

The “Outlander-effect” on social media

Screen tourists’ perceptions of Scottish cultural heritage sites



Eline Raterink

Master Thesis Tourism & Culture, Radboud University

First Supervisor: Dr. Marguérite Corporaal

Second reader: Dr. Chris Louttit

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Abstract

Since the release of TV series *Outlander* in 2014, cultural heritage sites throughout Scotland that were used as film locations saw an influx in visitor numbers. As a result, these sites had to contend with both their historical narrative, and with a fictional narrative as presented on screen. It was often the scenery that people saw on screen that motivated them to visit Scotland, together with the characters of the series and a need to escape from daily life. This research found that screen tourists, both diasporic and non-diasporic, mainly from the USA, UK and Germany, not only focus on the *Outlander* narrative, but also focus on the historical narrative that is presented on-site. It turned out that locations that were very recognisable for viewers of the series, were photographed and shared online more frequently than locations that were less recognisable or where it remained unclear for visitors which parts of the site had been used for filming. In social media posts of sites that were recognisable, people more often referred to the series and the scenes filmed there compared to posts of sites that were less recognisable and where the focus was mainly on the historical narrative of the site. Moreover, the cultural heritage sites that paid attention to both historical and fictional narratives have proven to be the most successful, in terms of visitor numbers as well as in terms of social media coverage.

Photo on the front page: Doune Castle (Photo taken by me on 2 April 2019)

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Introduction

“It’s amazing how a tv show can affect tourism so much!”. Thus argued a 46-year-old woman from the UK who recently visited Scotland (see survey 13 in appendix 1, p. 115). Screen tourism in Scotland is booming now that the Scottish landscape and heritage sites are often used in popular screen productions, especially in *Outlander*. Over the last three decades a lot of research has already been done on screen tourism and the role of films and television series in the decision-making process of tourists to visit a certain location used in film or television series. Nevertheless, the field of screen tourism is quite complex, as it incorporates aspects from multiple disciplines. Although films and television series are not produced with the prime intention to attract tourists to the locations where they were filmed, it has been noted that these forms of media raise awareness and enhance appeal through the imagery and fantasy of the narrative (Beeton *Film-induced Tourism* 3). In her book *Film Induced Tourism*, Sue Beeton states that nowadays, film has become the singular most influential form of creative art, reaching mass populations globally. Furthermore, the influence of filmic media will remain of great influence in the future, as younger generations become more and more familiar with it (6). Besides, film locations are a crucial aspect for destinations to differentiate themselves from other tourist destinations (Macdonald 86).

Since American television network STARZ adapted the *Outlander* novels by Diana Gabaldon into a television series in 2013, cultural heritage sites in Scotland saw a rise in visitor numbers. According to James Cateridge, watching the series could lead “to a desire to travel in the real world, both physically to Scotland, and imaginatively through history by visiting heritage filming locations” (2). The series, which is largely set in eighteenth-century Scotland, follows the English Claire Beauchamp-Randall (played by the Irish Caitriona Balfe) who, during her second honeymoon in Inverness with her husband Frank Randall, accidentally travels through time from 1945 back to 1743 by touching a large mysterious standing stone. Here she meets Jamie Fraser (played by Scottish Sam Heughan) and his clan members and is soon forced to marry him. Though they do not experience love at first sight, they soon fall for

each other, causing Claire's heart to be torn between two men in two different time periods. The series follows Claire's adventures as she struggles to adapt to eighteenth-century life bringing along her medical skills and knowledge of upcoming events in Scotland. Most scenes are filmed on location in Scotland and surprisingly, even the scenes which take place in France or Virginia in the series, were actually filmed, for the largest part, in Scotland.

The show premiered on STARZ on August 9 2014 in the US and on March 26 2015 on Amazon Prime in the UK before being broadcasted on television in June 2017. Since the premiere of the show was close to the Scottish independence referendum in 2014, it is not considered as a coincidence that the show was withheld from the screens in the UK until after the referendum. WikiLeaks published an email conversation between Sony and Prime Minister David Cameron, proving that they had meetings during that time period (Weaver). Because of the emphasis on the Battle of Culloden from the Scottish point of view in the series, it is rumoured that Cameron prevented the show from reaching the UK audience in 2014, fearing that it might fuel the debate even more (Cateridge 12). As a consequence, tour operators in Scotland already noticed a huge demand for locations used in the television series and their tours sold out nearly a year in advance, before they were able to see the show for themselves (Holden). Most of the cultural heritage sites that were used for filming *Outlander* also have a rich history of their own. Most of them have histories connected to the Jacobite rebellion, which also plays a huge part in the first and second season of *Outlander*, and/or Mary Queen of Scots. Due to the interest of many *Outlander* fans who wish to visit these locations, the heritage sites are now dealing with multiple narratives: their own historical narrative, the *Outlander* narrative, and in some cases with even more narratives since some of the locations were used for multiple films or television series.

In 1996, Nichola Tooke and Michael Baker already confirmed that films indeed have an effect on the decisions of people to visit a certain destination (87). According to a survey conducted by the Scottish tourism board VisitScotland during the summers of 2015 and 2016, 8% of the tourists visited Scotland because they had seen it in a television series, 6% because of a film and another 6% visited because of a book that was set in Scotland. The motivations were equally important to European,

American and Australian tourists. Among these tourists, *Outlander* (both the books and the tv series) was mentioned most frequently as a reason for visiting Scotland, especially among Americans (“TV and Film Extract” 4-11).

Another important reason for tourists to visit Scotland, especially for tourists from the United States and Australia, is their Scottish ancestry (“Motivations To Visit” 5). According to Stephen Duncan of Historic Environment Scotland, “*Outlander* is helping take iconic images of the Highlands to potential visitors worldwide, boosting the profile of this beautiful region around the globe and tapping into the millions of people globally with Scottish ancestry [...]” (Jeffay). Research conducted by Rachel Noorda found that Scottish people living outside of Scotland have a great interest in books, films and television series that are set in Scotland, and the majority of the respondents expressed their appreciation for the *Outlander* series as they perceived this series as a good representation of Scottish life and history and the development of the United States through the Scottish diaspora (370). David Martin-Jones stated that media-based tourism in Scotland often depends upon heritage iconography and the lure of genealogy in their efforts to encourage diaspora tourism to Scotland (14).

Therefore, Scottish diaspora tourists are an important part of screen tourists visiting Scotland. James Cateridge even argues that *Outlander* is “particularly potent as a tourism driver for diasporic audiences due to its narrative treatment of family history and genealogy, and the ways that these elements intersect with discourse around Scottish nationalism” (2). In his survey held among a dedicated group of *Outlander* fans on Facebook, 85% agreed strongly when asked if the tv series of *Outlander* had increased their desire to travel to Scotland and several others from the remaining 15% indicated that they were already keen to visit Scotland after having read the novels (5). Amy Clarke has found in a survey among tourists who did an *Outlander* tour in Scotland, that nearly 80% of them were American and some of them indicated to have ancestral connections to the places that were visited during the tour (12). VisitScotland recognised this interest in Scottish ancestry among *Outlander* fans and anticipated to this on their website by adding ‘research your roots’ on their *Outlander* page (“Research Your Scottish Ancestry”).

Previous research in the field mainly focused on the motivations and activities of screen tourists, the impact of screen tourism on the host community and the environment, and the connection between screen tourism and destination development. According to Sangkyun Kim, there is a general lack of research on understanding the performance and practices of screen tourists when visiting screen tourism destination spaces (60). Even more so, despite the fact that social media these days play a part in how we document our travels, a link between social media and the experience of screen tourists has not yet been made. Therefore, the focus of this research will be on the role of social media in the experience of visitors of film locations in Scotland. In order to get a better understanding of how screen tourists perceive locations that are dealing with multiple narratives, this research will analyse the content and captions of their social media posts and discussions about the film locations in social media groups. Furthermore, surveys will be held on location in Scotland with tourists who attend an *Outlander*-tour to gain a better understanding of their motivations and experiences during their visit, to investigate whether they also consider the other narratives that are told on the sites, and to analyse of what they think is worth sharing on social media and what is not.

By researching this, I hope to answer the following research question: How do *Outlander* tourists in Scotland experience cultural heritage sites that are dealing with multiple narratives, both real and imagined, and how is this reflected on their social media? In order to answer this question, the following sub questions are formulated: What is the content of the photos posted on social media of visitors of *Outlander* film locations? Which narratives are most important in the social media posts of *Outlander* tourists? Do diasporic Scots experience the *Outlander* locations differently from those who do not have an ancestral connection to Scotland? How do cultural heritage sites in Scotland present the different narratives? In the literature used for this research, a lot of different definitions for the same phenomenon are used, but since *Outlander* can be watched on Netflix, television, DVD, and other streaming websites, and could therefore be watched on different devices, I prefer to use the term screen tourism here. Although the *Outlander* book series initially influenced readers to travel to Scotland (Noorda 370), this research will focus on the television series only.

