Twilight Saga* has also paved the way to Hollywood for other Young Adult fiction, with at least four new films based on popular Young Adult novels premiering in theatres in 2013, as well as the sequel to the latest teen movie/book sensation, *The Hunger Games*.<sup>71</sup> And if mockery is the sincerest form of flattery, then the *Twilight Saga* has ticked that box too after a parody film called *Vampires Suck*, spoofing the first two films in the franchise, was released in 2010. It is no small wonder then that the *Twilight Saga* has been described as a "full-blown pop culture phenomenon".<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Box Office Mojo, 'All Time Box Office', <<http://boxofficemojo.com/alltime/world/?pagenum=1&p=.htm>>, 14 July 2013. Access: 15 July 2013.

<sup>67</sup> Box Office Mojo, 'Franchises', <<http://www.boxofficemojo.com/franchises/?view=Franchise&sort=sumgross&order=DESC&p=.htm>>, 13 July 2013. Access: 15 July 2013.

<sup>68</sup> E. Rome, 'On the scene at 'Breaking Dawn' tent city: Fans camp out for the premiere of the final 'Twilight' movie', <<http://insidemovies.ew.com/2012/11/12/twilight-breaking-dawn-premiere-tent-city/>>, 12 November 2012. Access: 15 July 2013.

<sup>69</sup> S. Vilkomerson, To Die For, in *Entertainment Weekly, Twilight: the Complete Journey*, p. 87.

<sup>70</sup> BangShowBiz, 'Kristen, Rob named highest-grossing couple', <<http://www.channel24.co.za/Movies/News/Kristen-Rob-named-highest-grossing-couple-20130121>>, 21 January 2013. Access: 15 July 2013.

<sup>71</sup> Reuters, 'Final Twilight's \$341m farewell party', <<http://www.channel24.co.za/Movies/News/Final-Twilight-341m-farewell-party-20121118>>, 19 November 2012. Access: 15 July 2013.

<sup>72</sup> G. McIntyre, "Vampire pals hang out in the 'Twilight'", <<http://articles.latimes.com/2008/nov/02/entertainment/ca-twilight2?pg=1>>, 2 November 2008. Access: 3 December 2009.

## CHAPTER 4 – TWILIGHT IN FORKS

### 4.1 The history and development of Forks

The small town of Forks is located in Clallam County, Washington State (WA) in the United States of America (see figure 6 in the Annexure). The town is located in what is known as the West End of the north Olympic Peninsula in northwest Washington. This peninsula is bordered by the Hood Canal in the east, the Strait of Juan de Fuca in the north and the Pacific Ocean in the west.<sup>1</sup> The town has a population of approximately 3,175 people. It is set near one of the few temperate rain forests in the world, and is considered to be the rainiest town in the contiguous USA with a rainfall of more than 120 inches (3,048 mm) per annum.<sup>2</sup>

The town used to lay claim to being the “Logging Capital of the World” with its rich logging history, and is still the shopping, banking, law enforcement, education, medical and political centre of the West End. Yet not losing its small-town American feel, Forks has only one traffic light. This traffic light is also the only one along a stretch of two-lane U.S. Highway 101 running over 160 miles (258 km) in length from Port Angeles in the north to Aberdeen in the south. There are two prison facilities – Clallam Bay Correction Centre near the Strait of Juan de Fuca to the north and Olympic Correction Centre to the south beyond the Hoh River – and these are the major employers of Forks residents.<sup>3</sup>

Remarkably little has been written in terms of the history of the town. Local journalist and author Mavis Amundson has written two ‘peoples’ histories of Forks, containing the interviews and life stories of settlers of the Olympic Peninsula.<sup>4</sup> Another journalist, William Dietrich, has also written on the town’s history, specifically focusing on the shutting down of major logging operations during the 1980s in *The Final Forest: Big Trees, Forks, and the Pacific Northwest*.<sup>5</sup> Recently, the Forks Timber Museum and Chris Cook, the editor of the local newspaper, the *Forks Forum*, published a photo book looking at the history of Forks through photographs in the museum’s collection.<sup>6</sup> With

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<sup>1</sup> M. Amundson (ed.), *Sturdy Folk: Personal Accounts of Life and Work on the Olympic Peninsula*, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> C. Cook, *Twilight Territory: a Fan’s Guide to Forks & La Push*, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> M. Amundson, *The Great Forks Fire*; M. Amundson (ed.), *Sturdy Folk: Personal Accounts of Life and Work on the Olympic Peninsula*.

<sup>5</sup> W. Dietrich, *The Final Forest: Big Trees, Forks and the Pacific Northwest*.

<sup>6</sup> Forks Timber Museum et al., *Images of America: Forks*.

the advent of literary tourism related to *The Twilight Saga*, several guidebooks detailing the town's *Twilight* and other attractions have seen the light.<sup>7</sup>

As far as the history goes, Forks' past can be divided into roughly four eras, namely: Quileute history; pioneers, homesteads and farming; 'The Logging Capital of the World'; and the advent of tourism.

The Quileute Nation is a Northwest Native American tribe. According to the Native American legends, the Quileute ancestors occupied this part of what is today Washington State for many centuries before Europeans arrived. Their domain stretched from the sea-stack-strewn Pacific beaches past the rainforests to Mount Olympus.<sup>8</sup> This area has however been continually inhabited for the past 12, 000 years, when the continental glaciers were in retreat leaving behind rounded hills and marshy meadows for elk, bison, mastodons and humans to roam. Evidence of this early human presence was discovered in 1977, when a farmer digging a pond just outside the Olympic National Park (ONP) uncovered the remains of a mastodon that contained a broken bone or antler spear point in its ribs. Between 10 000 and 3 000 years ago, the Olympic peninsula was home to hunter-gatherers who hunted deer and elk and gathered plants to survive. Their stone tools left behind all over the peninsula attest to the fact that they explored the entire Olympic ecosystem. By about 3 000 years ago, the human population began to increase and shifted their focus to lowland rivers and lakes. Fishing, hunting sea mammals and gathering shellfish formed the foundation of the rich maritime cultures that developed in the Pacific Northwest, while the forests provided food, fibres, medicine and shelter.<sup>9</sup>

According to the legends, the Quileute Nation was created from wolves. The legend tells of a illustrious king, K'wa'iti, the trickster, transformer and changer. He created the first Quileute from wolves wandering on First Beach who he turned into people.<sup>10</sup> This is one of the reasons why First Beach is sacred to the Quileute nation. Wolves were also closely associated with a native Quileute society named the Tlokwalí, or Warrior Society, who performed the Wolf Dance during rituals. The

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<sup>7</sup> G. Beahm, *Twilight Tours: the Illustrated Guide to the REAL Forks*; C. Cook, *Forks Forum Twilight Territory: a Fan's Guide to Forks and La Push*; K. Kidd, *Experience Twilight: the Ultimate Twilight Fan Travel Guide*.

<sup>8</sup> Quileute Tribal Council, pamphlet: "James Island – A-ka-lat, 'Top of the Rock'".

<sup>9</sup> Olympic National Park, pamphlet: "Ancient Peoples and Area Tribes".

<sup>10</sup> C. Cook, *Forks Forum Twilight Territory: a Fan's Guide to Forks and La Push*, p. 37.

dance is still performed today.<sup>11</sup> The Quileutes are not related to any other tribe after Chief Seattle's Suquamish Tribe wiped out their only kindred in 1860.<sup>12</sup>

The first contact with Europeans probably dates back to the 1700s and forever changed the lives of the area's indigenous inhabitants. In a not dissimilar trend from other Native American peoples elsewhere, foreign diseases wiped out entire villages, long-standing traditions were disrupted by new technologies and restrictions, and the land itself was changed as more people competed for resources. Salmon and elk populations were decimated and huge swaths of trees were harvested from the forests.<sup>13</sup> The first official contact between the Quileutes and Europeans came in 1855 when the Treaty of Quinault River was signed with the Washington Territory governor.<sup>14</sup> In the 1850s, the Quileutes were almost forced off their ancestral lands that they consider sacred, but they refused to leave.<sup>15</sup> In November 1889, the same year that Washington joined the Union as a state, the present-day reservation of the Quileutes at La Push, about 30 minutes northwest of Forks, was set up by order of President Benjamin Harrison.<sup>16</sup>

The Quileute culture was (and still is) very much oriented towards the ocean and they were renowned for their seafaring abilities that included fishing and sealing skills. Their red cedar canoes were engineering marvels, ranging from two-person models to 18m ocean-going freight canoes capable of handling 3 tonnes.<sup>17</sup> They often travelled distances up to hundreds of miles in these canoes. Traditionally, they lived in great cedar-plank houses near the ocean, wore cedar-bark clothing, roasted salmon and other fish over fires, and hunted whales and seals, elk and other forest animals. They are known for their exquisite hand-woven baskets and woodcarvings.<sup>18</sup> The Quileute language is of considerable significance to the people themselves, as well as to linguists around the world. The language is one of only five known languages with no nasal sounds and is not known to be related to any other native or foreign language. The language is in danger of dying out, as only a few elders are still able to speak it.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>12</sup> Quileute Tribal Council, pamphlet: "James Island – A-ka-lat, 'Top of the Rock'".

<sup>13</sup> Olympic National Park, pamphlet: "Ancient Peoples and Area Tribes".

<sup>14</sup> Quileute Nation, 'History', <<http://www.quileutenation.org/culture/history>>, 2012. Access: 3 July 2012.

<sup>15</sup> C. Cook, *Forks Forum Twilight Territory: a Fan's Guide to Forks and La Push*, p. 36.

<sup>16</sup> Quileute Nation, 'History', <<http://www.quileutenation.org/culture/history>>, 2012. Access: 3 July 2012.

<sup>17</sup> Quileute Nation, 'History', <<http://www.quileutenation.org/culture/history>>, 2012. Access: 3 July 2012.

<sup>18</sup> C. Cook, *Forks Forum Twilight Territory: a Fan's Guide to Forks and La Push*, p. 36.

<sup>19</sup> G. Beahm, *Twilight Tours: the Illustrated Guide to the REAL Forks*, p. 75.

After the Civil War ended in 1865, homesteaders started arriving in this area of the Pacific Northwest, lured by promises of farms with rich soil. But these promises did not come with the additional warning that the so-called ‘farm land’ was in fact part of the rainforest, and first had to be cleared of sometimes massive trees.<sup>20</sup> Forks was then founded around a prairie which had been burnt and cleared centuries ago by the Quileutes from the dense forest to provide a feeding ground for deer, elk and other animals the tribe hunted. Forks was apparently named for the nearby forks in the Bogachiel, Sol Duc and Calawah rivers. Some sources report that the town was however first named Fords, after the family of Civil War veteran Luther Ford (a relative of automobile pioneer Henry Ford), who was one of the area’s first settlers arriving in 1878. ‘Fords’ was however found to already be in use.<sup>21</sup>

The main economic activity during this time was crop farming. The area also had several dairies and raised beef, poultry and bees. Times were tough for these first European settlers and they had to work hard to eke out a living in this harsh area. These difficulties produced a people who face challenges with grit and ingenuity – a frontier-infused lifestyle that still characterizes the inhabitants of Forks today.<sup>22</sup> Forks then grew from its original farming community into a logging town over several decades, as a result of the forests of gigantic first-growth Sitka spruce, hemlock, Douglas fir and red cedar trees that flourish in the rainy coastal environment. Men of the families who later settled the area found work in the forest, in lumber mills and on the railroads that transported the huge logs to Port Angeles for shipping.<sup>23</sup>

The logging and milling industry flourished during the period from World War I to the 1970s, giving the town its title as ‘The Logging Capital of the World’. World War I brought a high demand for spruce logs to meet aviation needs, which also then led to the development of a modern infrastructure for Forks. Their abundant forest resources carried the town through the Great Depression. After World War II, the logging and milling industries experienced a period of massive growth. Then, in the early 1950s, the town was nearly wiped out by forest fire. The fast-moving fire ignited on an autumn day in the early 1950s. The blaze raced about 18 miles in less than a day and it was reported that a strip of the forest up to five miles wide was destroyed. Strong, hot, easterly winds rapidly pushed the blaze onwards towards Forks. The town was only saved from

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<sup>20</sup> S. Fouts, interviewed on 8 May 2012.

<sup>21</sup> C. Cook, *Forks Forum Twilight Territory: a Fan’s Guide to Forks and La Push*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>22</sup> Forks Timber Museum *et al.*, *Images of America: Forks*, p. 8.

<sup>23</sup> C. Cook, *Forks Forum Twilight Territory: a Fan’s Guide to Forks and La Push*, p. 18.

total destruction by a cool and moist breeze that blew in off of the Pacific Ocean.<sup>24</sup> The Great Forks fire provided an unexpected windfall treasure for the town, in terms of timber that had to be salvaged.<sup>25</sup> As a result of this boom in the timber industry, the town's population grew rapidly and at one time, Forks even had more millionaires per capita than any other city in America.<sup>26</sup>

Logging started to wane in the 1970s. In the 1980s, a controversy over protecting the habitat of the Northern Spotted Owl caused the closure of national forest lands to logging. As a result, logging trucks were driven to the state capital in Olympia in protest and as unemployment rose, so did anger within the community over the environmental regulations.<sup>27</sup> As a result of job losses, the town also faced a period of serious population stagnation in the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>28</sup> Despite the environmental issues, timber growing, felling and milling remain a major industry for this town, even though logging is no longer permitted in the large surrounding national parks. British Columbia-based Interfor's mills are located at Beaver and the Forks Industrial Park situated north of the town. Independently operated cedar shake and shingle mills operate in and around Forks, with a number along Russell Road near the Forks Municipal Airport.<sup>29</sup>

In the 1970s, tourism picked up with visitors drawn by the exceptional natural beauty of this area of northwest Washington. In particular, the trails and pristine forests of the ONP, which was created in the late 1930s in part to protect interior and coastal stands of huge first-growth trees, as well as the spectacular scenic Pacific beaches and sea stacks. River fishing for salmon and steelhead trout, ocean fishing for halibut and salmon, and deer and elk hunting were additional tourist drawcards.<sup>30</sup> The Forks visitor centre (situated between the timber museum and loggers memorial) offers popular summer logging tours, which mainly focus on the nearby Hoh Rain Forest. This initial tourism offered Forks seasonal respite only, with winters being very trying times for the town's tourism-dependent residents.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> C. Herselman, *Woods at War: Logging, Literature and Leisure in Forks and Knysna*, p. 9.

<sup>25</sup> M. Amundson, *The Great Forks Fire*, p. 44.

<sup>26</sup> D. Scott, "Forks and Beyond (Part 3 of 3)", <<http://exotichikes.com/forks-and-beyond-part-3-of-3/>>, 12 December 2011. Access: 14 October 2013.

<sup>27</sup> C. Cook, *Forks Forum Twilight Territory: a Fan's Guide to Forks and La Push*, p. 18.

<sup>28</sup> M. Ramirez, 'Fans of 'Twilight' Vampire Series Pump New Blood into Forks', <[http://seattletimes.nwsourc.com/html/entertainment/2008075490\\_twilight270.html](http://seattletimes.nwsourc.com/html/entertainment/2008075490_twilight270.html)>, 2008. Access: 3 December 2009.

<sup>29</sup> C. Cook, *Forks Forum Twilight Territory: a Fan's Guide to Forks and La Push*, p. 18.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>31</sup> M. Ramirez, 'Fans of 'Twilight' Vampire Series Pump New Blood into Forks', <[http://seattletimes.nwsourc.com/html/entertainment/2008075490\\_twilight270.html](http://seattletimes.nwsourc.com/html/entertainment/2008075490_twilight270.html)>, 2008. Access: 3 December 2009.

At present, Forks' economy then rests on three legs: the tourism industry; the remains of the logging industry; and lastly, correctional facilities. These are the major employers of Forks residents.

## 4.2 The advent of literary tourism

The Forks tourism industry, the remnants of the logging industry and the correctional services were not enough to fill the economic void left by the once prosperous timber industry. Then a stay-at-home mom had a dream about vampires and human girls falling in love. She needed a dark, rainy place to hide her vampires with their skins that sparkled in the sun and a quick Internet search revealed Forks to be the rainiest place in the continental USA. With the following quote from *Twilight*, the unlikely town of Forks was introduced to the realm of literary tourism: "In the Olympic Peninsula of northwest Washington State, a small town named Forks exists under a near-constant cover of clouds. It rains on this inconsequential town more than any other place in the United States of America."<sup>32</sup> No one could have foreseen the massive popularity of Meyer's books and no one had even an inkling of the tourism phenomenon that was about to revive Forks. As a result, Forks has embraced this literary tourism and has created a completely new commercial product. Several literary places were 'created' to bring the imaginary *Twilight* Forks to life. This next section will take a look at what is on offer for *Twilighters*<sup>33</sup> visiting Forks.

The Forks Chamber of Commerce Visitor Centre is the starting point for most *Twilight* visitors (see figure 7 in Annexure). The Chamber of Commerce's *Twilight* 'adventure' began in August 2006 when Stephenie Meyer paid an official visit to the rural town.<sup>34</sup> At present, the Visitor Centre is manned by Executive Director Lissy Andros, Director of Customer Service Marcia Bingham, and two other Visitor Centre members Merry Parker and Laurie Johnson along with a team of dedicated volunteers.<sup>35</sup> Here they help to orientate *Twilighters* prior to their roaming the town and the coast at La Push.

The Chamber of Commerce also instituted the (now annual) Stephenie Meyer Days/Bella's Birthday celebrations held around 13 September each year. At the first celebration in July 2006,

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<sup>32</sup> S. Meyer, *Twilight*, p. 3.

<sup>33</sup> The fan phrase for a person who considers himself/herself a fanatic of *The Twilight Saga*. Another name for a *Twilight* fanatic is *Twi-Hard*, a phrase coined by Michael Welch, the actor who portrays Bella's friend, Mike Newton, in the *Twilight Saga* films.

<sup>34</sup> C. Cook, *Forks Forum Twilight Territory: a Fan's Guide to Forks and La Push*, p. 12.

<sup>35</sup> Forks Chamber of Commerce, 'About Us', <<http://forkswa.com/about-us/>>, 2013. Access: 8 October 2013.

there were about 125 visitors from Canada, Oregon, Florida and Washington. Meyer herself also attended. In just a few years, the concept for the annual gathering has transformed into a major event for Forks.<sup>36</sup> To prepare for the first celebration of this event, the then Chamber of Commerce director, Marcia Bingham, tried to involve all the businesses in town. She drove around Forks suggesting to local restaurants that they create themed-food items to help make fans feel welcome. Her suggestion resulted in, for example, the creation of the bestselling 'Bella Burger' (complete with a free set of vampire fangs) served at Sully's Drive-In.<sup>37</sup>

By 2007, the Chamber realized that momentum was picking up and decided that something needed to be done to provide *Twilight* fans with relevant attractions. According to Bingham, "[w]e realized we needed to do something for the growing number of *Twilight* fans travelling hundreds, sometimes thousands, of miles to visit locations central to the books."<sup>38</sup> One of the main attractions for visitors to see at the visitor centre is Forks' version of Bella's 1953 red Chevrolet pickup truck. The pickup is the creation of Chamber member Bruce Guckenberg (manager of the local drive-in) who found the truck at West End Motors in Forks and painted it red. The pickup even sports personalized Washington car registration plates proudly declaring it to be the property of 'Bella'.<sup>39</sup> *Twilight* fans are frequently photographed in front of the truck, a replica of the one Bella drives in the books.<sup>40</sup> Visitors are also encouraged to pose with the cardboard cut-outs of the movie characters, available free of charge from the visitor centre, for photographs with the truck. In addition to the book-truck, the Chamber has also added a replica of the 1963 truck Bella owned in the film version of *Twilight*, complete with the original number plates used in the movie.<sup>41</sup>

From June 2008, the Forks Chamber of Commerce had offered *Twilight* tours, utilizing their logging and mill tour van to take *Twilight* fans sightseeing around the town and La Push. According to Bingham, all kinds of visitors were interested in taking the tour, from mothers and daughters to grandparents.<sup>42</sup> Several different companies have run the *Twilight* tours since then and these will be discussed below.

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<sup>36</sup> C. Cook, *Forks Forum Twilight Territory: a Fan's Guide to Forks and La Push*, p. 13.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>40</sup> G. Beahm, *Twilight Tours: the Illustrated Guide to the REAL Forks*, p. 31.

<sup>41</sup> R. Belles, interviewed 6 May 2012.

<sup>42</sup> C. Cook, *Forks Forum Twilight Territory: a Fan's Guide to Forks and La Push*, p. 21.

