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## Mediatized tourism

### The convergence of media and tourism performances

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# Mediatized tourism

The convergence of media and tourism  
performances

Maria Månsson



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<p>Popular culture and tourism are intertwining. The use of film and literature amongst destination marketing organisations is a global trend, but how can we understand this phenomenon and all the processes involved? Up to now popular culture and tourism have been researched mainly from a single media perspective. However, it is difficult to separate the impact of one media product from that of another, and it is now time to highlight the processes of multimodality. Moreover, this far most of the research has focused on destination marketing issues and not on the tourists involved in these processes. Therefore, it is relevant to explore in which sense these intertwined media products are part of tourists' activities as well as of their understandings of places.</p> <p>The aim of this dissertation is to explore the different processes that emerge when tourism and popular cultural media products interweave, placing special emphasis on tourist performances and destinations. Roslyn Chapel, which is featured in The Da Vinci Code, and the hereto related tourism activities is the case studied in this dissertation. However, each of the papers included have a slightly different theoretical and methodological approach. The main theoretical concepts applied and discussed in the dissertation are mediatization, convergence and performance.</p> <p>Studying a single case this dissertation explores the different ongoing processes that this tourist place is part of, covering themes ranging from converging media products to tourists' performances and sense of place in relation to popular cultural media products. The dissertation thereby adds to the expanding field of research, which is concerned with the intertwining of popular culture and tourism.</p>		
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The convergence of media and tourism  
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Maria Månsson



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# Contents

Acknowledgements	7
1 Introduction	9
Introducing the framework	12
Aim and research questions	16
Layout of the dissertation	18
2 Popular culture and tourism	19
Popular culture media products in circulation	21
Literary tourism	23
Film tourism	27
Business and management perspectives on film tourism research	29
The tourist perspective on film tourism research	31
Limitations and possibilities	32
3 Mediatized tourism	35
Mediatization	35
Media convergence and tourism	37
The expansion of mediatized tourism	41
4 Mediatized tourist performances of place	45
Media and tourist agency	45
Media and sense of place	48
Tourists' performance of place	50
Mediatized performances of destinations	52
5 Methodology and empirical material	57
6 Paper summaries	63
7 Conclusions	69
8 References	75
Paper I-V	



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Landskrona den 27 april, Maria Månsson

# 1 Introduction

## **Stockholm in Millennium thrillers' footsteps**

Are you a fan of Stieg Larsson's fictional trilogy about journalist Mikael Blomkvist and computer hacker Lisbeth Salander? Experience Stockholm from the characters' perspective – with a little imagination, it will feel like you are part of the suspenseful mystery as the plot unfolds. Guided tours are available, but you are welcome to explore the settings on your own. (Visit Stockholm, 2011)

New Year's Day 2011, in a cold, snow-covered Stockholm I took part in a guided tour in the footsteps of the Millennium trilogy. I feared that I might be alone with the guide due to the weather conditions and the choice of day. However, there were roughly 35 of us from a range of countries, such as the US, the UK, Poland, Finland, Denmark, Germany, France and Sweden, who had decided to spend a few hours on the streets of Stockholm in the framing of the Millennium novels and films. Since the launch of these guided tours in 2008 there has been ongoing interest: in 2010 there were 284 tours drawing roughly 10,000 participants (Millenniumrapporten, 2011), but now the number of participants is up to more than 50,000 (Stadsmuseet Stockholm, 2015). This guided tour has now been listed by Lonely Planet among the top 10 literary walking tours of the world (Lonely Planet, 2014). On top of that, it is also possible to obtain a map of the sites in the novels and the films and walk the tour route independently. However, Stockholm is not the first destination to use popular cultural media products such as popular films and novels to market their destination and develop tourism products such as guided tours. Interest in the intertwining of the tourism sector and the media sector is growing among tourists, tourism producers and other sectors, such as film commissions (organisations that aim to attract film-making to their regions and provide support for productions). It seems like everybody is now jumping on the bandwagon, especially given the success of 'The Lord of the Rings' in boosting tourism to New Zealand. However, it is questionable whether watching a film or reading a book is all that is needed to get people to travel to the depicted

destinations. Rather, there must be other processes involved that need to be further explored since not all films or books trigger such tourism.

Though, there are many places that have become known for their connection to popular culture. Ystad, for example, a small town in the south of Sweden, is a destination offering a plethora of tourist activities linked to popular culture. This town is known for Henning Mankell's police procedural novels about Inspector Kurt Wallander. The novels have also been turned into TV productions, both Swedish and British, and theatrical films (Ystad, 2011). In Barcelona, Spain, it is possible to join a literary guided tour in the footsteps of either 'The Shadow of the Wind' or 'The Cathedral of the Sea' (Barcelona Turisme, 2011). For those more interested in films shot in Barcelona there are self-guided film walks on offer, each dedicated to a single film like Woody Allen's 'Vicky, Cristina, Barcelona' or a director such as Pedro Almodovar (Barcelona de pelicula, 2011). For tourists in New York it is possible to take part in guided bus tours to different TV and film-related sites. It is marketed as '[...] you will see for yourself where your favourite actors, personalities and characters from [...] TV shows [...], live, work, and play!' (Screentours, 2011). Sites that are included are for instance from old films such as 'Breakfast at Tiffany's' to contemporary TV series such as 'Gossip Girl'. Similar tours are also found in the UK, tours in connection with the TV series 'Downton Abbey' being particularly popular (Månsson & Eskilsson, 2013). It is not only Western popular cultural media products that inspire travellers to visit related destinations; Bollywood film locations, too, inspire Indian tourists to travel to countries like Switzerland to visit places seen in films (Gyimothy, 2015). Similarly, Korean TV dramas called Hallyu, popular in Southeast Asia, inspire Southeast Asian tourists to visit South Korea. This interest has carried over into film and music, creating a growing interest in Korea as a tourist destination (Korea Tourism, 2011).

Due to its perceived popularity it is not so strange that popular culture is now used strategically for destination marketing. Korea's tourism organisation, for example, utilises tourists' interest in Hallyu and related popular cultural phenomena to market their destination. This destination marketing through popular culture was also done by Tourism Australia, using the film 'Australia' by Australian director Baz Luhrmann (Tourism Australia, 2009). Moreover, Visit Britain is using different films to market specific destinations or regions in Britain. In 2010 Visit Britain collaborated with Universal Pictures, key tourism agencies and local authorities in relation to the film 'Robin Hood'. The aim was to get more tourists to go to Nottingham, Sherwood Forest, and other places

associated with the story. The marketing plan included a designated Robin Hood website that enabled visitors to follow a Robin Hood trail (Visit Britain, 2010). These new promotional practices led to documented growth in visitor numbers. The numbers of tourists to sites associated with the 'Robin Hood' film grew in 2010: Nottingham castle had 5.5% more visitors and Sherwood Forest had 7% more international visitors, compared to the year before (Visit Britain, 2010). In Sweden Visit Sweden has used the aforementioned Millennium trilogy to market Stockholm and Sweden to potential tourists. The trilogy was very popular in France, for example; therefore, Visit Sweden targeted this market segment with special campaigns. This was done through press visits from France and collaborations with French travel agents who added Stockholm as a destination to visit, a trip that included the Millennium guided tour (Visit Sweden annual report, 2009). This interest was also reflected in accommodation statistics for Stockholm: in 2008, French visits had gone up by 20% compared to the year before (Visit Sweden, 2009).

The cases mentioned thus far involve clear links to specific films or novels as the particular destinations are where the story unfolds. The small village of Júzcar in Spain, now marketed as the Smurf village, presents a completely different case. For the marketing and release of the animated film 'The Smurfs' all the houses in the village were painted blue for marketing purposes only. They kept the blue-coloured houses, and the village has now received many tourists, going from an annual 300 visitors to more than 80,000 visitors even though the film is animated and the village was not used in the film at all (EuroScreen case studies, 2013). Thus, there is more to it than a particular place having been featured in a film, since as this case shows a commercial shot for the premiere of an animated film can also generate tourism. It is therefore something beyond the single media product in itself that generates tourism interest, but the question is what? The question is then how can we understand this phenomenon and the various processes involved in the intertwining of tourism and popular culture media? A substantial amount of the existing research about this phenomenon has explored it from a place marketing and producer perspective with a single media product in focus. As will be discussed in the next section, there is therefore a need for new perspectives, which address this phenomenon in a wider context and from a tourist perspective.

## Introducing the framework

As put forth in the introductory paragraph, there is an emerging global interest in the linkages between tourism and popular culture media products from the perspectives of diverse stakeholders, such as destination marketing organisations, film commissions and tourists. Popular cultural media products are viewed, from destination managers' perspectives, as tools by which to differentiate a destination from others and attract tourists to it (Månsson & Eskilsson, 2013). Thus, popular culture is to some extent a new tool for place marketing.

Place marketing is an umbrella term for marketing strategies for attracting visitors, residents, tourists, businesses and investments to a particular place. It is defined by Hospers (2010, p. 190) as 'the long-term process and/or policy instrument including all those different, related activities that are aimed at retaining and attracting specific target groups for a particular city'.

There has been a growing interest in place marketing particularly from people involved in urban planning and tourism marketing (Hospers, 2010) and the literature concerned with place marketing has grown steadily in the last decades (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2008; Lucarelli & Brorström, 2013; Skinner, 2008). The growing interest from different disciplines has created a rich flora of concepts and place marketing is one of them, others refer to place branding, for example. Branding is by some researchers considered as just one aspect of marketing (Hospers, 2010). However, Governs (2011) argue that place marketing and place branding are different concepts that support each other. According to Skinner (2008), place marketing, as a concept, refers to wider aspects beyond branding. Accordingly, place marketing deals with a place's overall management – 'a place can then be considered as a location having a single identity with multiple facets, a history, and cultural heritage, and pre-existing perceptions, and be managed as a history, and cultural heritage, and pre-existing perceptions, and be managed as akin to a corporation, market getting, from an outside-in approach by its multiple stakeholders, in partnership' (Skinner, 2008, p. 923). Branding, in return, is the inside-out perspective focusing mainly on promotional activities (Ibid.)

Place marketing in itself is not a new phenomenon (for a historic overview see Ward, 1998) but the strategic and conscious use of marketing in selling places is new since the 1980's (Ashworth & Voogd, 1994). Kotler et al. (1993) argue that places can be treated just like products: the same marketing logic can be

used for a product or a place. This is a view that has many followers (Rainisto, 2003). However, other researchers are highly critical of the perception that places can be treated just like products (Ek & Hultman, 2007; Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2008). They argue that place marketing contributes to the commodification of places, which neglects their complexity. Place marketing therefore has to include many aspects, and as argued by Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2008), place marketing should rather be seen as the management of a place image, with marketing being just one of the attributes involved. What then is an image? An image is defined by Lawson and Baud Bovy (1977, p. 10) as the expression of all objective knowledge, impressions, prejudice, imaginations, and emotional thoughts an individual or group might have of a particular place. Hence, image is vital in enabling tourists to distinguish one place from another when selecting a destination to visit (Dumbrăveanu, 2010). Place marketing is therefore seen as an important tool by which to construct tourist gazes, due to its potential impact on tourists' images (Hospers, 2009).

Place marketing has now been introduced; however, from now I will instead use the term destination marketing, given the focus of this dissertation, as this is the phrase most commonly used in a tourism context (Braun, 2008; Hankinson, 2010; Hanna & Rowley, 2008). Destination marketing implies that the marketing is directed at tourists, but the destination itself can be a region, a city, a small location within a region or city, or even a whole country. For tourist organisations, destination marketing is the main tool for creating awareness amongst tourists about their destination (Kotler, Haider, & Rein, 1993; Rainisto, 2003). However, there is fierce global competition for tourists' attention, and countries, regions, cities, etc., are all in the game. A key part of destination marketing is therefore the selection of destination images in marketing material – however, there is a range of marketing material in circulation and different techniques that influence tourists' images, so choosing from this abundance of options can be challenging.

There are a range of methods and genres available in the marketing of destinations – everything from traditional marketing campaigns by destination marketing organisations, to word-of mouth and independently produced material on the Internet, such as Social Media (McCabe, 2009; Pike, 2008). Some of the material in circulation is producer-generated material, such as brochures and guidebooks, whereas a lot of material that has an impact on tourists' images is produced without an intention to attract tourists to destinations (see, further, Falkheimer & Thelander, 2007; Gartner, 1993; Jenkins, 1999; Mercille, 2005). This could be social media, like blogs and

YouTube (Pan, MacLaurin, & Crotts, 2007; Tussyadiah & Fesenmaier, 2009), or popular cultural media products, such as film and literature (Busby & Klug, 2001; Iwashita, 2006). Thus, popular cultural media products are a part of tourists' images of destinations because they convey information and meanings about destinations (Falkheimer & Thelander, 2007; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998). Heldt Cassel (2007), in her study of the Swedish archipelago, showed that tourists' images of the destination were inspired by art – Swedish writers such as August Strindberg, films and TV series ('Vi på Saltkråkan' and 'Skärgårdsdoktorn'), and music (Evert Taube). Braun (2008:18) argues, therefore, that it would be relevant to address the media in relation to destination marketing, because televised media, Internet and other media are influential and do have an impact on economic, social and cultural aspects of destinations, due to their role in peoples' and companies' decisions (Braun, 2008). Tourism organisations already deliberately use popular cultural media products to market their destinations, and leverage the growth of collaborations between different stakeholders, as they all see a win-win situation in the growing interrelationship of media and tourism (Heitmann, 2010; Hudson, 2011).

That there is a burgeoning research interest in the intertwining of popular cultural media products and tourism, can be seen in the number of published articles and special issues on this topic in tourism journals (*Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing*, 2008, Volume 24, Issue 2-3; *Tourism Analysis*, 2009, Volume 14; *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*, 2011, Volume 3, Issue 2) and the dedicated academic conferences dealing with media such as film and tourism (2nd International Conference on Impact of Movies & Television on Tourism in 2009; International Tourism and Media Conference – ITAM – a bi-annual conference that began in 2004). Thus, it is known in the research that tourism and popular culture are linked, but the phenomenon has primarily been studied from a single-medium perspective, such as film tourism (see for example Roesch, 2009) or literary tourism (Herbert, 2001). The research conducted has been vital in demonstrating the importance of this emerging field of research, but it is now time to expand the research field to highlight the processes of multimediality. As in the Millenium case that started off this chapter, they were novels that later were turned into films. It is therefore difficult to separate the impact of one media product from that of another. It is possible that film and literary media products are not the only media products to undergo this intertwining, as there are many other media products available for tourists to consume. Another aspect that is important to address is how these intertwining media products impact tourists. This is vital knowledge because if

tourists are not properly understood, it will be difficult to use popular culture for destination marketing purposes. However, this far most of the research has focused on destination marketing issues and not on the tourists involved in these processes (Connell, 2012). It is therefore relevant to explore in what sense these intertwined media products are part of tourists' understandings of places as well as part of tourists' activities. Consequently, I am interested in the intertwined media products in relation to tourists' actions of place.