In order to decide which heritage sites to include in this study, an overview with all the cultural heritage sites which were used as film locations in the series was made. Next, I looked at which sites were included in organised *Outlander* tours and which sites were indicated as ‘must see’ location for *Outlander* fans on tourism promotion websites and fan sites. Furthermore, I looked at which heritage sites saw an increase in visitor numbers and what role they played in the history of Scotland. It turned out that many of the heritage sites have a link to Jacobite history and/or are related to a Scottish monarch, in particular Mary Queen of Scots. Based on these criteria, I selected the following heritage sites for my case study: Doune Castle, Linlithgow Palace, Blackness Castle, Craigmillar Castle, Falkland, Culross, Culloden and the standing stones of Clava Cairns. In the television series, Claire travels through a circle of standing stones in Craigh na Dun. The stones that were used were made of Styrofoam and can therefore not be found at the filming location. Nevertheless, the standing stones are an important element of the story, and tour organisers found an alternative location where fans could take their picture with the standing stones in Clava Cairns, which is located next to the battlefield of Culloden. Despite the fact that there are circles of standing stones in Scotland which resemble the one used in the series, Clava Cairns is the most popular because of its proximity to Culloden (Clarke 12). Furthermore, because Clava Cairns is often mentioned as ‘the real Craigh na dun’ and attracts many *Outlander* fans, I decided to include this site in my research (Grant; Frodsham).

In the next chapter, theories on screen tourists, social media, and screen tourists’ motivations and expectations will be discussed, as well as the methodology used in this research. The research analysis is divided in three chapters, based on the type of cultural heritage. In chapter 2 the findings on the selected castles and palaces will be investigated. Chapter 3 will discuss Falkland and Culross, two towns which were used as film locations in *Outlander* and other tv series. These are grouped together because they, as an entire town, represent cultural heritage. Chapter 4 examines Culloden and Clava Cairns, two historical sites which left their marks on the surrounding landscape. This chapter is followed by a conclusion in chapter 5.

1 Theoretical Framework

This chapter explores the definitions of screen tourism, the insights that already exist within the field of tourism, and the importance of screen tourism for Scotland. Furthermore, theories on tourist motivations and experiences will be discussed, which may play a role in the decision-making process to visit a certain location. Next, the role of social media within the field of tourism will be explored. Since the Scottish diaspora are an important group for film and heritage tourism in Scotland, the different diaspora groups and Scottish identity will be discussed as well. Lastly, the methodology of this thesis will be explained.

1.1 Screen Tourism

Screen tourism is part of the wider phenomenon of cultural tourism and is closely related to literary tourism (Busby and Klug 316). Different terms are used in scholarly literature when describing the phenomenon of tourists visiting places that were used as film locations in a television series, documentary, or film. Whereas Sue Beeton uses the term film-induced tourism, earlier works in the 1990s refer to the phenomenon as movie-induced tourism (Riley et al 1998; Tooke and Baker 1996). The term screen tourism or screen-induced tourism is more frequently used by scholars since the late 2000s, since people would not only watch films and TV series on television screens, but also on their laptops, tablets and telephones (Cateridge 2015; Kim 2010). Other terms that are frequently used are: Media Induced Tourism, Cinematographic tourism, the Media Pilgrim and Media Pilgrimage (Macionis 87), and in the last few years, the term 'set-jetting' is often used to describe the phenomenon of visiting film locations. Despite the different terms, they all describe the same phenomenon and in this master thesis, the term screen tourism will be used.

1.1.1 Definitions

The most straightforward description of screen tourism comes from Graham Busby and Julia Klug, who defined the phenomenon as “tourist visits to a destination or attraction as a result of the destination featured on the cinema screen, video or television” (316). Watching television, films and series is still one of the most common leisure activities. It has become part of our culture and helps us understand the world around us. When looking at the phenomenon from a cultural point of view, Chieko Iwashita argues that “film, television and literature can influence the travel preferences and destination choices of individuals by exposing them to the attributes and attractions of destinations” (332).

Scholars that approached screen tourism from a consumer perspective often refer to John Urry’s framework of the tourist gaze to highlight the behavioural aspect of the screen tourist. Before screen tourism was considered a tourism phenomenon, Urry already stated that:

...places are chosen to be gazed upon because there is an anticipation, especially through daydreaming and fantasy, or intense pleasures, either on a different scale or involving a different sense from those customarily encountered. Such anticipation is constructed and sustained through a variety of non-tourist practices such as film, TV, literature, magazines, records, and videos which construct and reinforce the gaze (3).

Beeton builds upon this by stating in her article *Understanding film-induced Tourism* that visual forms such as films and movies “have a strong influence on tourists’ ideas and beliefs” (182). Furthermore, Gjorgievski and Melles Trpkova even distinguish the tourist gaze as the “critical internal drive or push motivation” (101). According to Roger Riley et al, people qualify as movie-induced tourists when they “are seeking sights/sites seen on the silver screen” (920). Whereas they thought at first that the influence to visit a film location was limited to natural scenery attractions, they later found that storylines, themes, exciting sequences, and human relationships may also influence tourists to visit film locations (920). Historic and/or heritage sites that are recognisably used in films or television series often see an increase in popularity or become popular tourist attractions only after their release (Busby and Klug 321).

All of these definitions have in common that they suggest that screen tourism is a postmodern experience of a place that has been provided by some sort of media representation and gives tourists a new and more profound way of experiencing those destinations (“The Outlander Effect & Tourism 2). These media representations create media constructed places that can give an extra meaning or dimension to existing ‘real’ places. Increasingly, people are searching for meaningful experiences while traveling and these experiences are often shared online with other people. Visiting these media constructed places takes them to the centre of their fandom and gives them new ways to experience the film or TV series (“The Outlander Effect & Tourism” 2). People enjoy these produced worlds and use them as an escape from the real world (Torchin 247-9). However, the experiences are highly personalised and unique to every individual, because they are based on the individuals’ interpretations and media consumption (Macionis 87).

Furthermore, different forms and characteristics of screen tourism can be identified. Busby and Klug made an overview (318) which Sue Beeton later extended in her book *Film Induced Tourism* (10-11). The forms she distinguishes are on-location, commercial, mistaken identities, off-location, one-off events, and armchair travels. Screen tourism does not solely occur at identifiable film locations, but also at locations which were purposely built, commercialised sites such as movie studios (Macionis 88). The locations used in *Outlander* have the form of on-location, commercial and mistaken identities. On-location sites are often characterised as sites which are an attraction in their own right, because they are strong enough to motivate visits. At the same time, these sites can function as pilgrimage locations where visitors ‘pay homage’ to a film or even possibly re-enact certain scenes. An example of this is Doune Castle, which has been attracting *Monty Python* fans for decades now (Beeton *Film Induced Tourism* 10). Another important characteristic of film locations that is applicable to *Outlander*, are locations that represent another era (nostalgic film tourism). The commercial aspect of film tourism lies in the tours that are developed after the release of the TV series and initially the books. These tours are a commercial success and there are plenty in Scotland, all more or less visiting the same locations. Another form of film tourism related to *Outlander* are the locations where the filming is

believed to have taken place, such as the Battlefield of Culloden and Inverness. Both sites were not used as actual film locations, despite their representation in the TV series and the rise in visitor numbers. Scenes in season three that take place in Jamaica were filmed in South-Africa, and scenes in season four that represent the southern states of America were filmed in Scotland. Whether these destinations also saw a rise in *Outlander* film tourists is not known yet, since these seasons were broadcasted only recently.

1.1.2 Screen Tourism in the UK and Scotland

The government of the UK describes screen tourists' visits as visits that are not just limited to specific locations associated with the films or programmes, but also to sites that are associated with these films and TV series ("Stately Attraction" 5). For the *Outlander* case study, this could mean that sites associated with Highland culture and/or the Jacobite rebellion in Scotland might also see an influx of visitors since the release of the TV series.

According to Mike Cantley, Chairman of VisitScotland, "40% of the visitors to the UK inspired to come after seeing a location on film or on television, a major TV series being shot on location in Scotland carries huge potential benefits for the tourism industry" (Goundry). VisitScotland understands the effect that film can have on tourism and anticipates on this. In the past, VisitScotland successfully formed a partnership with VisitBritain, Maison de la France, and Sony Pictures to promote the film locations that were used in *The Da Vinci Code* (Martin-Jones 1; "Film Promotes Da Vinci 'set-jet'"). The campaign was launched at the same time as the film and served not only as a means to show fans of the film what Scotland has to offer, but it also demonstrated the possibilities for film production ("Film Promotes Da Vinci 'set-jet'"). Similarly to VisitScotland, VisitBritain has an extensive section on their website dedicated to films and TV series which either are set in the UK and/or were filmed there.

Even more so, the state of the UK recognises the importance of film tourism for the country and regularly carries out in-depth researches. Research commissioned by the state and carried out by

Olsberg SPI emphasises the importance of screen tourism for the UK. Films and TV series can inform audiences about the British language, history, literature, society, landscapes and personalities, and is therefore a valuable means to promote the UK, especially for the long term. The impact of films and TV series can outlast and spread far beyond the lifetime of the film or TV series itself, reaching both an international market and future generations (“Stately Attraction” 7). This research by Olsberg SPI for the UK government also provided a list with success factors in tourism-inducing films and series:

1. Strong Narrative, not just ‘pure entertainment’
2. High-Visibility screen products with a great appeal
3. A positive, uplifting tone
4. Films which link to a wider, established ‘brand’, whether literary, historical or cinematic
5. The usage of historical buildings and/or rural village landscapes as locations
6. The role of place, whether real or fictional, in the story.

(“Stately Attraction” 23).

The *Outlander* series ticks all these boxes, although the positive and uplifting tone might be debatable considering the many cruelties the protagonists have to endure.

