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FROM BACKLOT TO RUNAWAY PRODUCTION: EXPLORING LOCATION AND AUTHENTICITY IN FILM-INDUCED TOURISM

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Abstract

Films may represent a place, but be made at another. In the early years of film-making, quite elaborate sets were constructed on studio backlots. In recent years, runaway productions have represented the USA while being shot in other countries. The dissonance between film setting and film location raises the question of which is more likely to attract tourists. It also suggests that tourists may have difficulties with authenticity. This paper seeks to examine these issues by taking an historical approach to the changing ways in which location has been used by film-makers over time.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1938 Warner Brothers released *The Adventures of Robin Hood*[1]. A vehicle for Errol Flynn, it was one of the first films in technicolour and Warner Brothers most expensive film to then. Given the economics of film-making at the time, it needed to be filmed in the USA.[2] The challenge for its producers was to recreate Sherwood Forest and medieval England in California.

Apart from the Warner Brothers' Studio and nearby ranch, six locations were utilised. The prime location was Bidwell Park in Chico in northern California.[3] With an extensive number of large trees, particularly oaks, this was chosen to represent Sherwood Forest. To give it the right look its grass was painted a richer shade of green and eucalypts were disguised with fake vines left over from earlier jungle movies. Other scenes were filmed near Hollywood and the San Fernando Valley. These locations were the Busch Gardens at Pasadena[4], a golf course, the so-called Sherwood Forest and Sherwood Lake[5] and the Corrigan Film Ranch.

The story of Robin Hood is derived from five sixteenth century ballads. These place the legendary outlaw in medieval England, specifically in Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire (Holt, 1983). Numerous films, television shows and books also firmly locate Robin Hood there. Accordingly, tourist interest in Robin Hood continues to be focussed on Nottingham and nearby Sherwood Forest (Shackley, 2001). However, Bidwell Park and other Californian locations continued to be marketed to international and domestic tourists as places worth visiting because *The Adventures of Robin Hood* was filmed there (see for example Lyon, Wheeler, Gierlich, Keller and Gottberg, 1996: 300).

Over fifty years later another popular film focussed on a legendary medieval hero. This was *Braveheart* (1995), the story of the Scottish patriot/outlaw William Wallace. The success of the film stimulated tourism to Scotland, particularly to sites associated with Wallace. Before the film the National Wallace Monument at Stirling was struggling to remain open. With its release, visitor numbers trebled. Indeed, when in 1996 a statue of Wallace was erected at the site, it was modelled on Mel Gibson, who played him in the film (Beeton, 2005: 58-60).

However, most of *Braveheart* was filmed in Ireland. This was due to a combination of factors, including cheaper production costs and the availability of 1,500 soldiers as unpaid extras. Taking advantage of the popularity of the film, County Wicklow developed an 80 kilometre *Braveheart Drive*. This touring route incorporated a number of locations used in the film, plus sites used for other films (Wicklow Film Commission, 2000).[6]

These examples may be described as *locational dissonance*. There is often a variance between the location where a movie was *set* and where it was *filmed*. This raises the question of which will attract tourists?

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1 All dates of films are from the Internet Movie Database (IMDB), accessible at www.IMDB.com. This database also includes information on locations, though the amount of detail and reliability is variable.

2 Indeed, practically all of Hollywood's output was filmed within California. One exception was the filming of *The General* (1927) at Cottage Grove in Oregon. However, it would be over fifty years before another film – *Animal House* (1978) - would be shot there.

3 *Gone With the Wind* was also shot there.

4 This was a pleasure garden established by one of the co-founders of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Company. The name remains in two US theme parks which were parodied as Duff Gardens in *The Simpsons*.

5 These names appear to have come into existence through their use for an earlier *Robin Hood* (1922). Both names remain in use today for suburban areas.

6 Two other drives were developed. These were based on *Excalibur* (1981) and *Michael Collins* (1995). The latter takes in Avoca, which is the setting for the television series *Ballykissangel*.