Since this is a dissertation within service studies, specifying on tourism as a part of the service sector it is primarily based on tourism research – however, I will incorporate research from other disciplines such as media and communication in order to comprehend further the processes and transformations at play in the intertwining of tourism and media. This in accordance with service studies, as a research field, which has an interdisciplinary approach. The reason for this is that media research has not been fully accounted for in current research, even though popular cultural media products are in focus, a view advanced by Long & Robinson (2009). This is in line with Beeton (2010) and Connell (2012) who argue that an interdisciplinary approach is needed to develop film tourism research. An overall approach for this dissertation is furnished by the concept of mediatization, a recently emerged strand of media research that focuses on media's overall impact on our society and culture (Hjarvard, 2008a), thus including tourism. Mediatization is relevant to address because popular culturally related tourism is still seen, to some extent, as some kind of niche tourism activity (see, e.g., Long & Robinson, 2009). Moreover, Roesch (2009) concluded that tourists taking part in 'The Lord of the Rings' tours in New Zealand were one-off film tourists: they would do it on this occasion but never again. However, mediatization stresses that media profoundly change society and therefore tourists and the destinations visited as well. Another media concept that is introduced in this dissertation is convergence. Convergence highlights the intertwining of media products available on different media platforms simultaneously, and the co-creation by producers and consumers. In this case a producer could be another consumer (Jenkins, 2006). Convergence and mediatization are then used to explore the actual tourist because there is a lack of research that focuses on the tourists in these processes (cf. Connell, 2012). Thus, even though there are some good pieces of research that focus on the film tourist – for example Buchmann (2010), Carl et al. (2007), Kim (2010, 2012), Rittichainuwat and Rattanaphinanchai (2015) and Roesch (2009) – there is a need for a broader perspective to explore the tourist in relation to a wider media use since media products converge and the lines of demarcation between them become blurred.



It is therefore important to explore tourists' activities and tourists' sense of place in relation to media products consumed and used. Convergence is therefore applied in combination with performance, since they both highlight the active role of the tourist in the place created. The performance concept comes from the critique of the tourist gaze that was considered too passive to be capable of exploring the tourists (Edensor, 2000, 2001; Ek et al, 2008; Franklin & Crang, 2001). Performance encapsulates the notion that tourists are part of creating destinations, alone or with other people, in combination with a multitude of other elements, such as media (Baerenholt et al., 2004). Thus, in this dissertation, destinations are seen as something created by tourists' performances and media are part of this creation. It is therefore relevant to address the different processes that are initiated in the intermingling of tourist performances, destinations and media.

## **Aim and research questions**

*The aim of this dissertation is to explore the different processes that emerge when tourism and popular cultural media products interweave, placing special emphasis on tourist performances and destinations.*

It is known that tourism and media are interwoven with each other, but *how* this interweaving occurs is empirically discussed in this dissertation. The processes explored in this dissertation are dealt with in five papers, each of which involves a different research question, as listed below. The first paper is an introductory book chapter that introduces the concept of mediatized tourism to develop a foundation that is explored further in the subsequent papers.

1. How do intertwined media products impact tourist behaviour? (Paper I)

The second paper is an article that takes the above examination a step further by applying the concept of mediatized tourism. The aim is to establish an overall approach by applying convergence, a new media perspective, to media-related tourism from a tourist perspective.

2. How can convergence be applied to empirically explore and contextualise changes in tourism consumption? (Paper II)

As mentioned, there are media products in circulation that are consumed by the tourists. The circuit of culture model (Johnson, 1986), recognised as a tool for understanding the transformation of meaning in marketing (Giovanardi, 2011), is also used by Squire (1994) and Herbert (2001) in their studies of literary tourism. This model highlights the interrelationship of text producers, the texts themselves, the readers and their decoding of texts (in this case the tourists), and

the surrounding society. The third paper focuses on one aspect of convergence, namely, media convergence, while analysing the texts in circulation in destination marketing.

3. How is an attraction represented in different media products and how do their meanings converge? (Paper III)

The fourth paper, a chapter in an edited book, addresses authenticity in relation to tourist performances. Urry (1990) has argued that tourists have a mediatized gaze that is influenced by a range of media products. Furthermore, tourists view only sites that have been seen before. Thus, being a tourist is a primarily visual activity. The stress on the visual aspect of being a tourist has been criticised, by Perkins & Thorne (2001), for example. They argue that tourists perform rather than gaze. This text therefore takes a performance approach in order to study tourists visiting a tourist attraction and the implication this has for the authenticity of the attraction.

4. How are tourists' perceptions of tourist attractions affected by a physical visit as well as by popular cultural media products? (Paper IV)

The final paper of this dissertation is an article that further explores the performance perspective elaborated by Edensor (2000, 2001). This is combined with the circuits of culture model in article III, though this time there is a shift of focus from the texts to tourists' decoding of the texts in relation to their performance while visiting a destination. The aim is to develop a further understanding of tourist performances and their sense of place in relation to media.

5. How are tourists' performances of place related to their reading and understanding of media products? (Paper V)

A single case is used throughout the different papers in order to study the mediatization aspects of tourism. The empirical research site for this dissertation is Rosslyn Chapel outside Edinburgh in Scotland. It is a place that came into the limelight after the novel 'The Da Vinci Code' by Dan Brown (2004) and the subsequent Hollywood filmatisation of the novel, released in 2006. Each paper takes a different theoretical approach and uses different methods. Consequently, the empirical material differs from paper to paper, ranging from social media forums on the Internet to guidebooks, observations and interviews with tourists. While I consistently use the same site, I view it through different theoretical approaches and empirical materials. However, in the introductory section only the main theoretical approaches are explored; the remaining theories are explored in the individual papers.

## Layout of the dissertation

This dissertation consists of an introductory section divided into seven main chapters, which is to be followed by a section that contains the references used in the dissertation. The first chapter is an *Introduction*, as already presented. It provides an overview of the phenomenon in focus and presents the aim of the dissertation and the questions individually explored in the papers. The second chapter, *Popular culture and tourism*, is a literary review focusing on previous research that highlights tourism, popular culture, media products in circulation, literary tourism and film tourism, and concludes with a discussion about what is missing and needs to be explored. Chapter three, *Mediatized tourism*, elaborates my own perspectives on mediatization, convergence and media convergence and tourism, concluding with a discussion about mediatized tourism. Chapter four, *Mediatized tourist performances of place*, further explores my own perspectives. An initial discussion of media and tourist agency is followed by a discussion of tourists' sense and performances of place, and, finally, mediatized performances of place. Chapter five, *Methodology and empirical material*, reviews and discusses methods used, while chapter six, *Paper summaries*, summarizes the five individual papers. The final chapter, *Conclusions*, presents the findings of the individual papers and the overall conclusions of the dissertation. The introductory section is accompanied by the following five papers, consisting of three articles and two book chapters:

- Paper I: Månsson, M. (2009). The Role of Media Products on Consumer Behaviour in Tourism. In M. Kozak & A. Decrop (Eds.), *Handbook of Tourist Behaviour. Theory and Practice* (pp. 226-237). London, New York: Routledge.
- Paper II: Månsson, M. (2011) Mediatized tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38(4), 1634-1652.
- Paper III: Månsson, M. (2011). Media convergence – Tourist attractions in the making. *Tourism Review International*, 15(3), 227-241.
- Paper IV: Månsson, M. (2010). Negotiating Authenticity at Rosslyn Chapel. In B. Timm Knudsen & A. M. Waade (Eds.), *Re-Investing Authenticity* (pp. 168-180). Bristol: Channel View.
- Paper V: Månsson, M. (2015) Mediatized tourist performances of place. Submitted manuscript to *Tourist Studies*.

## 2 Popular culture and tourism

This review chapter starts with a discussion on popular culture in combination with tourism, followed by a section focusing on circulating popular cultural media products and their impact on tourism and, consequently, tourists. That in turn is followed by two sections that review the existing research relating to popular culture and tourism, particularly literary tourism and film tourism. The reason for choosing these two media products is that they have attracted increasing interest from destination marketing organisations, tourists and the academic community. The chapter ends with a discussion of the strengths and limitations of the previous research and how to move forward.

The concept of popular culture emerged during the industrialisation and urbanisation of society (Storey, 2012). It is hard to define, however, and there is no clear definition of what it actually is. However, attempts to define popular culture often mention certain aspects of it, the following six categories being the most common (Storey, 2012). The first is the quantitative aspect, that is, that popular culture is something that is produced in large quantities; it is mass-produced (Mechling, 2008; Storey, 2012). This aspect is troublesome in the sense that defining the amount that characterises popular culture is difficult, when you have texts like the Bible that are mass-produced. The second aspect refers to popular culture as something that is defined in contrast to what it is not, namely high culture. In other words, high culture is defined, and then whatever is left out of the definition is considered popular culture. This somehow implies that high culture is better than other forms of culture, so popular culture is often seen as something that is simpler and of lesser quality than high culture (Fornäs, 2012). High culture is therefore often considered something for an elite and exclusive group of people, whereas popular culture is used and consumed by the masses in their ordinary lives (Lindgren, 2009). The third aspect discusses these aspects further, defining popular culture as a highly commercial culture that is easy accessible or, in simple terms, is about entertainment that is mass-produced and mass-consumed (Mechling, 2008; Storey, 2012). The fourth aspect defines popular culture as something that originates with the people in cultural forms such as folk music (Storey, 2012).

Popular culture is then something made by the people, but this begs the question, 'Who are the people?' The fifth aspect is popular culture defined in terms of Gramsci's perspective of hegemony, in which a dominant group's views are imposed on subordinate groups. In other words, popular culture is defined by the ruling class and then imposed on other groups in society through constant struggle (Storey, 2012). What is considered high versus popular culture is therefore shifting and not fixed in time. It all depends on who has the power to state what high versus popular culture is at any given moment (Fornäs, 2012; Long & Robinson, 2009). The final aspect is a more postmodern view in the sense that postmodern culture no longer recognises the distinction between high and popular culture. The boundaries between products blur and it is very difficult to distinguish products that are high versus popular culture – it all depends on the individual consumer. The top-down perspective, according to which popular culture is produced for the masses who then passively consume it – is therefore no longer valid (Storey, 2012). The reason for this is that just because products are consumed by many people does not mean they all interpret the media products in the same way, as will be addressed in chapter 4, and more specifically in paper V in this dissertation. Fiske's definition is therefore interesting as he views popular culture as something 'made by the people at the interface between the products of the culture industries and everyday life' (Fiske, 1989, p. 23). In order to be popular culture, a product has to be interesting to people (Ibid.). This perspective takes into consideration the agency aspect of the consumer, as will be addressed later.

If previously a boundary was believed to exist between high culture and popular culture, now it is difficult to know what is what. Popular culture may exist in various forms – popular fiction, films, concerts and sports, for example. But popular culture can also be tourist experiences. Since popular culture is something mainstream, made popular by the people, tourism is very much a part of it (Collins-Kreiner & Tueta Sagi, 2011; Long & Robinson, 2009). Tourism viewed as popular culture differs from the earlier position according to which tourism was viewed as something separate from ordinary life – for example, tourism viewed as a route to extraordinary experiences (Urry, 1990). However, tourism as popular culture is part of people's everyday life. According to Hannam and Knox (2010) tourism is a manifestation of the same activities and practices that people have at home. Furthermore, they argue, knowledge and practices arising in everyday life are part of life as a tourist. Thus, life as a tourist is not about extraordinary experiences but rather ordinary things that people do at home – for example, socialising with the same family members that you would at home (Urry & Larsen, 2011). Edensor (1998, p. 200) views

tourism as a 'set of contesting and ever-changing performances'. He also stresses that tourism is something that is ongoing, is embodied and has an active nature: tourism is seen as a process (Edensor, 1998, p. 200). Tourism as part of everyday life as well as tourism as an ongoing process make up the foundation of this dissertation.

But tourism is not just a part of popular culture; it also influences popular culture. The language and practices of tourism influence novels and films, for example, such as the novel and film 'The Beach' which depicts a backpacker in Thailand in search of a secret island (Jensen, 2009). Another example is discussed by Gibson (2006), when comparing the novel 'A Room with a View' by Forester with its filmatisation. While the novel portrays tourists and tourism in rather a critical manner, the film has instead adopted the language of tourism in its projection of the location. The film uses a postcard style in 'selling' the locations, whereas the original novel was critical of tourism-related phenomena. In other words, popular culture influences tourism and vice versa. The examples just mentioned are all fictional popular culture media products. Popular film and literature have recently attracted great interest amongst tourism practitioners and tourism researchers, as indicated in the introduction. This is not surprising, as it is argued that we live in a media-saturated society (Hjarvard, 2008a). People now encounter media images constantly on a range of platforms, such as film, television, mobile phones, computers, iPads, and so on. Popular culture therefore plays an important role in spreading images of destinations and people (Long & Robinson, 2009) and creating platforms on Internet social forums for tourists to spread their own messages to potential new tourists (Munar, 2011). Popular culture will therefore have an impact on tourism, in terms of both actual tourists and tourism managers and planners. The next section will therefore address popular cultural media products in more detail and their relevance for tourism and, especially, the tourist.

## Popular culture media products in circulation

There are a number of popular cultural media products in circulation – from a range of genres – that have an impact on tourists and tourism organisations: for example, media products produced by marketing organisations, such as brochures, labelled by Gunn (1997) as 'induced material'. These are products that are produced with the aim of persuading tourists by providing positive images of destinations. However, they are considered less trustworthy by tourists

compared to other types of material (Gartner, 1993; Falkheimer & Thelander, 2007). Media products that are seen as trustworthy are those that are produced with non-touristic purposes, that is, 'organic media' (Gunn, 1997). Organic-media products might be, for instance, popular culture film and literature, news (Falkheimer & Thelander, 2007), or social media, such as blogs, YouTube, Facebook and other consumer-generated content (Munar, 2011; Tham, Croy & Mair, 2013).

Butler (1990) argued as early as 1990 that film and TV programs represented the latest progress in a long line of media products that inspired tourists to create an image of a destination. Popular culture as destination marketing had already begun to evolve in the Grand Tours period, through paintings, which moved on to postcards, photos, posters, and so on (Butler, 1990). In the same year Urry (1990) published 'The Tourist Gaze', which established a discussion around Foucault's concept of the gaze. By applying this concept, Urry argues that tourists' gazes are formed and developed by historical and other societal changes. He also argued that being a tourist is a highly visually driven activity: tourists are gazers. Places are selected to be gazed upon, because there is an interest in these places, created by external sources such as film, TV, literature, magazines, music and so on (Ibid.). In the updated version of this book (2011) Urry and Larsen continued the previous argument by arguing that tourists have a mediatized gaze. That is to say, tourists gaze on destinations that are associated with some kind of media product. Urry and Larsen illustrate this argument by highlighting tourists' interest in visiting places in Hollywood or the set or other locations connected with the British soap opera 'Coronation Street'. Butler as well as Urry and Larsen argue that a mix of media products, such as popular culture in general, have an impact on tourists' images and performances.