Especially Scotland is very popular among filmmakers. What makes Scotland so attractive to them are the scenery, built heritage, and the diverse and rich culture (Whitehead). Although the “Stately Attraction” report by Olsberg SPI suggests that the UK brands itself as ‘a country steeped in history’ (4), David Martin-Jones argues that it is not only the history, “but also the association of Scotland with a past steeped in myth and romance (along with recognisable cinematic iconography in this vein) that characterises the specific Scottish heritage brand” which makes Scotland popular among both filmmakers and heritage tourists (8). In the case of *Outlander* in Scotland, Stephenie McGucken states:

The Romantic view promoted in the show intentionally foregrounds Scottish heritage sites in such a way that the locations become key to the story’s arc. From the first moment of the show’s credits, Scotland is presented as an untamed, picturesque, and magical place steeped in unique history. Each historic site utilized in the course of filming comes with its

own history, which is adopted, enveloped, and rejected by the production in favour of their constructed view of place and time (7).

This proves how important both landscape and the heritage sites used for filming are for the story.

1.2 Tourist Motivations

1.2.1 Push & Pull factors

According to Graham Dann, tourism motivation to travel can be defined as “a meaningful state of mind which adequately disposes an actor [individual] to travel, and which is subsequently interpretable by others as a valid explanation for such a decision” (“Tourist Motivation” 205). Tourists can have different motivations to travel to a certain destination. Nikki Macionis explains the phenomenon of screen tourism through the ‘push and pull’ factors theory of Dann (1977) and Crompton (1979). That films and TV series are an important motivational pull-factor for people to visit a certain destination has been recognised by many studies (Riley & Van Dooren, 1992; Tooke & Baker, 1996; Beeton, 2005, Kim & Richardson, 2003). Films and TV series familiarise the audience with certain places, attractions and landscapes, which might not only give them the opportunity to gain knowledge about the destination before they go, but it may also give them a certain sense of security and comfort (Kim & Richardson 222; Riley & Van Dooren 269).

Traditional pull-factors of tourism destinations are those which attract tourists to the destination, such as sunshine, the beach and the sea. The push-factors are personal factors that cause people to travel, such as prestige, fantasy, romance, the need to escape from daily life, self-actualisation, and nostalgia (Macionis 88; Dann “Anomie” 186; Crompton 408). Although the motivation for travel is based on both push- and pull-factors, the push-motivations are considered as the dominant factors. Furthermore, John Crompton argued that push-factors might not only initially arouse the urge to go on a holiday but may also have “directive potential to direct the tourist towards a particular destination” (412). People are motivated to travel and seek leisure activities so they can leave their

everyday life behind and obtain new experiences in a contrasting environment to reward themselves. So, especially the motivation to escape is important as a trigger for people to travel (Iso-Ahola 261). At the same time, the push- and pull-factors do not operate independently from each other but may simultaneously influence a person to travel. There are mostly multiple motivations that create the desire to travel and visit a film location.

Figure 1: Push & Pull Motivations in Screen Tourism (Macionis 90)

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

In screen tourism, the pull-factors consist out of the 3P's: Place, personality, and performance, which are all specifically related to the film or TV series, as shown in figure 1. The locations used as film locations for *Outlander* can be attributed to one of these three P's. The first P, Place, involves film locations that have a spectacular scenery or easily identifiable landscapes, such as the shots of Glencoe park in Scotland in the opening credits of *Outlander*. No scenes with the actors were filmed here, but it is the first location that the website of VisitScotland mentions as an *Outlander* film location and several multi-day tours make a stop at this park as well.

The Personality pull-factor resembles a pilgrimage. People visit locations because of a character or an actor. The grave marker of the Clan Fraser at the battlefield of Culloden is a good example related to *Outlander*. Not only the character of Jamie attracts people to Scotland. The actor Sam Heughan often posts about Scotland on his social media, he promotes, models and co-designed for Scottish clothing brand Barbour, and he is the president of Scotland for Bloodwise, a charity that raises

awareness of blood cancer. So, whether it is intended or not, Heughan promotes Scotland among the fans as well, and he might be a reason for them to visit Scotland.

Tourism destination marketing organisations often use celebrities to promote the destination or a certain region. In their article “Individuals as Tourist Icons”, Pearce et al. even argue that, without the appropriate marketing, the appeal of certain destinations is limited to people who are absolute fans or who have a special interest in these destinations, rather than also reaching the more general tourist. According to Stephenie McGucken, “*Outlander*-inspired tourism is about retracing the steps of a fictional character, James Fraser, throughout history and at specific historic locations” (13-14). It is therefore probable that people who are motivated by the personality pull-factor are the tourists who are mostly likely to pose on a photo as the characters of their favourite film or TV show. It is therefore also probable that they would focus solely on the narrative of the film/TV series instead of the historic narrative of the site when they post content online. In this research, this assumption will be examined through a social media analysis, where both content on the photo and the caption will be interpreted.

Performance as a pull-factor is based on the storyline, plot, experiences of the protagonists, or the theme in the film or TV series. The tourists for whom this pull-factor is strong are mostly looking for an escape of their daily lives or seek romance through vicarious experiences. They are drawn to a destination via the concept of something, instead of the destination itself (Macdonald 1991). For *Outlander* fans, this might be the concept of ‘time traveling’, or exploring ‘the brave new world’, for these concepts go hand in hand with a sense of adventure and diving into the unknown. But this can also be the concept of ‘genealogy’ and searching for information about ancestors, which is also a theme in *Outlander*. The physical destination is less important here. In order to distinguish the motivations of tourists travelling to Scotland, respondents of the survey will be asked to indicate which of the above-mentioned motivations applies to them. This will give insight in whether tourists with performance as a pull-factor have a different experience on the locations than the tourists who travel to Scotland because of the place or personality pull-factor.

The right column in figure 1 indicates the push-factors, or the internal drivers to visit a certain destination. These factors are very personal and differ from person to person and are driven by emotions, past experiences, nostalgia, the desire to escape from daily life, and the search for self-identity (Maconis 94; Riley & Van Dooren 268). Another very important driver is John Urry's notion of the 'tourist gaze'. People want to visit certain destinations because they have seen them in the media and want to experience what was portrayed in the film or TV series, or because the sites are simply famous in themselves, like the Grand Canyon or the Eiffel Tower (Maconis 94). Recent research by Emily Boyer among visitors at film locations used for *Game of Thrones* in both Ireland and Croatia, showed that especially younger people are drawn to a cultural heritage site when it is used as a film location, whereas older visitors mainly visited the sites because of their heritage status (118). If this is also the case for *Outlander* might become clear by analysing the captions that accompany photos on social media. It is expected that younger people might refer to the role of the site as a film location in their captions, whereas it would be more likely that the older visitors refer to its status as a heritage site and are less likely to make a connection to a certain film or TV series. However, this can only be analysed if there are people in the photos.

1.2.2 Motivations for sharing tourism experiences on social media

According to Busby and Klug, "all tourist experiences involve meaning, and, similarly, form part of wider processes of cultural production and consumption" (322). But whereas Kim and Fesenmeier declare that the tourist' experience can be considered as an 'activity-based' process within a temporal perspective, or as a 'reflective process' in which the tourists' psychological and emotional states are mediated (29), Tung & Ritchie give a more general definition of the tourism experience and describe it as:

an individual's subjective evaluation and undergoing (i.e., affective, cognitive, and behavioural) of events related to his/her tourist activities that begins before (i.e., planning

and preparation), during (i.e., at the destination), and after the trip (i.e., recollection) (Tung and Ritchie 1369).

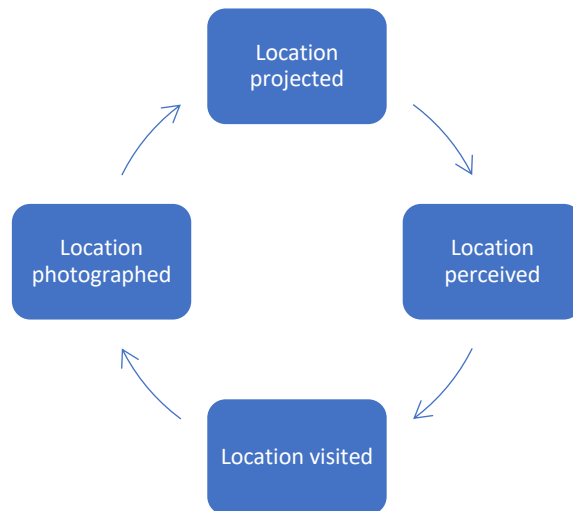
Tourists not only share knowledge on social media, but they increasingly share experiences with each other. The production and circulation of meaning in tourism experiences can now easily be spread through social media channels (Munar & Jacobsen 47). With the increasing popularity of social media and the development of media technology, most aspects of tourist experiences can now be viewed as photo opportunities which later can be instantly shared on social media (Linden & Linden 122). However, experiences are personal as each person perceives and reacts differently. Sharing of information on social media is commonly related to textual and narrative communicative practices, while sharing of experiences specifically acknowledges the creation and sharing of (audio-)visual content (Munar & Jacobsen 47). Among tourists, the sharing of visual content is far more popular than the sharing of textual content. Messaging apps, posting photos online for acquaintances, or sending a picture postcard are among the most popular forms of sharing content, while writing a blogpost for everyone to see or use Twitter are among the least popular forms (Munar & Jacobsen 50). This research will investigate what it is exactly what people share online and what the visual and textual contexts of these messages are.