This is a theme which runs through the growing literature on film-induced tourism. Tooke and Baker (1996) examined how film exposure increases visitor number to locations. While they considered locations which were also settings, they posed an interesting question. Noting that the just-released television series *Sharpe* was set in Napoleonic Spain, but filmed in the Ukraine, they pondered which country would attract potential tourists (1996: 93). Riley, Baker and Van Doren (1998) outlined a number of cases of mistaken identity, including a location which had sued the film-makers for not being specifically listed in the credits. Croy and Walker (2003) introduced the concept of *runaway* productions, where films are set in one country but filmed in another (usually for reasons of cost). Beeton (2005) distinguished between film tourism which was *on-location*, *mistaken identities* and *off-location* (for example film studio tours). Connell (2005) provided a detailed case study of how the television show *Balamory* affected the Scottish town of Tobermory where it was filmed. Frost (2006) reported that films of the life of Ned Kelly attracted tourists to locations with historical connections to the bushranger, but not to places where the films were shot.

Such discussions suggest that there may be issues of *authenticity* in regards to location. The concept of authenticity first arose with collections in museums and art galleries. Curators needed to ascertain whether new additions were authentic or not. McCannell (1976) extended the concept of authenticity to the experiences of tourists. He argued that tourists were nostalgic for a simpler past due to 'the modern disruption of real life and the simultaneous emergence of a fascination for the "real life" of others' (1976: 91). In MacCannell's view, tourists were seeking authenticity by being allowed *backstage*, 'a space for outsiders who are permitted to view details of the inner operation of a commercial, domestic, industrial or public institution' (1976: 99). By going behind the scenes they were able to have a more satisfying experience, though of course, they could never truly experience any more than just being tourists (1976: 99-102).

In response Cohen argued that the term was being taken out of its original context concerning museum artefacts (1988: 374-7). In its new application to tourism, he argued, authenticity should not be seen as absolute, but rather as 'negotiable' (1988: 374). Tourists, depending on their level of interest and concern, would have different criteria for authenticity (1988: 376). Furthermore, as authenticity was negotiable, then attitudes might change over time. Cultural heritage which was once regarded as inauthentic, might in time be accepted as authentic. Cohen termed this *emergent authenticity* (1988: 379-80) and linked it to the concept of the *invention of tradition* (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). More recent studies have continued to look beyond the view of authenticity as an absolute concept towards *perceptions of authenticity* by tourists, operators and stakeholders. Examples include studies of Scottish Highland Games in the USA (Chhabra, Healy and Sills, 2003); the American Civil War battlefield at Gettysburg (Chronis, 2005); multiple sites related to the book *Anne of Green Gables* (Fawcett and Cormack, 2001); Gold Rush sites in Australia and New Zealand (Frost, 2005a); Viking heritage in Scandinavia and Britain (Halewood and Hannam, 2001) and the Rocks in Sydney (Waitt, 2000).

It may be that film-induced tourists have highly negotiable attitudes towards the authenticity of the locations used for films. They may be attracted to sites represented (but where filming did not take place), or the attraction might be in where the filming actually took place (even if it was not what was represented in the film). They may of course be attracted to both. The attitude adopted by tourists may be influenced by their interest in and knowledge of the filmmaking processes and history. In short, they may be interested in the *heritage* of films.

Interest in locations of films may be stimulated by a wide range of sources of such information (see Figure 1). The scale and range of such information has greatly expanded in the last ten years or so. This is partly due to changes in information technology, particularly the use of the internet. It is also due to a widespread interest in the 'behind the scenes' of films and movie stars. These sources affect how tourists negotiate the authenticity of locations. Whether or not these sources are perceived as authoritive may influence their effectiveness as guides for potential tourists.