The Chamber provides visitors with *Twilight* packets, including a map with locations from the book clearly indicated. Tens of thousands of these popular maps are distributed to visitors free of charge. They were created by former Chamber employee, Mike Gurling, using his extensive knowledge of where *Twilight* locations in Forks and surrounding towns are located and how they relate to places mentioned in the books. Gurling also created extremely popular trivia tests on the books that visitors can take home with them. Shortened versions of his quizzes are distributed to restaurants as “Table Topics” to keep tourists entertained while dining.<sup>43</sup> In addition, the Chamber also provides information on where to buy *Twilight*-related merchandise and a restaurant guide (‘Forks Bites!’) with a list of eateries with *Twilight* specials, including Jacob’s Blackberry Cobbler at the Forks Coffee Shop, the *Twilight* sandwich at Subway, the Bella berry smoothie, and Bellasagna (with garlic Ed’s bread and Swan salad) at Pacific Pizza.<sup>44</sup> (For a copy of the Chamber of Commerce’s map and advertisements of the food specials, please see figures 8 and 9 in the Annexure). Visitors can also view the Chamber’s impressive collection of *Twilight* memorabilia, including an autographed note from Stephenie Meyer, access abundant literature on the area (in the form of brochures on, for example, the ONP), sign the guestbook or pin their hometowns on giant wall maps, and shop for souvenirs. There are lots of locally produced *Twilight* products, like T-shirts, jerseys, pullovers, and jewellery available in the Chamber’s souvenir shop and these can also be ordered through the web.<sup>45</sup>

The Chamber now greets thousands of visitors a month and they are still amazed when visitors arrive from across the Pacific. Forks has had visitors from all seven continents. Some days the visitor centre is packed from wall to wall. This is evidence of the fact that potential tourists are picking Forks over established destinations like Disneyland and is an indication of the massive popularity the town is currently enjoying. For example, a British grandparent apparently offered her teenage granddaughter a vacation wherever in the world she would like to go – Universal Studios, Disneyland – instead the girl firmly declared she must go to Forks, for “This is where *Twilight* happens”.<sup>46</sup>

One of the favourite stops on any *Twilight* tour of Forks is the town’s own version of the fictional house where Bella and her police chief father, Charlie Swan, live. The house belongs to Dave and Kim McIrvine, who graciously play along with the *Twilight* fantasy. Especially on weekends, a steady

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<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>44</sup> G. Beahm, *Twilight Tours: the Illustrated Guide to the REAL Forks*, p. 28.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

<sup>46</sup> C. Cook, *Forks Forum Twilight Territory: a Fan’s Guide to Forks and La Push*, p. 15.

stream of cars and the occasional tour coach pull up in front of the house, with fans jumping out and taking photographs. Dave McIrvin (a staff member at Forks Middle School) enjoys chatting to visitors and has no problem with standing in for Charlie Swan. The house looks very much like the one described in the books and the upstairs bedroom (Bella's bedroom) is actually painted blue and has a window facing the street (this window is used by Edward when visiting Bella), while the kitchen has yellow walls, just like in the books.<sup>47</sup>

The McIrvins are very accommodating to visitors and will, for example, leave the light on in the blue bedroom for the fans when they go out at night. There is even a sign in the front yard that reads 'Home of the Swans'. The couple said that people began to take notice of the similarity of their 1916 home and the one in the book in 2007. They were then approached by Marcia Bingham of the Chamber of Commerce and asked to allow their house to stand in for the fictional home of Bella. The parade of fans has become so commonplace for the McIrvins that it forms part of the family's life, without too much intrusion. Television crews and other journalists have also visited their house, as it provides a clear link with the books. Visitors are requested to limit their tour to the street fronting the home.<sup>48</sup>

The picturesque Miller Tree Inn graciously plays the role of the vampire family's house (see figure 10 in Annexure). A white board hung next to the front door displays messages from the family's 'mother', Esme, explaining why they cannot be found at home. The owners, Bill and Susan Brager, keep the messages updated for the hordes of fans that stop by.<sup>49</sup> The Miller Tree Inn was built in 1916 and was originally a farm homestead for the Peterson family, who still own the farmland surrounding the Inn.<sup>50</sup> There is apparently a curious coincidence regarding the Inn's second owners. A Dr. Edwin Leibold once resided in this home with his family. He ran a family medical practice in downtown Forks and attended to patients at the Forks hospital.<sup>51</sup> He was the only physician in town for a long time and he practised medicine in Forks from 1950 to the 1980s.<sup>52</sup> His family is also noted to have been as large as the Cullen family in *Twilight*.<sup>53</sup> This story no doubt amuses fans greatly, since in the novel the Cullens frequently move away and back to Forks to avoid suspicion. The Leibolds sold the house in the 1970s to the Chamberlain family, who in turn

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<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>50</sup> B. Brager & S. Brager, pamphlet: "Miller Tree Inn Bed and Breakfast: a Brief History".

<sup>51</sup> C. Cook, *Forks Forum Twilight Territory: a Fan's Guide to Forks and La Push*, p. 26.

<sup>52</sup> B. Brager & S. Brager, pamphlet: "Miller Tree Inn Bed and Breakfast: a Brief History".

<sup>53</sup> C. Cook, *Forks Forum Twilight Territory: a Fan's Guide to Forks and La Push*, p. 26.

sold it in 1984 to Ted and Prue Miller. The Millers turned the house into a bed and breakfast and it has been operating as one ever since. In 1999, the current owners Bill and Susan Brager purchased the Inn from the Millers. Over the years, the original building has been added on to and transformed and each of the owners has left a stamp of themselves on the house, transforming it into a living object of Forks history.<sup>54</sup>

The links with the imaginary Cullen house have been developed since 2005. Visitors are welcome to take snapshots of the home and its mailbox, which reads 'Cullen', but are also requested to keep their sightseeing to the front yard and grounds, as there are guests staying in the Inn. The innkeepers have even placed a cardboard cut-out of Edward in a third-storey window for visitors to photograph.<sup>55</sup> For a minimal fee, visitors may enter the 'Cullen House' to see the patriarch of the family, Carlisle's study. This room features prominently throughout the books and the Bragers have gone to great lengths to make it look authentic, even including paintings mentioned in the book and putting up the relevant text passages referring to Carlisle's office on printed notes. Visitors can view an exhibit of the good doctor's medical equipment through the centuries and even leave him a note.<sup>56</sup> Guests at the Inn get to enjoy even more *Twilight*-themed memorabilia, like the graduation cap display featured in the films, Edward's piano, and various *Twilight* souvenirs from around the world. Similar to the Visitor Centre, visitors can also pin the name of their hometown on a map on the wall by the staircase. Each room contains a full collection of the *Twilight Saga* books and films and guests can select in which character's room they wish to stay, by selecting a specific room name. In addition, the breakfasts are also *Twilight*-themed with names like Edward's Italian poached eggs or Emmett's Eggs Benedict.<sup>57</sup>

An alternative home has also been identified as perhaps a better replica of the Cullen home. Locally the house is called Westlands, a stately home that was built in 1914. The house is located in Sappho, a once bustling logging camp in the countryside located 12 miles west of Forks. A portion of the house was built as the headquarters of the Clallam Logging Company. Later, ownership was passed on to the family of Theodore Rixon, an Englishman who surveyed much of the Olympic Peninsula for resource potential in the early 1900s. The house was restored after a fire partially destroyed it in March 2009.<sup>58</sup> Residents believe that the house may actually have

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<sup>54</sup> B. Brager & S. Brager, pamphlet: "Miller Tree Inn Bed and Breakfast: a Brief History".

<sup>55</sup> C. Herselman, personal observation during research trip, 4-16 May 2012.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> Forks Timber Museum *et al.*, *Images of America: Forks*, p. 113.

inspired Meyer when she visited Forks in 2004. Just how likely this story is, is unclear since Meyer already finished *Twilight* in 2003 – there is however a remarkable resemblance to the house described in the books. It is believed that Meyer either visited the house, which was for sale at the time, during her trip, or saw pictures of it on the real estate agent's website.<sup>59</sup>

Forks Community Hospital, where Dr. Carlisle Cullen works, is another popular stop on any *Twilight* visit. The hospital has created a special parking spot and sign, reading 'Dr. Cullen Reserved Parking Only', especially for visitors to photograph.<sup>60</sup> Since it is a working hospital, visitors are not allowed to tour inside.<sup>61</sup>

Forks High School also plays a central role in Meyer's books, since this is the place where Bella and Edward meet and attend school, along with the other Cullens and some of Bella's human friends. Clothing bearing the school's logo – a Spartan – is sold both in Forks and on the Internet. Through a licensing agreement the student body benefits from the sale of Spartan gear. The monies that are generated are put towards funding student events.<sup>62</sup> *Twilight* fans have even started a campaign to save the Forks High School. Portions of the high school, which was built in 1925, have been vacated, as they no longer met building code requirements. Fans have mobilized their massive online connections to actually save and renovate the school. The *Twilight Lexicon*, one of the most popular fan websites, had teamed up with Infinite Jewellery Co. in Forks (manufacturers of Bella's bracelet and engagement ring) and the West Olympic Peninsula Betterment Association and formed 'Twilighters for Forks' to ask for donations to save the school building. According to Don Grafstrom of the West Olympic Peninsula Betterment Association, it was exciting to see *Twilight* fans work to give something back to the community.<sup>63</sup>

Even though this was a small campaign, *Twilight* has helped enable Forks residents to save one of their historic landmarks. Together with funding from the State Department of Education and a school district voter-approved bond issue, new classrooms were added to the high school.<sup>64</sup> This meant that for the first time in twenty years, all Forks High School students had class under one

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<sup>59</sup> C. Cook, *Forks Forum Twilight Territory: a Fan's Guide to Forks and La Push*, p. 5.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>61</sup> G. Beahm, *Twilight Tours: the Illustrated Guide to the REAL Forks*, p. 41.

<sup>62</sup> C. Cook, *Forks Forum Twilight Territory: a Fan's Guide to Forks and La Push*, p. 28.

<sup>63</sup> P. Dickerson, "Twilight Fans Campaign To Donate To Help Save Brick Building of Forks High School", <<http://www.peninsuladailynews.com/article/20080913/NEWS/809130304>>, 12 September 2008. Access: 3 December 2009.

<sup>64</sup> C. Cook, "High School Addition Opening On Schedule", <[http://forksforum.com/news/article.exm/20111221\\_high\\_school\\_addition\\_opening\\_on\\_schedule](http://forksforum.com/news/article.exm/20111221_high_school_addition_opening_on_schedule)>, 21 December 2011. Access: 14 October 2013.

roof on 3 January 2012.<sup>65</sup> This new addition brought the high school's facilities into the twenty-first century, with fifty percent of its lighting provided naturally, large and adaptable classrooms with built-in technology like data boards, a brand-new athletics locker room, a new vocational-technology building, a video broadcasting system and computer lab funded by Apple Computers, a new biomass boiler to heat the school, and a Heritage Hall exhibiting artifacts from the school's history, starting in the 1920s. This upgrade has unfortunately meant that the original Forks High School façade had to be demolished, but sections of the original 1925 brick façade have been worked into the interior side of the school entrance.<sup>66</sup> Some of the remaining bricks have been sold off as *Twilight* memorabilia in the town's various *Twilight* shops. (For a photo of the new Forks High School façade, please see figure 11 in the Annexure).

The initial arrival of the *Twilight* hysteria had been greeted with mixed feelings at the school. In the beginning, staff and students found it surprising when *Twilight* fans showed up outside the school to take photos in front of the old brick façade and the wooden Spartan school sign. Now visiting fans are a commonplace sight on campus.<sup>67</sup> The school also takes part in the 'Stephenie Meyer Days' celebrations. For example in 2008, student body leaders worked hard to accommodate the overflow crowd who showed up to tour the school. Fans were also allowed to attend special *Twilight*-based classes in the school on the day.<sup>68</sup> Forks High School became even more famous with the films (even though the school is not featured in any of the films). Some of the students' varsity jackets were loaned out for the filming. Away from Forks, Spartan students and local residents are acquiring high status, because of their town's links with *Twilight*.<sup>69</sup>

In an article written for the *Forks Forum* newspaper in 2009, Cheryl Moore, a student at the high school at the time, writes that "[y]ou could say that *Twilight* has affected our community and high school, but that could easily be taken too lightly."<sup>70</sup> She goes on to substantiate that not all students approve of the *Twilight* phenomenon. Many students enjoyed the books a lot and are more than willing to help out tourists in local shops or provide tours of the school for them on special occasions. But some are very sceptical about all the attention the books have brought.

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<sup>65</sup> Forks Forum, "First Day Under One Roof in 20 Years", <[http://forksforum.com/news/article.exm/2012-01-04\\_first\\_day\\_under\\_one\\_roof\\_in\\_20\\_years](http://forksforum.com/news/article.exm/2012-01-04_first_day_under_one_roof_in_20_years)>, 4 January 2012. Access: 14 October 2013.

<sup>66</sup> C. Cook, "High School Addition Opening On Schedule", <[http://forksforum.com/news/article.exm/20111221\\_high\\_school\\_addition\\_opening\\_on\\_schedule](http://forksforum.com/news/article.exm/20111221_high_school_addition_opening_on_schedule)>, 21 December 2011. Access: 14 October 2013.

<sup>67</sup> C. Cook, *Forks Forum Twilight Territory: a Fan's Guide to Forks and La Push*, p. 28.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>69</sup> C. Cook, *Forks Forum Twilight Territory: a Fan's Guide to Forks and La Push*, p. 30.

<sup>70</sup> C. Moore, Forks High School Students Split Over 'Twilight' Attention, in C. Cook, *Forks Forum Twilight Territory: a Fan's Guide to Forks and La Push*, p. 32.

They even feel that the attention might be ruining their quiet town.<sup>71</sup> For the *Twilight* fans within the school it is a great treat to meet fellow fans from around the world. “Forks’ reputation is spreading globally because of the Twilight saga and, for the most part, the school has improved significantly in the years since the publication. Overall, Forks High School welcomes Twilight fans (*sic*).”<sup>72</sup>

Even the Forks Police Station features in the *Twilight Saga* as the workplace of Bella’s police chief father, Charlie Swan. The police station forms part of the Forks City Hall complex of buildings and visitors are allowed access, but on a limited basis. The former Forks Chief of Police, Mike Powell, regularly stood in for the fictional Charlie Swan. Powell had over 22 years’ experience in law enforcement, and knew Forks, its people and environs very well, just like Bella’s father in the books.<sup>73</sup> Visitors are welcome to take photographs of the City Hall complex and the parked police cruisers. There is also a small *Twilight* exhibit in the complex.

Forks Outfitters is the only shopping centre in Forks and contains the following stores: Thriftway, Ace Hardware and Forks Outfitters. In the books, this centre is owned by one of Bella’s friends’ family, the Newtons. Later in the books, Bella has a part-time job at the store. In reality, Forks Outfitters dates back to 1951, when the Paul family moved to Forks to buy the Forks Grocery and Feed. Bert M. Paul and his son Warren W. Paul were partners in the operation. In 1961, Warren Paul decided to demolish the old wooden building and a cement block building was constructed which later became known as Paul’s Serve-U. In 1973, it was felt that Forks needed a regular supermarket and Warren Paul partnered with Bob Green and Mike Philips to build the Forks Thrifty Mart on the south end of Forks, which is its current location. An early addition of an extra building later became the Ace Hardware store. In 1984, Bert W. Paul and his wife, Martha, acquired the store.<sup>74</sup> In 1995, a new addition to the front of the store added a deli/bakery, espresso bar and a new service centre, while in 2005 Forks Outfitters was expanded further. Under Bert’s leadership, Forks Outfitters has grown with the West End and the times to become a landmark business for Forks and the entire of the West End. Today, the store is owned by Bert Paul’s son and his wife, Bruce and Shelley Paul.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>73</sup> G. Beahm, *Twilight Tours: the Illustrated Guide to the REAL Forks*, p. 51.

<sup>74</sup> Forks Thriftway, “Store History”, <<http://www.forksthriftway.com/history.html>>, s.a. Access: 14 May 2012.

<sup>75</sup> C. Cook, “Forks Outfitters owner, founder Bert Paul retires”, <[http://www.forksforum.com/news/article.exm/2011-09-22\\_forks\\_outfitters\\_owner\\_\\_founder\\_bert\\_paul\\_retires](http://www.forksforum.com/news/article.exm/2011-09-22_forks_outfitters_owner__founder_bert_paul_retires)>, 22 September 2011. Access: 14 May 2012.

In recent years a banner was added to the store's sign proclaiming that the store is "*Twilight* Headquarters" with "books, posters, gifts, shirts, hats & more". Just off the store's entrance, there is a corner catering to *Twilight* fans' every need with an extensive assortment of memorabilia. Here all the books (individual copies and box sets), the movie soundtracks, scores and DVDs, insulated coffee mugs, posters, and a local line of apparel are sold. These include *Twilight*-themed hats, beanies, shirts, sweatshirts, hoodies, blankets, key chains, fridge magnets, and Washington state registration plates personalized with Cullen names. There is even a special employee nametag for sale, reading "Bella S., Employee of the Year". The store also sells hiking and other supplies for visitors interested in exploring the beautiful countryside surrounding Forks.<sup>76</sup>

Forks counts several *Twilight*-themed stores amongst its literary attractions, including 'Dazzled by *Twilight*' which used to be Forks' most popular *Twilight*-only shop. The shop sold anything associated with the *Twilight* phenomenon, both locally-made and merchandise from outside Forks. The list of licensed and locally-produced merchandise for the tourist at this store was nothing short of impressive: the *Twilight Saga* books, official movie companions, the Catherine Hardwick's movie diary book, the soundtracks and scores, the *Twilight Saga* DVDs, school apparel from Forks High School, tote bags, framed movie posters, wall calendars, framed photographs of surrounding areas, *Twilight* themed road signs, handmade household goods, perfumes and lotions, apple paperweights, metal toy cars (including Edward's silver Volvo S60 R and Bella's truck), baseball caps, life-size cardboard stand-ups of the key cast, music by artists who contributed to the soundtrack, buttons with *Twilight* references, pens, wooden signs with characters' names, locally-made jewellery, *Twilight* wear, small sculptures, and coloured vases.<sup>77</sup>

Release parties for any *Twilight*-related project drew huge crowds. For example, the *Twilight* DVD release on March 20, 2009 drew an estimated 600 fans to the shop.<sup>78</sup> The store was a labour of love for owner Annette Root, who specially moved to Forks with her family and used her life savings to set up shop. In spite of the extensive inventory, the store itself is a sight to behold, with fake trees, a mock gazebo with fairy lights like the one Bella and Edward danced under at the prom in the film version of *Twilight* and a thick carpet of fake grass covering the floor.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> G. Beahm, *Twilight Tours: the Illustrated Guide to the REAL Forks*, p. 38.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>79</sup> B. Alexander, "*Twilight* Fans Descend on Forks, the US 'Vampire Town'", <<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/travel/destinations/usa/article6895720.ece>>, 31 October 2009. Access: 2 December 2009.

The store even had a second branch in Port Angeles,<sup>80</sup> but in January 2012 the entire franchise closed down suddenly as a result of Root's personal considerations. The store's remaining stock was moved to the adjacent 'Native to Twilight' store, which then became Forks' premium seller of all things *Twilight*.<sup>81</sup> In addition to the *Twilight* merchandise, this store also sells Quileute arts and crafts. On October 29, 2012, a fire brought a tragic end to the remains of the 'Dazzled by Twilight' store. The fire originated in the adjacent building, which was built with old-growth timber as an International Order of Odd Fellows Hall in 1925. At the time of the fire, it housed the Rainforest Arts Centre and was used for theatrical productions, dances and community meetings. The loss of these buildings not only represented a loss to Forks' literary tourism, but was also a devastating historical loss for the town. The building, which housed 'Dazzled by Twilight', previously housed an art gallery, and before that, was home to the Olympic Pharmacy.<sup>82</sup>

There are several other notable *Twilight* associated stores in Forks too, and almost all stores in the town sell some form of *Twilight* memorabilia. 'Alice's Closet' is another prominent *Twilight* store. This store functions as a boutique and primarily sells clothing ensembles featured in the films. The owner, Staci Chastain, takes great care in putting together memorable pieces of clothing from the wardrobes of most notably Bella and Alice, as featured in the films. The store also sells *Twilight*-inspired jewellery, like a necklace containing a drop of rain from Forks, for visitors to take one of Forks' most memorable features home with them. The 'Chinook Pharmacy', located in downtown Forks, not only serves as a pharmacy, but also sells a massive collection of *Twilight* and Forks souvenirs, from items of clothing to fridge magnets. The 'Salmonberry Artisan's Market' is only open on certain days of the week and sells exquisite locally produced crafts, many with a *Twilight* theme. Bella's charm bracelet, as featured in both the books and films, can be found here, with some local Forks elements added to it. 'Leppell's Flowers and Gifts/*Twilight* Central' is Forks' local florist, but doubles as arguably the main *Twilight* store in Forks, after the demise of 'Dazzled by Twilight'. This store, owned by Charlene Cross, features many of the same charming décor elements that 'Dazzled by Twilight' was known for with the added charm of fresh flowers. And it really is *Twilight* Central, as indicated by its name. Leppell's carries a wide selection of unique *Twilight* items not to be found anywhere else, like *Twilight* and Forks High School scrapbooking supplies, Cullen baseballs and T-shirts, home décor items, and unique jewellery pieces. The staff is very welcoming, always glad to give directions or advice on what to see, or to share a story, and

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<sup>80</sup> C. Cook, *Forks Forum Twilight Territory: a Fan's Guide to Forks and La Push*, p. 69.