1.3 Circle of representation

It is very likely that the photos that we take while on holiday are influenced by images that we have seen before. According to Butler and Hall “the images held by any individual are influenced by the images circulating in their culture and place myths are constructed via images of place promotion” (121). By repeatedly seeing a destination in the mass media, people may get inspired to visit this place as well. At the destination, they will most likely visit these places that they have seen in the media and take their own photo there, which they may share with friends and family afterwards. These photos

might inspire those relatives and friends to travel to these locations as well, beginning the 'circle of representation' again (Jenkins 307-8).

Figure 2: Circle of representation for screen tourism, adapted from Hall's model (1)



This 'circle of representation' as depicted in figure 2 can also be applied to screen tourism. Tourists see a destination or location repeatedly while watching a movie or TV series, which might inspire them to travel to these destinations as mentioned before. While at the destination or film location, these tourists are likely to take photos of either themselves re-enacting a certain scene as they have seen it before, or of, for example, buildings or landscapes that they have seen on screen. The cultural heritage sites that are used as film location can be interpreted by visitors in different ways, even though the site itself tells a different narrative that does not include the fictional narratives of films and TV series. For the Scottish Highlands specifically, David Herbert argues that for modern tourists, the Highlands "are presented in picturesque, romantic ways, yet they are landscapes which embody a history of rural poverty and human suffering. Place promoters have strong incentives to create what they perceive to be 'good' images or those which will attract visitors" (78-9). Busby and Klug state that "places are being constructed in the image of tourism, both socially and physically; places are then sold as *products*" (322).

However, Sue Beeton emphasises that viewers can base their knowledge about a location on the way it is depicted on screen, which might be based on false information and in turn lead to developing false expectations of sites, which can ultimately lead to disappointing experiences (*Film-Induced Tourism* 31). It is therefore important that cultural heritage sites make the unfamiliar familiar to screen tourists in order to prevent this disappointment by employing some visual material to recall their memory of the scenes that were shot at the location. This could benefit the on-site experience, which in turn may help increase visitor numbers through positive word-of-mouth recommendations (McGucken 15). Whether the expectations that visitors had prior to their visit were met or if they were disappointed will be researched in the survey.

1.4 Scottish Diaspora

Scotland has a large international diaspora and Scotland itself is an important tourism destination for that diaspora (Martin-Jones 1). After the Highland clearances¹ in the late eighteenth century that followed the defeat of the Jacobites at the battle of Culloden in 1746, around two million Scots fled Scotland and settled in North America, Australia and Canada (Martin-Jones 9; Bueltmann et al. 1). Several crises in the nineteenth century, such as the Highland Clearances, as well as voluntary emigration to find better opportunities in the New World also led to many Scots leaving Scotland. Even though fifty million people left Europe in the same period, the impact of two million people leaving Scotland was felt more greatly. The Western highlands alone lost one third of its population between 1841 and 1861 (Devine 468-475). The Highland clearances meant the end of the clan system and dismantled the Highland culture and way of life (Cateridge 10).

Although the battle of Culloden and the Highland clearances are not the only reasons for emigration, these events still hold a special place in the construction of Scottish national identity and

¹ For more information about the Highland Clearances, see chapter 2 'The Legacy of the Clearances' of Gouriévidis, Laurence. *The Dynamics of Heritage: History, Memory and the Highland Clearances*, Ashgate 2010.

especially the diasporic Scottish ancestry (Cateridge 10). Even though Michael Lynch states that a surname alone does not distinguish clan groups and that “the notion that all members of a clan were descended from a common and distant ancestor is a nonsense” (69), many diasporic Scots find some sort of a familial or clan community based on their Scottish surname. Another marker of Scottish heritage is the tartan, which became popular after George IV visited Edinburgh in 1822. The tartan and other Scottish regalia now function as markers of cultural nationalism for many Scots according to McCrone et al (4-5), and especially for diasporic Scots (Martin-Jones 9).

VisitScotland is well aware of this widespread Scottish diaspora and therefore targets their markets differently; for European tourists, they focus mainly on the castles and gardens, while for the North American market, the focus is more on heritage, genealogy, the Romantic lure of the countryside and outdoor activities, as there is a large group of diasporic Scots in North America. David Martin-Jones’s research demonstrates that film tourism and heritage tourism in Scotland often depend upon heritage iconography and genealogy when attracting tourists from the Scottish diaspora (2). VisitScotland cleverly anticipated on this by introducing the ‘Research Your Scottish Ancestry’ section in their *Outlander* promotion on their website.

The Scottish diaspora is not a homogeneous group, neither in their relationship with Scotland, nor in their constructions of the Scottish identity (Blain 154). This group can roughly be divided into two different groups: the ancestral diaspora (those with Scottish ancestors) and the lived diaspora (those who have lived in Scotland for a part of their lives). According to Stephanie Rains, diasporas experience the national past differently than people living in the nation itself, because they share a ‘historically collective’ memory, whereas the lived reality of the nation might experience the past differently (208). Whether the diasporic Scots experience the cultural heritage sites differently from those without ties to Scotland, will be researched in the survey.

1.4.1 Ancestral Diaspora

The ancestral Scots are influenced by nostalgia according to Leith and Sim, since they have a more sentimental attachment to Scotland compared to other diasporic groups and they might pine for a particular historical past in which their ancestors lived (11). Ancestry is what binds this group together, despite the fact that they may be living in different countries around the world (Noorda 375). In their book *Transatlantic Scots*, Celeste Ray and James Hunter call this group ‘hyphenated Scots’, because they can identify with their ancestral ethnic identity (Scottish) as well as with a political identity from the country that they currently live in. Nevertheless, Rachel Noorda found that the more generations come between the Scottish homeland and the individual, the more likely they are to see Scotland in a romanticised, Highland-centric way (375). Therefore, this group of diasporic Scots show a greater interest in historic Scottish books, as these provide a personal connection to a time period in which their ancestors may have lived (Noorda 375).

The *Outlander* books proved to be very popular among the ancestral diaspora, as one of the interviewees of Rachel Noorda’s research said:

I think it’s a very good and accurate description of Scottish life, Scottish history and historical fiction. As Diana wrote it, the historical facts that she incorporated into the story are entirely accurate and it was a very interesting narrative of how the south-eastern part of the United States was developed through the Scottish diaspora. (Male interviewee from the United States) (Noorda 370).

From this quote, it can be concluded that *Outlander* is not only a story about the homeland and its history, but it also tells something about the Scottish diaspora. This is, however, a topic in season 4 of *Outlander* which is set in different locations than those used in this research, and was only broadcasted recently.

1.4.2 Lived Diaspora

Scots who are part of the lived diaspora have lived in Scotland for some part of their lives and they have first-hand experience of Scotland and Scottish culture (Noorda 372; Rutherford 3). Most of them left Scotland for business reasons or for romance, but still feel connected to Scottish identity (Noorda 372). Whereas the ancestral Scots are pining for a foreign country since they are not from Scotland themselves, Scots from the lived diaspora can be considered as Scottish expatriates and call Scotland their 'home' country (Noorda 372). However, Rachel Noorda found that the term 'expatriates' might be quite ambiguous since some of the lived diasporic Scots have a double nationality and might therefore have lived in Scotland for some part of their lives but did not leave Scotland for reasons of business or romance (372). According to Noora's research, the lived diaspora are more interested in narratives that are set near the places where they were born or have lived and have fewer interest in the narratives that deal with Scottish history (373).

1.5 Methodology

This research consists out of three parts. Firstly, I will look at the available narratives: the narrative as told by the Historic Environment Scotland (HES) or the National Trust for Scotland (NTS) on the website and on-site, the role of the site in the *Outlander* narrative, and the role that the site has in other films and/or TV series. Next, the experiences of the tourists who visited the locations will be analysed. Surveys will be held to get a better understanding of the decision-making process of tourists, their prior expectations of the sites and their experiences after their visit. This will give information about what narratives these tourists take into consideration when visiting the locations. An additional social media analysis will give insights in what parts of the locations are most important for the visitors and what narratives they tell in the captions accompanying these posts. Lastly, I will be researching if and how the experiences of diasporic Scots differ from the experiences of those without ties to Scotland, by comparing the experiences in the survey. All these three aspects, the narratives, the

experiences and possible diasporic backgrounds, are in dialogue with each other, and this research will give insight in how tourists mediate the multiplicity of narratives that are available on cultural heritage sites that are used as film locations.

1.5.1 Narratives

The sites will be analysed from three different perspectives. Firstly, the constructed narrative of HES, the organisation that manages the cultural heritage sites and wrote reports about the historical and archaeological narratives of the sites. Secondly, the role of the site in the *Outlander* narrative. And thirdly, in case the site was also used in other films and/or series, these narratives will also be analysed and the role of the site in it. Together, this part gives an overview of the narratives that tourists can take into consideration when visiting the locations.

1.5.2 Survey

In Scotland, surveys will be held among tourists who join an *Outlander*-tour in order to get an insight in how they experience the sites on the day itself and which parts of their visit they think are worthwhile photographing and sharing on social media. This way, it will become clear what the tourists found most interesting, what they think is worth sharing and equally important: what not and why. The questions will be based on the existing literature about travel motivations and photographic behaviour and will be distributed before the tour starts. Respondents will be informed about the data collection and preservation prior to the tour and participation is voluntarily. The locations that will be visited during the tour are: Culross, Doune Castle, Linlithgow Palace and Blackness Castle. The survey including all the locations that are part of this research will also be distributed in Facebook-groups dedicated to *Outlander*. The survey will also be used to analyse the difference between the tourists with and without diasporic ties to Scotland.