Figure 1: Sources for information on film locations

Source	Example
Word of mouth	In Ireland, a local suggested I visit the Wicklow Hills, as it was where *Braveheart* was filmed
Guide book for destination	Lyon et al, 1996 for California; Holland, 1990 for Lone Pine
Books regarding films	MacHale, 2000
Movie maps/ trails	Wicklow Film Commission, 2000
General destination marketing	References in brochures and websites
Attractions, tours	Lone Pine Film Museum; the Quiet Man Experience
Weblogs (blogs)	Schneider, 2006
Internet Movie Database	Includes details of locations for most films
DVD special features	*Once Upon a Time in the West* (1968), DVD release (c2000) includes a 'Locations Then and Now' feature

The aim of this paper is to extend this discussion through a detailed examination of how films utilise locations and how that may affect tourism. The approach taken is historical. Such an approach was chosen for two reasons. First, over a hundred years or so of film-making, the use of locations has changed dramatically (and continues to change). A number of different arrangements have developed and each of these have generated particular different types of film-induced tourism. Furthermore, innovations in the use of location have stimulated interest, including tourism flows. Second, there has been a tendency in studies of film-induced tourism to focus on current examples. By taking a long-term historical approach, this paper demonstrates that the impact on tourism may be quite long-lasting.

BACKLOTS AND FILM RANCHES

Early in the twentieth century, American film-making shifted from the eastern states to California. Hollywood offered the stability of a Mediterranean climate, with low rainfall, bright sunshine and (for a while) an absence of smog. Studios developed backlots with permanent outdoor sets. With minor changes these could be easily adapted for a wide range of films. A number of studios established film ranches in the San Fernando Valley, a short distance from Hollywood. These included elaborate sets (particularly western towns), stables and grazing for horses and other livestock and large areas of open countryside. In addition to studio-owned ranches a number of independent film ranches developed. Major operations included the Iverson and Corrigan Movie Ranches, both of which were used for several thousand films and television productions (Rothel, 1990). Film-makers would use a number of these ranches to provide scenic variety. For example, *Stagecoach* (1939) started in the town of Tonto, which was represented by a town set at RKO Encino Ranch. The stagecoach then proceeded through three relay stations, which were all the same set at the Iverson Movie ranch, just shot from different angles. The film concluded with a gunfight in the town of Lordsburg, filmed at the town set on the Republic Studios backlot (Schneider, 2006).

These studios and ranches attracted visitors. In order to avoid distractions for his staff, Walt Disney planned to open a small amusement park themed around his productions. He initially

wanted to site it adjacent to his studio, but when refused planning permission, he opted for a larger attraction in undeveloped Orange County to be called Disneyland (Marling, 1997). Universal Studios and Warner Brothers eventually opened studio tours which included backlot sets. Beeton (2005) terms these as 'off-location' experiences for visitors, though in some cases they include still functioning sets.

A number of the movie ranches developed as tourist attractions. In 1937 Corriganville was established as a movie ranch by cowboy stuntman Ray 'Crash' Corrigan. The building of an elaborate set for *Fort Apache* (1948) provided Corrigan with an opportunity to diversify.[7] In 1949 he opened his ranch to the public as a theme park with a strong emphasis on stunt work. Opened six years before Disneyland, this theme park was highly successful, attracting up to 20,000 visitors on weekends. In 1965 it was purchased by Bob Hope who ran it for a year as Hopetown (Rothel, 1990: 149).

CALIFORNIAN LOCATIONS

From the earliest days of film, Westerns were one of the few genres which were given freedom of location by studio executives (Dickinson, 1971: 85). Filming on location allowed directors to escape financial and artistic control (McBride, 2003: 102 & 149). There were also advantages of actors and crew enjoying the outdoor life, hunting and fishing and even less wholesome pursuits away from the prying eyes of Hollywood (McBride, 2003: 419; Rothel, 1990: 63 & 69).