As I have shown, there is a range of media products in circulation, from the classic media genres of destination marketing, such as brochures, to new genres, such as film and social media, that have an impact on tourists. Therefore, the constant flow of media products, on its own or in combination, could have an impact on how people imagine destinations (Couldry & McCarthy, 2004; Falkheimer & Thelander, 2007; Moores, 2005), on how people want to experience different destinations (Iwashita, 2006; Jansson & Falkheimer, 2006; Jensen & Waade, 2009) and on the marketing of destinations with the tourists as highly active information sharers on various online social media forums (Munar & Jacobsen, 2014). All of a sudden it is not just destination marketing organisations that are marketing their destinations, since tourists are now doing it, too (as discussed in paper II). The flow of media products therefore has an

impact on tourism managers, marketing and planners. With new groups of visitors to destinations – such as the case studied in this dissertation, Rosslyn Chapel – the managers and planners have to adapt to a new situation with huge numbers of new visitors, as was the case after the release of the novel ‘The Da Vinci Code’, and with even more visitors after the film release. For VisitScotland, on the other hand, it was a new marketing opportunity to promote Scotland through ‘The Da Vinci Code’.

Butler (1990) thought that film would overshadow other media products in the future due to its power as a visual-media product as well as its global reach. However, now, more than 20 years after his research was published, we can see that other media products have been added to the mix rather than excluded – for example, Internet social media. However, I shall review the research conducted in film as well as literary tourism before proceeding to discuss the ways in which different media products add to each other. The reason for adding on literary tourism is that while literary and film tourism are closely connected, in the research they are usually treated as distinct phenomena, notwithstanding the fact that many of the most popular films are based on literature (cf. Roesch, 2009). The reason for presenting previous research according to the form of the media product studied is that that is how these media products have been researched, and still are, to some extent. I shall first present this research by form and then highlight the limitations that result from this media-specific focus, in the final part of this chapter.

## Literary tourism

This section will outline the research that has been conducted in the area of literary tourism with a particular focus on the tourist perspective. Literature has a long tradition influencing tourists’ images of a destination as well as the activities they engage in during their visit. This tradition began during the period of the Grand Tours and continued in Britain in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with tourists visiting places associated with authors such as William Shakespeare’s Stratford-upon-Avon, Robert Burns’ Alloway and Sir Walter Scott’s Abbotsford (Watson, 2009). It is therefore not new for tourists to be interested in visiting destinations associated with certain writers, since it has existed for several centuries. These early literary tourists were interested in visiting places that authors had written about or in, their birthplaces or graves, and their homes (Ibid.). Herbert (2001) came to the conclusion that modern day visitors’ reasons



for visiting certain literary sites were the same the historical visitors' reasons for visiting literary sites. Firstly, tourists are attracted to places that in some way are connected with a writer's life (Herbert, 2001): it could be the writer's home or where the writer wrote. Squire (1994), for instance, analysed Beatrix Potter's home, Hill Top in the Lake District of England, and the visitors who came to that location. Secondly, literary tourists are attracted to the setting of the novel and want to see it for themselves (Herbert, 2001). Thirdly, tourists are interested in visiting literary sites because they bring out deeper feelings not necessarily connected with the text itself (Herbert, 2001; Iwashita, 2006; Squire, 1994). Visiting Hill Top triggered feelings associated with childhood memories and family life – things not directly linked to the books themselves – as the feelings had more to do with the visitors' personal lives (Squire, 1994). Fourthly, literary tourists are interested in special events or dramatic episodes in the authors' lives (Herbert, 2001). Finally, tourists who visit literary sites might do so unintentionally. They might go there for the ambience and discover the significance of the place while visiting; or their main motivation might be to accompany friends or family (Busby & Klug, 2001; Herbert, 1996, 2001). Literary tourism has been associated with literary pilgrims, that is, tourists who wish to visit places connected with a writer's life. However, the numbers of tourists who visit literary places out of curiosity or general interest outnumber the literary pilgrims (Herbert 2001).

What has been described so far is a rather traditional view of the so-called literary tourist. Laing and Frost (2012) take a slightly different view of literary tourism. They acknowledge earlier research but argue that literature inspires tourists in many different ways before people even leave their homes. People acquire different cultural aspects by reading about how to travel, what to expect, other people and cultures, and the difficulties involved in travelling. Butler (1990) makes a similar argument when it comes to understanding culture, for instance: what people think of today as truly Scottish – modern kilts and so on – is actually a creation derived from Sir Walter Scott's novels. So in this sense literature is not just inspiration for visiting some writer's home to pay homage, as it gives people ideas about travelling and frames the potential experience. Furthermore, in their research Laing and Frost (2012) discuss how different genres of literature create different understandings for the reader that will impact him or her as a tourist. Consequently, a children's book and a crime novel might have disparate cultural impacts on the reader. Moreover, what is missing from the traditional take on literary tourism described in the beginning is the interaction with favourite writers that tourists can enjoy in, for example, general literary festivals or special dedicated festivals focusing on a special writer,

as discussed by Sjöholm (2011) in relation to her exploring the Du Maurier festival in Cornwall and the Agatha Christie festival. In her research she shows how many different elements are combined in the tourist's visiting, with the actual novels being just one facet of it all.

As stated earlier, tourists have long been inspired in their travelling by literature, and this has not gone unnoticed in the tourism industry. Right from the beginning, a whole industry associated with literary tourism started to grow – with souvenirs, literary guidebooks and plaques to aid the tourists – and this industry continues to flourish. In the UK, literary guidebooks have been published since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, starting in the Romantic period with its fondness for the Lake District (Watson, 2009). Literary guides, which are still published, tend to keep to the same formula: writers selected to be included in these guides are what could be considered classic writers; hardly any writer still alive is included (Philips, 2011). A similar tendency can be seen in literary guided tours – in Edinburgh, for example, where the general literary tours focus primarily on classic writers who are long dead. Modern and contemporary writers, such as J. K. Rowling, author of the Harry Potter novels, are left out, although the tours do pass by places associated with this writer. Contemporary and popular writers seems to not be included in these tours, which have more of a traditional classic, high-art approach than highlighting the popular culture of today.

However, it is not just the writers who are selected in literary guidebooks; it is also the places depicted. There is a tradition of favouring places that are picturesque rural locations (Philips, 2011). Consequently, urban life and places have been neglected in favour of a nostalgic rural past. This is interesting because many of the examples listed in the introduction chapter, Stieg Larsson's Millennium trilogy being one of them, are all set in urban places. Consequently, literary tourism may now attract tourists to new areas in cities rather than the countryside, because contemporary writers and popular genres such as crime fiction are attracting a lot of attention from tourists. For instance, it is possible to take guided tours in the footsteps of Inspector Rebus in Edinburgh, or Inspector Wallander in Ystad, to mention just two examples. Crime fiction is a literary genre that has received attention lately from academics. For example, the tourism to Ystad generated by the Inspector Wallander novels and films has been studied by several researchers in different ways (see for example Jensen & Waade, 2009; Reijnders, 2009; Sjöholm, 2010; Waade, 2013).

As indicated above, literary tourism is not a new phenomenon but rather one that has grown in recent years, from both a tourist as well as a tourism-

management perspective. Writers and their novels with different places depicted in them are used to promote regions or towns by marketing organisations with the aim of attracting visitors. According to Herbert (2001, p. 313) 'Literary places are no longer accidents of history, sites of a writer's birth or death; they are also social constructions, created, amplified, and promoted to attract tourists'. Literary tourism is in this sense used by marketing organisations to package a destination in order for tourists to consume it. This has created another body of research on literary tourism that takes a more management perspective (Watson, 2009), or is designed more for planning purposes in general (see e.g. Müller, 2006; Ridanpää, 2011). However, Watson (2009) criticises published research on literary tourism, even though there is an emerging body of research covering both social as well as management aspects of literary tourism. She argues that much of the existing research has a too single-focus, narrow perspective – for example, tourist studies have their own agenda, and literary studies have theirs. The crossovers between different fields of research have been limited, and further studies intertwining different aspects are needed (Watson, 2009). Furthermore, tourist studies of literary tourism have been criticised for being overly focused on image and tourists' motivation, for example, and the methods used are mostly surveys and quantitative techniques. What is missing in the tourist studies research is research that is aware of reading practices and the terms of literary production as well as the fact that literary tourism is in many cases viewed as a phenomenon in its own right and not clearly linked to film and other media products. While there are some exceptions, however, such as Sjöholm (2011), who addresses the hybridity involved in literary tourism, this needs further exploration.

This section has focused on literature as a single medium and the tourism generated by interest in writers and depicted places, and on the impact of novels on our understanding other cultures. Literature as a media product would, it was expected earlier, be overpowered by film as a motivator of tourism (Butler, 1990; Kim & Richardson, 2003); however, literature is still popular, because many of the successful film tourism destinations are connected to literature, an example being Tolkien's 'The Lord of the Rings' and the tourist interest in New Zealand generated by the filmatisations. Accordingly, literature and film are closely linked, and film tourism is therefore the focus of the next section.

## Film tourism

The number of articles covering film tourism has grown extensively over the past couple of years and this section will outline the main themes of this trend. Film tourism research has been conducted within tourism as well as in other disciplines such as media and communication. Film tourism research is still rather new and expanding, and different names are therefore in circulation. It may be labelled movie-induced tourism, film-induced tourism, media tourism, media pilgrimage, film tourism, and so on (see Karpovich, 2010, for an overview). As indicated in the heading, I have chosen film tourism. The research conducted on the impact of TV is also included, as I see the two as part and parcel of the same phenomenon. However, before moving on it may be useful to clarify that when I talk about film, I am referring to feature films and when I talk about TV programmes, I am referring to programmes such as Korean TV dramas, Hallyu, or 'Heartbeat', and other British programmes that have been the focus of the research outlined below. Consequently, news programmes, travel shows, documentaries, reality shows, and so on, are not the focus of the research presented here, although these programmes could also have an impact on tourism.

Film tourism is defined as tourism that is related to tourists who visit a destination or attraction as a result of the destination being featured on television, cinema or DVDs and similar products (Hudson & Ritchie, 2006b). Beeton (2005) expands this definition to also include what she calls off-locations: film-induced tourism is 'visitation to sites where movies and TV programmes have been filmed as well as tours to production studios, including film-related theme parks' (2005, p. 11). An example of the latter is the Warner Bros. Studio Tour London – The Making of Harry Potter – which opened in 2012. It is a tourist attraction that takes visitor on a permanent behind-the-scenes walking tour of the world of film-making and the sets of the Harry Potter film series. The tour is located on the same site where Warner Bros. filmed the Harry Potter series for over 10 years (Månsson & Eskilsson, 2013). Therefore, film tourism is not just about the filmed locations. In fact, it is a rather loose concept that includes many aspects of tourism that include film. However, it is interesting that Beeton's definition stresses that it is sites that 'have been filmed' that are of interest, because this neglects tourists who are interested in visiting locations where actual filming takes place while they are watching (cf. Ward & O'Regan, 2009). In Sweden, to give just one example, there was much hype when the Hollywood version of 'The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo' was filmed.

Newspapers offered maps and information on the locations where filming was to take place on particular days (e.g., UNT Millenium, 2011). So the filming itself is an attraction, not just its final result.

As mentioned, there is growing interest in film tourism, from both practitioners' and researchers' perspectives, but when did it all start within academia? Research addressing film tourism started to appear briefly in the 1990s. The key articles were contributed by Riley and van Doren (1992), Tooke and Baker (1996), Riley, Baker and van Doren (1998) and Busby & Klug (2001). These articles based their arguments on Butler's (1990) and Urry's (1990) arguments dealing with media's influence on tourists' gazes and images. However, film was singled out as a media product, since it was seen as product that would continue to grow in importance for tourists. These earlier studies primarily discussed the importance of film and TV in creating a growth in visitors to attractions and destinations portrayed in film or TV productions and what factors in the films contributed to tourists' image of the filmed locations and motivations for visiting them. Film tourists are, according to Riley et al. (1998), attracted by any of the following factors in the film: the scenery – that is, the settings of the film; the storyline; the characters in the film; and finally exiting events within the film. This can be compared with the characteristics that are considered to attract literary tourists. For film tourists it is the content of the film that is attractive – the scenery, story and so on. For literary tourists it is to a large extent primarily external factors – such as the writer's life, the feelings aroused in the reader upon reading the book, and similar attributes – that have been highlighted. However, the places depicted and the actual story in the novels are equally important as the scenery and the story in films, although these aspects are not emphasised as much in relation to literary tourism. But to use the case study for this dissertation, the novel 'The Da Vinci Code' (Brown, 2004) created a growth in visitors to Rosslyn Chapel outside Edinburgh in Scotland (VisitScotland, 2003), a site that has nothing to do with the writer. Hence, the factors that attract literary versus film tourists are not that clear-cut, and some researchers therefore argue that film and literature are interchangeable, as they are parts of the same package (Busby & Klug, 2001; Iwashita, 2006). Before proceeding further with this discussion, however, I shall review and discuss the main themes in research on film tourism from a business and management perspective, as well as from a tourist perspective, to clarify the strengths and weaknesses of this research in order to position the present dissertation.

## **Business and management perspectives on film tourism research**

The early research attempted to define film tourism from a business perspective. It focused on film tourism as a potential tool for marketing destinations, showcasing visitor numbers to validate the phenomenon, and what managers of tourists destinations could gain (Beeton, 2010). The business and management approach is still prevalent in the newer research. One highly cited article that employs a management perspective is by Hudson and Ritchie (2006b). In this article they identify the following several factors that managers need to take into consideration in order to develop film tourism: film commission and government efforts, location feasibility, destination attributes, film-specific factors and, finally, destination marketing. Thus, there are many factors that are of importance from a management perspective and some of them have been dealt with in the research by Beeton (2005), Hudson (2011) and O'Connor, Flanagan and Gilbert (2009). Another factor of importance for managers is the different stakeholders involved in the development process. Heitmann (2010) identified destination management organisations, the film industry, tourism businesses, the municipality and its inhabitants, and tourists as the key stakeholders. To this could also be added film commissions (see further Di Cesare, Salandra, & Craparotta, 2012; Månsson & Eskilsson, 2013). The different partners required for a collaborate have therefore gained further attention in the research by, for example, Cynthia and Beeton (2009), O'Connor, Flanagan and Gilbert (2010) and Ward and O'Regan (2009). Thus, while different stakeholders do need to collaborate, the research has shown that some tourism organisations are still unfamiliar with focusing on film tourism, since there has been uncertainty as to who should do what in a collaboration, and a lack of knowledge of the film sector from a tourism perspective, and vice versa (Di Cesare et al., 2012).

One of the factors listed above as a key issue in film tourism management is marketing. Hudson and Ritchie (2006a) argue that these five factors are important, if a film is to function successfully as marketing and thus generate tourism: the success of the film; identifiable and accessible locations that tourists can visit; the need for some iconic features that are clearly associated with the destination and a story linked to the location; the exposure time of the destination on screen; and, finally, that the location needs an appealing image (Ibid.). Thus, according to these factors it is not just any film that will work as marketing: the film has to meet certain criteria in order to attract tourists. Furthermore, films are seen as a highly powerful form of marketing in their ability to create awareness of a destination. The reason is that these products

create new or exciting twists on destinations while adding another layer to the understanding of a destination with new themes not previously associated with it (Iwashita, 2008). A common marketing tool recognised in the research is movie maps. Movie maps are used both to raise awareness of the destination and to encourage an interest in visiting the portrayed places (Beeton, 2005; Busby & Klug, 2001). The movie map becomes a method of packaging a destination to make it attractive as well as accessible to tourists. The first movie maps appeared in the 1990s. One of the first to be released was a British movie map by BTA (the British Tourist Authority, currently known as Visit Britain), which portrayed 60 years of British film and TV (Busby & Klug, 2001).