1.5.3 Social Media Analysis

In order to get an answer to the main research question and the sub questions, an extensive social media analysis will be conducted. Instagram, Flickr, blogs and Facebook will be the social media websites to be examined. These websites have content that is open for public viewers. On Facebook, most information will most likely be available in a (fan)group and six groups will be joined so that discussions about film locations and photos and videos can be analysed. These groups are: Heughan's Heughligans, Outlander Universe Travel Clan – Outclan, Outlander Cast Clan Gathering, Outlander Tours & Travel Scotland, Outlander Forum, and Outlander Universe. Some scanning of messages in these groups proved that there are also members who are actively searching for their Scottish ancestry, so diasporic respondents will also be found in these groups.

Flickr gives insight in where the photos that are posted on that website were taken. This information might tell something of what location on the site is considered important for the visitors and the content of the photos might tell something about what there is to see at that specific spot. On Instagram, I will search for content using hashtags and geotagged locations. These posts will most likely give information about what is photographed in relation to the narrative that the user took into consideration. I will both look at the most recent posts and the most popular posts with each hashtag.

Furthermore, I will analyse around ten blogposts of people who did an *Outlander* tour or who visited the film location by themselves. These blogposts will most likely include photos and provide an insight in the experiences of the writers.

1.5.4 On-Location observations

Visiting the locations itself also gives the opportunity to research how the heritage sites are dealing with multiple narratives and what on-site markers they use to tell their narrative(s). I will be looking at the information given at the sites, checking whether *Outlander* is mentioned on the information signs or left out completely. As an addition to the social media research, I will observe where people stand

when they take their photos, if they take photos with people in them or not, and/or if they brought items related to the TV series or story with them.

1.5.5 Limitations

Most social media websites and apps give people the option to share their content with their friends or followers only, instead of making it publicly available (Munar & Jacobsen 47). Research conducted by Munar & Jacobsen found that among their respondents, only 3-4% shared a photo or video of their holiday online which was publicly available (50). They preferred to share their photos and videos with their friends and family only (50). So, it is likely that the most personal experiences are not shared publicly and can therefore not be used for this research.

Furthermore, the data that will be analysed, especially those on social media websites, are subjected to external influences such as the release of a new season, events at the location, news, or construction work on site. Results therefore paint a picture of the current situation on the day that the research is carried out and may differ significantly when carried out on another day. It is therefore impossible to make general assumptions about visitor experiences over a longer period of time.

Another limitation is the privacy of the respondents. Because of the new European privacy law, I cannot ask the respondents for information that can directly be traced back to them. All the gathered data have to be anonymised, and therefore no names or usernames will be used in this research, unless the posted photos are posted on public websites. Respondents were informed about the aim of the research and data collection before the tour started and were given the choice whether to participate or not. The respondents signed a form of consent giving their permission to use their data anonymously, in line with the Radboud Regulations. Respondents from the Facebook-groups who visited *Outlander* film locations during their visit to Scotland and who filled in the survey online were also explicitly asked permission first before given access to the online survey. But since their photos are shared in closed communities on Facebook, I cannot quote them or show examples in this research.

2 Castles and Palaces

This chapter discusses the research results of the selected castles and palaces that were used as film locations for *Outlander*. During a trip to Scotland for this research, I visited Doune Castle, Linlithgow Palace and Blackness Castle (and Culross) as part of the ‘*Outlander* Adventure Day tour’ with Rabbits. Craigmillar Castle was visited without the tour group. Although most of the tourists who did the *Outlander* tour described Midhope Castle as the highlight of the tour, this estate is not included in this analysis since it is merely an empty shell; the building only consists of the exterior walls. Only the outside of the estate was used; the interior scenes were shot in the Cumbernauld studios near Glasgow and were designed from scratch (McGucken 12). The historical narrative is minimal, and visitors can only have a glance on the outside of the building, so it is mostly a popular stop to get their photo taken.

During the tour, 8 completed surveys were collected which were later added to the online surveys, bringing it to a total of 41 completed surveys. 17 of the respondents are from the USA, followed by 7 from the UK, 6 from Germany and 5 from Canada. The rest of the respondents came from Argentina, Australia, the Netherlands, Italy and Ireland. The average age was 50 years, with most respondents being between 44 and 53 years old. Among the respondents, there was only one man. 14 of the respondents had Scottish ancestors, and 9 of those indicated that their ancestry was their motivation to travel to Scotland. 4 of the respondents live or had lived in Scotland for some part of their lives. The respondents indicated that *Outlander* was relatively important in the decision-making process of going to Scotland, and most of them decided on which locations to visit while at home. The social media websites that they used most are Facebook and Instagram, followed by Pinterest. When sharing photos of their trip to Scotland on social media, they indicated they expected to just write the names of the places in the captions of their photos, followed by a reference to *Outlander* and/or a brief reference to the historical narrative.

2.1 Doune Castle

2.1.1 Available narratives

Historic Environment Scotland narrative

HES presents Doune castle on their website as “home of Regent Albany, ‘Scotland’s uncrowned king’”, who’s rich taste can still be seen in the architecture of the castle that was built in the 1380s and 1390s (“Doune Castle”). This Regent, Robert Stewart, was at the time the second in line to the throne and held the most powerful position in Scotland of his day. The castle represents one of the earliest surviving examples of a planned royal residence in Scotland. After the death of the Duke of Albany and that of his son, the Crown seized the castle and made it both their royal hunting-lodge and dower house during the Stewart dynasty in the 15th and 16th century (“Doune Castle and Roman Camp” 2-3).

On the history part of the website, the focus is more on the Jacobite Rising of 1745, during which the castle was used as a prison for captured government troops and prisoners captured during the Battle of Falkirk in 1746. However, Doune Castle was also considered as the gateway to the Highlands and was therefore of great strategic importance for the Jacobites. Among the prisoners were John Home, who managed to escape and who would later become a popular playwright, and John Witherspoon, who emigrated to America and became a signatory of the Declaration of Independence. After the Jacobites left Doune Castle, the castle fell out of use and became ruinous and a tourist attraction (“Doune Castle and Roman Camp” 5-7).

The fact that Doune Castle has connections to both historical and fictional narratives, becomes clear directly after the introduction on the website, when it is stated: “Today, you can walk in the footsteps of rulers both real and fictional. Doune is a popular filming location and has featured in *Monty Python and the Holy Grail*, *Game of Thrones* and *Outlander*” (“Doune Castle”). Although the castle also featured in some BBC productions, this is left out of their online narrative. Visitors of the website can already listen to extract from the audio tour with the optional *Monty Python* detail.

Outlander narrative

Doune Castle first appears in the first episode, when Frank and Claire visit the ruins of the castle during their second honeymoon in 1945. The site is depicted as an abandoned castle in decay, complete with rusted doors and overgrown with vegetation and grass. This image does not resemble the reality, as visitors will see that the castle is well maintained and not overgrown at all. Creator Ronald Moore notes in the official podcast: “instead of taking a ruined castle and building it up into a good-looking castle, we took a good-looking castle and digitally made it into a ruin” (“Outlander: Episode 101”). Except decay, the castle also has something mysterious and triggers the imaginations of Claire and Frank as they try to guess what the various rooms of the castle were used for in the past. However, the (fictional) name of the castle is not mentioned in this episode, so the viewer does not know yet which castle they visited.

Later in the season, when Claire has travelled to 1743, the highlanders take her with them and bring her to castle Leoch (Doune Castle), home of the laird of clan MacKenzie. Because the laird is Jamie’s uncle who took him in when his parents died, the castle is home to Jamie, while at the same time the castle represents a prison to Claire, who is kept inside the castle walls against her will when the laird of clan MacKenzie finds out about her healing powers. So, whereas it is first a place that triggers Claire’s imagination and curiosity, it later becomes a place of imprisonment. Similar to its role in history, in the TV series the castle represents importance and power, and is depicted as a living and thriving building. But that is the only resemblance between the *Outlander* and the historical narrative, as the castle does not play a role in the Jacobite history presented in the series, whereas it did in the historical past.

Since it is a historic landmark, the crew was very limited in what they could and could not do on site. In an interview with online magazine TVGuide.com, creator Ronald D. Moore says: “one of the rules was that we couldn’t put anything down into the ground and anchor them, so everything had to be sitting on top and lifted away. On the interior, we couldn’t hang lights, you couldn’t paint the walls, so it becomes very limiting.” As a result, they had to recreate the interior of the castle on a sound stage so they could make it suitable for the TV series (Ross). Moulds were made from the stones in the

kitchen area of Doune Castle to recreate the kitchen in exactly the same way (“Outlander: Episode 101”). For the exterior shots, modern twenty-first century elements had to be covered or digitally removed. The one scene that was actually shot inside of Doune Castle was the scene where Claire is seen walking down the stairs before entering the great hall where a feast is held for the clan members (“Outlander: Episode 102”).

Other films and TV Series

Besides *Outlander*, Doune Castle was also used as a film location for the first episode of *Game of Thrones* to recreate the fictional world of Winterfell. Doune Castle was mainly used for the exterior shots on the courtyard and the exterior walls, and for a shot in which a great feast is held in the great hall (Daly). Although Doune Castle was only used in the pilot episode of the TV series, the location is nevertheless known among *Game of Thrones* fans, but is left out of the online and on-site narrative by HES. In the 1990s the castle was also used for the BBC production of *Ivanhoe* and more recently in 2018 it featured in the Netflix film *Outlaw King*, but both narratives are completely left out by HES on both website and on-site information and are therefore not part of this analysis.