<sup>81</sup> R. Belles, interviewed 5 May 2012.

<sup>82</sup> Forks Forum, "Fire Devastates Section of Downtown Forks", <[http://www.forksforum.com/news/article.exm/2012-10-29\\_fire\\_devastates\\_section\\_of\\_downtown\\_forks](http://www.forksforum.com/news/article.exm/2012-10-29_fire_devastates_section_of_downtown_forks)>, 29 October 2012. Access: 8 July 2013.

they love to meet visitors from different parts of the USA and the world. They also hand out free *Twilight* maps.<sup>83</sup>

As mentioned above, *Twilight* tours of Forks have been operated by a number of tour companies over the years. The first company to take over the *Twilight* tours from the Chamber of Commerce was *Twilight Tours*. They operated out of the 'Dazzled by Twilight' store and these tours were extremely popular with tours usually booked up months in advance.<sup>84</sup> When the 'Dazzled by Twilight' store closed down, the tour company was taken over by the original tourist guides, Travis and Rianilee Belles. They changed the name to 'Twilight Tours in Forks' and operated out of a store adjacent to the closed 'Dazzled by Twilight'. Their tour company sold some *Twilight* souvenirs, like T-Shirts, and also included a *Twilight* exhibit of memorabilia collected by Rianilee Belles.<sup>85</sup> In September 2012, 'Twilight Tours in Forks' also closed down after the Belles family decided to move to Nevada, USA.

Since 2011, a new tour company, 'Team Forks Twilight Tours', operated out of the Leppell's Twilight Central Flowers and Gifts store. They offered a variety of tour choices:

- The "Wild in Forks Tour" (1.5 hours, \$30.00 a seat) offered a full *Twilight* tour of Forks. It included a visit to the Monte Carlo Arch that was featured at the prom in the *Twilight* movie. Visitors could take a picture at the arch and re-live the prom as Bella and Edward. This tour also included some historical points of interest about Forks, presented by long-time Forks residents.
- The "Jacob's Tour" (3 hours, \$40.00) included a full tour of Forks, plus a visit to La Push. Visitors got to see the Treaty Line (where vampires may not cross over onto Quileute lands), Jacob's cabin and his motorcycle, and First Beach. Guides explained some of the history of La Push and its people.
- The "Bella's Sunset Tour" (approx. 4 hours, \$55.00) was very popular and was an original way of experiencing 'twilight' in Forks. It was specially created by 'Team Forks Twilight Tours'. The tour included a full tour of Forks and ended with a trip to First Beach at La Push, where a driftwood campfire, hot dogs and S'mores awaited visitors, weather permitting of course.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> C. Herselman, personal observation during research trip, 4-16 May 2012.

<sup>84</sup> G. Beahm, *Twilight Tours: the Illustrated Guide to the REAL Forks*, pp. 59-60.

<sup>85</sup> C. Herselman, personal observation during research trip, 4-16 May 2012.

<sup>86</sup> Twilight Tours by Team Forks, "Book Seats", <<http://www.teamforks.com/book-seats.html>>, s.a. Access: 14 October 2013.

Since May 1, 2013, tours are operated by 'TwiFoot Tours', an amalgamation of 'Twilight Tours in Forks' and 'Team Forks Twilight Tours'. As the name suggests, this company offers *Twilight* tours, but also conducts visits to the nearby Hoh Rain Forest in the ONP to search for Washington State's other famous inhabitant, Big Foot.<sup>87</sup> They offer the same *Twilight* tours as the ones set out above and also make use of local guides.<sup>88</sup>

Meyer's judicious vegetarian vampires need to live where wildlife is plentiful, and with the ONP close by, they could not ask for a better home than Forks. Consequently, visits to the park feature on many *Twilight* tours too. The park however is popular with many other types of tourists as well. The ONP stocks black bear, Roosevelt elk, black tail deer, mountain lion, bobcat, coyote, snowshoe hare, short-tailed weasel, river otter and raccoon. For serious hikers, the National Parks in Washington State offer countless kilometres of trails, marked out by the National Parks Service, to explore.<sup>89</sup>

It is advisable that before setting out, hikers should read up on what to expect, especially in terms of required permits and fees. *Twilight* fans pressed for time can explore a part of the Hoh Rain Forest in the ONP by retracing the walk Stephenie Meyer took on the 'Hall of Mosses' trail during her first visit in 2004.<sup>90</sup> Free maps highlighting trails for every skill level are available at the Hoh Rain Forest Visitor Centre, and most other visitor centres throughout the Olympic Peninsula. Here visitors can also purchase books, maps, bookmarkers and photos.<sup>91</sup> Besides the Hoh Rain Forest trail, other trails will no doubt prove very popular with Twilighters as well, since many key scenes in the books are set in the forest. Hikers are also actually mentioned in *Breaking Dawn*, when Bella and Edward go hunting together.<sup>92</sup>

La Push is the one square mile reserve of coastal lands that belongs to the Quileute Nation. The name comes from the traders who once travelled the coast and derives from the French language-inspired Chinook trade term 'la bouche', or river mouth.<sup>93</sup> La Push is located twenty minutes west

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<sup>87</sup> 'Big Foot', also known as Sasquatch, is the Pacific Northwest's original famous mythical inhabitant. 'Big Foot' is a hominid-like creature, believed to inhabit forests.

<sup>88</sup> TwiFoot Tours, "Twifoot Tours/Book Seats", <<http://www.twifoottours.com/twifoot-toursbook-seats.html>>, s.a. Access: 14 October 2013.

<sup>89</sup> G. Beahm, *Twilight Tours: the Illustrated Guide to the REAL Forks*, p. 65.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

<sup>92</sup> S. Meyer, *Breaking Dawn*, p. 419.

<sup>93</sup> C. Cook, *Forks Forum Twilight Territory: a Fan's Guide to Forks and La Push*, p. 36.

of Forks, on the Pacific coast. The northwest forest of the ONP runs to the east and south of the town and the Quillayute River forms the northern border.<sup>94</sup>

In the *Twilight Saga*, Meyer uses the Quileute as rivals to the Cullen vampires, giving her Quileute characters (in particular, the favourite Jacob Black) werewolf abilities. This has led Quileute elders to ask fans to be aware of the fact that these are only fictional characters and that their story in the book is also just fictional, before they visit. Meyer's creation is roughly based on a Quileute legend in which wolves were changed into humans, as discussed earlier.<sup>95</sup> But *Twilight* has also aided the Quileute culture by raising awareness of their endangered language when in the second film, *New Moon*, Jacob spoke to Bella in Quileute. The *Twilight* actors playing Quileute characters were also given the opportunity to meet young men from the tribe and received lessons in the Quileute language.<sup>96</sup>

Today, tourism is the main industry for the Quileute community.<sup>97</sup> The top attraction for *Twilight* visitors is the beach logs on First Beach, which can be signed in charcoal by visiting fans. They may only be signed in charcoal and fans may also not remove any rocks, logs or sand from First Beach, since the area is sacred to the Quileute people. A special, huge drift log near the Lonesome Creek Store is known as Jacob's Quileute Story Tree.<sup>98</sup> First Beach is not just a scenic location for *Twilight* tourists to visit, but is also home to important scenes from the books, as this is where Bella discovered that Edward is a vampire and where Bella and Jacob spent a lot of time together. First Beach is adorned with sea stacks with James Island in the background, huge beach logs and the massive Pacific waves rolling in. (See figure 12 in Annexure for a photo of the sea stacks at La Push). The Quileute Oceanside Resort offers accommodation for visiting fans in a growing number of oceanfront guest rooms. The resort has many ties to the Quileute people and their culture. Dozens of campsites are also available for rent. The resort actually dates back to the 1930s, when the first visitor cabins were opened.<sup>99</sup>

Visitors can also hike along two trails to Second Beach and Third Beach, located within the ONP. Second Beach has been named as one of the most romantic beaches in the USA. Visitors can also visit the Lonesome Creek Store to buy refreshments after the walk. Fans are however warned

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<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 38-40.

<sup>97</sup> G. Beahm, *Twilight Tours: the Illustrated Guide to the REAL Forks*, p. 75.

<sup>98</sup> C. Cook, *Forks Forum Twilight Territory: a Fan's Guide to Forks and La Push*, p. 48.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

not to go cliff diving, as Bella did in *New Moon*. The sea cliffs are set too far back and the water is too shallow to allow for safe diving.<sup>100</sup> Due to the turbulent water, it is also difficult to spot submerged tide pools and rocks.<sup>101</sup>

La Push offers numerous *Twilight* activities for visitors. These include:

- Walks on First Beach, or a hike to the crescent-shaped black sand beach known as Second Beach;
- Drum with the Quileute community at the weekly Wednesday night Healing Circle drumming and potluck held at the Quileute Community Centre. Visitors are welcome and encouraged to attend;
- Enjoy a breakfast, lunch or dinner with spectacular views of sea birds, seals, ocean and river vessels at the River's Edge Restaurant (open seasonally);
- Shop for Quileute-made *Twilight* souvenirs at the Oceanside Resort visitor centre (where visitors can buy *Twilight*-themed jewellery – souvenirs can also be ordered from the website [www.quileutenation.org](http://www.quileutenation.org)) or the Lonesome Creek Store (the store's porch contains a Bella's Bulletin Board where fans can leave messages);
- Attend the 'Quileute Days' festival on the third weekend in July, see the colourful parade, street fair and motorized canoe races and eat Quileute specialities at the salmon bake;
- Attend the Surfing and Traditions event in early July where surfers compete at First Beach;
- See migrating grey whales in spring and autumn from a whale watching cruise or along First Beach;
- Go charter fishing or whale watching from the Quileute Marina;
- Help fund Christmas presents for needy children by bidding on unique Quileute crafts and a long list of other West End items at the 'Cherish Our Children' auction held in early December;
- See the 'No Vampires Beyond This Point' sign at the Three Rivers Restaurant where the imaginary boundary line between the Forks vampires and La Push werewolves is located (see figure 13 in Annexure for a photo of this sign); and
- Make a bonfire on the beach (permits have to be obtained from Lonesome Creek Store first).<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>101</sup> G. Beahm, *Twilight Tours: the Illustrated Guide to the REAL Forks*, p. 75.

It can be concluded from the above discussion that Forks offers a very well-developed literary tourism product, covering a whole range of *Twilight* attractions.

#### 4.3 Other tourism sites associated with *The Twilight Saga*

When Forks residents want to ‘go to the big city’, they visit Port Angeles to go to the movies (Forks’ own theatre was closed down well over a decade ago) or to shop for specialty items. Port Angeles is the largest city on the Olympic Peninsula and this port city is separated from Canada by the Straits of Juan de Fuca.<sup>103</sup> The city also started its life as a logging town and a natural deep-water harbour, but as the economy changed, tourism became their most important industry.<sup>104</sup> Port Angeles has quite a few *Twilight* associations and even has a dedicated Chamber of Commerce staffer for all things *Twilight*.<sup>105</sup> The city has been exploiting these associations and even held its very first *Twilight* festival in September 2009, which included *Twilight* wedding ceremonies for visitors in the events.<sup>106</sup>

The city is located about one hour’s drive from Forks and in *Twilight*, Bella and her friends travel here to shop for prom dresses or go to the cinema. The dress store they visited has been identified as ‘Gottschalks’. The store unfortunately filed for bankruptcy in January 2009, going out of business before it could benefit from its *Twilight* association.<sup>107</sup> Bella also visited a bookstore in the port city, which for tourism purposes has been identified as the ‘Port Book and News’ in the downtown area. This bookstore held a special midnight book release party when *Breaking Dawn* came out on August 2, 2008.<sup>108</sup> The ‘Bella Italia’ restaurant proudly carries a sign proclaiming it to be the ‘Home of Bella and Edward’s first date’. *Twilight* fans and tour groups frequently dine at this restaurant, which is arguably the most famous *Twilight* attraction in Port Angeles.<sup>109</sup> Their specialty is mushroom ravioli – the dish Bella ordered in the book. Stephenie Meyer visited the restaurant in

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<sup>102</sup> C. Cook, *Forks Forum Twilight Territory: a Fan’s Guide to Forks and La Push*, pp. 43-48.

<sup>103</sup> K. Kidd, *Experience Twilight: the Ultimate Twilight Fan Travel Guide*, p. 9.

<sup>104</sup> G. Beahm, *Twilight Tours: the Illustrated Guide to the REAL Forks*, p. 85.

<sup>105</sup> K. Kidd, *Experience Twilight: the Ultimate Twilight Fan Travel Guide*, p. 9.

<sup>106</sup> P. Dickerson, “Port Angeles Getting In On *Twilight* Festivities for the First Time”, <<http://www.peninsuladailynews.com/article/20090906/news/309069987>>, 5 September 2009. Access: 29 November 2009.

<sup>107</sup> G. Beahm, *Twilight Tours: the Illustrated Guide to the REAL Forks*, p. 87.

<sup>108</sup> C. Cook, *Forks Forum Twilight Territory: a Fan’s Guide to Forks and La Push*, p. 67.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

2008, and officially gave the restaurant her 'seal of approval'. A group photo of Meyer and the restaurant's employees is prominently displayed in the storefront window.<sup>110</sup>

The *Twilight* phenomenon is also transcontinental with attractions in Volterra, Italy. Featuring briefly in *New Moon* as the home of the vampire royal family, Volterra has also become a literary hot-spot. According to Meyer, she chose Volterra after seeing pictures of the town on the Internet. She had already written out the scene and wanted to choose a fake location since she was already nervous about what Forks and La Push residents might think about her stories, seeing that she took certain liberties with their legends. But after discovering a town fitting her descriptions perfectly, she dropped the idea of creating a fake town and went with Volterra. When she visited the town a few years back, she found the residents responded well to the town's literary connections with vampires.<sup>111</sup>

The Volterra tourism office has embraced all the new literary tourists they have received as a result of *New Moon*. The tourism office has produced a special map to hand out to tourists to take self-guided tours. The map details the exact route that the characters Bella, Edward and Alice take through the town. This tour of course features some of Volterra's most prominent tourist attractions. The Viti House's basement (where the literary Volturi royals 'live') was specially set up for *New Moon* visitors, containing a wall where tourists can write messages. Some shops also cater to the *New Moon* phenomenon selling themed glassware, jewellery and other souvenirs.<sup>112</sup> In 2009, the Beyond Boundaries travel agency even took a *Twilight* trip out to Volterra and Florence in Italy.<sup>113</sup>

*Twilight* has also evolved from just being a literary tourism catalyst to include film tourism. There are numerous film tourism sites associated with *The Twilight Saga*. These sites are also visited by fans of the books, especially because of its proximity to the literary tourism sites, as is the case with Vancouver, British Columbia (Canada) and Oregon State (USA). The Forks Chamber of Commerce and some stores in Forks even promote these filming locations by handing out maps to these locations to visitors, but of course, Forks also receives free reciprocal promotion in the films.

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<sup>110</sup> G. Beahm, *Twilight Tours: the Illustrated Guide to the REAL Forks*, p. 90.

<sup>111</sup> S. Meyer, "Stephenie's Answers", <<http://www.stepheniemeyer.com>>, 16 November 2009. Access: 17 November 2009.

<sup>112</sup> Anonymous, "*Twilight* Tourism in Volterra, Italy with *New Moon* Map", <<http://www.newmoonmovie.org/2009/05/twilight-tourism-in-volterra-italy-with-new-moon-map/>>, 20 May 2009. Access: 22 May 2009.

<sup>113</sup> C. Cook, "'Twilight' Effect on Forks Going Global", <<http://www.forksforum.com/twilight>>, s.a. Access: 2 December 2009.

Some of the most notable places in which the films were shot, include the following: Montepulciano, Italy (for Volterra scenes), Oregon, USA, and Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.

According to Chris Weitz, the *New Moon* film director, they were inundated with fans in Montepulciano: "The streets were filled with fans. [T]hey weren't interested in hampering the filming at all. When you asked the crowd of 1 000 people to be quiet, they were absolutely silent. But then when you finished the take, there would be a round of applause, which doesn't happen on a film set."<sup>114</sup> This is of course an example of on-location film tourism, as differentiated by M.K. Smith *et al.*<sup>115</sup>

What is not generally known, given the prominence of Forks in the book, is that *Twilight* was primarily filmed in the state of Oregon. Oregon was chosen over Washington State because it is a more filming-friendly state: it has no sales tax and has an enhanced film incentive programme offering a rebate of about seventeen percent to film makers for money spent in the state. Portland served as the base camp for the filming, since it had all the amenities of a big city, but was also conveniently located to film scenic forests, a small town and the coast.<sup>116</sup> The 'Experience Twilight' tour company has designed a whole movie tour in their travel guide for *Twilight* fans in which they highlight all the locations seen in the film. Notable sites in Oregon include:

- The View Point Inn in Corbett (where the scenic prom and ending scenes of the movie were filmed) had initially capitalized on this affiliation by offering *Twilight* slumber parties, tours of film locations in and around Portland and dinners with *Twilight* inspired dishes, e.g. Bella Ravioli.<sup>117</sup> This historic building however was ravaged by fire in 2011 and it is currently being renovated.<sup>118</sup>
- The striking, contemporary Cullen house in the film is located in Portland and is actually the private home of a Nike executive, John Hoke. The house is closed to the public, but photographs may be taken from the street.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> L. Grossman, 'It's Twilight in America: the Vampire Saga', <<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1938712-1,00.html>>, 23 November 2009. Access: 2 December 2009.

<sup>115</sup> M.K. Smith *et al.*, *Key Concepts in Tourist Studies*, pp. 71-72.

<sup>116</sup> K. Kidd, *Experience Twilight: the Ultimate Twilight Fan Travel Guide*, p. 13.

<sup>117</sup> A. Maguire, "Rainforest Vampires", <<http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/travel/2008/1220/1229523125480.html>>, 20 December 2008. Access: 3 December 2009.

<sup>118</sup> K. Anderson, "Construction Begins at View Point Inn", <<http://portlandtribune.com/go/42-news/126748-construction-begins-at-view-point-inn>>, 18 January 2013. Access: 14 October 2013.

<sup>119</sup> K. Kidd, *Experience Twilight: the Ultimate Twilight Fan Travel Guide*, p. 14.

- The Swan residence is in Saint Helens and is also a private residence, so pictures may only be taken from the street.<sup>120</sup>
- The whole downtown of Vernonia was transformed to become Forks. Many building signs, including the one at city hall, were covered with signs that said Forks. An exact replica of the 'City of Forks Welcomes You' sign was placed just outside Vernonia and is seen at the start of the film.<sup>121</sup>
- The school portrayed in the film is James Madison High School in Portland for the interior shots and Kalama High School in Kalama, Washington for exterior shots.<sup>122</sup>
- Several parks were also used in filming, and these are all open for public access, including Silver Falls Park and Oxbow Park, where the scene where Bella tells Edward she knows he is a vampire, was filmed.<sup>123</sup>
- Famous Oregon attractions were promoted in the film, like the Multnomah Falls in Corbett, which featured in the scene where Bella and the Cullens play baseball.<sup>124</sup>

Some companies, such as the Beyond Boundaries travel agency, offer tours of both movie and literary sites in Oregon and Washington.<sup>125</sup> Most of the *Twilight Saga* movies however were filmed in Vancouver, British Columbia. Vancouver, also known as 'Hollywood North' because of its popularity as a filming location in recent years, even offers dedicated film locations tours by companies like On Location Tours Vancouver. These tours visit *Twilight* filming locations all over Vancouver and surrounds, the film studios where many memorable scenes were filmed, as well as the favourite 'hang-outs' and hotels of the films' stars.<sup>126</sup>

From the two preceding chapters, it has become quite evident that the *Twilight Saga* has been an extraordinary phenomenon. The *Twilight Saga* has not only become a billion-dollar industry consisting of a successful book series and film franchise and turning its author into an award-winning publishing superstar, but it has also stimulated some considerable tourism benefits and significant multiplier effects in both the literary and film tourism industries across regions on two continents. The following chapter will look at this tourism phenomenon in depth by integrating the

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<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>122</sup> G. Beahm, *Twilight Tours: the Illustrated Guide to the REAL Forks*, p. 45.