Film as a tool for creating awareness of a destination is also a common theme in the research. For example, Di Cesare et al. (2012) showed that 90% of European tourist-destination marketing organisations thought films would increase awareness of a destination and enhance its brand. Films are therefore seen as highly interesting in the marketing of a destination, because they could in the long run lead to an improved image amongst potential visitors (see further Horrigan, 2009; O'Connor, 2010). Film and TV could also rebrand a destination as Connell (2005a) discussed in an article that focused on the tourism created by a children's TV programme called *Balamory*. The small village of Tobermory on the Island of Mull in Scotland was used as a film location, and all of a sudden new groups of visitors, namely children with their parents, were visiting the town. What can be concluded from this research is that a film or TV product can create awareness for a destination or alter an already existing image. There are many other cases in the research that highlight this rebranding effect – for example the discussion by Kucharska (2012) of the case of the Polish town Sandomierz where the TV series 'Father Matthew' is filmed.

The above-mentioned themes are the major ones in the published research; however, there is also research that deals with the impact of film tourism on local entrepreneurs (Connell, 2005b; Connell & Meyer, 2009). Other studies deal with its impact on local entrepreneurs and the local community, involving potential conflicts from a sustainability perspective (Beeton, 2007, 2008; Connell, 2005a; Mordue, 2001; Winter, 2002). The management approach in film tourism research is still rather dominant, with its focus on marketing plans and destination impacts, especially with visitor numbers, and so on; however, there is a growing body of research that focuses on the actual tourists.

## The tourist perspective on film tourism research

If earlier research applied a management and, in that sense, destination-impact perspective, there is a growing body of research that is interested in the film tourists. One theme of this research is the impact of film on tourists' image of destinations. In one of the earlier studies Kim and Richardson (2003) compared people's perception and image of a particular destination before and after seeing a specific film featuring that place. The results were compared with a control group who did not see the film. The authors concluded that those who had seen the destination in a film felt more attached to it. This study has been repeated with other cases but with more or less the same results (see for example, Hahm & Wang, 2011; Hudson, Wang, & Sergio, 2011; Soliman Dalia, 2011). This line of research offers limited theoretical development, as to a large extent it only offers new instances supporting the understanding of the phenomenon. Iwashita (2006) took another approach in studying Japanese tourists' image of Britain in combination with the media products (film and other types of media products) they had consumed. She noticed a clear connection between image and media products: a image that did not change after a visit. Mercille (2005) also studied media products consumed, including film, the image the tourist had of Tibet before visiting, and tourist's perception while visiting. His study showed that a limited amount of media products had a profound impact on tourists' image of the destination. A similar result was found in a study focusing on the Italian film 'Basilicata – Coast to Coast': the film depicted a rather unknown region in the south of Italy, and the researchers argue it changed people's image of that region (Bencivenga et al., 2012).

While some researchers have studied the connection between film and image, others are interested in the motivation of film tourists. This is a theme that was initially almost neglected in the research; now, however, more and more studies are being presented. This research lists many motivational factors – Macionis (2004, p. 96), for example, listed the following factors as film tourists' motivations: place (e.g., location), performance (e.g., storylines or plot), and finally, personality (e.g., cast). Busby and Klug (2001), on the other hand, identified other factors as motivational factors of film tourists, such as following in the footsteps of their favourite actors, and being in the actual location of the story, to mention just a few. Other factors that have been identified as potentially important for the tourist are pilgrimage, escape and nostalgia (Riley & van Doren, 1992). Hence, a film tourist could be motivated by many different factors at the same time. In a study by Macionis and Sparks (2009) they identified some slightly different factors that are more in line with the



general tourist, namely, to have fun and feel entertained; film tourism was seen mainly as something special and new that could be added to the overall holiday. In their research they also concluded that visiting a destination connected to a film was not the main reason for visiting (Ibid.). This differs from the dedicated film fans, who Roesch (2009) explored thoroughly, for whom the visit to the filmed destination was the main motivational factor. Thus, motivational factors are one stream of the film tourist research, but as Roesch (2009) concludes, there are many sources that can influence tourists' image and motivate them to travel, whether film fan or generic film tourist, and it can therefore be difficult to accurately identify their motivation and choice of destination.

Another emerging theme focuses on tourists' performances and experiences, which have been explored by scholars such as Buchmann (2010), Buchmann, Moore and Fisher (2010), Carl, Kindon and Smith (2007), Iwashita (2006, 2008), Law, Bunnell and Ong (2007), Mordue, (2005), Reijnders (2011b), Roesch (2009) and Kim (2010, 2012). This theme has been identified as a theme that needs further research (Connell & Meyer, 2009; Connell, 2012) and is therefore dealt with separately in chapter 4 and explored in paper V. Some researchers have also focused, while studying film tourists, on authenticity (for example, Banyai, 2010; Bolan, Boy & Bell, 2011; Buchmann et al., 2010; Couldry, 1998; Frost, 2006; Sydney-Smith, 2006; Tzanelli, 2004, 2006), a theme that is further developed in chapter 4 and in paper IV.

## Limitations and possibilities

This chapter initially discussed popular culture and tourism, then more specifically discussed two different media products (literature and film) that have an impact on tourism as well as tourists. Although there is research that also addresses other types of popular culture, such as computer games and film in relation to tourism to Angkor Vat in association with the film 'Tomb Raider' (Winter, 2002). Here, Winter also discusses the impact of popular culture on a heritage attraction and the conflicts of interest arising between visitors and management. There is also research that highlights music-based tourism: Leaver & Schmidt (2009), for instance, explore tourism to Graceland and Liverpool as heritage and nostalgia tourism. There are then numerous examples of popular culture-related tourism, but common to most of the published research is that it has a single-media focus – such as film tourism. However, in order to develop new knowledge, a more comprehensive approach is needed, because tourists

consume and use a range of media products simultaneously (cf. Karpovich, 2010; Mercille, 2005; Ryan, Yanning, Huimin, & Song, 2009; Sjöholm, 2011; Young & Young, 2008). So instead of talking about film or literary tourism, it would be more accurate to label it media tourism according to Reijnders (2011a). In this dissertation I employ another approach, applying the concept of mediatized tourism (introduced in paper I) to further develop our understanding of popular culture and its impact on tourism and tourists, as will be further developed in chapter 3 and explored in paper II.

Furthermore, by applying mediatization and convergence theories developed in media research I will deal with the criticism that has emerged in past research, namely, that it has too narrow a focus (Connell, 2012; Watson, 2009). It is argued that the research would benefit from an interdisciplinary perspective that would take into account research in other disciplines, and not use only, say, tourism or literary perspectives (Connell, 2012; Karpovich, 2010; Long & Robinson, 2009; Watson, 2009). There is a call for research that embraces an interdisciplinary approach – especially media and communication research (Beeton, 2010; Karpovich, 2010; Long & Robinson, 2009). I will therefore apply relevant media theories in order to further explore the intertwining of media and tourism taking into account the changes in the media sector as well as tourists' altered media consumption, which will be further developed in the next chapter.

Another aspect that is missing from past research is exploration of the actual media products focused on in film tourism research. Beeton (2004) argues that by analysing the films in play it is possible to understand the tourism associated with them. In other words, the media products themselves, not just the tourism potential created, are important. Even though there is a lack of research, certain articles exist that are exemptions to this, such as Kim, Long & Robinson (2009) who analyse the circulation of Hallyu TV dramas, and Frost (2010), who explores the representation of rural Australia in 22 films as well as the impact of historical films on the destination image (Frost, 2006). Reijnders (2009) and Sadler and Haskins (2005) analyse episodes of TV programmes or series in order to identify the images of the places portrayed, while Mestre, del Rey and Stanishevski (2008) have developed a set of film typologies depending on the image created by the film. Mercille (2005), on the other hand, studied the interrelationship of media consumed by tourists and their image of the portrayed destination; similarly, Kim (2012) explored tourists' involvement with media products and whether it had an effect on their experiences at the destination. The lack of research that studies not just tourists' image of a

destination but also the representations found in the actual media products is highlighted by Mercille (2005). However, selecting media product would surely be difficult, because tourists consume and use a range of media products at the same time. Moyle and Croy (2009) concluded that 178 visitors to the national park they researched had used a total of 703 information sources. On the other hand, it is emphasised that in order to understand popular culture and tourism, a multimedia approach is essential; therefore, paper III explores a range of circulating media products and the impact they have on a destination as regards marketing and the overall narration of the destination.

It is stressed that is important to analyse the media products in circulation in relation to the associated destination, but it is equally as important to understand how the products impact tourists' performances and understanding of place. Connell (2012) argues, for instance, that tourists' experiences need to be further explored, even though there is a growing interest in addressing these aspects. My research differs in the sense that it takes a multimedia approach, whereas Connell argues specifically from a film tourism perspective. However, in order to advance new knowledge, the media genre limitations need to be abandoned and replaced by discussion of all relevant media products, exploring tourists performances and understanding of place, as will be discussed in chapter 4 and explored in paper III and V.

Finally, another prevalent criticism of the research reviewed in this chapter is that it focuses solely on creating new cases without advancing knowledge in the field (Connell, 2012; Heitmann, 2010; Karpovich, 2010; Young & Young, 2008). To begin with, the cases were predominantly from the UK or the US, but this has now been changed to include cases from all over the world. New cases in themselves are therefore not needed just to prove that the phenomenon exists, because that is already confirmed. Furthermore, the cases often tend to be superficial, offering limited theoretical development. I have therefore decided to use the same case throughout this dissertation but shift my focus in each paper.

While this chapter has outlined the published research in the field, the next two chapters will develop the theories that I argue need to be applied in order to advance our existing knowledge.

# 3 Mediatized tourism

The previous chapter highlighted the need for new perspectives while addressing the interrelationship of popular culture and tourism, particularly from an interdisciplinary perspective. Therefore, this chapter develops perspectives that I argue enhance our understanding of the intertwining of media and tourism. This involves a combination of research derived primarily from the fields of media studies and tourism studies. The first aspect considered is the concept of mediatization which highlights the media's role in our culture and society. It is followed by another concept, convergence, and more specifically, media convergence. This concept addresses the changes in media production as well as tourist agency as media consumers and users. The aim is to discuss how these concepts are relevant to the exploration and further development of an understanding of media-related tourism.

## Mediatization

Mediatization, a concept that emerged in media and communication studies in the past decade, is 'used to analyse critically the interrelation between changes in media and communications on the one hand, and changes in culture and society on the other' (Couldry & Hepp, 2013, p. 197). The concept was developed particularly in new media research, in which it is used to emphasise the transformative aspects of media (Couldry, 2008). Furthermore, mediatization emphasises the intensified and changing importance of media in our culture and society (Hjarvard, 2008b). According to Schulz (2004, p. 88) mediatization is related to changes in communication media and their development. The following processes of change were identified: *extension*, *substitution*, *amalgamation* and *accommodation*. The first process focuses on how media extend human communication in place and time. Substitution stands for media's role in replacing social activities that formerly had to take place face-to-face. For example, tourists can now write about and post photos of places on

social media like Facebook while travelling; before, it was not until tourists came home that they could show and tell about their travel experiences. Amalgamation represents the insight that ‘media activities not only extend and (partly) substitute non-media activities; they also merge and mingle with one another’ (Schulz, 2004:88). Hence, media activities intermingle with other kinds of activities at the same time. Fornäs (2006) showed how people’s shopping and media behaviour intermingled in a shopping centre. The final process is accommodation: this process highlights media’s influence on sectors outside the media sphere – for example, politicians’ adaptation to the language of media when presenting themselves (Schulz, 2004). Hjarvard, (2008a, 2008b) has a similar argument when arguing that media has its own logic to which other institutions respond while at the same time as media is becoming a part of institutions such as politic institutions. It is therefore a double process, in which media influence other sectors while also being influenced by other sources. Crouch et al. (2005) present these double processes in an anthology of different examples in which the media influence tourism and vice versa. In the previous chapter, cases with the films ‘The Beach’ (Jensen, 2009) and ‘A room with a view’ (Gibson, 2006) were used to illustrate the influence of some sort of tourism language on popular cultural media products, in the sense of how the different places were exposed. But it is not only different sectors that are influenced, however: Hjarvard (2008a) stresses that even private aspects of people’s lives are affected by media – for example, people’s language, children’s play, and even religious matters, as will be addressed in my last paper (V). This article explores the case of tourists’ use and understanding of media products in relation to religion and spirituality, for example, in the making of Rosslyn Chapel.

Media permeate every aspect of the society, changing relations among individuals and between individual, and the society, and this is happening to an ever increasing degree with the media mediating more and more (Livingstone, 2009). Society is thus becoming increasingly dependent on media and their logic (Hjarvard, 2008b). However, not all researchers agree on this understanding of mediatization, and there is an ongoing discussion of the concept in media and communication research (see for example Deacon & Stanyer, 2014; Ampuja et al., 2014). Hepp (2009), for example, is against the idea of mediatization as something linear, because that implies that something becomes more and more mediatized. He is also against the notion of the media logic penetrating every aspect of society as there are other processes at play at the same time – a criticism that is also prevalent in Couldry’s (2008) discussions on mediatization. However, where Couldry wants to dismiss the concept

completely, Hepp is more accommodating. In his more recent research, Couldry has altered his perception and find it a relevant concept (Couldry & Hepp, 2013). Hepp (2009) sees it as useful concept, as long as it does not imply a single-medium logic, but is used instead as a frame for understanding the relationship between media and cultural change. It is in this sense that mediatization becomes interesting for the interrelationship of tourism and media.

The mediatization process is also referred to by Jansson (2002a), who sees an intertwining of media and consumer cultures. Jansson (2002a) defines mediatization as ‘the process through which mediated cultural products have gained importance as cultural referents and hence contribute to the development and maintenance of cultural communities. In other words, the mediatization of culture is the process that reinforces and expands the realm of media culture’ (Jansson, 2002a, p.14). Moreover, he argues that media and consumption are intertwined to the extent that consuming products and media texts are almost the same thing (2002a, p. 6) – for example, the consumption could include tourism. Jansson (2002b) links his discussion of mediatization in tourism to the tourist gaze, which has become intertwined with the consumption of media images, even though tourists also consume mediated representations. Jensen and Waade (2009) also highlight mediatization while exploring the interrelationship of media and tourism. They argue that media do not just change tourist’s performances when they are visiting a destination, as media have a profound impact on all social interactions and ways of communication. Jensen and Waade (2009) argue that hypermedialisation is a better concept because it includes the performance aspect of mediatization as well as the blurring of fiction and reality. However, I do think the mediatization concept is fruitful, but it needs to be connected to the concepts of convergence and performance in order to capture processes involved in the intertwining of tourism and media from a tourist approach.