Before Doune Castle became famous for representing Castle Leoch in *Outlander*, it was (and still is) a pilgrimage site for fans of the film *Monty Python and The Holy Grail*. Other castles that were secured as filming locations withdrew their permission last minute, leaving only Doune Castle available for filming. Different parts inside and outside of the castle were used to represent various castles in the film. There is still an annual “Monty Python Day” held in the castle, and the audio guide is narrated by Terry Jones, one of the actors of the *Monty Python* film. In *Film-Induced Tourism*, Sue Beeton describes how visitors who are ‘in the know’ asked for coconuts at the front desk so they can re-enact iconic scenes from the film in the castle (36). But since *Outlander* also used Doune as a film location, the two fictional narratives are competing for the visitor’s attention. Visitors can, however, choose if they want to focus on one of the narratives or on both, as both are included in the audio tour and are optional to listen to. The main focus of the audio tour is on the historical narrative of the castle.

Because *Games of Thrones*, *Ivanhoe* and *Outlaw King* are left out of the (fictional) narrative at Doune Castle on-site, visitors have to negotiate a triangulation of the real history of Doune Castle and the fictionalised history of *Outlander* and *Monty Python* (McGucken 14).

2.1.2 On-site experiences and observations

Upon arrival, there were people outside of the castle taking photos of it from the front as can be seen in figure 3, appendix 2, something which is also done by the people taking part in the tour. Most of the respondents of the survey also indicated to have taken photos of the outside of the castle, since this is the part that was most recognisable for the fans of the series. Other parts of the castle that were mentioned were the courtyard, the great hall and the kitchen area. These are also the locations where most people are found listening to the audio guide and taking photos, in contrast to other rooms in the castle, which were considered as being too dark to photograph by the respondents.

The castle offers visitors a free audio-guide with their entrance ticket, which is narrated by Terry Jones, one of the actors of *Monty Python*. He gives information about the history of Doune Castle, based on the narrative of HES, and gives visitors the option to hear more about filming *Monty Python* on location and the role the castle plays in the film. Visitor numbers at Doune Castle rose by 226,52% in the period 2013 – 2017, the biggest rise of all cultural heritage sites that were used in *Outlander*, which can be attributed to the success of *Outlander* (“The Outlander Effect & Tourism” 9). Due to this success and the interest of visitors in the *Outlander* narrative, HES added three extra audio files to the tour, in which actor Sam Heughan tells more about filming *Outlander* on location and the role of the castle in the series. In the survey, the respondents indicated that this made their visit extra memorable because it was a pleasant surprise: “The audio tour including interviews with *Outlander* and *Monty Python* actors was a highlight” (respondent 33, p. 102) and “Loved the fact that Sam Heughan recorded part of the audio guide!” (respondent 3, p. 101). According to McGucken, visitors who come for the

Outlander narrative are more able to visualise the possible use of the castle in the past, because of the awareness to detail in the set designs in the series (14-15). Respondent 27 stated:

For me it was great to see where they filmed some of *Outlander*, and to listen to Sam's voice talking on the headphones. It surprised me to see how much smaller the courtyard is, it looks much bigger on the show. I am also very interested in history, so it always makes me feel special that I have walked where a king/queen or someone from hundreds and thousands of years ago once walked (p. 102).

Although the audio guide also helps visitors to visualise life in the castle, having seen it on screen before enhances the visitors "ability to locate themselves in the castle's history through its use as a film location" (McGucken 14-15).

Nearly 80% of the respondents were aware that *Monty Python* was also filmed at Doune Castle, while only half of the respondents knew that *Game of Thrones* was also filmed there. This might be because *Games of Thrones* is not mentioned in the audio tour nor on the information signs. The only place where visitors can even get a little bit of information is in the giftshop. Although hidden in a corner, there is a huge poster of Doune castle and some information about the films and series that were filmed there (see appendix 2, figure 4). However, for people not paying attention, it is easily missed. The reason that *Game of Thrones* is left out of the narrative completely is because Doune Castle did not get the rights from HBO to use the storyline in their narrative.²

When entering the castle, there is a large information board from HES with photos of the filming process of *Outlander* at Doune castle (see appendix 2, figure 5). It is the first thing you see when entering the castle, after the courtyard, and you have to walk around it to continue the route, so it is hard to miss. It also includes a map of Scotland with four other *Outlander* filming locations that are relatively nearby. In the giftshop, there are dresses that resemble Claire's gowns from the series, a Jacobite outfit, and some Highlander outfits so people can dress up as their favourite *Outlander* character and take a photo. This was indicated as a 'fun' extra and some respondents stated that they indeed tried on the dresses and took a photo.

² This was told by the tour guide of Rabbie's during the *Outlander*-day tour.

Although most respondents mainly focused on the *Outlander* narrative, they also showed interest in the history of the castle and stated that they wanted to see what the castle looked like in reality. As respondent 14 points out: “While *Outlander* may have triggered the visit, there was a lot more to it that we enjoyed”. The availability of multiple narratives made the site more interesting according to a few respondents: “Knowing that other filming took place made it more interesting” (respondent 18, p. 101) and “I definitely focused on the *Outlander* parts but enjoyed hearing the real history of the castle” (respondent 20, p. 101). The different narratives complement each other rather than fight for the visitor’s attention on-site, which makes Doune Castle unique compared to other castles. Nevertheless, none of them mentioned the Jacobites, not even by the diasporic Scots. Their experience did not differ from the other visitors, which might indicate that they did not have a personal connection to the castle through their ancestors.

2.1.3 Doune Castle on social media

Content

The pink dots in figure 6 (see appendix 2) indicate where the most recent photos that were posted on Flickr with the description ‘Doune Castle’ were taken. It appears that the places photographed are the view from the front, the kitchen area, the dining area, the great hall, and the courtyard; the same locations that were mentioned by the respondents of the survey as the locations that they took photos of. The locations where the photos were taken are similar on all analysed social media websites.

The posts on Instagram and Facebook that relate to *Outlander* often have a person in the photo. On Instagram, many photos can be found of girls posing as Claire in one of the dresses from the giftshop. People do not bring items related to the narrative themselves. On Facebook it is often a person in front of the castle, but the pose cannot directly be linked to Claire. The photos on Flickr and on blogs often do not have people in them, so these can be related to all narratives.

Most of the *Outlander* related photos on social media were taken in front of the castle and only a few of the kitchen area, courtyard and great hall, while these locations are also featured in the series. This might suggest that these locations were less recognisable to visitors. The frontal view of the castle is prominently visible in the series and is barely altered with computer animations, whereas the other areas of the castle were rebuilt in the studio and digitally altered. Another possible reason that it may be less recognisable for visitors is because the props that were used in the series are no longer visible; it is no longer a film set but an empty courtyard, great hall or kitchen area where visitors need to use their imagination to recall the image of what it looked like in the series. The same goes for *Game of Thrones*, for Mary Kate Palumbo wrote on her blog: “They did a lot of work in post-production to turn Doune Castle into the massive Winterfell that we saw on screen”, making the castle barely recognisable for fans. Blogposts are an exception, as they often do include a lot of photos from different parts of the castle to give readers an impression of the castle. The photos on Facebook also often include a photo of the *Outlander* information board from figure 5 (appendix 2), indicating that their primary motive to visit Doune is the *Outlander* narrative.

Captions

The multiplicity of fictional narratives is also visible in the captions that are used on social media. Whereas on Flickr the captions were kept very basic and often only included ‘Doune Castle’ or the name of one of the fictional castles, the other websites focus more strongly on the fictional narratives of the castle. Although the availability of different narratives was considered as something positive by the respondents of the survey, Instagram gives the impression that visitors go for only one of the available narratives. The posted photos in the *Outlander* Facebook-groups often refer to both the real name of the castle and the fictional name from the *Outlander* narrative, and the other narratives are not mentioned. Blogposts in most cases do mention the fact that Doune is used for multiple screen productions, often in combination with historical background information. There was, however, only one blog (*Travels With A Kilt* blog by Neil Robertson) that referred to the castle’s role in the Jacobite

Rising. On Flickr, the focus is on the historical narrative since most photos are accompanied by an elaborate description of the castle's history. *Monty Python* is rarely mentioned, and if it is mentioned it is only briefly without a description of the scene or narrative, accompanied by a photo of the castle itself or a room in the castle without people in it, which might suggest that people no longer feel the need to re-enact scenes of the movie.

The multiplicity of narratives is also visible in the usage of hashtags on Instagram. Besides the general hashtag #dounecastle, many use hashtags related to the narrative that motivated their visit. In most cases, both *Game of Thrones* and *Outlander* can be found in the hashtags, indicating that these two are currently the two most popular TV series that motivate people to visit Doune Castle. It is notable that nearly all posts relating to *Outlander* are from female users; which is not surprising considering the large female fanbase. Male users are more likely to make a reference in their caption to *Game of Thrones*, but the popularity of *Game of Thrones* on Instagram in particular might not be coincidental because the final season of the series was premiered during the period of this research. Despite the fact that Doune was only used in the pilot episode, these photos prove how important the site nevertheless is to fans of *Game of Thrones*. At the same time, the parts of the castle that were used in the series were not on the photos, so the content of the photos did not exactly match the captions. Furthermore, it is often young people that relate to *Game of Thrones* in their posts, supporting Emily Boyer's notion that younger visitors are mostly drawn to a location because of a screen production, whereas older visitors mainly visit because of a site's cultural heritage status.