Filmmakers sought out Californian locales for Westerns. At Jamestown, near Yosemite, the Sierra Railroad was used for over 150 films and television productions. At Lone Pine, the arid and rocky Alabama Hills were used as stand-ins for the Himalayas in *Gunga Din* (1939) and a range of other adventure films set in nineteenth century India. As recently as *Gladiator* (2000), the Alabama Hills stood in for Roman Spain. In addition, Lone Pine was used for over 300 Westerns, most made in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s (Holland, 1990).

In the 1950s most railways were converted from steam to diesel. However, at Jamestown the revenue from film hire convinced the Sierra Railroad to retain its steam train operation. In 1970 the railroad began operations as a privately operated theme park called Railtown 1897. Following financial difficulties the site was purchased by the State of California in 1981 and became a state park. In 1992 the California State Railroad Museum took over operations, though it remained a state park. Movie Railroad Days, including film screenings, recreations and appearances by stuntmen and actors, are held irregularly at the site (Frost, 2005b).

Lone Pine has similarly focussed its tourism development on its filmmaking heritage. An annual Lone Pine Film Festival features films and guest appearances. As with Jamestown there is a strong focus on the behind-the-scenes aspect of filmmaking (Frost, 2005b). Profits from the festival have funded a purpose-built museum. With an exterior modelled on a 1930s art-deco cinema, it opened in 2006.

Other Californian towns were sought out as representing contemporary smalltown America. The motivation of such filmmakers was typically artistic rather than economic. They wanted real towns to provide an authentic edge even if that added to the cost of the picture. For *Gun Crazy* (1949) a bank robbery in a small town was shot without permits or closing off the street. *Out of the Past* (1947) contrasted the wholesome postcard-perfect main street of Bridgeport with the sleaziness of San Francisco. To emphasise the contrast, Bridgeport was shot in bright sunlight, San Francisco at night. Hollister was invaded by a motorcycle gang for *The Wild One* (1953). For *The Birds* (1963) Alfred Hitchcock utilised the coastal town of Bodega Bay. Such towns, perhaps only used

[7] The fort was highly popular with children, being utilised as the set for the television series *Rin Tin Tin*. Fort Apache was also manufactured as a child's playset.

for one or two films, continue to be attractive to tourists (see for example the entry on Bodega Bay in Lyon et al, 1996: 376).

BEYOND CALIFORNIA: OTHER WESTERN LOCATIONS

Prior to 1939 most Westerns were low-cost B graders. With stock characters and plots they were cheaply churned out utilising a small number of southern Californian locations. However, with the success of *Stagecoach* and *Dodge City* in 1939, a market arose for A grade Westerns. With bigger budgets, filmmakers sought out more spectacular and exotic locations in other Western states. They were also conscious that the southern Californian locations had been overused. George Stevens had worked on *Gunga Din* at Lone Pine. For *Shane* (1953) he chose the Grand Teton Mountains in Wyoming not only for its spectacular mountain scenery, but also because it had not previously been used in a major film.

The pioneer in this approach was John Ford. For *Stagecoach*, he combined film ranch and backlot sets with footage from Victorville in California's Mojave Desert and Monument Valley in Utah (Schneider, 2006). Though essentially second unit stock footage, these inserts contributed greatly to the success of the film.[8] For *My Darling Clementine* (1946), Ford shot his reworking of the Gunfight at the OK Corral in Monument Valley. With the success of that film Ford set up a pattern of shooting most of his Westerns in Monument Valley.

The development of new locations was often due to local boosters who could see commercial opportunities in combining film and tourism. Harry Goulding was a landowner who had set up Goulding's Lodge in Monument Valley. When he heard that Ford was looking for a new location for a Western he travelled to Hollywood with a set of photos (McBride, 2003: 288-290; Rothel, 1990: 132-7). Happy Shahan was a rancher in southern Texas. After the local army post closed, he had the same idea as Goulding. His big break came when he secured *The Alamo* (1960). John Wayne had originally decided to make the film in Mexico where he owned land. However, it quickly became apparent he would face a boycott from the Daughters of the Republic and it was politically expedient to make the film in Texas (Rothel, 1990: 13-15).