## Media convergence and tourism

The next media concept introduced to be in this dissertation chapter is convergence – in particular, media convergence. Like mediatization, this concept was developed in new media theory; initially, the concept focused primarily on technological convergence in media production. However, since then the term convergence has come to encompass a multitude of ongoing

processes (Knight & Weedon, 1995). Jenkins (2006) describes convergence in the following way:

Convergence represents a paradigm shift – a move from medium-specific content that flows across multiple media channels, toward the increased interdependence of communications systems, toward multiple ways of accessing media content, and toward ever more complex relations between top-down corporate media and bottom-up participatory culture. (Jenkins, 2006, p. 243)

There has therefore been a shift in media production, as a multitude of media platforms are in use at the same time. Moreover, the quotation also implies that media products might as well be produced by consumers themselves as by traditional media producers. In the tourism context, this means that now the destination marketing material a tourist might consume and use might well be produced by another tourist rather than, say, a destination marketing organisation. Convergence, then, highlights the fact the production processes of media products have changed and the distinction between producer and consumer has become blurred (Deuze, 2007; Jenkins, 2006). Media companies used to be specialists – that is, they either published books or produced films. However, today media production companies operate on a range of media platforms simultaneously (Jenkins, 2006). When the same story or variation of the story is displayed on a large number of media platforms concurrently, due to ownership or collaborations, it is labelled a ‘cross-media circuit’ (Bechmann Petersen, 2006) or ‘transmedia storytelling’ (Jenkins, 2006). The term has now been shortened to ‘transmedia’ only and it refers to ‘the increasingly interconnected and open-ended circulation of media content between various platforms, where the subjects previously known as ‘the audience’ are increasingly involved in the production of flows’ (Jansson, 2013, p. 287). The audience’s – or rather the tourists’ – involvement is addressed in the next chapter.

The content of one media product can be spread across multiple platforms to give extended experiences of media products, as illustrated by Brooker (2001) in his analysis of consumers’ interactions with the TV series ‘Dawson’s Creek’. He concluded that there is an overflow of material from the programme to other arenas, such as different sites on the Internet, including sites set up by the producers of the show: for example, they created a version of the main character’s desktop including emails for the TV viewers to read and take part in. Other platforms, such as merchandise and CDs of the music from the TV series, were also used (Ibid.). A similar example is found in Evans’ (2008) study of the TV series ‘Spooks’ and its viewers. Again, media platforms were created

on the Internet enabling viewers' further interaction with the story. 'True Blood' is another TV series that used a multimedia approach to launch and promote the programme (Hardy, 2011). In this case a range of platforms were used – for example, key bloggers were selected to write about the programme, fake websites for the fictitious organisations in the programme were created, short 'minisodes' were placed on Facebook, and there was collaboration with producers outside the media sector, such as Gillette – to give a few examples of the platforms used (Ibid.). This deliberate linking of products to other texts via a range of media platforms is referred to as 'commercial intertextuality' (Hardy, 2011; Jansson, 2002a; Örnebring, 2007). Intertextuality in itself is nothing new, however (Cherry, 2003 who shows how artists, in their art work, have followed in the footsteps of other artists): new media like the Internet have only sped up the interactions between media products (Fornäs, 2002a; Jenkins, 2006). The media convergence aspect is highlighted in paper III.

If a company does not own all the platforms it requires, it can use collaborations as a method by which to gain access to a range of media platforms other than by owning them. Such collaborations can take various forms. Let it be noted, however, that collaborations between the media sector and the tourism sector are increasingly frequent, as is illustrated by the many examples provided in the introduction and seen in practice in European Interreg projects such as EuroScreen ([www.euroscreen.org.uk](http://www.euroscreen.org.uk)), which aims to bring the tourism and film sectors closer in order to create regional growth. For tourism organisations, these joint ventures create an opportunity for destination marketing through product placement in popular cultural media products, as well as increased destination awareness, while media companies achieve access to destinations and consumers. Recent examples of such collaborations include the partnership of Sony Pictures with VisitScotland, VisitBritain and Maison de la France on the film 'The Da Vinci Code' (VisitScotland, 2006); the cooperation between New Line Cinema, which produced 'The Lord of The Rings' film trilogy, and Tourism New Zealand (Carl et al., 2007); and the collaboration between AB Svensk Filmindustri and West Sweden's tourism organisation on 'Arn the Movie' (Arnmagnusson). These are just three examples, but there are many to be found in a global spectrum (more cases and examples of collaborations are found in Månsson & Eskilsson, 2013).

The convergence concept has been criticised: not everybody is as enthusiastic as Jenkins (2006), who understands convergence as something encompassed by agency, participation and collaboration. Furthermore, he argues that the change in production increases consumers' powers. However, Jenkins has been



criticised for overrating consumers' powers. In a criticism of Jenkins' paradigm shift, Örnebring (2007) analyses the same processes in this way:

Convergence culture does not work to dissolve the boundaries between texts and create trans-media narratives as much as it creates new opportunities to market a specific text or set of texts (such as a feature film, a computer game or a TV series) through other texts – i.e. there is still a 'hierarchy of meaning' among texts, where there is a clearly identifiable ur-text [...] that is marked through other texts. (Örnebring, 2007, p. 448).

Instead of leading to consumers gaining power, convergence according to Örnebring is just a new marketing tool for media companies: it is still the media companies that hold the real power of the *Urtext*, not the consumers. For instance, Örnebring claims that makers of films see other media platforms such as comic books and computer games as merely new arenas for selling more products in order to enhance profit. It is a commercial intertextuality, according to Örnebring (2007), and consumers do not gain power from media convergence, because they are still in the hands of global media companies in which consumers are not involved on equal terms. This is accurate in some cases, but on the other hand, Jenkins (2004) argues that although media companies learn how to make the best use of media platforms, consumers learn how to take control of the media flow at the same time. Hence, tourists influence the production and distribution of media, as is discussed in the next chapter and further addressed in paper II.

As shown, different viewpoints are possible, whether you have a critical understanding of convergence or see it more from a cultural perspective (Couldry, 2011; Hardy, 2011). One way or another, convergence is an important issue to address, to expand our knowledge of the intertwining of tourism and media, because it highlights both the media products in circulation that tourists consume and use as well as tourist agency. It is therefore used as an analytical tool in this dissertation. The agency perspective is further developed in chapter 4 and paper V in relation to performance and sense of place.

## The expansion of mediatized tourism

The previous two sections of this chapter introduced two media concepts that in my understanding are necessary to further explore the processes that take place in the intertwining of tourism and media from a broader and interdisciplinary perspective than merely exploring film tourism in itself. There is research that does employ such an interdisciplinary, broader perspective, although it takes a different approach. Crouch and Lübbren (2003), for example, compiled an edited book that attempts to explore the interrelationship of visual culture and tourism by combining an art historian's and a geographer's perspective. It is accompanied by a range of contributions that exemplify these different approaches. Another text that involves an interdisciplinary perspective is Crouch, Jackson and Thompson's (2005a) 'The Media & the Tourist Imagination', which explores the interrelationship of media and tourism. In their understanding, 'tourist imagination' is the bridging concept between tourism and media and it is seen as a personal mode of understanding and feeling about the world that enhances notions of liberation and limitations at the same time. The included chapters take either a media- or tourism-focused approach to explore the convergence of tourism and media. They address that both tourism and media are simultaneously embedded in a multitude of flows (Crouch et al., 2005b). Hence, there is no single outcome of these processes, since there are so many going on simultaneously. This anthology brought up many interesting issues and advocated for an interdisciplinary approach to studying the convergence of tourism and media; however, as shown in the previous chapter, in a lot of the research that focus in tourism and media (especially film), this has not been the case.

From these seminal anthologies to other items, we proceed to subsequent publications that add new perspectives to the phenomenon in question. Waade (2006), a media researcher, developed an analytical model that was further developed by Jensen and Waade (2009). The model highlights the different modes of tourism that exist, in their understanding. This entails imaginative tourism, corporeal tourism and mediated tourism, and how they are influenced by varying degrees of media processes labelled as mediated, medialised and hypermedialised. It is the last of these processes that is of interest for this dissertation, because it is similar to the way in which mediatization is viewed in this dissertation. Hypermedialisation is according to Jensen and Waade (2009) a complex process, in which the producer and user/consumer of media are not clearly defined. It is a process in which media-generated content is mixed with

a tourist's own experience of a destination. Hence, a media product is not just a source of inspiration, such as a tourist brochure or something in which images are incorporated and repeated without reflection by the tourist. The hypermedialisation (mediatization, in my terminology) will have an effect on the destination; therefore, the process is placed between imaginative and corporeal tourism (Jensen & Waade, 2009). The perspectives in this book are similar to the perspectives chosen for this dissertation, with its clear focus on the ongoing processes between media and tourism in a broad sense in relation to a destination. The difference is in the point of view: their work takes a media point of view to explore the media's importance and relevance for tourism, whereas mine uses a service studies and tourism point of view to explore the impact of media on tourism and on tourists in various processes.

Other recent publications include Reijnders (2011a), who added to the expanding body of research dealing with media tourism, a term he prefers because it recognises the multimedia character of the phenomenon. He addresses the importance of content as well as the relationship between story and portrayed place and the tourists, while exploring media tourism. Scarles and Lester (2013) brought together a global spectrum of researchers to explore media and tourism in a broad sense. Their aim was to show the complexity of the processes in the relationship between tourism and media, in order to highlight the plurality that is involved in mediating tourist behaviours and destinations. They argue that 'each manifestation of mediated practices and processes holds the possibility of becoming a vehicle for mobilising discourse and discursive interpretation of the interrelationships and affiliations between place, space, self and other by both producers and consumers of mediated texts' (Scarles & Lester, 2013, p. 2). The perspective of this anthology is in line with this dissertation since they discuss how they want to mobilise new understandings of mediatization and touristic contexts. Clearly, then, the mediatization perspective introduced in publication II is also used by other researchers in order to further explore tourism and media interplays.

The mediatization and media convergence perspective is also explored by others while discussing popular cultural media and tourism. Gyimothy et al. (2014) developed a manifesto with a model that describes what they call a 'popcultural place-making loop'. The model uses Ateljevic's (2000) 'circuit of tourism' as a starting point in order to discuss the drivers, characters and impact of popcultural place-making (Gyimothy et al., 2014). Gyimothy et al. (2014) propose that popcultural tourism is driven by fun cultures, collective and user-driven, stimulated by media convergence, thrives on hyper-real narrative layers,

reorders traditional place-making logic and, finally, bears upon eventification policy implications. This text is founded on a similar understanding as is the present dissertation, as these researchers also highlight media convergence as key to the understanding and exploration of tourism and media. The convergence perspective is also prevalent in the focus on fans as drivers, on user-driven activities and on the changes in who is marketing destinations.

There is therefore a growing body of research that explores tourism and media from an interdisciplinary perspective; however, there is still a call for further research that explores the interrelationship of popular culture, tourism and media, and draws on research from a range of disciplines. In this chapter I propose using the concepts of mediatization and convergence to further study the intertwining processes of tourism and media that I have labelled mediatized tourism. Similar perspectives are, as I have shown, favoured by other researchers. The concepts are applied and put into a tourism context in the different accompanying papers, in order to explore how the intertwining actually is occurring.



# 4 Mediatized tourist performances of place

This chapter links mediatization and convergence, described in the previous chapter, to the concept of performance, which was developed as a criticism of the focus on the visual aspects of tourism. What convergence and performance have in common is an understanding of the media consumer, or rather tourist, as an active agent. Tourists no longer just consume and use media products to subsequently search for and repeat these representations when visiting a destination. Tourists are now seen as highly involved in the place that is created for both themselves and for other tourists through the medium of marketing materials, which is further explored in this chapter. There is then a shift from passive tourists who gaze to tourists as performers. The chapter first addresses media and tourist agency, then proceeds to discuss how media are connected to tourists' sense of place. The final part of this chapter further develops the agency perspective by exploring tourists' performance of place, especially mediatized places.

## Media and tourist agency

The concept of convergence introduced in the previous chapter implies that consumers of media products play an active role. Consumers no longer just consume and use media products; therefore, they are just as likely to be producers of new media content as consumers of it (Jenkins, 2006). Consequently, when tourists produce media texts for other tourists to consume and use, the distinction between consumer and producer is weakened. A lot of the production and interaction takes place on the Internet (Williams, 2008). The active role of the tourists – in generating media products, for example – has created a shift in the research perspective. Instead of viewing the tourist as someone who is passive, more research now focuses on tourists' activities, on

the Internet for example, and their impact on both the destination and other tourists. Certain examples of this research focus on tourist-generated material on the Internet on social media, such as blogs: blogs give open reader access so that anyone can read the posted material and make comments to the writer. Blogs are important because they provide opportunities for people not previously acquainted with one another to interact without the involvement of a third party, such as a tourist organisation (see, for example, Pan et al., 2007; Schmallegger & Carson, 2008; Wenger, 2008). Other prominent consumer-generated products are YouTube video clips, which can also affect potential tourists' conceptions of places they could visit (Tussyadiah & Fesenmaier, 2009). Hence, social media shift consumers to becoming also producers of media products, products that are put into circulation, thus acquiring the potential to be consumed by other potential tourists. User-generated content is therefore important for other tourists and destinations simultaneously, as this material has an impact on the marketing, and hence the image, of different places, once the material becomes an electronic word of mouth (Munar et al., 2013). The study of social media in a popular cultural tourism context was explored by Lexhagen, Larson and Lundberg (2013) while exploring Twilight fans. They concluded that social media are key in enabling fans to interact with each other, make travel decisions and participate in various events. There is a growing body of research that deals with social media and tourism in various ways; in this dissertation, however, social media are used primarily to explore tourists' narratives and understandings of place, their interactions with other tourists and the implications of this on destination marketing, which is explored in paper II.

Furthermore, in addition to the view of tourists as producers of media products there is the view of tourists as picking and choosing from circulating materials and making their own combinations and interpretations (Jenkins & Deuze, 2008). This is an aspect that will be further discussed in paper V, in which tourists' decoding of media in relation to their sense of place is discussed. Consequently, when consumers' use blends products and blurs product distinctions, it becomes difficult to determine where one product starts and another begins. This contrasts with early media studies that had a linear sender/message/receiver perspective, in which the media consumers were perceived as passive dupes who simply absorbed media texts without reflection (Hall, 1996, though first published in 1980). This perception is to some extent still prevalent in tourism research, although there has been a shift in research perspective. It is understood that when tourist destinations provide the perfect marketing, which creates a positive image, the tourist will come and gaze at

images previously seen. Hall (1996) criticises this passive view of the consumer, arguing that it is better to look at the different moments in the communication process: production, circulation, distribution/consumption and reproduction. It is a circular process whereby messages are encoded by producers (Jansson, 2002a). In this context, a producer could be a traditional tourist marketing organisation or, just as likely, another tourist who produces media material that is accessible on different social media platforms.

The tourists then decode or recode the message. According to Hall (1996), the decoding occurs in three ideal ways. The first is a dominant decoding whereby the consumer performs a reading that is close to the media producers' encoded intention. The second decoding is a negotiated reading, that is, some of the encoded intentions are accepted whereas others are rejected. The final and third decoding is oppositional: it is a reading that is completely different from the intended reading and understanding. Thelander (2002) applied Hall's approach to a tourism context when analysing tourists' understanding of travel advertisements. In her research she concluded that tourists used any of three tactics. First there were the gullible, who believed everything in the ads; then there were those who associated them with lived experiences; then there was the final group, who had a more critical understanding.