2.1.4 Conclusion

The historical narrative of Doune Castle is almost completely left out of the captions accompanying the photos. *Game of Thrones* and *Outlander* are currently the most popular narratives, although some also refer to *Monty Python*, but mostly to indicate in which films and series Doune Castle was featured.

And although the Jacobites played an important role in *Outlander* and in the historical narrative, they were not mentioned anywhere.

The *Outlander* related posts on Instagram showed that there is a desire to dress up and pose as the characters from their favourite series, but the castle only offers visitors dresses that resemble those of *Outlander* and not from the other films and TV series. This indicates that these visitors are drawn to Doune by the 'personality' pull-factor, making Doune a pilgrimage site for *Outlander* fans. This is enhanced by the many references to 'Castle Leoch' or 'Clan MacKenzie' in the captions. In her book *Film-Induced Tourism* Sue Beeton already described Doune Castle as a pilgrimage site where visitors re-enacted their favourite scenes from *Monty Python*. However, none of the social media posts included a pair of coconuts, which were commonly used for photos according to Beeton. It could be that the *Monty Python* narrative is not as popular anymore as it used to be for many years. Besides, whereas it first only had to compete with the HES narrative, it now has to compete with the *Outlander* and *Game of Thrones* narratives, which appear to be more popular at the moment.

Whereas for the people who dressed up as Claire were motivated by the 'personality' pull-factor, the people who took a photo of themselves in front of the castle or of the castle itself with no reference to either narrative in the photo itself, were most likely motivated by internal drivers to visit Doune. The narrative of the series as a whole inspired them to visit the location rather than a specific character or actor. For them, push-factors is stronger than any pull-factor.

It is evident that the visitors took photos of Doune Castle as they have seen it on screen, and in the case of Facebook: as they had seen others do before them. Especially when it comes to the frontal view of the castle, it is clear that the circle of representation is at play here. People try to find the same angle as the one they saw on screen, and the same photo is reproduced over and over again on social media. The locations in the castle that were not used as film locations are photographed far less often than the locations that were seen on screen. Surprisingly, the same goes for the parts that were used for the screen productions but were less recognisable for visitors. The photos of these locations less

frequently referred to one of the screen productions, but instead referenced history in general or just the name of the room or castle.

2.2 Linlithgow Palace

2.2.1 Available narratives

Historic Environment Scotland narrative

Linlithgow Palace was one of the major royal residences of the Stewart dynasty and is probably most famous for being the birthplace of Mary Queen of Scots. This ‘pleasure palace’ is located between Edinburgh Castle and Stirling Castle, and is set upon a hill overlooking Linlithgow loch and a peel, which are now both open to the public. During the 15th and 16th centuries, the palace was one of the principle residences of the Scottish monarchs until they left for England in 1603 (“Linlithgow Palace, Peel and Park” 2). HES focuses on their website on the royal aspect of the palace, and on the activities that people can do in Linlithgow Peel and loch, such as guided walks with a Ranger, picnicking, and spotting wildlife. They present the views from the royal bedchambers and the ornate fountain in the courtyard as the highlights of the castle. Furthermore, it promises visitors to get an insight into the domestic life of Scottish royalty (“Linlithgow Palace”; figure 7, appendix 2).

The history part of the website reveals that the palace has been occupied by both the Jacobites and the Hanoverian forces. Bonnie prince Charlie visited the palace briefly in 1745 on his march to the south. In January 1746, the duke of Cumberland arrived at the palace with a 10,000-strong government army in pursuit of the Jacobite army. After the Hanoverian forces left the palace on 1 February 1746, a fire broke out and destroyed the North range of the palace, making it no longer fit for residency and turning it into a monument (“Linlithgow Palace, Peel and Park” 2, 4).

Outlander narrative

Although Linlithgow Palace is often mentioned as the location that was used as Wentworth Prison in *Outlander*, in reality three different castles have been used to portray the fictional prison where Jamie is tortured and raped by Jack Randall. Namely, Bamburgh Castle (England), Carlisle Castle (England), and Linlithgow Palace (Scotland). Besides real locations, constructed sets at Wardpark Studios in Cumbernauld were also used to film scenes that were set in Wentworth Prison. According to Carlisle Castle expert consultant James Lancaster, it is, however, difficult to say which castle was used for which scene (“Wentworth Prison Film Sites” 6). Most of the on-location scenes were shot in Carlisle Castle, while the indoor prison scenes were shot in the studios in Cumbernauld (“Outlander: Episode 115”). There are, however, two particular locations that were evidently used at Linlithgow Palace. First, there is the main entrance of the castle, which was used to film the scenes where Claire and Murtagh are seen entering and leaving the prison. Secondly, the turnpike stair case that was added to the palace by James IV around 1500 was used, next to which Claire hides from the guards in her attempt to rescue Jamie (“Wentworth Prison Film Sites” 4-5).

Here, the historical and fictional narrative show no similarities in their use of the palace. It is probably the most horrifying location in *Outlander* so far, whereas the palace itself has a rather peaceful history. However, the palace is described as the ‘pleasure palace’ of Mary Queen of Scots, and in a twisted way it could be argued that Wentworth Prison was Jack Randall’s ‘pleasure palace’ as well, as this was the place where he could finally do to Jamie whatever pleased him and fulfil his ultimate fantasy. To Jamie, on the other hand, this palace symbolises the complete opposite: it is the place that changes him for good and traumatises him which affects his relationships with the people close to him. But contrary to the historical narrative, there are no Jacobite references to this location in the series.

Other films and series

Besides for *Outlander*, Linlithgow Palace was also used in the 2018 Netflix film *Outlaw King* about Robert the Bruce, a 14th-century Scottish king who started a war against Edward I who ruled over Scotland. Whereas *Outlander* mixes fiction with real historical events, *Outlaw King* is based on existing historical figures and events but is nevertheless partly fictionalised as it “compresses the historical timeline and tends to skirt unsavoury aspects of Bruce’s personality in favour of presenting a conflicted, even reluctant ruler” (Solly). Themes that both *Outlander* and *Outlaw King* have in common are Scottish patriotism, the Scots’ resistance to the oppression by the British, and their wish for a Scottish monarch on the throne, which is similar to what Mary Queen of Scots tried to accomplish. She is, however, a direct descendant from Robert the Bruce, and it was her son James Charles Stuart who unified the crowns of Scotland and England (Michael).

The ornate fountain in the courtyard was featured in the film in which the courtyard represented a market place. Since the fountain is prominently visible on screen, and it is most likely that this will be most recognisable for visitors of the palace. The palace chapel was used in the film for the wedding scene in which Bruce gets married to Elizabeth de Burgh. Furthermore, the palace was used as a backdrop for the coronation scene in the film where Bruce is crowned King of Scots on the Lochside of the palace, which in reality took place in Scone Palace (Morsche).

2.2.2 On-site experiences and observations

In the period 2013-2017 Linlithgow Palace saw a rise of 30,22% in visitor numbers, from 66,500 visitor per year in 2013 to 86,596 in 2017 (“The Outlander Effect & Tourism” 9). During the tour, a stop at Linlithgow Palace was combined with a lunch break, so many participants of the group decided to eat in the village instead of visiting the palace; besides myself, only four people from the group visited the palace. It was partially under construction, so not every part was accessible, although everything was still visible from adjacent rooms and corridors. The courtyard is the first location visitors see after

entering. On each side of the courtyard are placards with information about how the palace was built, who lived there, which room belonged to whom, and some scenes from what daily life in the castle must have looked like. The information focuses exclusively on the historical narrative and on Mary Queen of Scots (there is also a statue of her in front of the palace).

Due to the many spiralling staircases, most people linger in the courtyard which is also where most information about the palace can be found. There are a few placards in other rooms with additional information, but they all focus solely on Mary Queen of Scots and her relatives. Nevertheless, half of the respondents of the survey were aware that the palace was also used in *Outlaw King*. However, the only *Outlander* and *Outlaw King* references can be found in the giftshop, where merchandise is sold. Even on-site it remains unclear which parts of the castle were used in *Outlander*, since no information about the filming process is given. This, however, did not bother the respondents, as respondent 5 stated “The historical story was more interesting than the location of filming in this palace” (p. 103). She is not alone in her statement, as many respondents indicated that Mary Queen of Scots was the most interesting aspect of the palace. 72% even knew before their visit that Linlithgow is her birthplace. It is unclear, however, if this awareness and interest in her has increased since the release of the film *Mary Queen of Scots* (directed by Josie Rourke) in 2018, which was not filmed Linlithgow Palace.

Most respondents indicate that they took photos of the exterior parts of the palace in combination with the surrounding park, the courtyard with its fountain, the great hall and the view from the top of the surrounding landscapes. The parts that were photographed less frequently were the rooms that were considered as being too dark, the staircases and the upper floors. Some visited the palace during construction works so they did not photograph those parts. None of them mention trying to find the exact locations that were used in *Outlander*, probably because it is unclear which locations these were.