<sup>123</sup> K. Kidd, *Experience Twilight: the Ultimate Twilight Fan Travel Guide*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>125</sup> A. Maguire, "Rainforest Vampires", <<http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/travel/2008/1220/1229523125480.html>>, 20 December 2008. Access: 3 December 2009.

<sup>126</sup> C. Kilpatrick, interviewed 23 May 2012.

theoretical concepts discussed in chapter two with the case study of Forks. This will hopefully produce a clear picture of how a contemporary literary phenomenon develops, who takes part in this type of tourism and how the traditionally relevant tourism concept of authenticity is perceived when it comes to contemporary types of literary (and film) tourism.

## CHAPTER 5 – TOURISM PHENOMENON

There can be no doubt that the *Twilight Saga* is a literary phenomenon. This chapter looks at how *Twilight* has turned Forks into a tourism phenomenon. It will consider *Twilight* tourism based on the main themes discussed in chapter two. The following three categories will be looked at in more detail: how Forks developed as a literary tourism attraction; what Forks' visitor profile is characterised by; and just how authentic Forks is. The chapter will close with an analysis of the positive, and where applicable, negative impacts of literary tourism on Forks by considering residents' sentiments and recent developments in the town.

Based on the definitions set out in chapter one, *Twilight* tourism definitely resides within the cultural tourism industry, though it is weighted more to the popular culture side than high culture. In terms of the definition of literary tourism, Forks complies with the criteria of a fictional literary attraction since it is the 'setting' of the imaginary world created by Stephenie Meyer in her books. This imaginary world is deeply rooted in reality though. Very few books are this specific about their locations, which makes it very easy to find attractions associated with the series in Forks. Meyer was also very accurate in her detailed description of the town. The tourism in Forks can also be classified as *pure* literary tourism, since this is only where the novels are set and no part of the films were filmed there, meaning that there is none of the cross-contamination that occurs when a literary and film tourism setting happen to be set in the same location. Forks may fall under the category of Buchmann's 'mythical tourism' too, since vampires firmly hail from the realm of myth and fantasy.<sup>1</sup>

### 5.1 *Twilight* falls in Forks

For a town desperately trying to replace its redundant timber industry, tourism could not have been a more ideal alternative. And if a best-selling series of books with a near cult-like following is set in a town, one could not ask for a better opportunity for mass literary tourism. The first distinguishable literary visitors started arriving during the summer of 2006. In the spring of 2008 the town received 30 to 50 *Twilight*ers a day. By summer 2008, the town received 90 *Twilight*-related visitors daily. By summer 2009, up to 700 people were signing the Chamber of Commerce's guestbook per day.<sup>2</sup> In effect, this represents a 1 000 percent increase in tourism in Forks. As a result local businesses no longer had to close for an off-season. For example, Sully's Drive-In sold more than 800 Bella Burgers in the first three

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<sup>1</sup> A. Buchmann, From Erewhon to Edoras: Tourism and Myths in New Zealand, *Tourism, Culture and Communication* 6(1), 2005, pp. 181-189.

<sup>2</sup> J. Margolies, "'Twilighters' Put Small Town in the Spotlight', <<http://travel.nytimes.com/2009/09/27/travel/27culture.html?pagewanted=1>>, 27 September 2009. Access: 2 October 2009.

months since its inception.<sup>3</sup> The many online *Twilight* communities also helped to spread news about the town's events. For example, the *Twilight* Moms (twilightmoms.com) booked out most of the Dew Drop Inn's accommodations for the 2008 Stephenie Meyer Day celebrations, when they visited Forks with a 100-member delegation.<sup>4</sup> K. O'Sullivan notes that before *Twilight*, Forks received about 8 000 tourists annually, however in 2009, they received 8 000 tourists a month.<sup>5</sup> In 2008, *Twilighters* boosted bed occupancy alone by 48%.<sup>6</sup> The 2009 Stephenie Meyer Day celebrations were attended by an estimated 2 000 people, some even from as far afield as Germany and Japan.<sup>7</sup>

These statistics are nothing short of extraordinary. They are confirmed by the Chamber of Commerce's own statistics, collected through visitors signing a guestbook, which is not signed by everyone who visits the town. As can be seen in the graph below, a clear increase in visitation is evident from 2007 onwards with a peak in 2010. This increase is also reflected in the taxes received by the City of Forks: hotel-motel taxes increased from \$88,469 in 2006 to \$150,092 in 2010, and sales tax revenue increased from \$353,837 in 2006 to \$531,246 in 2011 (for the full statistics, please see table 5 in the Annexure).<sup>8</sup>

Visitation numbers are on the decrease at the moment after the peak years of 2009 and 2010, as the town inevitably goes through the stages of Butler's tourism development model.<sup>9</sup> Yet as Bill Brager of the Miller Tree Inn pointed out, Forks cannot be too upset about the decrease as the town's visitation, having stabilized around the 40 000 visitors per year mark, is still averaging far above what it was before *The Twilight Saga* emerged.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>3</sup> M. Ramirez, 'Fans of 'Twilight' Vampire Series Pump New Blood into Forks', <[http://seattletimes.nwsourc.com/html/entertainment/2008075490\\_twilight270.html](http://seattletimes.nwsourc.com/html/entertainment/2008075490_twilight270.html)>, 2008. Access: 3 December 2009.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> K. O'Sullivan, 'Small US Town Become Twilight Zone', <<http://www.theage.com.au/travel/travel-news/small-us-town-becomes-twilight-zone-20090722-dt6l.html>>, 25 July 2009. Access: 3 December 2009.

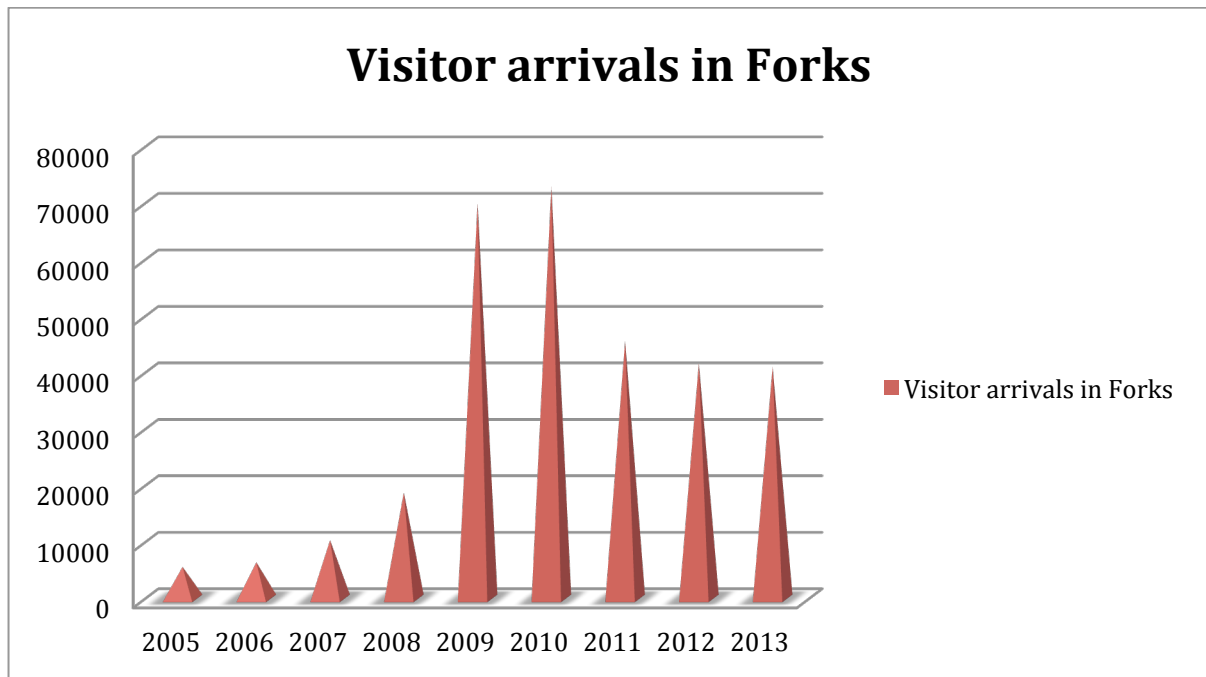
<sup>6</sup> A. Maguire, 'Rainforest Vampires', <<http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/travel/2008/1220/1229523125480.html>>, 20 December 2008. Access: 3 December 2009.

<sup>7</sup> B. Alexander, 'Twilight Fans Descend on Forks, the US 'Vampire Town'', <<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/travel/destinations/usa/article6895720.ece>>, 31 October 2009. Access: 2 December 2009.

<sup>8</sup> Forks Chamber of Commerce, *Forks Chamber of Commerce Visitor Center Count*.

<sup>9</sup> R. Butler, The Concept of a Tourist Area Life Cycle of Evolution: Implications for Management of Resources, *Canadian Geographer* 24, 1980, pp. 5-12.

<sup>10</sup> B. Brager, interviewed 5 May 2012.



**Figure 14: Forks visitor statistics between 2005 and 2013, as collected by the Chamber of Commerce**  
Compiled using the Forks Chamber of Commerce Visitor Centre count, 2014

This graph also serves to illustrate an interesting point about how the promotion provided by a film can increase visitation at a literary tourism attraction, as explained in chapter two.<sup>11</sup> While a modest increase in visitation is visible after the release of *The Twilight Saga* books, tourist arrivals in Forks skyrocketed after the release of the first film in 2008.

In order to determine which of Butler's tourism area life cycle phases Forks is currently occupying, I will again make use of the table created by Getz:

Stage	Indicator	Situation in Forks
<b>Exploration</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Small number of 'allocentrics' or 'explorers'</li> <li>Little or no tourist infrastructure</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The initial 'explorers' arrived in 2006. In a way, Stephenie Meyer can also qualify, since she 'discovered' and opened up Forks to the world.</li> <li>The town already did have some tourist facilities, like accommodation, since the area was visited for its natural beauty during the summer months.</li> </ul>

<sup>11</sup> See p. 56 of this dissertation.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Natural or cultural attractions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Forks has natural attractions in its scenic beauty and cultural attractions in <i>Twilight</i> tourism and historical heritage.</li> </ul>
<b>Involvement</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Local investment in tourism</li> <li>▪ Pronounced tourist season</li> <li>▪ Advertising the destination</li> <li>▪ Emerging market area</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ The local residents are extremely involved in <i>Twilight</i> tourism.</li> <li>▪ Most visitors arrive during summer, but since the rainy weather of Forks features so much in the novels, Forks can attract visitors all year round.</li> <li>▪ Advertising is happening in the form of the hundreds of media reports of journalists visiting the town.</li> <li>▪ Forks' primary market is teenage girls, but they are usually accompanied by their families. More mature women, schools, etc. also travel to Forks.</li> </ul>
<b>Development</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Rapid growth in visitation</li> <li>▪ Visitors outnumber residents</li> <li>▪ Well-defined market-area</li> <li>▪ Heavy advertising</li> <li>▪ Man-made attractions emerge to replace cultural or natural</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Visitor growth has sky-rocketed from 2008 to 2010.</li> <li>▪ With 8 000 visitors a month, tourists do outnumber the 3 175 residents.</li> <li>▪ Forks' market seems to have settled mainly at young women, families and more mature women with their partners/friends.</li> <li>▪ The town has not really started to advertise itself. Forks does however make use of the following promotional techniques: official websites providing information for interested visitors, a social media presence, and email and postal communication with interested clients (notably to send out notices regarding the Stephenie Meyer Days celebration).</li> <li>▪ The cultural attractions are still the most important ones, along with the natural beauty of the area.</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ “Mid-centrics” replace explorers and allocentrics</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ The town has been receiving tour groups and other tourists not really belonging to the “explorer” category for a while already.</li> </ul>
<b>Consolidation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Slowing growth rates</li> <li>▪ Extensive advertising to overcome seasonality and develop new markets</li> <li>▪ “Psychocentrics” or organised mass tourists attracted</li> <li>▪ Residents appreciate the importance of tourism</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ From the above graph, it may be inferred that visitor arrivals are stabilizing.</li> <li>▪ As mentioned earlier, Forks has not yet turned to extensive (and expensive) advertising campaigns.</li> <li>▪ Forks has tried its hand at developing new markets, most notably by offering <i>Twilight</i> wedding packages.</li> <li>▪ Forks has been receiving tour groups and visitors more readily fitting the organized mass tourist description.</li> <li>▪ The residents are keenly aware of the benefits and importance of literary tourism.</li> </ul>
<b>Stagnation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Peak visitor numbers reached</li> <li>▪ Area no longer fashionable</li> <li>▪ Heavy reliance on repeat trade</li> <li>▪ Low occupancy rates</li> <li>▪ Frequent ownership changes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Visitor numbers peaked in 2010 and is slowly decreasing, although still well above pre-<i>Twilight</i> levels.</li> <li>▪ While Forks is certainly still fashionable, other more current literary (and film) destinations have certainly emerged, like <i>The Vampire Diaries</i> filming locations in Covington, Georgia, mentioned in chapter two.</li> <li>▪ Forks does rely on many repeat visitors.</li> <li>▪ Occupancy rates have decreased out of season – Forks did not have a problem with seasonality before.</li> <li>▪ Frequent ownership changes have occurred, particularly in relation to the <i>Twilight</i> tour companies.</li> </ul>

Table 6: The different phases of the Forks tourism area life cycle (after Getz)<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> D. Getz, Tourism Planning and Destination Life Cycle, *Annals of Tourism Research* 19, 1992, p. 763.

Forks does not seem to show any significant characteristics associated with the decline and rejuvenation phases yet. From the above it can be assumed then that Forks has reached the stagnation phase, while still exhibiting characteristics associated with earlier phases.

Even though the development of (specifically) literary tourism sites is not frequently considered, in the instances where it is discussed, like at Haworth, the similarities with the literary tourism in Forks are astounding. The already well-established literary sites of yesteryear do not quite generate the phenomenal hype we associate with contemporary (and popular) literary and film sites today, but that does not mean that they did not do so at one time. In fact, more than a 150 years ago, the development of Haworth, the literary site associated with the Brontës, showed remarkable signs of frenzy, so familiar now from the discussion of *Twilight* tourism. People's fanaticism for celebrity and fantasy after all is not a new phenomenon. Miller reported for example the dramatic increase in visitation, with 10 000 people visiting Haworth in 1895.<sup>13</sup> Forks witnessed a similar explosion of their visitor statistics. Just like Forks, the people of Haworth responded to Brontë tourism by producing souvenirs, selling the Brontës' literary works and enticing literary pilgrims to visit their stores by displaying pictures of the Brontës in the shop windows.<sup>14</sup> Fans went to extraordinary lengths to visit the home of the Brontës, like the notable Miss Huidekoper travelling from the USA to visit Haworth.<sup>15</sup> Forks also receives many visitors who travel great distances to see this literary destination.

Most tourism developments these days aim to be sustainable. Forks does seem to meet the requirements of D.J. Telfer's definition for sustainable tourism: it does meet the needs of the host community in terms of improved living standards and quality of life, with *Twilight* tourism bringing in a great deal of revenue for Forks; it does satisfy the demands of tourists, since the town continues to attract visitors; and it does safeguard the environmental resource base since the town is surrounded by the ONP and they can benefit from this expertise.<sup>16</sup> The town's control over its own tourism industry and environmental integrity is also all but assured, since there is a prohibition on constructing shoreline developments along beaches and lakes.<sup>17</sup> The control of tourism infrastructure assures the community of continued tourism benefits.

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<sup>13</sup> L. Miller, *The Brontë Myth*, pp. 99-101.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 99-101.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 99-101.

<sup>16</sup> D.J. Telfer, *The Evolution of Tourism and Development Theory*, in R. Sharpley and D.J. Telfer (eds.), *Tourism and Development*, p. 70.

<sup>17</sup> A. Maguire, "Rainforest Vampires", <<http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/travel/2008/1220/1229523125480.html>>, 20 December 2008. Access: 3 December 2009.

Most debates on sustainable tourism are of course hijacked by environmental concerns, but the host communities and economic sustainability is just as important in sustainable tourism development.<sup>18</sup> Forks is all but set for the protection of environmental resources and the host community, but what about viable economic opportunities? The future of sustainable literary tourism looks promising for Forks. Stephenie Meyer might have a *Twilight*-related work in the offing. This is the temporarily postponed *Midnight Sun*, referred to earlier.<sup>19</sup> There may also be more *Twilight Saga* films on the way and this will again most certainly boost visitor numbers. The studio that produced the films, Lions Gate, have indicated that they are keen to continue the series and Meyer herself has indicated that she has clear ideas about how her characters' stories continue after *Breaking Dawn*.<sup>20</sup> In fact, Meyer admitted at a press conference in 2012 that she already has two books planned after *Breaking Dawn*, but if and when these will be published remain pure speculation.<sup>21</sup>

Another exciting opportunity for Forks is that *Twilight* may make the jump to the small screen and the prospective television series may be filmed in Forks itself.<sup>22</sup> An aspect of author-related literary tourism may also develop, as it has been reported that Meyer vacations in Forks, and more serious fans may want to visit her haunts, if Forks develops such a tourism product.<sup>23</sup> Meyer also allegedly has a house on Marrowstone Island, WA, which in time may also develop an aspect of author-related pilgrimage since Marrowstone is en route from Seattle to Forks.<sup>24</sup> Implied in all these future opportunities, is that there remain many opportunities to reignite an interest for Forks, after the end of the film franchise in 2012.

## 5.2 The Forks visitor profile

Even going back to concepts relevant at the genesis of literary tourism in the interdisciplinary research of literature studies and geography, *Twilight* presents an interesting case study.

<sup>18</sup> M.K. Smith *et al.*, *Key Concepts in Tourist Studies*, p. 172.

<sup>19</sup> S. Meyer, 'August 28, 2008', <<http://www.stepheniemeyer.com/midnightsun.html>>, 28 August 2008. Access: 26 July 2009.

<sup>20</sup> A. Bell, 'Rumor: 'Twilight' studio developing more from the 'Saga' post-"Breaking Dawn"', <<http://www.examiner.com/article/rumor-twilight-studio-developing-more-from-the-saga-post-breaking-dawn>>, 16 June 2013. Access: 15 July 2013.

<sup>21</sup> J. Milly, 'Stephenie Meyer says more 'Twilight' books a possibility, but not today', <<http://popwatch.ew.com/2012/11/02/stephenie-meyer-more-twilight-books/>>, 2 November 2012. Access: 12 July 2013.

<sup>22</sup> A. Bell, 'Rumor: 'Twilight' studio developing more from the 'Saga' post-"Breaking Dawn"', <<http://www.examiner.com/article/rumor-twilight-studio-developing-more-from-the-saga-post-breaking-dawn>>, 16 June 2013. Access: 15 July 2013.

<sup>23</sup> C. Goodnow, 'Stephenie Meyer's Forks-based Saga of Teen Vampire Love is Now a Global Hit', <<http://www.seattlepi.com/ae/books/article/Stephenie-Meyer-s-Forks-based-saga-of-teen-1245825.php#page-2>>, 6 August 2007. Access: 4 July 2013.

<sup>24</sup> J. Chew, 'Twilight author a part-time resident of Peninsula on which her books are set', <<http://www.peninsuladailynews.com/article/20090918/NEWS/309189992>>, 18 September 2009. Access: 11 July 2013.

Forks was specifically chosen as the location for this bestseller, primarily because of its climate as the rainiest place in the contiguous USA. This is an excellent example of the crucial and reciprocal relationship between landscape and literature – how geography can influence literature, and how in turn, literature can then again highlight a geographic location to become a tourism phenomenon.<sup>25</sup> The geography provided a landscape, and literature turned it into a place to be visited.

Pocock indicated that a place could become just as important as the characters in a work of fiction.<sup>26</sup> This has also been the case in Forks. Meyer described the town and its surrounding landscape in very vivid and memorable terms, including, most memorably, this passage from *Twilight* introducing the reader to Forks:

“It was beautiful, of course; I couldn’t deny that. Everything was green: the trees, their trunks covered with moss, their branches hanging with a canopy of it, the ground covered with ferns. Even the air filtered down greenly through the leaves.”<sup>27</sup>

This has transformed Forks from being merely the place where *Twilight* is set, to being a felt presence within the novel itself. It is hardly a wonder then that readers are inspired to visit Forks, equally to see ‘Edward and Bella’s town’ and to see this rainy, green, beautiful landscape.