Shahan's standard contract was that he could keep the sets. These could then be hired for other films. The elaborate Alamo set gave him the idea of establishing 'Alamo Village' as a tourist attraction. A similar arrangement led to the development of 'Old Tuscon', now claimed to be Arizona's second most popular tourist attraction behind the Grand Canyon. Built for the film *Arizona* (1940), it was donated to the local county. Rarely used and slowly decaying, it was taken over by Robert Shelton in 1959. Shelton's successful strategy was to run it as both a theme park and as a set for television and occasional films - a 'Cowboyland version of California's Disneyland' (Rothel, 1990: 117).

LOCATIONS MOVE OVERSEAS

Following World War Two Hollywood began making movies in Europe. The War had exposed large numbers of Americans to Europe and they were less likely to accept the artificiality of backlot reproductions. As was occurring domestically, certain filmmakers were searching for realism and new locations to distinguish their films. Orson Welles filmed his *The Third Man* (1949) in war-ravaged Vienna. Numerous war films were shot on location. The D Day Landings were recreated on the actual French beaches for *The Longest Day* (1962). Similarly *The Battle of Britain* (1969) used actual World War Two airfields in Essex, Cambridgeshire and Kent.

The Quiet Man (1952) told the story of an Irish American returning to the Irish village where he was born. It became the template for a host of movies and television series set in idyllic rural

[8] The footage at Monument Valley was all in longshot and none of the film's stars were featured in it.

communities.[9] Up until this time, it would have been made in a studio in California. However, director John Ford was determined that it be made on location in Ireland and attempted to gain backing for such a project for nearly twenty years. Eventually Republic Pictures, who were keen to recruit directors of Ford's stature, agreed. However, they added two provisos. First, Ford had to sign a three film deal with the first being a highly commercial Western. Second, to reduce costs only half the film could be shot on location, with the other half filmed in the studio (MacHale, 2000: 29-32).

The Quiet Man continues to attract tourists to Galway fifty years after the film was released. A guidebook includes detailed maps of locations (MacHale, 2000). The Quiet Man Cottage Museum opened in 1996. Housed in a replica of the cottage featured in the film it contains photos and artefacts from the film (Quiet Man Cottage Museum, 2006). Guided tours are conducted of the movie's locations (Quiet Man Experience, 2006).

This formula of combining on-location filming with the conventional studio, backlot and Californian locales was utilised for a number of films in the early 1950s. For *The African Queen* (1951) key scenes were shot on location in Uganda and the Congo. This was added to with footage shot at the Iverson Ranch and the Los Angeles County Arboretum and Botanic Gardens. Attempting to go one better (and perhaps conscious of growing sophistication amongst the public), *Mogambo* (1953) was filmed in Uganda, the Congo, Tanzania and Kenya.

As Hollywood broadened its location horizons, the rise of television threatened its foundations. In response studios put greater emphasis on *epics*, which often featured historical themes, lavish costumes, immense battle and crowd scenes and exotic locations. For *Around the World in 80 Days* (1956), a key feature was the use of multiple international locations. Filming took place in France, Spain, Pakistan, Thailand, Hong Kong and Japan. However, to contain costs, this was also supplemented with filming at the Iverson Ranch and Lone Pine.

The most successful usage of multiple international locations came in the James Bond series. The jet-setting spy's adventures spanned the globe. *Dr No* (1962) was filmed in Jamaica and Trinidad. *From Russia With Love* (1963) featured Turkey, though the chase sequences set in Eastern Europe were actually filmed in Scotland. *Thunderball* (1965) was shot in France, Florida and the Bahamas and *You Only Live Twice* (1967) in Japan. *The Man With the Golden Gun* (1974) was shot in Thailand. It featured a spectacular rocky outcrop near Phuket which was then renamed 'James Bond Island' to cash in on the publicity generated by the film. The Bond of the 1960s and 1970s provided a provocative model for tourists and this was perhaps part of his appeal. The films were set in exotic locations which were just starting to become accessible to mass tourists. The hero (often posing as a tourist) engaged in a range of pursuits which have become associated with *sunlusters*. These included skiing, scuba-diving, sunbathing, and promiscuous sex.