Moreover, Jansson (2002a) argues that due to consumers' decoding, processes such as commercial intertextuality are not a dilemma because a text is always decoded by its users. In their reading they blend and merge the decoding with their own previous experience (Burgess, 1990; Falkheimer & Thelander, 2007; Johnson, 1986; Squire, 1994). Hence, media consumers are not passive dupes, but rather active agents who are highly engaged in interactions with their choice of media products (Deery, 2003; Jenkins, 2006; Williams, 2008). However, the actual reader (in this dissertation referred to as a tourist) has been to some extent neglected in the research, according to Bruhn Jensen (2010). It is important to study tourists because it is the tourists who make sense of different texts as well as connect them to each other on the basis of their own experience. The decoding perspective is explored in combination with tourists' performances of place (discussed later in this chapter and in paper V).

This section has highlighted how tourists are active when it comes to the production of new media products. However, tourists are also active in a process of media decoding, which implies that the meaning to tourists of media products is subject to individual interpretation. It is therefore relevant to address how the process of media decoding affects the tourist's understanding of place



before discussing how this is manifested in the tourist's actual visit to a destination.

## Media and sense of place

In this section, media are discussed in relation to space, place and sense of place, since tourism is an encounter between people and, even more importantly, between people and space (Crouch, 1999). Moreover, tourism happens in space and this space can be highly material and concrete and can surround people as well as something metaphorical or imaginative (Ibid). Crouch uses the word space rather than place, the two concepts being seen as slightly different, because 'a place represents a distinctive type of space that is defined by the lived experiences of people' (Hubbard et al., 2004, p. 5). A place is therefore a specific space that is made through different activities, such as naming, for example, and people's interactions with this space. For this reason I have chosen to use place in this dissertation because place is something that is made, or rather performed, by tourists. If a place is seen as something produced through a range of actions and interactions, the meanings of places are fluid and not fixed in time (Ek, 2006). The meaning of a place is therefore highly individualised, although it can be shared with others. When talking about meaning, it is also relevant to address the sense of place. Tuan (1975) argues that a sense of place is something that is experienced with all senses over time in close connection to a particular place. In his words, space is the unknown, whereas place is what is known to people. Rose (2002, p. 88) defines sense of place as something that 'develops from every aspect of individuals' life experience and that senses of place pervade everyday life and experience'. Other aspects that are commonly referred to are that the sense of place requires presence (being in) and action (being with), and this process is influenced by physical, historical, social, and cultural aspects that together create a sense of place (Campelo et al 2014, p. 155). Therefore, a sense of place requires an engagement, rooted in everyday life, with a place.

Another term common in the field of tourism is destination. Buhalis (2000) defines a destination as an amalgamation of all products, services and experiences that are available locally for tourists. In this sense destinations are more or less defined by what they offer to tourists, whether that be a service or a good. Some even argue that a destination is like a product that can be sold to tourists. However, this is not the perspective applied in this dissertation. The perspective of this dissertation is more in line with those of Saraniemi and

Kylänen (2011), who argue that in order to understand destinations it is necessary to discard the idea of a place as a product and see it rather as a process in constant motion. Lichrou, Malley and Patterson (2008) offer another perspective beyond the product idea, namely that of places as narratives: 'the framing of places as narratives highlights the dynamic and contested nature of places as social contexts, constantly constructed by means of shared language and symbolic meaning' (Lichreau et al, 2008, p. 36). A destination is therefore not a simple product that can be packaged and sold, since it is rather something that is socially constructed by its users.

A sense of place is highly personal: in the making of a place tourists are influenced by a range of sources in everyday life. Of particular interest for this dissertation are media, especially, popular cultural media products. However, these products will never be the sole factor creating the sense of place, since there are several simultaneous processes. Recently, however, media and the interrelationship of media with place have been the focus of research, and in media and communication there has been a spatial turn (Jansson & Falkheimer, 2006; Reijnders, 2011a). There is an interest in exploring how communication produces places and places, simultaneously, produce communication. The boundaries between media and place become blurred when media is consumed on the move due to the mobility of people as well as of materials (Jansson & Falkheimer, 2006). In other words, media's influence stretches far beyond media culture itself, and it is argued that the constant flow of media could have an impact on how people imagine other places (Couldry & McCarthy, 2004; Fornäs, 2006; Moores, 2005). Media shape people's understanding of place and, even more importantly, impact their actual use of place (Couldry & McCarthy, 2004). As place and media become increasingly intertwined, media create a desire to visit places encountered in media. The media function, according to Bolin (2006), almost like a map of the outside world. Media products with great impact on people's imagination of places are TV and film (Reijnders, 2011a). There is, in other words, a mediatised sense of place.

Accordingly, the perception in this dissertation is that places are not fixed and stable but are rather influenced – by media products, for example. There will therefore not be any single meaning ascribed to a place, since tourists have been in contact with different sources, which create a multitude of interpretations and meanings of the same place (Knudsen, Soper, Metro-Roland, 2007). Furthermore, many tourist places have been imbued with meaning over time; therefore, the media gaze and the tourist gaze overlap (Larsen, 2006). So when tourists visit a destination, a sense of place has already been established by the

media, for example, but this perception evolves during a visit. It is therefore also important to address what happens during a visit. Jansson (2007), for example, discusses how media have an impact on the scripting of places – that is to say, how places ought to be performed. However, there is an abundance of media products circulating; moreover, they are decoded in various ways by the tourists. The question is then how tourists' mediatized sense of place influences their visit to a destination.

## Tourists' performance of place

In the tourism research tourists have been seen as highly passive media consumers who are stuck in the circle of representation (Jenkins, 1999), and therefore merely searching for and repeating images seen in marketing material. However, not all agree on this passive perception of the tourist; consequently, since around the turn of the century there has been a performance turn in tourism research (see for example Edensor, 1998, 2000, 2001; Franklin & Cragg, 2001; Perkins & Thorns, 2001) and the body of research that takes a performance approach is growing. Performance is a metaphor for tourism practice rooted in social constructionism (Mordue, 2009). Performance research evolves from criticism of the paramount focus on the visual aspects of tourism, the so-called tourist gaze (addressed in chapter 2), and the passivity imbedded in this concept (Edensor, 1998; Perkins & Thorns, 2001). Veijola and Jokinen (1994) criticise this focus on the tourist's eyes because to be a tourist is a bodily experience that includes all of the senses – not just the eyes. It is vital to highlight tourism as a multi-sensory experience, and the performance turn captures these aspects (Ek et al., 2008). Even though the concept of the tourists gaze is highly connected with Urry (1990), the new edition of this book incorporates performance, or rather, how the tourist gaze and performance are related to each other (Urry & Larsen, 2011).

Performance is an important perspective because it emphasises that tourists are physical beings who act and perform when they move their bodies to new places (Sheller & Urry, 2004). Furthermore, tourists' bodies transform the places visited through the manner in which they engage with them (Crouch et al., 2001; Edensor, 2005). Crouch, Aronsson and Wahlström (2001) therefore argue that 'tourist sites, destinations, cultures and places are (at least in part) made significant through the way we encounter them, and the encounter happens in an embodied way' (2001, p. 259). Hence, tourists are active in

creating the destinations visited through their embodiment and performances. Consequently, applying the performance approach to tourism transforms tourists from passive gazers to participants in the creation of the destinations visited by their performances (Baerenholdt et al., 2004; Crouch, 2004; Crouch et al., 2001; Edensor, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2009; Ek, et al., 2008). While the performance concept sets focus to single tourists (Light, 2009), they are not the only actors who create destinations through their performances. It is a relational process consisting of, for example, significant others with whom tourists might travel (Urry & Larsen, 2011), as well as other tourists, and the hosts who may be both locals and in charge of attractions or destinations (Baerenholdt et al., 2004; Edensor, 2001; Light, 2009; Mordue, 2001, 2005, 2009). But it is not only other people who have an impact, as Sheller and Urry (2004, p. 6) argue that 'places are about relationships': to this relationship they add 'materials, images, and the systems of difference that they perform'. Thus, destinations are created by a multitude of entities, both human and non-human (Baerenholt et al., 2004). According to Crouch (2004, p. 151), 'places are thus (re)produced through systems of tourist performances, made possible and contingently stabilised through networked relationships with other organisations, buildings, objects and machines'. Media can be part of this relationship, as is developed in the next section as well as in paper V.

Therefore, in one sense, all types of destinations can be created – however, since the performance is relational between the tourist and many other factors, such as media, these factors could have a restrictive effect on the performance. Edensor (2001) identified the following factors that may affect tourists' performances: tourist rituals, scenography, key workers at an attraction, and the media which is in focus in this dissertation. However, tourists can react differently to these factors: Edensor (2001) noted three categories of modes of performance. The first is directed performances – tourists follow the regulated and dominant performance of the place, which could rely on external sources, such as guidebooks. The second performance is identity-oriented – it is a performance that is linked to the individual tourists. The third category is labelled non-conformist tourist performance. In this case, tourists' performances could be in total contrast to the dominant performance and understanding of the attraction. The different approaches tourists can take in their performance of a destination, or at least the first and last categories of performance, are somewhat similar to Hall's (1996) decoding model described in the previous section with a dominant, negotiated or opposite reading of a media product. It is interesting to note that the performance turn in tourism, which acknowledges tourist agency, occurred around the year 2000, since that

is 20 years after the view of media consumers shifted from passive to active consumers. It just shows the relevance of an interdisciplinary approach.

To conclude, tourist places are produced and created by tourist performances in several simultaneous processes occurring during a visit. Such processes, however, have already started at home, because tourist performances are part of everyday life (cf. Baerenholdt et al., 2004), and I am particularly interested in tourists' media consumption in relation to their performance, as will be discussed in the next section.

## Mediatized performances of destinations

Tourists decode a range of texts when creating an understanding of places (Jansson, 2002b; Kim 2012; Lagerkvist, 2004; Lindström, 2011) and this decoding will be part of their performance when visiting a destination. It is therefore relevant to take into account tourists' readings of texts as this could affect their performances of place: a mediatized sense of place is created (Jansson & Falkheimer, 2006). Hall (1996) points out that although consumers may have read the same text, it will offer a plurality of interpretations – as is also noted in Thelander's (2002) research. Therefore, put into a tourism context, various performances of place can therefore be expected by different tourists. Thus, places are not static and fixed, as tourists produce them through individual performances in different interactions with, for example, media (Larsen, 2010). Furthermore, tourists decode media products individually, which affects their performances of place. However, tourists do not only decode texts, as they are also part of creating new stories through their ongoing interactions and performances with, for example, other tourists, guides and objects (Urry & Larsen, 2011).

There are a few cases in which the performance perspective has been applied while exploring media such as popular culture and performances of place. Edensor (2001), for example, discussed performance in connection with the Wallace myth by studying visitors to the Wallace monument in Scotland. This memorial became a popular tourist destination after the film 'Braveheart'. In his study he concluded that tourists are to some extent guided by previous norms of how to perform. A visit to the Wallace monument 'may bring forth associations to other media but also depend upon the recall to other objects, places and times which is informed by tactile, auditory and olfactory memories,

by embodied experiences and practical, sensuous knowledge' (Edensor, 2005, p. 117). Consequently, during the visit to the monument, tourists' performances could be altered through interactions with other people, for example, and the highly physical place. He also concluded that an actual visit triggered a performance that questioned previously held knowledge and initiated a search for further knowledge. The media that provided the inspiration in the first place then became only a starting point for something new. Another researcher who has studied this area is Mordue (2001, 2009), who explored tourism related to the British TV programme 'Heartbeat' with respect to each of the actors involved: tourists, locals and managers/council. He does not explore actual performances but rather the tourists', locals' and management's talk about performance and the different meanings they have of the place. He shows how media have created contested views of preferred meanings of place. In 2009 Mordue adopts a more longitudinal perspective, discussing how perceptions of the rural, in this case a highly mediatized rural place, are performed by different actors in a highly globalised world. The discussion focuses on the village in itself versus the filmed version. An Asian research example was carried out by Ryan et al. (2009) who explored whether the novel and subsequent TV programme 'Dream of the Red Mansions' were part of tourists' performances at Grand View Gardens (the setting for the TV production). Their research confirmed that media had an impact on tourists' performances, also pointing out that other types of performances were occurring at the same time – such as performances that linked to aspects of the past and highly contemporary performances set in the present, such as socialising with friends. Light (2009) studied the performances of tourists taking part in a packaged tour to Transylvania. He concluded that the tourists' performances were clearly linked to the range of media products in circulation that cover Dracula-related themes. The novel 'Dracula' and the several filmatisations of the novel played a distinct role in the tourists' performances – for example, tourists listened for the sound of wolves and looked after bats while on a guided tour as these were features they expected to encounter. They also wanted to follow in the footsteps of Jonathan Harker (a character in the novel). In these cases then the media guided their performance to the extent that they wanted to perform it themselves by enacting the fictive story. Kim (2010), Roesch (2009) and Carl et al. (2007) also pointed out the notion of enactment when studying what they defined as film tourists. However, as is stressed throughout this section, there can be a multitude of performances at the same time in the same place. Light's (2009) case highlighted other performances not related to media products – such as party-going and anticipating future journeys.

In these cases, media products such as film, TV and literature were highly involved in the performance and meaning of place. Edensor (2001) has labelled places that are associated with some kind of popular cultural media product, such as a film, mediatized places. However, just because a media product such as film is dominant for a particular destination, it does not have to impact tourists' performances, as Siripis et al. (2013) concluded in their research on the film 'The Beach' and tourists to Thailand. This is an aspect not clearly addressed in discussions of film tourists, as they are often grouped together and seen as only following in the footsteps of the most popular media product of choice. However, tourists' performances are not completely predetermined (Ek et al., 2008), by texts, for example, as performances also include creativity, deviations and new experiences gained while visiting (Urry & Larsen 2011, p. 193). Moreover, a multitude of performances exist at the same time, so even if places are mediatized, places are not the same, as they are predetermined in meaning and performance amongst tourists as media rather provide new spatial experiences (Lagerkvist, 2006; Sandvik, 2010). So a tourist could have a mediatized sense of place before visiting a destination, but this sense would change during a visit because a sense of place is always connected to the physical experience of the place as well.

Finally, if we agree that destinations are created by tourists it will further affect our understanding of tourists performances because it somehow implies that a plurality of destinations are created simultaneously due to tourists' preconceptions (cf. Edensor, 1998, 2000). Barenholt et al. (2004, p. 39) phrased it like this: the 'coexistence of multiple corporeal performances produces tourist places'. It will also have an impact on what is considered to be an authentic place. Knudsen and Waade (2010) therefore propose the concept of performed authenticity – that is, media play an important role in performed authenticity and it is a performance that is subject to gaze, place and imagination, as well as movement and actual embodied actions. So performed authenticity is seen as something relational – an encounter between body and place. An authentic place is in this perspective based on tourists' performances at a destination (the authenticity perspective is explored in paper IV). Hence, destinations are multi-layered phenomena in which different performances can occur at the same time due to tourists' different interactions (Crouch et al., 2001; Knudsen, Soper, & Metro-Roland, 2007; Quinn, 2007). Consequently, how a destination is regarded is dependent on the individual tourists' performance: a performance the foundation of which has already been established at home (Edensor, 2000).