Pocock also indicated that a literary association might be one of a destination’s drawcards, just like natural beauty.<sup>28</sup> Forks is a place reliant on its literary connections for most of its visitors – the beauty of the area is a pleasant, secondary draw card for visitors. The issue of expectation versus experiences is also important here. Just as one may form an image of a destination by glancing at a photograph of it, literature also causes a visitor to form a preconceived image of a place. This causes the reader (now also a literary tourist) to approach a literary tourism destination with Pocock’s “heightened state of expectation”.<sup>29</sup> The literature is already dear enough to the reader’s heart to inspire them to travel, and now they will enter a ‘real’ place that has previously only existed in their imaginations.

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<sup>25</sup> W.E. Mallory and P. Simpson-Housley, Preface, in W.E. Mallory and P. Simpson-Housley (eds.), *Geography and Literature: a meeting of the disciplines*, p. xi; see p. 14 of this dissertation.

<sup>26</sup> D.C.D. Pocock, Introduction: Imaginative Literature and the Geographer, in D.C.D. Pocock (ed.), *Humanistic Geography and Literature: Essays on the Experience of Place*, p. 14.

<sup>27</sup> S. Meyer, *Twilight*, p. 7.

<sup>28</sup> D.C.D. Pocock, Haworth: the Experience of Literary Place, in W.E. Mallory and P. Simpson-Housley (eds.), *Geography and Literature: a meeting of the disciplines*, p. 135; see also p. 16 of this dissertation.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135; see also p. 16 of this dissertation.

Just as is the case with Haworth (and Catherine Cookson Country),<sup>30</sup> where visitors indicated that their actual experiences complied with their literary expectations garnered from the Brontës' writings, literary tourists to Forks are content with the meeting of the 'real' and 'imagined' Forks.<sup>31</sup> This is due in part to Stephenie Meyer's detailed research to ensure her literary copy was as close to the real town as possible, but also the dedicated involvement of the town's tourism stakeholders to bring the fantasy to life. Herbert also wrote that literary visitors in all likelihood would not make a distinction between reality and the imaginary realm.<sup>32</sup> Literary visitors then *expect* literary references and a literary 'atmosphere'. Forks lives up to visitor expectations in this regard really well, encouraging an atmosphere of make-believe, as if one may at any moment expect to run into Bella and Edward somewhere in the town. This is further encouraged by, for example, the use of character look-alikes at the Stephenie Meyer Days annual festival. The town brings in a group of performers, called 'The Olympic Coven', an accomplished group of character doppelgängers who aim to bring the world of *Twilight* to life for fans visiting Forks during this festival.<sup>33</sup>

While Forks does seem to live up to literary expectations, it is often the expectations created by the films that disappoint visitors. The films were of course not produced in Forks, yet fans expect that what they saw in the films, will match the real-life Forks. Just like in Reijnders' case with *Dracula*, visitors' motivations are reinforced by the films.<sup>34</sup> Since Meyer described Forks' landscape in such detail, visitors are encouraged to compare the 'real' and imaginary landscapes. In fact, this seems to be encouraged by Meyer herself: in the official guide to the *Twilight Saga*, she encourages visitors to seek out the Cullen residence by including a map of it with real landmarks like the Sol Duc River and Highway 101 clearly indicated as signposts.<sup>35</sup> Like with Reijnders' case study, visitors to Forks are inspired to see the "truth" of where *Twilight* happened. They desire to "come closer" to the story and to "make a connection" by visiting the real place where their beloved story is anchored.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> See pp. 17-19 of this dissertation.

<sup>31</sup> D.C.D. Pocock, Haworth: the Experience of Literary Place, in W.E. Mallory and P. Simpson-Housley (eds.), *Geography and Literature: a meeting of the disciplines*, pp. 137-139; D.C.D. Pocock, Catherine Cookson Country: Tourist Expectation and Experience, *Geography* 77(3), 1992, pp. 236-243.

<sup>32</sup> D.T. Herbert, Heritage as Literary Place, in D.T. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, pp. 32-48; see also p. 20 of this dissertation.

<sup>33</sup> Stephenie Meyer Day Committee, 'Olympic Coven', <[http://stepheniemeyerday.com/#/?page\\_id=2](http://stepheniemeyerday.com/#/?page_id=2)>, s.a. Access: 17 September 2013.

<sup>34</sup> S. Reijnders, Stalking the Count: Dracula, Fandom and Tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research* 38(1), 2011, p. 233; see also p. 29 of this dissertation.

<sup>35</sup> S. Meyer, *The Twilight Saga: the Official Illustrated Guide*, p. 87.

<sup>36</sup> S. Reijnders, Stalking the Count: Dracula, Fandom and Tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research* 38(1), 2011, p. 245.

Sometimes it seems the imaginary world of the fiction may be a stronger motivator inspiring travel than the world of the author. As mentioned before, Pocock found that Brontë fans were more excited at the prospect that Heathcliff might appear than at seeing sites associated with the Brontës.<sup>37</sup> Forks definitely forms part of this 'imaginary world' category, since the whole town's claim to literary tourism is dependent on the fact that it is the setting for *Twilight*.

Forks shows many similarities and some significant differences regarding the theory on tourists to literary sites, discussed in chapter two. In assessing the gender profile of Forks' literary visitors, it appears that they are predominantly female. This result mirrors Squire's findings at Hill Top Farm and Pocock's findings in Catherine Cookson country in South Tyneside.<sup>38</sup> According to M. Ramirez, a *Seattle Times* reporter, Forks' rising number of tourist arrivals in 2008, which he attributes directly to Stephenie Meyer's series, has largely seen an increase in visitation by young girls.<sup>39</sup> These girls are mostly accompanied by their mothers, fathers, or friends. Forks then mostly caters for family tourism, which is often considered to be more sensitive on the surrounding environment and residents.<sup>40</sup> But J. Margolies of the *New York Times* indicates that it is not only teenage girls and their families visiting the town. Women of all ages also travel to Forks in groups, pairs or on their own, and they make up a significant part of the tourism sector.<sup>41</sup> Another indication of the fact that Forks also receives more 'mature' visitors is that a special 'Summer School' was held in Forks in 2009 for adult (older than 21) *Twilight* fans. Discussions on the books, lectures on vampires in folklore and themes of feminism (or the lack thereof) in the books were held at Forks High School. Attendees also watched the first film in the series and took a day trip to La Push. The weekend ended with a prom held in the school's gym, reminiscent of key plot moments portrayed in both the *Twilight* book and film.<sup>42</sup>

From personal observation in May 2012, it appeared from participation in *Twilight* tours, occupation at the Miller Tree Inn and frequent visitation of *Twilight*-associated stores as well as the Chamber of Commerce, that Forks was primarily visited by older (rather than

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<sup>37</sup> D.C.D. Pocock, Haworth: the Experience of Literary Place, in W.E. Mallory and P. Simpson-Housley (eds.), *Geography and Literature: a meeting of the disciplines*, p. 138.

<sup>38</sup> D.C.D. Pocock, Catherine Cookson Country: Tourist Expectation and Experience, *Geography* 77(3), 1992, pp. 236-243; S. Squire, The Cultural Values of Literary Tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research* 21, 1994, pp. 103-120.

<sup>39</sup> M. Ramirez, 'Fans of 'Twilight' Vampire Series Pump New Blood into Forks', <[http://seattletimes.nwsource.com/html/entertainment/2008075490\\_twilight270.html](http://seattletimes.nwsource.com/html/entertainment/2008075490_twilight270.html)>, 2008. Access: 3 December 2009.

<sup>40</sup> A. Maguire, "Rainforest Vampires", <<http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/travel/2008/1220/1229523125480.html>>, 20 December 2008. Access: 3 December 2009.

<sup>41</sup> J. Margolies, "'Twilighters' Put Small Town in the Spotlight", <<http://travel.nytimes.com/2009/09/27/travel/27culture.html?pagewanted=1>>, 27 September 2009. Access: 2 October 2009.

<sup>42</sup> D. Cafazzo, 'Love at First Bite', in *The News Tribune* (Tacoma, WA), 16 June 2009.

teenaged) women, travelling with partners or friends, and by families.<sup>43</sup> It must however be noted that this observation occurred early in the tourist season, while a lot of the town's typical visitors, the teenagers, were still completing the school semester.

No information was available on Forks' visitors' socio-economic status, thus it is not possible to determine whether they belong to the professional or service classes. Case studies at other literary sites also found that visitors were normally older than 35 years, but Forks offers a notable exception to this.<sup>44</sup> Forks visitors, and indeed the fan base of *The Twilight Saga*, seem to predominantly consist of teenage females. It was however noted that some older women and families also visit Forks. G. Beahm mentions that even grandmothers are fans of the series, and consequently decide to visit Forks.<sup>45</sup> Squire's findings on Beatrix Potter tourism then seem to most closely align with this aspect of more mature visitors to Forks, since 55% of visitors to Hill Top Farm were between the ages of 25 and 44.<sup>46</sup>

Squire also found a wide range of international visitors to Hill Top Farm.<sup>47</sup> *Twilight* has likewise been an international phenomenon and Forks has been receiving visitors from countries like Australia, Spain, France, Germany and Ireland, in addition to the visitors from all across the USA.<sup>48</sup> Japan has also been a major market and Seattle-based representatives of the Japanese tour companies 'Azumano International' and 'H.I.S.' repeatedly visited *Twilight* sites in Forks and La Push since January 2009. A Japanese language website, *Junglecity.com*, has created a detailed guide in Japanese for visiting fans. By special request of British Airways, 'Clipper Vacations' launched a *Twilight* tour to cater for British travellers.<sup>49</sup> This international nature of visitors is confirmed by the large maps on the wall of the Chamber of Commerce's visitor centre, where almost all countries and six continents are represented.

In terms of the motivations to visit literary sites, Herbert found that visitors either wanted to be educated and informed or wanted to relax and be entertained, though these might not be

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<sup>43</sup> C. Herselman, personal observation during research trip, 4-16 May 2012.

<sup>44</sup> D.T. Herbert, *Heritage as Literary Place*, in D.T. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, p. 37; D.T. Herbert, *Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience*, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001; see also p. 26 of this dissertation.

<sup>45</sup> G. Beahm, *Twilight Tours: the Illustrated Guide to the REAL Forks*, p. 20.

<sup>46</sup> S. Squire, *The Cultural Values of Literary Tourism*, *Annals of Tourism Research* 21, 1994, pp. 103-120.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6; see also p. 27 of this dissertation.

<sup>48</sup> M. Ramirez, 'Fans of 'Twilight' Vampire Series Pump New Blood into Forks', <[http://seattletimes.nwsource.com/html/entertainment/2008075490\\_twilight270.html](http://seattletimes.nwsource.com/html/entertainment/2008075490_twilight270.html)>, 2008. Access: 3 December 2009.

<sup>49</sup> C. Cook, "'Twilight' Effect on Forks Going Global", <<http://www.forksforum.com/twilight>>, s.a. Access: 2 December 2009.

mutually exclusive.<sup>50</sup> This seems to be the case in Forks too since *Twilight* fans already care about Forks and will want to learn more about the town, while also being entertained. The town definitely falls under Herbert's second motivation for visitors to literary sites, that is, visitors are attracted to places that serve as the settings of novels.<sup>51</sup> "Fictional characters and events often generate the strongest imagery" and Forks is an excellent example of this, with fans travelling up to thousands of kilometres to see how closely the real Forks aligns with the one described in Meyer's books.<sup>52</sup> *Twilight* visitors are no doubt more interested in seeing places where Bella, Edward and the other characters 'lived', than anything Forks might have had to offer without its literary connections.

Herbert's third motivation, concerned with some "broader or deeper emotion" than the story, might also apply, since this is a story about a star-crossed love and finding one's soul mate.<sup>53</sup> For older female fans, the series allows them to relive their teenage and high school years and the associated emotional feelings with a sense of nostalgia. *Twilight* tourism might also be a form of escapism. Buchmann reported that escape and fantasy are very important travel motivators.<sup>54</sup> Laenen echoed these sentiments when he indicated that "the main reason for the massive interest in heritage and escape to the past is the present moral, social and cultural identity crisis in our 'consumer society'".<sup>55</sup> Just as Squire's findings at Hill Top Farm also indicated that the literary tourism industry is a means for people to (temporarily) live out a range of fantasies, readers can travel to Forks, the setting of a beloved story and escape the oppressions of reality for a few hours or days.<sup>56</sup> Further research would be necessary to confirm these suggestions.

Most of Forks' literature-inspired visitors seem willing enough to respect the residents' privacy and the area's natural and cultural integrity, but some have been spotted picking up rocks and driftwood in La Push to take home as souvenirs.<sup>57</sup> This may become problematic since as mentioned earlier, First Beach is sacred to the Quileute people, and these actions may also adversely affect conservation measures. A curious coincidence may be noted in

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<sup>50</sup> D.T. Herbert, Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001, pp. 325-327; see also p. 20 of this dissertation.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 312-333; see also p. 28 of this dissertation.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 314.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 314; see also p. 28 of this dissertation.

<sup>54</sup> A. Buchmann, From Erewhon to Edoras: Tourism and Myths in New Zealand, *Tourism, Culture and Communication* 6(1), 2005, pp. 182-183.

<sup>55</sup> Y. Reisinger and C.J. Steiner, Understanding Existential Authenticity, *Annals of Tourism Research* 33(2), 2006, p. 300; see also p. 39 of this dissertation.

<sup>56</sup> S.J. Squire, Valuing Countryside: Reflections on Beatrix Potter Tourism, *Area* 25(1), 1993, pp. 5-10; see also p. 19 of this dissertation.

<sup>57</sup> M. Ramirez, 'Fans of 'Twilight' Vampire Series Pump New Blood into Forks', <[http://seattletimes.nwsourc.com/html/entertainment/2008075490\\_twilight270.html](http://seattletimes.nwsourc.com/html/entertainment/2008075490_twilight270.html)>, 2008. Access: 3 December 2009.

this regard with early literary tourism on Prince Edward Island, Canada. According to Fawcett and Cormack, L.M. Montgomery fans were regularly visiting her abandoned Cavendish home by 1920, carting away household utensils, shingles and even bricks from the chimney. But as the tourism industry around Montgomery became more structured and monitored, for example by the creation of museums associated with the author, these incidents ceased to occur.<sup>58</sup>

Populist travel writing on Forks frequently refers to the trip to the town for the dedicated *Twilight* fan as a “pilgrimage”, in close following of accepted literary tourism terminology though whether the implied meanings are similar is debatable.<sup>59</sup> Forks tourists do seem to have a lot in common with the single-minded literary pilgrim. They are most certainly devoted to a particular author, in this case, Stephenie Meyer.<sup>60</sup> In terms of Herbert’s cultural capital in relation to a specific author’s works, *Twilight* fans have often read the books multiple times and are thoroughly acquainted with the details of the plot and characters.<sup>61</sup> This is in part due to the accessible nature of Meyer’s work – her books are often classified as young adult reads, and as such the language is simple and the plot is also captivating. The films based on the books further increase the accessibility and popularity of the series. Herbert also found at Chawton that the readability of a work of fiction and its adaption to the small or big screen increases the accessibility, and consequently the familiarity, of a book.<sup>62</sup>

Herbert also indicates that in order to be classified as a literary pilgrim, a tourist must be “prepared to travel long distances to experience places linked with writers of prose, drama, or poetry”.<sup>63</sup> Forks is a long-haul destination and visitors often have to travel great distances to get there (most visitors come through Seattle, which is four hours and a ferry ride or another flight away from Forks), ruling out the possibility that they may have any other motivation than the single-minded purpose of seeing the literary sites of Forks. The principal section of Forks’ visitors does seem to “actively and purposefully” seek out this literary site, and therefore they may be classified as ‘literary pilgrims’.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> C. Fawcett and P. Cormack, Guarding Authenticity at Literary Tourism Sites, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(3), 2001, p. 691.

<sup>59</sup> C. Cook, *Twilight Territory: a Fan’s Guide to Forks & La Push*, p.2.

<sup>60</sup> D.T. Herbert, Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001, p. 312.

<sup>61</sup> D.T. Herbert, Heritage as Literary Place, in D.T. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*; D.T. Herbert, Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001, pp. 312-333; see also p. 29 of this dissertation.

<sup>62</sup> D.T. Herbert, Heritage as Literary Place, in D.T. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, p. 35.

<sup>63</sup> D.T. Herbert, Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001, p. 312.

<sup>64</sup> Y. Smith, *Literary Tourism as a Developing Genre: South Africa as a Case Study*, pp. 32-33.

It is unclear though if they purposefully seek out other literary attractions as well.<sup>65</sup> Visitors to Forks might conceivably be versed in some of the Classics though, since an appreciation of classical literature is encouraged in the *Twilight Saga*.<sup>66</sup> Bella reads Jane Austen, Emily Brontë and William Shakespeare and since many who visit the town want to follow in Bella's footsteps, it is conceivable that they might want to read what Bella reads too. Forks does however also attract more general tourists in the form of families: mothers, fathers and siblings accompanying 'pilgrims' to the town on family holidays. Thus, most of Forks' most recent visitors seem to be undoubtedly drawn by its literary tourism. However the area still receives visits from nature tourists as a result of the scenic beauty of the surrounding area and to participate in activities such as hiking, camping, fishing and clamming. Forks however seems to be a unique site where the 'literary pilgrims' outnumber the general interest tourists in contrast to the expected trend.<sup>67</sup>

The question seems to be then, why do people travel to Forks to visit literary sites associated with the *Twilight* books? There may be multiple, complex reasons. As indicated, parents go with their children, because they feel the need for a family holiday and want to treat their children. For fans of the books, the answer may be more difficult. Stephenie Meyer's character Bella is a first-person narrator and as such, she is easy to identify with. Going to Forks might further reinforce this identification. Fawcett and Cormack found something similar on Prince Edward Island where readers of *Anne of Green Gables* are encouraged to identify with Anne and "to step back into a young girl's life in late 19<sup>th</sup>-century rural Prince Edward Island".<sup>68</sup> Finally, it might be to experience a sense of bonding "in the spirit of pilgrimage" as Pocock also found at 'Catherine Cookson Country'.<sup>69</sup> This of course brings to mind Turner's discussion on *communitas*.<sup>70</sup> This state is characterized by 'liminality' – "any condition outside or on the peripheries of everyday life".<sup>71</sup> Travel provides such a condition. Pilgrims/tourists travelling together approach one another as social equals based on a commonality of interest or experience, which then enables them to experience an "unmediated, pure inter-personal relationship".<sup>72</sup> Visitors to Forks already have something substantial in common, so new relationships are easily formed. Going through this significant

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<sup>65</sup> D.T. Herbert, Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001, p. 322.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 313.

<sup>67</sup> Y. Smith, *Literary Tourism as a Developing Genre: South Africa as a Case Study*, p. 33.

<sup>68</sup> C. Fawcett and P. Cormack, Guarding Authenticity at Literary Tourism Sites, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(3), 2001, p. 690.

<sup>69</sup> D.C.D. Pocock, Catherine Cookson Country: Tourist Expectation and Experience, *Geography* 77(3), 1992, pp. 236-243; see also p. 19 of this dissertation.

<sup>70</sup> See p. 41 of this dissertation

<sup>71</sup> N. Wang, Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999, p. 364.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 364.

travel experience of visiting Forks together can create this sense of Turnerian *communitas* and this forming of new friendships may be a strong motivator for travel.

### 5.3 Forks and authenticity

One of the reasons for Forks' great success as a literary tourism attraction lies in the great authenticity the town provides for its visitors. Even authors of the populist *Twilight* travel guides confirm this: Beahm states that it is first and foremost authenticity that draws visitors to Forks.<sup>73</sup> The town of Forks is an indelible part of the *Twilight* landscape. In terms of the academic discourse on authenticity, *Twilight* can clearly not be described as authentic in modernist terms, since the town's tourism is based on the literary connotations of an 'imagined' place and not an original object.<sup>74</sup> It is also unlikely that the so-called experts of authenticity would judge the authenticity of an imagined place in a favourable light.<sup>75</sup> Forks might be an authentic destination in a constructivist sense, since it involves authenticity as negotiable and projected by the visitor's experience.<sup>76</sup> Visitors are, for example, disappointed when the sun shines in Forks, since the literary Forks is almost constantly cloudy or rainy.