BATTLEFIELD LOCATIONS

Movie battles were rarely filmed at the locations where they took place. Amongst the few exceptions were the recent Civil War productions: *Gettysburg* (1993) and *Gods and Generals* (2003). Both were able to use the actual battlefields which were now preserved as national monuments. Publicity for these films emphasised how this contributed to their authenticity.[10]

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[9] Examples include *Ballykissangel*, *Heartbeat* and *Seachange*. It is surprising that *The Quiet Man* has not been more closely studied by tourism researchers. It is essentially a story of cultural clash between visitor and host community. The Irish village is presented as pre-modern and rustic, there are, for example, no motor vehicles. Having made his money in America, Sean (played by John Wayne) returns. Initiating a bidding war for his family cottage he inflates property values. Rather than potatoes, he plants roses. Unlike the locals, he has no need to work. He is scarcely tolerant of local customs.

[10] Both were also able to utilise thousands of Civil War re-enactment enthusiasts. Serving as extras, they brought their own uniforms and weapons.

However, in most cases the actual battlefields were unavailable, often highly modified by modern developments. Filmmakers were also attracted elsewhere by cheap rents, undeveloped vistas, sets left over from other movies, historic buildings (especially castles) and a pool of cheap extras. For *The Vikings* (1958), Kirk Douglas was able to film the impressive Scandinavian scenes in Norway. According to Halewood and Hannam, this was a key film in fixing an image of the Vikings in popular consciousness (2001: 566).[11] However, for the attacks on an English castle, Douglas was only able to secure an appropriate location in France. For *Spartacus* (1960), lower costs and government assistance convinced Douglas to film the battle scenes in Spain rather than Italy.

Similar considerations led to *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962) being filmed in Spain and Morocco. Filming *Waterloo* (1970) was also a push-pull scenario. The actual battlefield was too developed to be used and the Soviet Union offered incentives to attract the filmmakers. Accordingly it was shot in Ukraine. As noted earlier, the availability of soldiers as unpaid extras was part of the reason *Braveheart* was filmed in Ireland. Whereas *The Longest Day* (1962) was filmed on the actual D Day beaches, modern developments convinced the makers of *Saving Private Ryan* (1998) to recreate the landings in Ireland.

RUNAWAY PRODUCTIONS

In recent years high costs in the USA have encouraged filmmakers to look to other countries as locations. Generally the incentive is lower wage costs, but lower location fees and the availability of government subsidies also contribute. Such strategies are not new, as noted above there is a long history of location choices being based on cost. However, what distinguishes *runaway productions* is the effort in presenting the film so it looks like it was made in the USA.

As noted earlier, John Wayne initially planned to reduce costs by filming *The Alamo* in Mexico. Two later Wayne Westerns were filmed in Durango, some 500 kilometres south of the border. These were *Chisum* (1970), which was set in New Mexico and *Cahill, US Marshall* (1973). Sam Peckinpah used Durango for *Major Dundee* (1965) and *The Wild Bunch* (1969), though both of these were set in Mexico. However, Peckinpah also shot *Pat Garrett and Billy the Kid* (1973) in Durango, even though, like *Chisum*, it dealt with Billy the Kid in New Mexico.

Western Canada, particularly Alberta, has now become the preferred location for Westerns. *Unforgiven* (1992) was mainly shot in Canada, the exception being that railway scenes were filmed at Jamestown. *Shanghai Noon* (2000) was entirely shot in Canada, including its steam train sequences, even though it was specifically set in Nevada. Similarly, *Open Range* (2003) was filmed in Canada. In all three cases, high production values and the presence of big name stars (Clint Eastwood, Jackie Chan, Kevin Costner) meant that most viewers thought they were watching films shot in the USA.