To conclude this chapter, tourists are part of creating destinations through their performances and media can be a part of this performance. The old notion of tourists and consumers as passive beings, that still prevails to some extent in both the literature and among practitioners, is thereby dismissed. It is not simply that people see or read something like 'The Da Vinci Code' and then the tourists visit and perform the destination solely on the basis of that single media product. Media products, such as a film, could instead cause new performances at a destination, or could actually create new touristic places. Hence, neither places nor tourists' performances are fixed in time, as they are changeable depending on, for example, media. Furthermore, performance highlights the tourists, and I am interested in any tourist who visits a destination, and not the devoted film or media tourist who is the focus of much of previous research in its exploration of the intertwining of media and tourism (e.g., 'The Lord of The Rings tourists: Roesch, 2009; or Dracula tourists: Reijnders, 2011b). Moreover, studies on tourist performances with a media focus have been conducted, but they are either from the perspective of a single product (Mordue, 2001, 2009; Ryan et al., 2009) or they are of a secondary nature, in that media are part of the performances on site but not the main focus (Light, 2009). Hence, further research is needed because there is a lack of research that explores the different processes that occur in the intertwining of tourism and media from a tourist perspective (see for example Connell, 2012). By focusing on the tourists in my research I would like to move beyond the simplistic view, which to some extent still exists, that would label the tourists as 'film tourists'. There is a notion, especially amongst practitioners, that all these tourists hold the same meaning of place and would therefore carry out the same performance just because they have consumed the same media product. The reality of these processes, however, is more complex, and I will explore and discuss this complexity in papers IV and V.





# 5 Methodology and empirical material

Earlier studies that focused on media and tourism, especially film tourism, have been criticised for being overly anecdotal, merely adding case after case without contributing new knowledge (Heitmann, 2010; Karpovich, 2010; Young & Young, 2008). Therefore, before I explain the methods used in this dissertation I will review the previous methods conducted in studies with a tourist perspective in order to position my methodological research in comparison to them.

The first studies did not involve thorough empirical research, as they were based only on data collected about a number of small anecdotal cases focusing only on tourists as visitor numbers (Riley et al., 1998; Tooke & Baker, 1996). Quantitative methods, especially questionnaires, have frequently been used in order to study different kinds of media tourists at a destination or tourist attraction (Connell & Meyer, 2009; Herbert, 1996; Squire, 1994). However, there has also been an interest in apprehending off site tourists, to explore whether media such as film change tourists' image of a destination and willingness to visit the destination. An approach and method used by Kim and Richardson (2003) resulted in a study that has been repeated by other researchers (e.g. Hahm & Wang, 2011; Hudson, Wang, & Gil Sergio, 2011; Soliman Dalia, 2011). Tzanelli (2003, 2004), on the other hand, approached off-site media tourists (or potential tourists) by collecting comments made by people on various Internet sites such as IMDB and Amazon. Other researchers used a combination of quantitative (questionnaires) and qualitative (interviews) methods to apprehend media tourists on-site (Carl et al., 2007; Iwashita, 2006; Liou, 2010; Ryan et al., 2009). Questionnaires and/or interviews are not the only methods used, however: Buchmann et al. (2010) used a range of techniques, such as observations of tourists participation in guided tours, interviews (group and individual), pre-/post-tour questionnaires, and journals in a case study of tourists taking part in a 'Lord of The Rings' tour. There are

also other studies that take a mixed-methods approach in exploring media tourists on site (Light, 2009; Reijnders, 2011b). However, I am also interested in media products used by the tourist. There are studies that focus on the media products in media tourism (e.g. Beeton, 2004; Frost, 2006, 2010; Reijnders, 2009; Sadler & Haskins, 2005) but they do not take a tourist perspective. I have therefore combined methods that approach tourists, both on and off site, and the media products consumed and used by the tourists as shown in the table below.

**Table 1: Methods used in the five publications**

Publications	Main methods used and data collected
I. The Role of Media Products on Consumer Behaviour in Tourism.	Rosslyn Chapel and the Da Vinci Code is used as an illustrative case.
II. Mediatized tourism	A theoretical sampling method of the following social media – 1 Facebook group 1 Tweet at Twitter 1 Blog entry 1 YouTube film 1 Photo with added description at Flickr
III. Media convergence – Tourist attractions in the making	Quantitative and qualitative content analysis and narrative analysis of – 9 Guidebooks of Scotland 7 pieces of marketing material from VisitScotland 2 Rosslyn Chapel brochures 1 Bus timetable
IV. Negotiating Authenticity at Rosslyn Chapel	Observations – 2 ½ weeks in 2006 4 days in 2007 Interviews – 28 interviews (individual and groups) with a total of 55 visitors 1 interview with manager
V. Mediatized tourist performances of place	Observations – 2 ½ weeks in 2006 4 days in 2007 Interviews – 28 interviews (individual or groups) with a total of 55 visitors

In this dissertation I have conducted a case study method. A case study offers concrete and context-dependent knowledge (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Furthermore, the advantage of conducting a case study is that it is done in real-life situations;

views are therefore tested directly in relation to the phenomena as they unfold in practice (Ibid, p. 19). A case study is also signified by the use of several methods while exploring (Heide & Simonsson, 2014) which is the case in this dissertation. I have therefore decided to focus on a single site in this dissertation because it is better to select one site in order to see the different connections between the tourists and the media products they consume and use. Fornäs (2002b), for example, selected a shopping mall to see these connections. However, I am interested in tourism and popular culture, so a place that fit this approach was chosen. Furthermore, Roesch (2009) argues that in order to study what he refers to as ‘media tourists’ it is better to choose a well-defined place or a specific context such as a tour. The place I selected was Rosslyn Chapel outside Edinburgh in Scotland, a small chapel that came into the limelight after the novel ‘The Da Vinci Code’, first published by Dan Brown in 2003 and followed by a filmatisation released in 2006. There are many places depicted in the novel – places such as The Louvre, Paris and London. However, I chose to study Rosslyn Chapel as it is a well-defined place. Since I have a tourist perspective it was also essential that the site had a good number of visitors. Rosslyn Chapel experienced a growth in visitor numbers after the publication of the novel: the numbers of visitors rose from 36,000 visitors per year (VisitScotland, 2003) to peak in 2006 at 175,000 visitors (VisitScotland, 2008). The numbers of visitors has slightly dropped since 2006 but there are still many more visitors than prior to the release of the novel and film: in 2013 the Chapel received 145,000 visitors (VisitScotland, 2014). Interest in this place has remained consistent over a lengthy period, giving me an opportunity to also explore changes in circulating media products such as marketing material and guidebooks. Another reason for selecting this place was the release of the film in 2006, the same year I started my PhD research which gave me an opportunity to follow the impact of a film on a site from the beginning.

The first method of this study was *observation*: the purpose of conducting observation is to be able to describe what people say and more important do (Fangen, 2005). Initially I was a participant observer, as I approached Rosslyn Chapel as would any other tourist. However, as I continued to return to the site my observer role changed, becoming increasingly non-participative. It became very obvious that I did not act like the other tourists since I did not move enough and was sometimes even asked to move by visitors who were taking photos. My observations began right during the 30-minute bus journey from Edinburgh city to Rosslyn Chapel and included the hours at Rosslyn Chapel and the journey back. I conducted observations in August 2006, only three months after the release of the Da Vinci Code film, for two and a half weeks. I

spend four to six hours daily at Rosslyn Chapel, including waiting at the bus stop and the bus ride. These transit sites also provided opportunities for observations, as I could follow the tourists from before to after visiting the tourist attraction. I returned in 2007 for another four days of observation. The focus of my observation was tourists' performances on site, as well as everything at the site, such as guided tours, signs, the shop, the organisation of the premises and so on, but my main focus was the visitors. For example, I observed people reading 'The Da Vinci Code' while visiting. However, a lot of the visitors engaged in similar activities, such as viewing all the carvings, taking photos of objects and of themselves, listening to the guide, or resting either on benches or on the ground alone or with others. To be able to understand the nuances of these apparently similar performances, I needed to add another method.

The observations were then augmented with ad hoc conversations with visitors. These unstructured conversations were combined with more formal *interviews* in 2006. I only gained access to the premises in the first year; in the second year, I was only there as an observer, as the management had decided they did not want their visitors to be disturbed during their visit by any researcher. I view the interviews as social interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee (Czarniawska, 2004; Welch & Piekkari, 2006). Since the interview is a social interaction, those taking part are equally important and influence the process to equal degrees. Cassinger discuss (2014) intercultural interviewing and the different roles that are needed by both the interviewer and the interviewee when to conduct interviews in another culture and language. There is a need of flexibility as well as awareness of the situation. In this case my role as a PhD candidate and a foreigner in the country of study made me in a way almost like the tourists I interviewed. Not being a native speaker of English had an impact on the interview situation. The language issue was key, as only those who were comfortable speaking English in an interview situation participated, unless I could use my mother tongue, Swedish. I conducted a total of 28 interviews (four in Swedish and the rest in English) ranging from 15 to 45 minutes. The interviews involved a combination of locals (coming for a day visit) and tourists visiting Rosslyn Chapel as part of a Scottish holiday. Since most visitors had travelling companions the interviews were conducted with individuals, in pairs and in groups of three, in different constellations of friends and family. The interviews focused on the interviewees talking about their activities as tourists at Rosslyn Chapel and in Scotland generally, if this visit was part of a larger holiday in addition media products they had used and consumed before visiting. I began the interviews by asking the person why he or she had decided to visit Rosslyn Chapel that day. Depending on the answer I received I then followed

up with a question that varied slightly depending on whether they were day visitors to Rosslyn Chapel or whether the visit was part of a larger itinerary. The Da Vinci Code was mentioned frequently either as a reason for visiting or as an aspect of who they were. Moreover, ‘The Da Vinci Code’ triggered many religious discussions in the interview situations in relation to the place being visited. Consequently, in the interviews I could capture tourists’ own descriptions of their activities and of the media products they consumed and used, which I then related to their performance and sense of place. In addition to the interviews with the visitors, in 2007 I also interviewed the manager of Rosslyn Chapel.

When I came back to the office I attempted to analyse the collected empirical material, but when I started to code the material I soon discovered that I could not fully analyse the material because there were theories I could use in the analysis and did not have. My initial research focus was the film tourist, but I soon realised that what I had encountered at Rosslyn Chapel could not just be explained in terms of the tourists being inspired by ‘The Da Vinci Code’, either the novel or the film – for example, on the bus going out to Rosslyn Chapel I talked to an old woman in her 70s. She had been brought up close to Rosslyn Chapel and was now living in Edinburgh, but she had never visited the chapel. She had recently read so much about it in the newspapers that she ‘wanted to see what all the fuss was about’. In her case it was the newspaper articles about ‘The Da Vinci Code’ that triggered a visit. That led me to explore the phenomenon in a larger theoretical context. Before I did this, I was unable to fully analyse the empirical material I had collected through observations and interviews. So these methods and materials were collected first but used last, in papers IV and V.

Mediatization and convergence were then the theoretical concepts that were applied to my research in order to analyse my empirical material. They were first used in paper II to analyse tourists’ activities after a visit because there is still a lack of knowledge of tourists’ interactions with media products after a visit and also as to how these interactions are re-produced and recreated for other potential tourists to take part in – key features of the convergence perspective. In order to capture these post-visit practices I addressed different *online social media networks* in order to explore tourists’ interactions with media products and other consumers after a visit had taken place (a method used in paper II). A theoretical sampling method was used in order to collect empirical material (Silverman, 2005). Five of the largest social media networks that had a purpose other than being for tourists were selected and within each of them one

theoretically representative case was chosen. Facebook, Twitter, blogs, YouTube and Flickr were the selected social forums. To capture convergence, cases that contained high degrees of cross-referencing to other media products and/or high viewing/comment numbers were selected.

Tourists' performances in relation to media products were approached in the interviews; therefore, it became relevant to also address the media products in themselves. First, a range of media products were collected: guidebooks covering Scotland from four different publishers that had all updated their editions in the same year (2008), as well as earlier editions of the same guidebooks. In addition to the guidebooks VisitScotland's marketing materials from 2006 were collected. This was also the same year the interviews were conducted and the film released (see paper III for an overview of materials). The collected empirical materials were then analysed in two steps: first using a *content analysis* and then a *narrative analysis* (both methods are used in paper III). Content analysis focuses on the quantitative descriptions of the content manifested in a text and not on the intention behind that text (Berelson, 1971:18). Its purpose is to identify and describe patterns in the material. It is used and recommended by other researchers as a way to obtain an overall understanding of media products (Edelheim, 2007; Jenkins, 1999). The content analysis was then followed by a narrative analysis, in which each text was analysed on its own as well as in relation to the others. This was done by adopting Czarniawska's (2004, pp. 73-74) concepts of narrative analysis, the first of which is explication (What does the text say?). Explication is in line with content analysis, as it focuses directly on the content of the text. The next steps are explanation (Why and how does this text say what it says?), and finally, exploration (What does the text do to its readers?). The first two steps have a media focus and are approached in paper III; the final step, however, is explored in paper V, as it is linked to tourists' performances on site.

This brings me back to the empirical material that I initially collected through observation and interviews. It was not until I had created a new theoretical platform that I could fully analyse this material. Furthermore, the other two steps analysing tourists' post-visit activities and the displaying of the media products they used also yielded essential insights I needed before returning to the first materials used in papers IV and V.

# 6 Paper summaries

This chapter provides a short summary of each of the five papers that are part of this dissertation. The aim is to show how they are related to each other but it is equally important to show how they differ from each other. As explained in the methods chapter, while a single case is used throughout, each paper represents a different theoretical approach to the case. While some of the theories are drawn on in all of the papers, different aspects of them are explored and highlighted differently in the different texts and analyses. The empirical material used in the different papers also varies, and ranges from social media forums on the Internet, to guidebooks, observations and interviews with tourists (see chapter 5 regarding methods). What is important to note is that these papers were written over a number of years, so new theories have been developed during the timeframe in which they were written.

**Paper I: Månsson, M. (2009). The Role of Media Products on Consumer Behaviour in Tourism. In M. Kozak & A. Decrop (Eds.), *Handbook of Tourist Behaviour. Theory and Practice* (pp. 226-237). London, New York: Routledge.**

This first paper is an introductory text that primarily introduces the concept of mediatized tourism. Its aim is to develop a foundation that is then further explored in the four subsequent papers. The text introduces an initial discussion of the intertwining of popular cultural media products and tourism, particularly from a tourist point of view. This paper is therefore informed by the following research question.

*How do intertwined media products impact tourist behaviour?*

Previous studies of popular media products and tourism have focused largely on one product at a time – film tourism, for example. However, this text discusses briefly a range of popular cultural media products, such as paintings, literature, film and TV, guidebooks, and photographs. These separate media products are then combined in a discussion that considers them as part of the same phenomenon, namely mediatized tourism. To illustrate this discussion, ‘The



Da Vinci Code' is used throughout as an example. This book chapter concludes that in the concept of mediatized tourism, tourists are seen as co-creators of the places visited rather than passive media consumers. Moreover, this text also discusses tourists as contributors of marketing material. Hence, this paper introduces aspects and themes that are later developed and empirically analysed in the following papers.