Since Forks' visitors vary from general tourists to literary pilgrims, they probably range over the whole scope of Cohen's identification of touristic types.<sup>77</sup> The literary pilgrims may be classified as existential, experimental or experiential tourists with strict criteria by which they judge Forks' authenticity and faithfulness to the *Twilight Saga*. The bulk of Forks' visitors may perhaps be more accurately classified as Cohen's recreational tourists, who "approach the products encountered on the trip with a playful attitude of make-believe".<sup>78</sup> They are aware that the *Twilight* universe does not really exist, but play along with the fantasy to enjoy their trip. The point here is that touristic experience determines if a place may be judged as authentic.

From a postmodernist perspective, dealing with the experiences of visitors, Forks may also qualify as authentic.<sup>79</sup> Since postmodernists believe that it is irrelevant whether something is real or false, and original or a copy, they are unconcerned with the authenticity of objects as

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<sup>73</sup> G. Beahm, *Twilight Tours: the Illustrated Guide to the REAL Forks*, p. 25.

<sup>74</sup> See p. 34 of this dissertation.

<sup>75</sup> Y. Reisinger and C.J. Steiner, Reconceptualizing Object Authenticity, *Annals of Tourism Research* 33(1), 2006, p. 69.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70; see also p. 34 of this dissertation.

<sup>77</sup> See p. 34 of this dissertation.

<sup>78</sup> E. Cohen, Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research* 15, 1988, p. 377.

<sup>79</sup> See p. 35 of this dissertation

long as the visitors enjoy them.<sup>80</sup> Visitors to Forks perceive the town to be very authentic due to Meyer's accurate descriptions, and so visiting the town is regarded as authentic and enjoyable to tourists at the same time.

Heidegger suggested an interesting approach to authenticity in 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".<sup>81</sup> But tourists also have certain preconceptions about the attraction, and if these do not match up with the reality, tourists might perceive the attraction as inauthentic. Based on these conditions, Forks is once again authentic because the 'real' Forks matches up well with tourists' imagined Forks. Forks may also be classified in terms of Selwyn's 'hot authenticity': the Forks portrayed in literary tourism is not always the 'real' Forks, but this imagined Forks is enjoyed and accepted by literary visitors.<sup>82</sup>

What does authenticity mean to the visiting fans who have very little or no knowledge of the academic debates on the subject? To them, they are visiting the 'REAL' Forks, a real place located in the real world, linking reality with an imaginative work of literature they closely relate to. Moreover, even though Meyer never visited Forks before she wrote about it in her novels, the literary Forks and the real Forks are close twins, as a result of the extensive research she did before setting her series in this town.

Forks' authenticity can also be described in relation to Chronis' distinctions between different forms of authenticity.<sup>83</sup> Forks has locational authenticity, since it is the actual, real Forks used as a setting for *Twilight*.<sup>84</sup> It also has objective authenticity, both in terms of Stephenie Meyer (e.g. her framed, signed note to Forks in the Chamber of Commerce) and in terms of the books (e.g. Bella's truck, or the different houses standing in for characters' houses).<sup>85</sup> The town certainly has constructive authenticity, since it does function as a very accurate simulation of the Forks in the *Twilight* books.<sup>86</sup> Perceived authenticity is established through the authoritative involvement of the Chamber of Commerce and the City of Forks municipality, including the mayor and police force.<sup>87</sup> Forks has excellent environmental

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<sup>80</sup> Y. Reisinger and C.J. Steiner, Reconceptualizing Object Authenticity, *Annals of Tourism Research* 33(1), 2006, p. 72.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80; see also p. 36 of this dissertation.

<sup>82</sup> S. Cole, Beyond Authenticity and Commodification, *Annals of Tourism Research* 34(4), 2007, p. 944; see also p. 37 of this dissertation.

<sup>83</sup> A. Chronis, Coconstructing Heritage at the Gettysburg Storyscape, *Annals of Tourism Research* 32, 2005, pp. 386-406; see also p. 37 of this dissertation.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 391.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 391.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 391.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 392.

authenticity, since the surrounding area very closely resembles what is described in the books: from the moss-covered, massive trees in the rain forest to the sea stacks at La Push.<sup>88</sup> The town itself is small and rural, just like its literary counterpart.

Factual authenticity as defined by Chronis is quite complicated, since *Twilight* tourism does not really encompass many real and historical facts about the town.<sup>89</sup> In terms of the accuracy of the literary content portrayed in town, Forks does appear to be very authentic. The executive director of the Chamber of Commerce and the owner of 'Twifoot Tours', who is responsible for the official *Twilight* tours, strictly regulate this literary accuracy. Personage authenticity is another difficult one for Forks, since the main attractions are based on literary figures who cannot be real or authentic.<sup>90</sup> However, as was noted previously, in literary tourism the lines between reality and imagination are often blurred and characters are treated as if they are real in Forks.

Another issue that is relevant to any discussion on authenticity is the question of ownership.<sup>91</sup> While Cohen indicates that it is mostly the tourists themselves and academics who decide if an object or experience is authentic or not, Fawcett and Cormack indicated that the owners (or site guardians) of the toured objects or experience can impart some authenticity to said object or experience.<sup>92</sup> In the case of Forks, where the Miller Tree Inn effectively *is* the Cullen house, who can argue with the proprietors when they say the piano in their living room is Edward's piano? Edward does not exist in reality and since they have been identified as the stand-in destination for this literary attraction, it is their right to appropriate this authenticity for themselves. Stephenie Meyer herself does not seem to object to Forks exploiting the literary tourism her series has generated, as evidenced in her frequent visits to the town. By referring to an authoritative source on the *Twilight* universe, that is the books – Edward plays the piano in the series; this is his house; therefore the piano in this Inn is Edward's – authenticity is invoked.

Forks cannot be classified as authentic in terms of objective authenticity, since it is not on the same level as an original in a museum.<sup>93</sup> Forks might be classified in terms of constructive authenticity, since objects under this category "can emerge or acquire recognition as

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<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 392.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 392.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 392.

<sup>91</sup> E. Cohen, Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research* 15, 1988, p. 374; see also p. 38 of this dissertation.

<sup>92</sup> C. Fawcett and P. Cormack, Guarding Authenticity at Literary Tourism Sites, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(3), 2001, p. 701; see also p. 42 of this dissertation.

<sup>93</sup> N. Wang, Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999, p. 352.

authentic”, even if they may have been judged inauthentic before.<sup>94</sup> For example, Forks is not an attraction based on a real place, but if the town is true to the literary work it represents, it may be authentic in that sense. Forks may definitely also be classified as authentic in terms of Wang’s existential authenticity – the “special existential state of being in which individuals are true to themselves”.<sup>95</sup> If visitors to Forks are unashamedly reveling in the experience of a fantasy that is dear and important to them, they are being true to themselves and consequently, are being existentially authentic.

Tourists to Forks also exhibit some of Wang’s inter-personal authenticity.<sup>96</sup> In terms of the first category, family ties, tourists quest for authenticity between themselves. The toured objects serve as a means of calling them together and through the shared experience “an authentic inter-personal relationship between them is experienced”.<sup>97</sup> Families and friends travel together to Forks and through the shared sights and experiences of the *Twilight* world, they build a closer, more authentic inter-personal relationship. As already referred to under reasons why travellers would wish to visit Forks, visitors to Forks also experience Turnerian *communitas*, the forming of new friendships and relationships not only based on the seeing of new and exotic things, but also the “sharing and communicating this pleasure with other tourists who are seeing the same sights together”.<sup>98</sup>

The efforts of the people of Forks to bring the books to life are nothing short of extraordinary. Everywhere, visitors are encouraged to live out their *Twilight* fantasy. From entering the city limits and taking a photo at the welcome sign, signifying an entry into the fantasy, to staying at the ‘Cullen house’ is an attempt by the people of Forks to be authentic, to recreate and to comply with Meyer’s fictional world. And where fantasy and reality do not quite match up well enough, attempts are made to explain the differences to fans to bridge the gap, all in order to give visitors the ‘most realistic’ experience possible. For example, the Miller Tree Inn, which doubles as the Cullen house, attempts to explain why the Cullens cannot be seen at their residence by posting a sign outside the entrance to the Inn to explain the family’s absence. Situations that may credibly derive from the books, like they are volunteering at the local blood bank or have gone to visit family in Denali, Alaska, are used alternately. Similarly, Kim McIrvine (owner of the house standing in as Bella and Charlie’s house) usually stays

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<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 352.

<sup>95</sup> S. Cole, Beyond Authenticity and Commodification, *Annals of Tourism Research* 34(4), 2007, p. 944; see also Heidegger’s views on existential authenticity (pp. 38-39) - Y. Reisinger and C.J. Steiner, Understanding Existential Authenticity, *Annals of Tourism Research* 33(2), 2006, p. 306; see also p. 38 of this dissertation.

<sup>96</sup> See p. 41 of this dissertation.

<sup>97</sup> N. Wang, Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999, p. 364.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 364-365.

inside when fans visit her home. She explains: “I’m not Charlie or Bella, I want it to be an authentic experience for the fans, unless I’m out gardening, then I say I’m Bella’s gardener.”<sup>99</sup> This indicates the willingness of some Forks residents to embrace the *Twilight* phenomenon. Even though it must be inconvenient to have people pulling up in front of your house at all hours, these residents are still willing to give visitors the most ‘real’ experience possible – all for the general benefit of the town, and seemingly without any direct financial rewards in the latter case.

The effort to stay true to the nature of the books is also remarkable. For example, Kenmore Air is the small airline that Bella uses in the books to fly from Seattle to Port Angeles on her way to her father in Forks. The airline’s name is never expressly mentioned in *Twilight*, but Kenmore Air is the only airline flying this route frequently and, in the absence of any opposition, has appropriated the privilege of being mentioned in *Twilight* for themselves. This is evident from their marketing brochure, which features a quote from Bella about the small airplane trip to Port Angeles under a headline inviting travelers to “Take Bella’s flight” (see figure 16 in Annexure). The airline also offers a *Twilight* special.<sup>100</sup> This very successful airline, founded in 1946, is now using *Twilight* and literary tourism as part of their promotional marketing. Herbert postulated that literary tourism may be used as a form of marketing, and Kenmore Air is doing exactly that.<sup>101</sup> Arriving in Forks in the same way Bella did, adds to the authenticity of the whole experience.

Another interesting example of this attempt to stay authentic to the books is the Miller Tree Inn. The innkeepers, Bill and Susan Brager, go out of their way to make visitors feel as if they are actually visiting the Cullen house. On arriving at the Inn, Bill Brager helps carry luggage to visitors’ rooms, while he explains (in a surrealist manner) that he does not receive any help with running the Inn anymore from Edward, since he got married to Bella. Susan Brager wears an apron every morning at breakfast stating that she works for the Cullens. Visitors staying at the Inn receive a letter from the Cullens thanking them for staying there and apologizing for not being able to meet them (see figure 15 in the Annexure). The front living room is decorated with *Twilight*-appropriate furniture, such as Edward’s piano and the graduation cap display prominently featured in the *Twilight* film. The house is filled with *Twilight* memorabilia and other related paraphernalia. The innkeepers have even sacrificed the space for another bedroom to create Carlisle’s study and have put up the pages from the books referring to this study to substantiate the veracity of their representation. Visitors can

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<sup>99</sup> C. Cook, *Twilight Territory: a Fan’s Guide to Forks & La Push*, p.23.

<sup>100</sup> Kenmore Air, pamphlet: “Take Bella’s flight!”

<sup>101</sup> D.T. Herbert, Heritage as Literary Place, in D.T. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, pp. 32-48.

leave notes for 'Dr. Cullen' when they visit him at home, and he is 'out on call' somewhere in town. For visitors just dropping by to see the Cullen house and not actually staying there, the innkeepers have put a cut-out of film Edward (Robert Pattinson) in the third-storey window, as if he is looking out to see who has just pulled up in the driveway. Clearly, extraordinary efforts on the part of literary tourism stakeholders to provide visitors with *the* most authentic experience possible.

From the above, it becomes abundantly clear that the conventional ways of determining the authenticity of an attraction simply cannot be used for literary, and by extension, film tourism. However, just as Chronis could identify different types of authenticity relevant to a historical site, so literary and film tourism associated with *The Twilight Saga* can also lead to a new kind of authenticity. It is the suggestion of this dissertation that it is time for a re-interpretation of what authenticity means in the instances of literary and film tourism. Literature and film-associated sites demand a new measure for their authenticity, in the vein of Humberto Eco's hyperreality. Since these sites are born out of fantasy and imagination, it is irrelevant whether they are real or false, because there is no original that can be used as a point of reference.<sup>102</sup> This new authenticity will be the authenticity of imagined places, where authenticity is measured by how closely an attraction represents some 'imagined' place. Of course conventional forms of authenticity may apply to literary attractions associated with authors' themselves, since it is their 'real' grave, house, birthplace or favourite bar, but this new kind of authenticity is needed once we consider other categories of literary attractions.

This argument becomes even more relevant when looking at the examples of mythical tourism as discussed in chapter two, where fantasy worlds find a foothold in the 'real world' through film, or even more so, when literature meets film in the creation of a theme park, like "The Wizarding World of Harry Potter" in Florida and Tokyo. This brings to mind Herbert's definition of literary places as intersections of real and imagined places<sup>103</sup> and M.K. Smith *et al.*'s socially constructed sites.<sup>104</sup> Theme parks have been widely deemed to provide some of the most inauthentic tourist experiences. Yet without this *Harry Potter* exhibit, where else in the world can literary pilgrims experience the wonderful, magical and entirely fictitious world of Hogwarts and surrounds? Where else could they go to view a Hobbit home and drink Shire ale, except in the fictitious Hobbiton, a remnant of the filming of Tolkien's works? In instances such as this where very few (if any) sites exist in the 'real' world, film tourism can serve as a contributor of sites for literary tourism. In fact, film tourism can *help create sites for*

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<sup>102</sup> N. Wang, Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999, p. 356.

<sup>103</sup> D.T. Herbert, Heritage as Literary Place, in D.T. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*.

<sup>104</sup> M.K. Smith *et al.*, *Key Concepts in Tourist Studies*, p. 110-111.

literary tourists to visit. This of course only makes the relationship between the two even more difficult to unpack and disaggregate.

#### 5.4 'Come for *Twilight*, stay for Forks'

As has become evident throughout this dissertation, the people of Forks are very involved in *Twilight* tourism. For example, most sections of the commercial sector have gone out of their way to carry *Twilight* merchandise, much of it *locally produced*.<sup>105</sup> Almost every single business has embraced the tourism boom and *Twilight* in some or other way. From the themed food at Forks restaurants to the *Twilight* hotel suites at the Pacific Inn Motel and even the off-beat sign 'Edward Cullen didn't sleep here' at the Olympic Suites Hotel, the town has welcomed *Twilighters*. Most of the stores in town carry some or other *Twilight* specialty. Some stores sell *Twilight* T-shirts with original slogans, like 'I was in Forks at *Twilight*' and 'My Last *Twilight*. I was bitten in Forks, WA'.<sup>106</sup> The former mayor, Nedra Reed, even had the 'City of Forks Welcomes You' sign moved from its steep hill in October 2008 out of fear that a visitor might get hurt. This was due to the sign's popularity as a photograph stop.<sup>107</sup>

Similarly the La Push residents are also very willing to accommodate *Twilight* visitors. Not only does this type of tourism bring in necessary economic benefits for the community, but it also creates interest in their culture. This in turn has led to increased pride and interest in traditions within the Quileute community. Tourists are also educated about a culture other than their own, creating opportunities for cross-cultural understanding and getting to experience the 'Other', which is so central to the touristic experience. The increased interest in the Quileute language may also create awareness for its continued survival. More anthropologically-based research is needed to evaluate the effect of *Twilight* tourism specifically on the Quileute community.

The Port Angeles economy also benefits from this influx of tourists and Neil Conklin, owner of the 'Bella Italia' restaurant, indicated that in 2009, he sold 4 500 bowls of mushroom ravioli (a dish featured in the *Twilight* book and film) at \$17 each.<sup>108</sup> This means that the restaurant has made an estimated \$76 500 out of one dish. The Port Book and News store, also featured in the *Twilight* book, estimates that its business has increased by as much as twenty

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<sup>105</sup> G. Beahm, *Twilight Tours: the Illustrated Guide to the REAL Forks*, p. 28.

<sup>106</sup> B. Alexander, "Twilight Fans Descend on Forks, the US 'Vampire Town'", <<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/travel/destinations/usa/article6895720.ece>>, 31 October 2009. Access: 2 December 2009.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> J. Margolies, "'Twilighters' Put Small Town in the Spotlight", <<http://travel.nytimes.com/2009/09/27/travel/27culture.html?pagewanted=1>>, 27 September 2009. Access: 2 October 2009.

percent. On the natural side, the Hoh Rain Forest received seven percent more visitors during 2009, arguably largely as a result of *Twilight*.<sup>109</sup>

Another example of how involved Forks as a whole has become in *Twilight* tourism is indicated by the growth of the Stephenie Meyer Day celebrations each year. Inskeep indicated that festivals can turn into major events for a destination, and this has also been the case for Forks.<sup>110</sup> Since its first celebration in 2006, this annual Forks festival has evolved into a massive event for the town. In contrast to Robinson and Andersen's finding that these events are mostly celebrated by the community, it seems that in Forks' case, the celebrations attract more tourists than townsfolk.<sup>111</sup> There is even a Stephenie Meyer committee now, tasked with organizing the event. The festival has grown from a single-day, small event to being a weekend-long celebration and including things like book signings by Chris Cook, editor of the *Forks Forum* and author of *Twilight Territory: a Fan's Guide to Forks & La Push*; scavenger hunts; reenactments of Bella and Edward's wedding; parties to celebrate Bella and Renesmee's birthdays; a film festival; interaction with specially-appointed character look-alikes; and car decorating and look-alike contests, amongst others.<sup>112</sup>

Everyone gets involved during this celebration. Even the Quileute Indian community is invited to participate and they usually present a wolf dance, bonfire and storytelling event in the celebrations.<sup>113</sup> In 2013, Forks experienced its most successful Stephenie Meyer Days celebration yet. This was augmented by a surprise visit by Stephenie Meyer herself. (For photos of the 2013 Stephenie Meyer Days celebration, see figure 17 in Annexure). After witnessing a dip in visitor statistics in 2011 and 2012, 2013 was on track to be a better year for *Twilight* tourism to Forks again, indicating that the popularity is not yet at an end.<sup>114</sup>

It is remarkable how well the Forks residents are handling their newfound fame. Initially, the residents of Forks, who never dreamed their small town would appear in a bestselling book, had mixed feelings about the attention they received.<sup>115</sup> Ramirez noted that some of the

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<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> E. Inskeep, *Tourism planning: an integrated sustainable development approach*, p. 85; see also p. 46 of this dissertation.

<sup>111</sup> M. Robinson & H.C. Andersen, Reading between the lines: literature and the creation of touristic spaces, in M. Robinson & H.C. Andersen (eds.), *Literature and Tourism: Reading and Writing Tourism Texts*, p. 2.

<sup>112</sup> Stephenie Meyer Day Committee, pamphlet: 'Stephenie Meyer Day 2012'.

<sup>113</sup> M. Ramirez, 'Fans of 'Twilight' Vampire Series Pump New Blood into Forks', <[http://seattletimes.nwsourc.com/html/entertainment/2008075490\\_twilight270.html](http://seattletimes.nwsourc.com/html/entertainment/2008075490_twilight270.html)>, 2008. Access: 3 December 2009.

<sup>114</sup> A. Rice, 'Weekend: Twilight still sparkles for Forks', <<http://www.peninsuladailynews.com/article/20130913/NEWS/309139999/weekend-twilight-still-sparkles-for-forks>>, 12 September 2013. Access: 16 September 2013.

<sup>115</sup> G. Beahm, *Twilight Tours: the Illustrated Guide to the REAL Forks*, p. 25.

logging-era residents prefer to be left alone in their peaceful town. Not unlike in the case of Romania with *Dracula* tourism, some residents do show apprehension about the association with vampires and felt that their town has so much more to offer.<sup>116</sup> However, there is also large-scale acceptance of this association with *Twilight* and one cannot deny the economic potential of *Twilight* tourism. Forks may definitely be called a tourism town now, and *Twilight* has literally put it on the map bringing in a great deal of business. The Chamber of Commerce views the *Twilight* novels as a “gift”.<sup>117</sup> Several other stakeholders in the Forks tourism industry echoed this view in casual conversation with this researcher.<sup>118</sup>

Forks residents were very interested in having the movie filmed in their town. When the director of *Twilight*, Catherine Hardwicke, went location scouting in Forks, many residents welcomed her group and people went out of their way to show their appreciation for the book and the film production.<sup>119</sup> Due to logistical and financial reasons, Summit Entertainment chose to rather film in the neighbouring state of Oregon: Portland provided a more central location and more facilities to support a large film crew and Oregon offered substantial tax rebates for film productions. There is no doubt that the decision not to film in Forks was a bitter pill to swallow for this town, considering that many were looking forward to the benefits that filming there would bring to their town. The possible filming of a *Twilight* television series in the town, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, may go some way to alleviating this disappointment. However, despite not being the film location, Forks has benefited immensely as the fictional base of the Meyer novel.