This was perhaps not the case with Jackie Chan's *Rumble in the Bronx* (1995). Set in New York, it was actually filmed in Vancouver, Canada, as illustrated by city skylines with snow-capped mountains nearby. In this case the film was originally set in Vancouver, but the US distributors wanted a well-known American location in the title. Vancouver also stood in for San Francisco in *Dr Who* (1996).[12]

Australia provided an early example of a runaway production in *The Pirate Movie* (1982). Following the success of a Broadway revival of Gilbert and Sullivan's *The Pirates of Penzance*, it was announced that a film version would be produced. To cash in on this publicity, *The Pirate Movie* was quickly made with minor American leads and released in cinemas a year before the major US production.

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[11] Their argument was that this was an inauthentic overly bloodthirsty image at odds with the identity within Scandinavia.

[12] The current television series is produced by BBC Wales with Cardiff standing in for London.

The development of Fox Studios in Sydney provided the impetus for more sophisticated runaway productions. *The Matrix* (1999) skilfully used Sydney locations to create an impression of a generic American city.[13] For *Superman Returns* (2006) a Kansas farm, complete with barn and cornfield was created at Breeza in country NSW (Guerrera, 2006). Similarly a mid-western farm set was built near Melbourne for *Charlotte's Web* (2006).

New Zealand has been the location for runaway productions such as *Vertical Limit* (2000), which was set in the Himalayas and *The Last Samurai* (2003), which was set in Japan. More importantly, New Zealand has become strongly linked with *The Lord of the Rings* (2001, 2002 & 2003) (Croy and Walker, 2003; Jones and Smith, 2005). However, this is not a runaway production. Middle Earth is an imaginary rather than a real place. Director Peter Jackson is firmly identified as a New Zealander and *Lord of the Rings* as a New Zealand production. The film promotes pride in a New Zealand identity (Jones and Smith, 2005).

CONCLUSION

The economics and logistics of film-making has meant that most films are not shot where they are set. Prior to World War Two it was very rare to see a film made at the location represented. Since then, film-makers have been more inclined to film on authentic locations, though in many cases they have used a mix of locations and studios. Indeed, in recent years there has been a move towards films in cheaper locations which can be disguised to provide an impression of other settings.

However, for tourists, their motivation is the visiting and experiencing of what has been projected on the screen. Even if this setting is represented by a studio interior, backlot or location in another country, it is that projected image which attracts tourists. Nonetheless, locations where films are shot (but not set) may attract tourists in some circumstances. There are five scenarios where tourists may possibly be interested in visiting film locations rather than settings. First, where a film's setting is vaguely general (for example, the Wild West) or invented (Middle Earth). Second, where a critical mass of films have been made at a location. Third, in cases of special distinction, such as cult films or stars or an intriguing back-story to the production of the film. In these instances it may be the celebrities or the process of film-making which is of interest rather than the story. Fourth, where there is a strikingly memorable shot or scene, particularly if remnants of buildings, sets or scenery remain. Fifth, where there is sufficient marketing of that location, a tour or a visitor attraction. It is important to understand that film-induced tourism rarely just happens. Rather it needs to be developed, promoted and managed if it is to have any long-term impact.

A final consideration is that good, provocative, interesting films connect to people and may stimulate flows of tourists. These flows will be strongest to where the films are set. There may be another flow to where the film was made, but it is likely to be a significantly lesser flow. This is well illustrated by the two films used to introduce this article. *The Adventures of Robin Hood* excites interest in medieval England. Tourists are likely to realise their interest through visiting Nottingham and Sherwood Forest. Accordingly they have a long history of being popular tourist destinations. The places in California where the film was shot might attract visitors, but they will be fewer. Similarly, *Braveheart* represents Scottish history and has stimulated tourism to Scotland. It also draws tourists to where it was filmed in Ireland, but this is only a secondary flow.

[13] For this movies the IMDB goes as far as providing street addresses of buildings used.

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