**Paper II: Månsson, M. (2011) Mediatized tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38(4), 1634-1652.**

The second paper advances the discussion of the concept of mediatized tourism introduced in paper I. Its aim is to grasp an overall approach to mediatized tourism by introducing and applying convergence, a new media perspective, to tourism studies in order to contextualise and enhance our understanding of tourist agency in tourism. The theoretical focus of convergence, and its elements of media convergence, consumer agency and collaborations as well as interactions between producers and consumers and consumer-to-consumer interactions, is developed in this text. In this article consumers are equated with tourists, as tourists are the article's focus. The aim of the article is to move beyond the circle of representation and the notion of passive tourists, and the following research question is explored:

*How can convergence be applied to empirically explore and contextualise changes in tourism consumption?*

This is accomplished by focusing on tourist-created media products. More explicitly, this article studies tourists who visited Rosslyn Chapel, known for its role in 'The Da Vinci Code' (Brown, 2004), and their subsequent media activities. In order to explore tourists' post-travel media practices, online social media networks were chosen (Facebook, Twitter, blogs, YouTube and Flickr) for review because they are both user-generated and user-oriented, and they clearly show the aspects of convergence. The practical implications of this research for practitioners stem from its insights into tourists' participation in the marketing of destinations and its potential impact on other tourists' interest in visiting. The theoretical contribution of this article is the contextualising of tourist agency in tourism production and in destination marketing through the growing phenomenon of mediatized tourism. Tourists are now part of the marketing of destinations through channels such as social media forums in which tourists post descriptions of their experiences that other potential tourists can read. This article therefore dismisses the idea of tourists as passive media consumers by showing how tourists are active in creating media content of their

own. This is done by applying the convergence concept, as it can analytically capture tourists' involvement in the consumption and production of tourist destinations.

**Paper III: Månsson, M. (2011). Media convergence – Tourist attractions in the making. *Tourism Review International*, 15(3), 227-241.**

The third paper focuses on one aspect of convergence – namely, media convergence –while analysing the texts in circulation that are consumed by tourists as destination marketing. Media convergence is then combined with other relevant theories in order to explore the role of popular cultural media products for destinations. The 'circuit of culture model' is applied in order to comprehend the circulation of media products and transformations of meanings in marketing. This model highlights the interrelationships of producers of texts, the texts themselves, the readers (in this case the tourists) and their decoding of the texts, and the surrounding society. In the circuits of culture there are a multitude of representations in circulation, such as guidebooks and tourist brochures, and these media products and representations continuously converge with each other. Previous studies on representations in producer-generated materials have had a single-media focus and not focused on the convergence of the various products, even though it is known that tourists blend all circulating representations in creating a mental image of a destination. This article therefore aims to explore representations in a range of media products associated with a particular tourist attraction – namely, Rosslyn Chapel.

*How is an attraction represented in different media products and how do their meanings converge?*

The empirical material was analysed using first a content analysis and then a narrative analysis. The combined analyses show how popular cultural media products, through media convergence, have repositioned existing representations and created new representations of tourist places, and vice versa. Popular culture now packages tourist places in new ways for tourists to encounter. Thus, popular culture is no longer a niche tourism activity as it is now part of mainstream destination marketing. Media products feed and link to each other such that tourists can now learn about 'The Da Vinci Code' in relation to Rosslyn Chapel from a guidebook instead of from the actual novel or film. In this sense it is not just the tourist places that are transformed as it is equally the media products themselves that change. Thus, media convergence has a great impact on destination marketing, tourist places and tourists alike,

because it legitimises what is worth visiting – a vital insight for destination marketers.

**Paper IV: Månsson, M. (2010). Negotiating Authenticity at Rosslyn Chapel. In B. Timm Knudsen & A. M. Waade (Eds.), *Re-Investing Authenticity* (pp. 168-180). Bristol: Channel View.**

The fourth paper focuses on the tourists who consume and use the popular cultural media products that were the focus of the preceding article. Tourists have a mediatized gaze that is influenced by a range of media products (as explored in the preceding paper) and they primarily look for representations they have seen before. The stress on the visual aspects of being a tourist has been criticised, some researchers therefore arguing that tourists perform rather than gaze. Consequently, this text takes a performance approach to study tourists visiting a tourist destination and the implication this has for the authenticity of the place. The aim is to explore the intertwining of media products and tourists while focusing on authenticity in connection with tourists' embodied performances of place, as informed by this research question:

*How are tourists' perceptions of tourist attractions affected by a physical visit as well as by popular cultural media products?*

The paper also considers competing views and possible conflicts in relation to the definition of the authentic place. Furthermore, it aims to portray the negotiation process between consumed media images and tourists' embodied experiences. The methods used in this paper were observation and interviews with visitors and with the manager. While it is known that tourists are influenced by popular culture, this chapter explores how such processes are performed in an actual visit. The study showed that popular cultural media, and imaginary and physical places are interwoven in an ongoing negotiation process. Tourists mix the physical place with an imaginary place and blur the distinctions between them as they create their own understanding of this tourist place. Thus, what tourists perceive as the authentic place may be highly influenced by a fictive product, but this perception is then challenged in a physical visit. This is a continuous process as new media products as well as new physical visits are added to people's previous conceptions of tourist places. Moreover, when media, place and tourism mix in this manner, visitors' perceptions of authenticity are affected. It is important for practitioners to understand the multiple aspects of authenticity in order to let tourists experience the place in different ways. This paper introduces tourist agency and the performance,

aspect taking an authenticity-oriented approach that is further explored in paper V.

**Paper V: Månsson, M. (2014) Mediatized tourist performances of place. Manuscript submitted to the journal *Tourist studies***

The final paper in this dissertation has a bridging purpose. This article therefore addresses the agency aspect of convergence, introduced in paper II, the embodiment and performance theories that were introduced in paper IV to the circuits of culture discussed in paper III. However, this time there is a shift in the focus of the model from circulating media products to tourists' decoding of these texts in relation to their performance of a destination. This article views places as something performed by tourists, popular cultural media products being integrated in their performance. The aim of this article is then to explore how media products are part of tourist performances and of tourists' sense of place.

*How are tourists' performances of place related to their reading and understanding of media products?*

The intention is to gain further insights in to tourists' performances in relation to media beyond the so-called mediatized tourist gaze, to focus instead on tourists' performances of place. The methods used were observation and interviews to capture tourists' performances and their narratives about their performances. This article has contributed to empirically showing how tourists' decoding of media products is part of their performances and sense of place. In this case it was evident that although there was a dominant media product, namely 'The Da Vinci Code', tourists demonstrated a range of performances. Some of these performances were clearly guided by the particular media product, whereas others could be viewed as a shared performance. For practitioners, it is important to understand that tourists have a different sense of places. It is therefore not necessary to transform a tourist place purely in the light of a dominant media product because there are so many other simultaneous interpretations. This article has contributed to contextualising the multitude of tourists' performances of place in relation to a dominant popular cultural media product. Consequently, places are seen as multi-layered phenomena – as palimpsests of mediatized performances of place.



# 7 Conclusions

This final chapter discusses the overall findings of the five single papers considered as a whole. The initial premise of this dissertation was that there is an ongoing intertwining of popular cultural media products and tourism that affects tourists. Hence, while the media's relevance for tourism was known from the beginning, but the question was how these processes of intertwining were actually enacted. Of particular interest was the interrelationship between media products and tourists' performances and sense of place. It is important to address these issues as the media industry is predicted to have constant growth which will in turn continue to impact the tourism sector. Popular cultural media products therefore play a vital role in tourism, but it is a dual interaction: tourism has an impact on popular culture, too. For instance, in 'The Da Vinci Code' Rosslyn Chapel is described in almost the manner of a guidebook. So the ongoing intertwining of tourism and media consumption is already having a profound impact and it is expected to continue to grow (Davin, 2005; Jensen & Waade, 2009). In addition, Hjarvard (2008) and others argue that there is an overall mediatization of our society which makes it even more relevant to address its consequences for tourism, as being a part of the society. As explained earlier, the concept of mediatization highlights the intertwining of media with other processes in society and its changing role, which makes it relevant for addressing tourism and media. Mediatization research is growing in media and communication studies; at the same time, however, there is a debate under way as to whether it is just a buzzword with no real theoretical contribution (Couldry & Hepp, 2013; Deacon & Stanyer, 2014). What can be concluded is that there is more and more research about the mediatization of society but there is lack of empirical contributions. In this dissertation I have introduced and applied mediatization for tourism research, with emphasis on popular culture media products, to analyse the empirical material. Therefore, my dissertation adds an empirical contribution to the ongoing mediatization discussions. In the papers, I have used the same case in order to highlight the same phenomenon but from a slightly different perspective when it comes to both collected material and applied theories. By exploring a single case, but with a change of perspective, I

have been able to shed some light on the complex processes that are implied in the intertwining of tourism and media that is mentioned frequently, though how it actually occurs is less frequently explored. In this case mediatization has provided additional insights and has been of value as it has provided an approach that links popular culture related tourism in a wider context with the overall society. Hence, this is not a niche-tourism phenomenon, as this type of media is more interrelated to overall cultural processes in society, and therefore. tourism is also part of it.

By applying convergence in this dissertation I have been able to contextualise the intertwining of media products in which the different media products blur together. They blur in the production stage and they blur for the tourists. In order to understand the impact of a film on a tourist place it is not enough to just explore the single media product, because these products are intertwined with other products in complex interrelationships. Guidebook publishers, for example, introduce popular cultural related tourist places in their guidebooks, as in the case of 'The Da Vinci Code'. Then, all of a sudden this particular media product (novel and film) has reached new media platforms. The guidebook publishers and tourist organisations can benefit from growing awareness of their products or destinations by adding popular cultural elements to their media products. They ride on the recognition these products have already received elsewhere. Consequently, there are a range of media products that cross and interact with each other via intertextuality on a range of media platforms and it may involve a mix of products produced with tourism and non-tourism intentions, such a popular culture. Film and other popular cultural media products are therefore no longer just entertainment for their own sake, as media products are part of a transformation of tourist places. This in itself is nothing new, but the speed of these processes is now accelerating, due to the Internet, for example, where information can easily be spread.

Furthermore, tourists choose between circulating media products and make their own combinations of products by decoding them according to their own understandings. Decoding is therefore relevant to understanding the phenomenon in play. It considers tourists as not passive media users who are fixed in the circle of representation and mindlessly accept the circulating media messages. Being a tourist is a highly active process that starts and continues at home as an everyday practice. Furthermore, tourists are as likely to be the users of media products as the producers of media content for other tourists to take part in – for example, through social forums on the Internet. Consequently, this dissertation has emphasised tourist agency in media production, an important

aspect to highlight given that tourists' media consumption and production have an impact on tourist places. In media and communication research tourist agency as media users is well known, but in tourism research this knowledge has been largely missing. One reason for this is the lack of interdisciplinary perspectives, but it is important to go beyond disciplinary boundaries to incorporate relevant approaches from different fields – for example, by not only addressing tourism research, as that would be limiting when new approaches exist that could advance the knowledge scope. This dissertation therefore contributes an interdisciplinary perspective that is much needed in order to advance current media tourism research.

The blurring of media products and tourists agency has an impact on places, too. Places are not fixed in time, since all of a sudden some places become popular due to a film or a novel, or through media produced by tourists – while at the same time there are other tourist places falling into the media shadows, or the meaning of a place changes as a result of new media connections. In my dissertation I advance the understanding of the role of popular culture in this fluctuation, both mental and physical, of tourist places. Tourists are influenced by media products in respect of the sense of place, and this understanding then guides the tourists' performances of place. There are a number of performances available and in this dissertation I have not been interested in finding or presenting categories of mediated tourists. This is in line with current discussions in tourism research that protest the increasing specialisation occurring in tourism research: the research has moved from being generic to becoming highly specialised (Cheng et al, 2011) with ever finer subdivisions and more elaborate typologies (Franklin and Crang, 2001). My dissertation is therefore an argument to focus not only on specialised and niche tourism activities in order to see the overall characteristics involved. I have attempted to empirically show the range of performances that take place in order to create a more complex understanding of the media-inspired tourist instead of creating new categories of performances. A reason for this is that there is such a wide range of media products in circulation that tourists can consume their own selections of multiple media products concurrently and make their own links between various products, regardless of producer identity, which is then independently decoded. This is a finding that is missing in previous research – for example, Roesch (2009), who researched 'The Lord of The Rings' tourists by only studying them as film tourists, although it is a film based on books. He addresses the issue in a few sentences, acknowledging that they could have used other media products, but that then would be a non-issue discussion. How can we understand tourists' performances of tourists' places if not all of their



influences are accounted for? This is a question I have explored in this dissertation, but further research targeting this issue is needed.

From a practical point of view this dissertation brings insights to practitioners working with popular culture, media and tourism. It is now a global trend among destination marketing organisations to use film to market their destinations (cf. Månsson & Eskilsson, 2013). However, it is important for these organisations to know that it might not be the single-media products that generate tourism, but rather the complex processes of the intertwining of media products. For tourism practitioners it is therefore risky to only rely on, for example, a film as a singular product to raise awareness of a destination, as the process could occur on many different media platforms simultaneously. Moreover, also vital knowledge is the fact of tourist agency in creating a sense of place that impacts their performance. In this dissertation I have empirically demonstrated these processes, and this is relevant in a managerial perspective because no two tourists are the same, although they may have read or seen the same media product. The tourist place, therefore, needs to remain open to a wide range of performances and different interpretations.

The main theoretical contribution of this dissertation is applying mediatization and convergence to the empirical contextualising of tourist agency in tourism production and destination marketing through the growing phenomenon of mediatized tourism. As shown, mediatized tourism is not a new typology of tourists or tourism; rather, it should be understood as a converging concept by which to understand how media and tourism are related to each other. Furthermore, tourists' performances and sense of place have been explored in relation to their agency in the form of decoding. Consequently, I have applied an interdisciplinary perspective in order to advance knowledge. However, there is still a need for further research, as this is just one study and more research is therefore needed to add to the expanding body of knowledge. One question that could be addressed is if everything is mediatized in tourism? Moreover, how can we further understand the different processes involved? This dissertation has also managerial implications, and the question is how destinations could develop and market themselves to these tourists? Another aspect that merits further research is the time aspect. It is now more than 10 years since the release of 'The Da Vinci Code' but Rosslyn Chapel is still receiving many visitors and they have even built a visitors centre. So the question is then what happens at a mediatized tourist place over time? Moreover, media and tourism are clearly linked and the question is how can these two spheres remain linked in an increasingly media-saturated world? There are then many questions that can be

further explored in new research. To conclude, this dissertation adds to the expanding field of research that is interested in the intertwining of popular culture and tourism. This was done by exploring a single case and the different ongoing processes that this tourist place is part of, everything from converging media products to tourists' performances and sense of place in relation to popular cultural media products.



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