It is interesting to note that on a visit to Forks in 2009 for the UK-based newspaper *The Times*, journalist B. Alexander declared that he went out of his way to find even one critic of *Twilight* in the town. His attempt proved unsuccessful. The only thing residents complained of was the increased traffic in the one-traffic-light-town. Alexander also visited local bars to find out what the local loggers think of *Twilight* and got the same response. The bar-tender at the ‘Smoke House Lounge’ indicated that “[t]his has been a godsend for this town.” Rick Reeves, the notoriously cranky owner of the Mill Creek Bar, had the following to say: “I’d like to write

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<sup>116</sup> D. Light, *Dracula Tourism in Romania: Cultural Identity and the State*, *Annals of Tourism Research* 34(3), 2007, pp. 746-765; M. Ramirez, ‘Fans of ‘Twilight’ Vampire Series Pump New Blood into Forks’, <[http://seattletimes.nwsources.com/html/entertainment/2008075490\\_twilight270.html](http://seattletimes.nwsources.com/html/entertainment/2008075490_twilight270.html)>, 2008. Access: 3 December 2009; see also p. 23 of this dissertation.

<sup>117</sup> A. Maguire, ‘Rainforest Vampires’, <<http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/travel/2008/1220/1229523125480.html>>, 20 December 2008. Access: 3 December 2009.

<sup>118</sup> B. Brager, interviewed 5 May 2012; C. Cross, interviewed on 7 May 2012.

<sup>119</sup> P. Dickerson, ‘Movie Production Group Tours Forks, Promises Return Visit’, <<http://www.peninsuladailynews.com/article/20070926/NEWS/709260302>>, 25 September 2007. Access: 2 December 2009.

that Stephenie Meyer a letter and tell her thank you.”<sup>120</sup> This overwhelming response clearly indicates the deep gratitude most of Forks feels for its newfound tourism fame. I found the same sense of gratitude in Forks during my visit in May 2012.<sup>121</sup> There were petty incidents of dissent, like when during a visit to the Chamber of Commerce, a group of people stole the number plate off Bella’s truck. Whether this group was residents or visitors to Forks is not known. But the overwhelming feeling perceived in Forks was one of deep appreciation for *Twilight* tourism. As indicated by the owner of ‘Leppell’s Flowers and Gifts/*Twilight* Central’, Charlene Cross, Forks residents may never get the opportunity to travel the world, but now *The Twilight Saga* is bringing the world to them.<sup>122</sup> The international visitors are like ‘a badge of honour’ for the people of Forks, as is evident in the many guestbooks one can sign in the town to record the national and international presence.

*Twilight* tourism also holds more than just economic benefits for the town. This point is most clearly illustrated by the campaign started by *Twilight* fans to save the Forks High School.<sup>123</sup> In this case, *Twilight* has enabled Forks residents to save an important part of their historical heritage and to empower the community. This school addition was also made possible by funding from Washington State and one cannot help but speculate whether *Twilight* has raised the town’s visibility in order to obtain funding for public works.

In the end, Forks has not just become a remarkable simulacrum of its literary-based counterpart, but it has also used this time in the spotlight to promote other aspects of the town’s heritage. Tourists visiting the Chamber of Commerce’s visitor centre receive information about Forks’ history and scenic surrounds, in addition to their *Twilight* information. Being aware that some of their visitors are only accompanying *Twilight* fans and may become uninterested with just the literary tourism attractions, the Chamber of Commerce wants to ensure that everyone enjoys the trip by handing out lists of alternative activities to enjoy while in Forks. This list, called the ‘Guy’s list’, is handed out to parents, dads, brothers and boyfriends and includes activities like the logging and mill tour from the Forks Timber Museum, promoting their logging heritage too. They attempt to make this heritage accessible to *Twilight* visitors too by, for example, using the traditional forest fire

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<sup>120</sup> B. Alexander, “*Twilight* Fans Descend on Forks, the US ‘Vampire Town’”, <<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/travel/destinations/usa/article6895720.ece>>, 31 October 2009. Access: 2 December 2009.

<sup>121</sup> R. Belles, interviewed 6 May 2012; B. Brager, interviewed 5 May 2012; C. Cross, interviewed on 7 May 2012.

<sup>122</sup> C. Cross, interviewed on 7 May 2012.

<sup>123</sup> P. Dickson, “*Twilight* Fans Campaign To Donate To Help Save Brick Building of Forks High School”, <<http://www.peninsuladailynews.com/article/20080913/NEWS/809130304>>, 12 September 2008. Access: 3 December 2009.

warning signs and changing these to vampire threat signs, indicating visitors' likelihood of 'seeing' vampires that day (see figure 18 in the Annexure).

Hereby, *Twilight* tourism is not just used to promote Forks, but the surrounding area as well, introducing visitors to the many other attractions on offer on the Olympic peninsula. In fact, visitors are actively encouraged to explore the scenic surrounding area in the Olympic National Park, which is so integral to the area's lifestyle. This adds another level of authentic experience for the visitor, since Bella also explored the peninsula by, for example, visiting the tide pools at Second Beach in La Push. This change in thinking from a strictly *Twilight* oriented view, to one promoting the area is evident in the slogan employed by the Stephenie Meyer Days Committee: "Come for *Twilight*, Stay for Forks".<sup>124</sup> Forks has clearly become a literary tourism phenomenon. *Twilight* has not only provided tourism revenue, but has empowered and promoted the people of Forks on multiple other fronts too.

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<sup>124</sup> Stephenie Meyer Day Committee, pamphlet: 'Stephenie Meyer Day 2012'.

## CHAPTER 6 – CONCLUSION

Literary tourism can be a remarkable phenomenon. Literary tourism, as with other forms of tourism, can yield considerable economic benefits for a town in addition to creating employment and entrepreneurial opportunities for residents. Moreover, literary tourism can also instill pride in a town's heritage and cultural attractions. Literary tourism has survived many centuries of changing touristic tastes, and yet it is still with us. It is likely that literature will never stop inspiring people to travel. Literary tourism is likely to grow ever more popular with its mutually beneficial relationship with film tourism.

This dissertation focused on many aspects pertinent to literary tourism. In chapter one, definitions were provided for concepts relevant to any study of literary tourism, including tourism, heritage, culture, cultural tourism, heritage tourism, heritage and cultural tourism, literary tourism, film tourism, and vampire tourism. It was discovered that literary tourism referred to any kind of travel to places associated in some way with an author or literary work. It can also include visits to sites specially constructed based on some literary theme, like theme parks, literary trails or book towns.<sup>1</sup>

Chapter two offered a literature review of literary tourism. Three periods were discussed: the origins of literary tourism research in interdisciplinary research between the literature and geography disciplines; the present focus fields of literary tourism research, including the visitor profiles and authenticity of literary sites; and the future topics researchers may investigate, including contemporary examples of literature. It was discovered that literary tourism as an activity probably dates back to ancient Roman times, with some authors even considering the religious pilgrimages of old as literary tourism.<sup>2</sup> The chapter then moved on to discuss literary tourism's recent academic history, originating in the disciplines of literature and geography. It was discovered that many authors advocated closer cooperation between literature and geography: geography could provide literature with landscapes, or help literature to locate even highly symbolical literary settings, while literature could enlighten the insensitive scientific approach to geography with human perspective on how we view our environments.<sup>3</sup> Literature could in effect provide a landscape and geography would find it, allowing it to be visited by readers and resulting in literary tourism.

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<sup>1</sup> M.K. Smith *et al.*, *Key Concepts in Tourist Studies*, p. 108-111.

<sup>2</sup> N.J. Watson, *The Literary Tourist: Readers and Places in Romantic and Victorian Britain*.

<sup>3</sup> W.E. Mallory and P. Simpson-Housley, Preface, in W.E. Mallory and P. Simpson-Housley (eds.), *Geography and Literature: a meeting of the disciplines*, pp. xi-xii.

It was also pointed out that literature could be a powerful marketing tool. Literature influences the way in which we view a landscape. Helped on by the often more pervasive and accessible visual media of film and television, literature is one of the most important contributors to the anticipation and expectation with which one approaches a literary setting in the real world.<sup>4</sup> Literature shapes touristic tastes – it subtly persuades us to go visit places we read about in books.<sup>5</sup> Readers already have a personal relationship with a beloved story and this creates a favourable image of the landscape the story is set in, thus giving that destination an edge in the very competitive international tourism market. An important consideration in literary tourism research was if the actual experience of a literary site lived up to the expectations tourists had prior to the visit.

Chapter two continued to look at the research agenda of literary tourism after it became its own tourism niche field of study in the 1990s. This research tended to be preoccupied with the authenticity and visitor profiles of literary destinations. Authenticity studies in literary tourism tended to focus on who the guardians of authenticity at literary sites were, what the authenticity guidelines for literary sites were, and how ‘authentic’ literary sites were. Studies on the visitor profiles tried to determine who typical literary tourists were, what their motivations were for participating in literary tourism, and what their expectations and experiences of literary sites were like. In addition to these two themes, case studies tended to be located in the UK and concerned literary sites associated with the classic authors of literature. Another smaller branch of inquiry into literary tourism has considered the promotion of literary tourism: how a place is portrayed in literature and how the subsequent tourism has impacted on local residents.

In terms of determining who visits literary sites, several case studies were consulted to compile a visitor profile. It was firstly discovered that literary visitors are mostly drawn from the professional service class in terms of their occupations.<sup>6</sup> As a result, they have more education and cultural capital, higher levels of income, as well as more leisure time, to appreciate and enjoy literary attractions. Most literary visitors are female.<sup>7</sup> Most visitors fall into a more mature age category, with Herbert finding that visitors were most often between

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<sup>4</sup> D.C.D. Pocock, Haworth: the Experience of Literary Place, in W.E. Mallory and P. Simpson-Housley (eds.), *Geography and Literature: a meeting of the disciplines*, pp. 135-142.

<sup>5</sup> P.T. Newby, Literature and the Fashioning of Tourist Taste, in D.C.D. Pocock (ed.), *Humanistic Geography and Literature: Essays on the Experience of Place*, p. 130.

<sup>6</sup> D.T. Herbert, Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001, p. 314.

<sup>7</sup> S. Squire, The Cultural Values of Literary Tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research* 21, 1994, pp. 103-120.

35 and 54 and Squire determining that visitors to Beatrix Potter's Hill Top Farm were predominantly between the ages of 25 and 44.<sup>8</sup>

Literary visitors' motivations to travel to literature-associated sites were also investigated. Herbert identified four motivational factors: visitors are attracted to places with some connection to an author's life; visitors may be attracted to places that serve as the settings of literary works; visitors may be drawn to a place for some broader and deeper emotion than the specific writer or the story; and finally, visitors are attracted to a location where some dramatic event in an author's life took place.<sup>9</sup> It was also discovered that tourists are motivated to take part in literary tourism by a desire to uncover the 'truth' of a beloved story, to 'come closer' to said story and to 'make a connection' through the symbiosis of reality and the imagination.<sup>10</sup>

Another important discussion point was whether literary tourists might be described as 'pilgrims'. In order to qualify, the literary visitor had to be devoted to a specific author, they had to be well-versed in the works of that author, they had to be willing to travel long distances to visit literary sites, they had to be willing to be educated in a discerning way, they had to be aware of other literature-associated sites, they had to have a fondness for the Classics, and they had to actively and purposefully seek out literary sites.<sup>11</sup> It was concluded that not all tourists to literary attractions have literature-specific motivations for travel, but that literary pilgrims most definitely do exist.

The following section in chapter two considered authenticity and discovered that there are myriad ways to define and view authenticity. Authenticity was discovered to be a highly subjective and relative concept, which depends on many factors. It is what the individual makes of it, based on values, expectations, prior knowledge and stereotypes. It is also place specific. In other words, what is authentic in one place may not carry the same status in another. Objective, constructive and existential authenticity was discussed. It was concluded that objective authenticity referred to the range of authenticity related to originals.

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*; D.T. Herbert, Heritage as Literary Place, in D.T. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*; D.T. Herbert, Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001.

<sup>9</sup> D.T. Herbert, Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001, pp. 312-333.

<sup>10</sup> S. Reijnders, Stalking the Count: Dracula, Fandom and Tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research* 38(1), 2011, p. 245.

<sup>11</sup> D.T. Herbert, Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 2001, pp. 312-333; D.T. Herbert, Heritage as Literary Place, in D.T. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*; Y. Smith, *Literary Tourism as a Developing Genre: South Africa as a Case Study*, pp. 32-33.

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.<sup>12</sup> With existential authenticity tourists were in search of their own authentic selves with the aid of activities or toured objects. This new kind of authenticity focused on experiences and the authenticity of objects had all but become obsolete.<sup>13</sup>

The development of literary tourism sites were considered next. Butler and Getz's tourism area life cycle models were used to classify the developmental stages of a literary destination. Typically, the development of literary tourism sites does not receive much coverage besides some historiographical analyses in literary guides on authors. One such discussion looking at the Brontës' Haworth was considered.<sup>14</sup> It was noted that even well-established literary sites might have gone through the wild period of exponential development now associated with popular culture literary destinations at one time, before visitation statistics had started to even out. The significance of literary-themed festivals as major events for a specific town was considered. The parameters of sustainable tourism were discussed and it was discovered that the concept does not just refer to the sensible use of environmental resources, but also to respect for the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities and the ensuring of viable and long-term economic operations at the destination.<sup>15</sup>

The final section of chapter two considered what direction future research in literary tourism might be heading in. The geographical expansion of literary tourism case studies was acknowledged by referring to examples in South African and New Zealand literary tourism. Literary tourism's complicated relationship with film tourism was unpacked. As academic studies these fields may be easily distinguishable by conceptual definitions, but in terms of real-life measurements and tourist motivations, literary and film tourism are nearly impossible to separate. If a book is set in a specific location and a film about the book is filmed at the same location, how can one determine what is literary tourism and what is film tourism? Yet the reciprocal relationship between literary and film tourism cannot be denied. Literature provides the source material that a film is based on and usually starts off the tourism process

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<sup>12</sup> S. Cole, Beyond Authenticity and Commodification, *Annals of Tourism Research* 34(4), 2007, p. 944.

<sup>13</sup> N. Wang, Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999, pp. 356-360.

<sup>14</sup> L. Miller, *The Brontë Myth*, pp. 98-101.

<sup>15</sup> M.K. Smith *et al.*, *Key Concepts in Tourist Studies*, p. 172.

with literary tourism. The film then adds a dimension of promotion for the book and dramatically increases tourism to the relevant site. But does it become a film tourism site now, or is it still a literary site, or is it both? We are possibly witnessing the amalgamation of two of heritage and cultural tourism's most popular niche markets to form a new super-tourism. This fusion was illustrated by looking at several phenomenally successful, contemporary book/film/television combinations, including works by Stieg Larsson, Dan Brown, J.K. Rowling, J.R.R. Tolkien, George R.R. Martin, and L.J. Smith.

Chapters three and four looked at the background of this dissertation's main case study: tourism associated with the *Twilight Saga* in Forks, WA, USA. Forks is an excellent case study for this new direction in literary tourism, since it is very contemporary and popular at the moment, it is based in the USA and not the traditional European setting, and it has a strong film tourism component. Chapter three looked at the literary phenomenon the *Twilight Saga* had become by considering the book series itself; the author, Stephenie Meyer; the film franchise; and the phenomenal success of both the book and film series. Chapter four considered the setting for the *Twilight Saga*'s tourism. Firstly, it traced the history and development of Forks. Next, it enumerated the various literary attractions associated with the *Twilight Saga* in and around the town. The final section focused on literary and film tourism associated with the series in other locations, including Port Angeles, Oregon, Vancouver and Montepulciano.

The penultimate chapter investigated how a very successful literary series was able to turn Forks into a tourism phenomenon. This chapter provided the synthesis of the literary tourism theory in chapter two with the details of the case study in chapters three and four. Firstly, it looked at the development of Forks as a literary tourism destination. The coming of literary tourism to Forks and the resulting improvement in the town's fortunes are shown to have been nothing short of remarkable. After its logging industry had been all but terminated in the interest of conservation, the town went into severe economic decline. There was massive unemployment due to the decline in logging, businesses were shut down, parts of the local high school were condemned, and as a result many families started to leave the town.<sup>16</sup> But then this chance encounter with a literary phenomenon 'resurrected' this struggling town. Visitor statistics confirmed the power of literary tourism by revealing that Forks had received a 1 000% increase in visitation as a result of the *Twilight Saga*. These statistics also confirmed the mutually beneficial relationship between film and literary tourism by indicating a massive increase in tourism in Forks following the release of the first film, *Twilight*, in 2008.

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<sup>16</sup> MSNBC, "'Vampire Tourism' Breathes New Life Into Small Town', <<http://today.msnbc.msn.com/id/26811199/>>, 21 September 2008. Access: 16 February 2009.

Forks' development characteristics were analyzed against Getz's criteria in order to determine where in Butler's tourism area life cycle Forks currently is.<sup>17</sup> It was established that Forks does not show any significant characteristics associated with the decline and rejuvenation phases yet. Thus, it can be inferred then that Forks has reached the stagnation phase, while still exhibiting characteristics associated with earlier phases. The curious parallels between the original development of literary tourism at Haworth and the current literary tourism at Forks, separated by more than a 150 years in time, was noted. It was also established that Forks' literary tourism may be classified as sustainable, since all of Telfer's requirements for sustainable tourism were met: the literary tourism development does benefit the host community; it continues to attract tourists; and the environmental resource base was safeguarded, through the expertise of the ONP.<sup>18</sup>

The following section considered Forks' literary tourism visitor profile. Forks proved to be an excellent example of the crucial and reciprocal relationship between literature and geography, since Forks was specifically chosen as the setting for *Twilight* because of its rainy and overcast climate, illustrating how geographical elements can influence literature, and how in turn, literature can highlight a geographic location to become a tourism phenomenon.<sup>19</sup> Forks was also shown to be just as important as any character in the *Twilight* Saga, being more than just a setting for the story, but rather functioning as a felt presence within it.<sup>20</sup> Visitors are just as likely to want to see Edward and Bella's haunts, as they are to see this beautifully portrayed town. Due to Stephenie Meyer's accurate description of the town (despite her never visiting it before finishing *Twilight*) and the tremendous efforts of Forks' tourism stakeholders to ensure an authentic experience for visitors, visitor experiences closely lived up to their expectations.

Forks showed significant similarities and differences with the research on visitor profiles at literary tourism destinations. Most of the visitors to the town were confirmed to be female. However, they seemed to be significantly younger than the 25 to 54 suggested by Squire and Herbert. Many of Forks' *Twilight* visitors were shown to be teenaged females, although a significant portion (though not the majority) did fall within Squire's 25 to 44 age range. No

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<sup>17</sup> D. Getz, Tourism Planning and Destination Life Cycle, *Annals of Tourism Research* 19, 1992, p. 763.

<sup>18</sup> D.J. Telfer, The Evolution of Tourism and Development Theory, in R. Sharpley and D.J. Telfer (eds.), *Tourism and Development*, p. 70.

<sup>19</sup> W.E. Mallory and P. Simpson-Housley, Preface, in W.E. Mallory and P. Simpson-Housley (eds.), *Geography and Literature: a meeting of the disciplines*, p. xi.

<sup>20</sup> D.C.D. Pocock, Introduction: Imaginative Literature and the Geographer, in D.C.D. Pocock (ed.), *Humanistic Geography and Literature: Essays on the Experience of Place*, p. 14.

information was available on Forks' visitors' socio-economic status, thus it is not possible to determine whether they belong to the professional class. In terms of *Twilight* tourists' motivations, it appeared that they fall under Herbert's second and third categories: they are motivated to visit a place that functions as the setting of a novel and they are motivated by some "broader or deeper" emotion than the story. In this case, escapism emerged as a strong motivator. It was also identified that the desire to bond through the shared experience of *Twilight* tourism and the forming of new friendships might be strong motivators for travel.<sup>21</sup> It was also suggested that Forks' literary visitors could definitely be classified as literary pilgrims. They are devoted to Stephenie Meyer, very well-acquainted with the content and characters of her works, they are willing to travel long distances, they most probably are fond of some of the Classics, they actively and purposefully seek out Forks, and because they already care about Forks, they are willing to be educated in a discerning way about the town. Forks presented the curious situation where the number of literary pilgrims may actually outnumber the general interest tourists.<sup>22</sup>

Authenticity is a highly subjective and relative term, which is made even more complicated in literary tourism since a literary destination is the "fusion of the real world... with the worlds portrayed in the novels".<sup>23</sup> In terms of authenticity, Forks was first discussed in terms of what it is not, to find out what it is. Forks will never possess objective authenticity, since as an imagined place, it can never be on the same level as an original in a museum. But if the measure of authenticity is the tourist's experience, like Wang's existential authenticity, then Forks can be classified as authentic. Visitors to Forks perceive the town to be very authentic due to Meyer's accurate descriptions and the efforts of some of the townsfolk, and so visiting the town is authentic and enjoyable to tourists at the same time. Forks possesses Chronis' locational, objective, constructive, perceived, and environmental authenticity, but also factual and personage authenticity to a lesser degree. The extraordinary efforts of the people of Forks to bring the books to life for visitors were also catalogued. The residents have offered up whatever meanings the town may have had for them to accommodate their *Twilight* visitors. Or rather, they have allowed (and in some case created) a veneer of literature to cover the reality that is Forks and go to extraordinary lengths to stay true to this fantasy.

It became clear that a new measure of authenticity was needed when it comes to niches like literary and film tourism. Just like Chronis created authenticities specifically relevant to a

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<sup>21</sup> N. Wang, Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience, *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2), 1999, p. 364.

<sup>22</sup> Y. Smith, *Literary Tourism as a Developing Genre: South Africa as a Case Study*, p. 33.

<sup>23</sup> D.T. Herbert, Heritage as Literary Place, in D.T. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, pp. 32-48.

historical attraction, a special kind of authenticity can be crafted for literary and film tourism, keeping in mind their unique circumstances. This authenticity would not measure how 'original' something was, but rather how faithful it was to the literary work or film 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.

In the final section, the overwhelmingly positive effects of literary tourism in Forks were assessed. These were not just in terms of economic benefits, like tourism revenue, job creation and business and entrepreneurial opportunities, but also included the building of community pride, the raising of the profile of the town and the restoration of historical heritage important to the community of Forks and the Quileutes at La Push. Where there were objections, they were minimal – mostly complaints about increased traffic and a slight aversion to being associated with vampires.

There can be no doubt that the *Twilight Saga* has transformed this former hard-luck timber town into a tourism phenomenon. Before Stephenie Meyer chose this rainy town as the setting for her books, it faced massive economic issues threatening its very existence. Literary tourism has given Forks a second chance and an opportunity to renew their economy. The unlikeliness of this situation is best reflected in the opening confession of W. Dietrich's *The Final Forest: Big Trees, Forks and the Pacific Northwest*. Dietrich was a journalist who witnessed Forks' darkest days firsthand when the logging industry was shut down. In a revised, post-*Twilight* edition of the book he wrote about Forks' logging struggles, he intimates: "Of all the possible outcomes for Forks, Washington, that I might have imagined in tumultuous 1990-91, when I first worked on *The Final Forest*, the unlikeliest would have been the Olympic Peninsula town's destiny as an international tourist destination".<sup>24</sup> This scenario reflects on the chance metamorphic impact a literary product can have on an otherwise unknown destination. Literary tourist destination fame is as unpredictable as it is phenomenal.

Yet in this unpredictability, there lies a warning too. What happens when popular culture decides it is done with a destination and moves on to the 'next, big thing'? How can these

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<sup>24</sup> W. Dietrich, *The Final Forest: Big Trees, Forks and the Pacific Northwest*, p. 11.

contemporary, popular types of literary tourism destinations stay in business? The issue has been identified in film tourism research too. M.K. Smith *et al.* remark that film tourism can be a fickle market, erupting like a wildfire and then disappearing just as quickly. “The lure of film- and TV-based tourism might not last long, so it would be unwise to base long-term planning on what could be a passing trend.”<sup>25</sup> Literary tourism might be more resilient to this phenomenon, since there is no telling when someone will pick up a book and be inspired to visit the literary destination, possibly ensuring a more continuous flow of visitors. It would be a pity not to capitalize on these remarkable forms of tourism, no matter how short-lived they might be. It is the duty of future research to suggest ways to overcome this special kind of ‘seasonality’.

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<sup>25</sup> M.K. Smith *et al.*, *Key Concepts in Tourist Studies*, p. 74.

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## CHAPTER 8 – ANNEXURE



Figure 2: Stephenie Meyer

From:

[http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/sites/default/files/2012/11/Power\\_Authors\\_Stephenie\\_Meyer\\_a\\_p.jpg](http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/sites/default/files/2012/11/Power_Authors_Stephenie_Meyer_a_p.jpg)

Accessed: 4 July 2013.

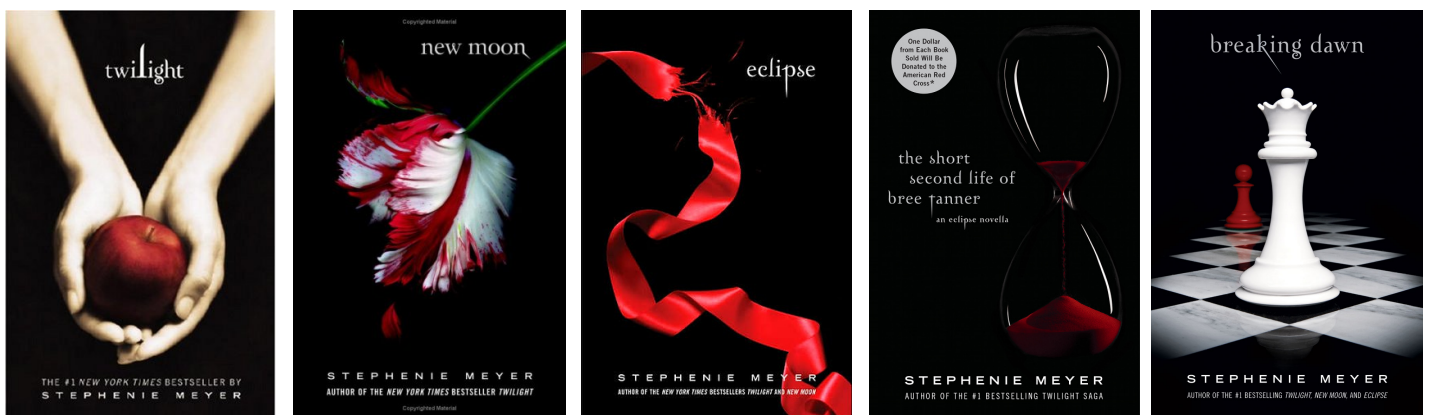


Figure 3: *The Twilight Saga*

From (left): <http://bookloverslounge.files.wordpress.com/2009/06/twilightbook.jpg>;

<http://www.ebooknetworking.com/books/031/616/big0316160199.jpg>;

<http://bellaedward-cullen.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/07/eclipse-cover.jpg>;

[http://images3.wikia.nocookie.net/\\_cb20100330161148/twilight saga/images/d/df/The\\_Short\\_Life\\_of\\_Bree\\_Tanner\\_Cover.jpg](http://images3.wikia.nocookie.net/_cb20100330161148/twilight saga/images/d/df/The_Short_Life_of_Bree_Tanner_Cover.jpg); and

<http://luinriel.files.wordpress.com/2008/05/breakingdawn.jpg>

Accessed: 8 July 2013.

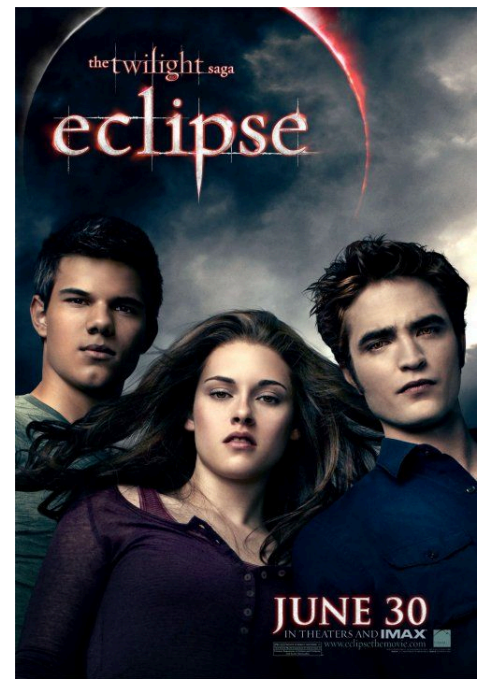


Figure 4: *The Twilight Saga* film posters

From (top-left, clockwise):

[http://www.collider.com/uploads/imageGallery/Twilight/twilight\\_movie\\_poster1.jpg](http://www.collider.com/uploads/imageGallery/Twilight/twilight_movie_poster1.jpg);

[http://www.collider.com/wp-content/image-base/Movies/T/Twilight\\_New\\_Moon/Movie\\_Posters/Twilight%20New%20Moon%20teaser%20movie%20poster.jpg](http://www.collider.com/wp-content/image-base/Movies/T/Twilight_New_Moon/Movie_Posters/Twilight%20New%20Moon%20teaser%20movie%20poster.jpg);

<http://collider.com/wp-content/uploads/the-twilight-saga-eclipse-movie-poster-final.jpg>;

<http://www.beyondhollywood.com/uploads/2010/10/The-Twilight-Saga-Breaking-Dawn-2011-Movie-Poster-1.jpg>; and

<http://collider.com/twilight-saga-breaking-dawn-part-2-poster/>.

Accessed: 9 July 2013.



Figure 5: 'Tent City' ahead of the *Eclipse* premiere in Los Angeles  
From: [http://youbentmywookie.com/wookie/gallery/0610\\_entertainment/twilight-eclipse-camp.jpg](http://youbentmywookie.com/wookie/gallery/0610_entertainment/twilight-eclipse-camp.jpg). Accessed: 15 July 2013.



Figure 6: Map showing location of Forks and Olympic Peninsula  
From: <http://eventidemush.wdfiles.com/local--files/setting/map.jpg>. Accessed: 16 July 2013.



Figure 7: The Forks Chamber of Commerce Visitor Centre, with visitors taking photos with Bella's trucks  
From: Researcher's own photo, 2012



# Pacific Pizza

## TWILIGHT SPECIAL

### NOW SERVING

## BELLASAGNA served with EDBREAD and SWAN SALAD

(love at first bite!!!!!!)

**BELLASAGNA:** Lasagna made with a rich homemade sauce, beef, Italian sausage, romano, parmesan, ricotta, and mozzarella cheeses and many yummy ingredients.

**EDBREAD:** Garlic Italian bread, toasted in the pizza oven.

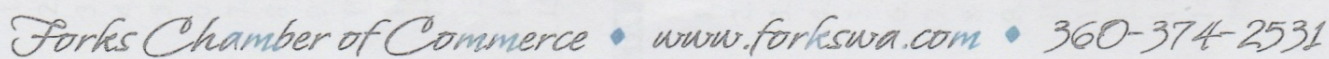
**SWAN SALAD:** One trip salad bar, best salad bar in town!!

*Pacific Pizza owners and employees are proud supporters of the Stephenie Meyer books.*

Located Highway 101, 870 S. Forks Ave.      374-2626

Open 7 days a week!

Figure 8: Pacific Pizza's *Twilight* food specials  
From: <http://www.forksforum.com/twilight>.  
Accessed: 2 December 2009.



150



Figure 10: The Miller Tree Inn, complete with 'Edward' peering out of the third-storey window  
From: <http://goo.gl/OKLmmO>  
Accessed: 12 May 2013.



Figure 11: The new façade of the Forks High School  
From: Researcher's own photo, 2012



Figure 12: Sea stacks at sunset at Second Beach, La Push  
From: <http://www.aaronstours.com/portfolio/olympic-peninsula-gallery/>  
Accessed: 5 August 2013.



Figure 13: The 'Treaty Line' at the Three Rivers Restaurant, La Push. The opposite side of the sign specifically welcomes *Twilight* fans.  
From: Researcher's own photo, 2012

Forks Chamber of Commerce Visitor Center Count																		
	<u>1997</u>	<u>1998</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2008</u>	<u>2009</u>	<u>2010</u>	<u>2011</u>	<u>2012</u>	<u>2013</u>	<u>2014</u>
January	151	225	119	151	124	102	183	80	78	96	86	145	2,003	2,087	1,274	1,062	1,052	855
February	324	349	145	232	298	106	157	112	162	91	103	257	2,164	2,192	1,650	1,668	1,074	864
March	321	616	360	347	484	247	271	210	336	268	282	464	3,934	4,519	2,993	2,138	2,335	1,833
April	669	734	726	845	623	507	332	343	329	384	508	680	4,861	5,246	3,321	2,922	2,552	2,075
May	1,075	1,226	1,164	866	488	645	407	388	442	530	557	1,309	4,535	5,308	3,360	2,889	3,272	2,536
June	1,878	1,838	1,652	1,188	1,075	873	807	596	553	581	1,227	1,731	8,312	9,287	5,431	4,818	5,155	4,128
July	3,905	2,783	2,717	2,010	2,116	2,040	1,306	1,005	1,070	1,366	2,279	3,546	16,186	16,550	8,894	8,606	9,008	7,075
August	4,146	3,832	2,906	2,603	2,484	2,066	1,285	1,158	1,399	1,515	2,780	4,186	13,605	14,645	8,234	7,747	8,262	6,569
September	1,872	1,872	2,238	1,138	1,042	926	784	650	640	1,026	1,527	1,969	5,337	5,978	4,046	4,377	4,413	4,079
October	916	769	651	453	310	464	317	351	350	374	550	1,252	3,563	3,499	2,598	2,282	1844*	1,545
November	388	241	189	167	174	132	116	128	142	72	178	1,913	2,935	1,749	2,121	1,780	1,120	1,077
December	204	119	162	128	117		82	174	74	83	218	1,284	2,540	1,825	1,657	1,310	891	
Total	15849	14604	13029	10128	9335	8108	6047	5195	5575	6386	10295	18736	69,975	72,885	45,579	41,599	40,978	32,636

**Total visitors that have signed our guest book since *Twilight* was released on October 5, 2005 339069**

\* Olympic National Park closed due to Government shutdown October 1st - 16th, 2013

Hotel-Motel Taxes received by City of Forks:		Sales Taxes received by City of Forks:	
2003	\$83,866	1995	\$295,000
2004	\$84,561	2000	\$321,067
2005	\$88,492	2006	\$353,837
2006	\$88,469	2009	\$405,195
2007	\$94,198	2010	\$432,869
2008	\$123,775	2011	\$531,246 (Construction projects: School, clinic, housing)
2009	\$133,585	2012	\$452,845
2010	\$150,092	2013	\$428,624
2011	\$139,609	2014**	\$302,996
2012	\$136,868		
2013	\$133,255		
2014**	\$63,716		

Table 5: Recorded visitation to the Forks Chamber of Commerce  
Visitor Centre, 1997-2014  
From: Forks Chamber of Commerce, 2014



**Miller Tree Inn**  
(Also known as the "Cullen House" of Forks, WA)  
**654 East Division Street**  
**Forks, WA 98331**  
**360-374-6806**

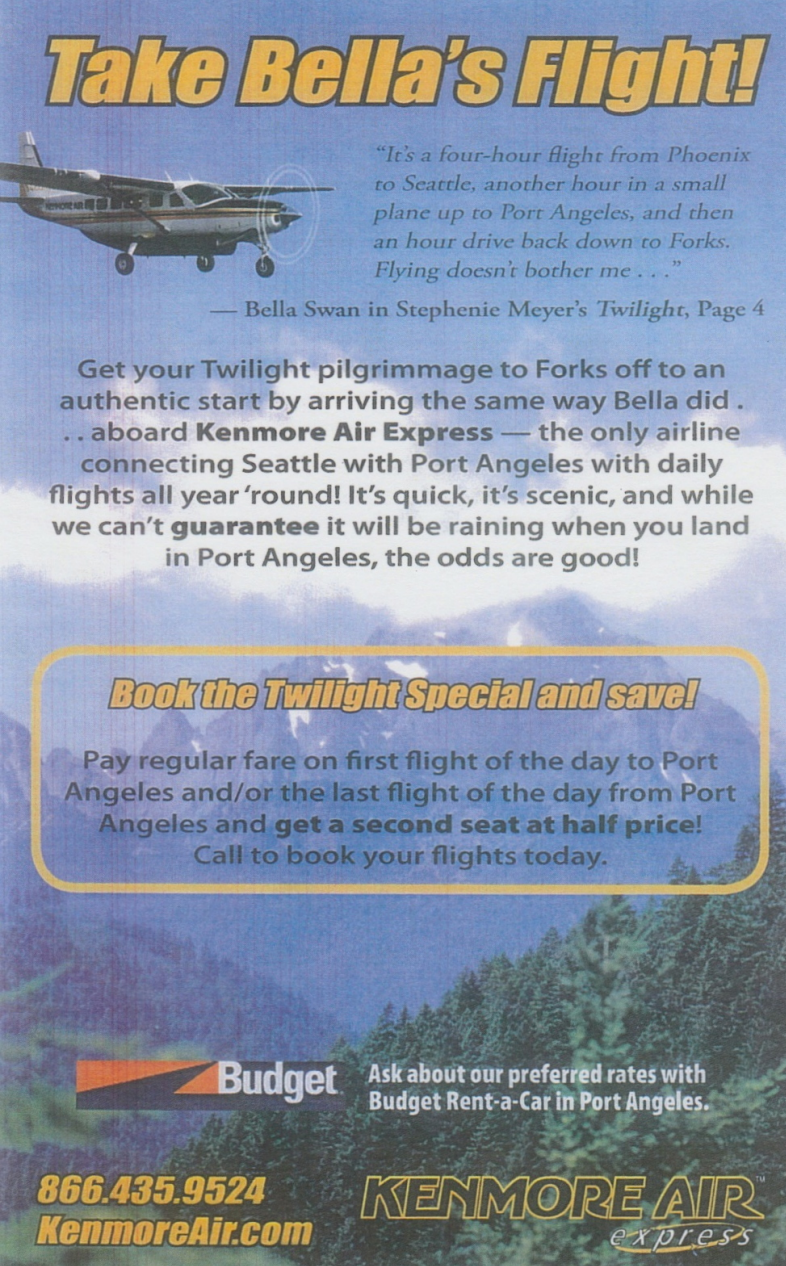
For more information, please check out our website and "Cullen House Blog" at:  
[www.MillerTreeInn.com](http://www.MillerTreeInn.com)

*Thank you for staying in our home.  
We trust that our innkeepers took good  
care of you during your stay.*

*We are very sorry that we did not get  
to meet you. Carlisle is very busy at the  
hospital, the boys love hiking in the rain-  
forest and the girls and I adore our shopping  
trips. Please come back again!*

*The Cullen Family*  
*Esme Rosalie Alice Jasper Bella*  
*Emmett Edward*

Figure 15: The Cullens' letter welcoming guests at the Miller Tree Inn  
From: Miller Tree Inn, 2012



# Take Bella's Flight!

*"It's a four-hour flight from Phoenix to Seattle, another hour in a small plane up to Port Angeles, and then an hour drive back down to Forks. Flying doesn't bother me . . ."*

— Bella Swan in Stephenie Meyer's *Twilight*, Page 4

Get your *Twilight* pilgrimage to Forks off to an authentic start by arriving the same way Bella did . . . aboard **Kenmore Air Express** — the only airline connecting Seattle with Port Angeles with daily flights all year 'round! It's quick, it's scenic, and while we can't **guarantee** it will be raining when you land in Port Angeles, the odds are good!

**Book the *Twilight* Special and save!**

Pay regular fare on first flight of the day to Port Angeles and/or the last flight of the day from Port Angeles and **get a second seat at half price!**  
Call to book your flights today.

**Budget** Ask about our preferred rates with Budget Rent-a-Car in Port Angeles.

**866.435.9524**  
**KenmoreAir.com**

**KENMORE AIR**  
*express*

Figure 16: Kenmore Air's *Twilight*-inspired pamphlet  
From: Kenmore Air, 2012



Figure 17: Stephenie Meyer and the cast of the 'Olympic Coven' at the 2013 Stephenie Meyer Days celebration  
From: <http://goo.gl/zellHlo>  
Accessed: 14 September 2013



Figure 18: The 'vampire threat sign' at the Three Rivers Restaurant, La Push. This sign is modeled on the forest fire warning signs.  
From: Researcher's own photo, 2012