2.2.3 Linlithgow Palace on social media

Content

The respondents of the survey mentioned the entrance, courtyard with the fountain, the hallways, and the view from the top as their most photographed locations in and around the palace. Figure 8 in appendix 2, however, indicates that about half of the photos of the palace on Flickr are taken from a distance, while the other half are taken inside the palace. The photos taken from a distance on Flickr are taken very early in the morning or during sunset, outside of the opening hours of the palace. This could mean that the natural light and the setting is more important for these photographers than any narrative, meaning that the ‘place’ pull-factor is what draws them to this specific location rather than a fictional or historical character or storyline.

On Facebook and Instagram, it is mostly the courtyard with the fountain that is photographed, together with the exterior of the palace. Nevertheless, the most popular posts on Instagram are of the view from a distance similar to those on Flickr and not of the interior of the palace, also emphasising the ‘place’ pull-factor as the main motivation to visit the location.

Although the content of the photos on blogs is the same as on other social media websites, they solely focus on the inside of the palace and not on the view from a distance. Especially the view from the top is often included and is mentioned as one of the highlights of a visit, as described by K.T Andrews on her blog *FootprintsAndFotos*: “Imagine walking those steps up and down, around and back up again, over and over all day. No wonder they fit into their corsets! It was worth the climb with fabulous views of the castle, the nearby parish church and Linlithgow Loch”.

Captions

Mary Queen of Scots is the character that is mentioned most frequently on social media websites, except for Instagram. The focus in most captions here is on personal moments and memories which do not necessarily have a connection with Linlithgow Palace. On Flickr, the captions either only mention the name of the palace or contain an extensive informative description focusing on the

historical narrative and Mary Queen of Scots, regardless of the content of the photo (distant or taken inside the palace). *Outlander* and *Outlaw King* are mentioned in none of the captions, signifying that the historical narrative of the palace is more important for visitors. Although Robert the Bruce of *Outlaw King* was a historical figure, his presence is not linked to Linlithgow Palace by its visitors. Blogs also focus mostly on Queen Mary and the historical narrative of the palace. The sentiment that Linlithgow Palace is more than an *Outlander* film location as indicated in the surveys, is shared by the writers of blogs, for Susanne Arbuckle writes: “Yes, there are a few atmospherically dark rooms and corridors which were used in the prison scenes, but overall it is a rather majestic ruin that strongly alludes to its former status as a great Royal Palace and the birthplace of Mary Queen of Scots”. K.T. Andrews from *FootprintsAndFotos* tried to look for the locations that were used in *Outlander*, but concluded “frankly, one narrow castle corridor, dressed to look like a prison looks much like another”. This confirms that Linlithgow Palace is basically unrecognisable for *Outlander* fans and is perhaps the reason why visitors pay more attention to the narrative of Queen Mary.

On Facebook, Linlithgow Palace is often mentioned in combination with other locations in Scotland that have been visited, so the focus is on the trip to Scotland in general rather than on the palace. If Linlithgow Palace is mentioned, it is only briefly and often as the birthplace as Mary Queen of Scots instead of the connection to *Outlander*, which is remarkable since these Facebook-groups are *Outlander* related.

One user on Instagram stated to have visited Linlithgow Palace because of ancestry, for she wrote: “Mary, Queen of Scots was born here in December 1542. Mary is my son’s 1st cousin, 14 times removed.” The photos she posted are of the entrance, the courtyard with the fountain, the view from the top and the hallways. One of the respondents of my survey also had personal connections to the place, as she indicated: “My sister was married at the cathedral and we spend a lot of time nearby” (respondent 2, p. 103).

To the question ‘What makes this place interesting to you?’, respondent 22, who also has Scottish ancestors, answered: “the history of Mary Queen of Scots primarily, and of course *Outlander*” (p. 103).

Respondent 24 agrees with her by saying: “The history of MQOS and the filming of different show; but mostly history” (p. 103). The respondents from lived diaspora were all aware that the palace was the birthplace of Mary Queen of Scots and that it was used for *Outlaw King*, and also indicated that the Scottish history was what made this place so interesting to them by simply answering “Scottish history” (respondents 8 & 13, p. 103) to the question ‘What makes this place interesting to you?’.

2.2.4 Conclusion

The lack of social media posts related to *Outlander* can be due to the lack of recognisable locations in the palace, since it was digitally combined with three other castles and studio scenes, whereas Doune Castle was very recognisable for fans of the series. A visit to Linlithgow Palace is therefore most likely a part of a holiday rather than a pilgrimage site for screen tourists. Furthermore, the circle of representation in relation to *Outlander* is not applicable here. The posts that do refer to the series in the captions posted photos of the courtyard, the view from the top, and the hallways, but do not refer to a specific scene in the series.

Despite the fact that half of the respondents of the survey indicated that they were aware that *Outlaw King* was filmed at Linlithgow Palace, the film is not mentioned in the captions. So, the multiplicity of the photos of the locations that were also used in the film might be coincidental.

It is clear that Mary Queen of Scots is the character that attracts most visitors to the palace, as she is mentioned in nearly all of the posts. It remains unclear whether the film *Mary Queen of Scots* may have influenced people to visit this location. Besides the historical aspect, the surrounding scenery also attracts visitors to the palace, as most photos were taken from a distance of the palace in combination with the loch and the park. So, the pull-factors that attract visitors to Linlithgow Palace are ‘place’ and ‘personality’. The portrayal of Linlithgow Palace as a prison, as it was seen in *Outlander*, is not represented in any of the analysed photos, making this location either less important for *Outlander* fans or the historical narrative more important and interesting for visitors.

2.3 Blackness Castle

2.3.1 Available narratives

Historic Environment Scotland

Blackness castle is presented by HES as a mighty fortress, also known as ‘the ship that never sailed’ due to its appearance as a stone boat about to be launched from a distance (“Blackness Castle”). They continue by saying that Blackness castle was never “just a peaceful residence”, as alterations in the sixteenth century transformed the castle into one of the most formidably defensive royal strongholds of Great Britain that served as a military garrison and state prison in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. Although initially not built as a royal castle, the castle became royal property a few years after it was completed and served as a royal residence and as a state prison under the control of the burgesses of Linlithgow. The castle was given to James II in 1453 and has been property of the Crown since then. However, in their ‘what to see and do’ list, *Outlander* is the first reason according to HES to visit Blackness Castle; followed by its location and the Crichtons, the family for whom Blackness was built. Surprisingly, the historical part of website pays very little attention to this family but focuses more on the castle’s role as a state prison and the link to Mary Queen of Scots.

After Queen Mary’s forced abduction in 1567, the castle remained loyal to her until the keeper, Alexander Stewart, changed sides and joined Regent Moray’s party. The castle was recaptured for Mary in 1572 by Lord Claud Hamilton, while Mary was imprisoned at Carberry Hill during the civil war and surrendered to the King’s Party when Edinburgh Castle falls in 1573. Whether Mary every visited Blackness Castle is unclear. In the 1700s, the castle was used to imprison foreign sailors and soldiers that were captured during the wars with France, Spain and the United States. The castle remained in use until shortly after World War I and functioned as an ammunition depot for Scotland since 1870 (“Blackness Castle” *Historic Environment Scotland* 1-3).

Outlander narrative

Blackness Castle represents Fort William in the *Outlander* TV series. As such, it has a role similar to its historic function as a prison and fortress; history and fiction become one in this location. Fort William is where Jamie is taken after his arrest and where he receives lashes from Captain Randall. Later in season one, Jamie breaks into the castle to rescue Claire from Captain Randall (“Blackness Castle” *Outlander locations*). Blackness Castle is most recognisable in the scenes that take place in the courtyard of the castle, where Jamie is whipped by Randall. The courtyard of the castle is easily recognisable, as they made minimal digital alterations when filming *Outlander*.

About choosing Blackness Castle as a stand-in for Fort William, Ronald Moore says in the official podcast: “...it is such a forbidding, barren, just heavy fortress ... as soon as you walked into that courtyard, you feel the oppression, you feel the heavy nature of it and those giant walls and all that rock and stone and you just feel the brutality of it” (“*Outlander*: Episode 106”). It is portrayed as a dark and dangerous place, and it is here that Jack Randall’s brutality becomes poignantly clear and where the castle’s history as a prison is reshaped and highlighted, without explicitly mentioning its historical function (McGucken 11). Here, “fiction helps demonstrate history by encouraging the viewer to confront its darker sides” (McGucken 16).

The castle is again used in season four when Briana and Roger are visiting it, in Briana’s search for information about her father Jamie Fraser. This time, the courtyard looks exactly as what it looks for visitors now; no digital alterations were made so here is where viewers see the location on screen as they can see it in reality, making it very recognisable for them.

Other films and series

Blackness Castle has recently also been used to film the blockbuster *Mary Queen of Scots*, where the castle was a stand-in for the palace of Holyroodhouse, and in *Outlaw King*, in which it features as Yorkshire Castle. Whereas the castle in *Mary Queen of Scots* represents an existing location but with a different function, the castle is used as a fictional prison in *Outlaw King*, where Bruce’s wife Elizabeth

is imprisoned. Before *Outlaw King* was filmed in 2017, some alterations were made to the castle: “A great deal of clever work was done to clad metal railings in timber. Timber features including a balcony outside the water gate and a platform rising above the North tower were added, and a wooden staircase leading up to the pit prison entrance was removed and the doorway plugged”, says Monument Manager Graeme Sinclair. He continues by saying “...you really felt you were getting a privileged glimpse into the distant past” (Morsche). However, the castle did not yet exist during the time of Robert the Bruce, so these alterations are not based on historical evidence.

Although Holyroodhouse is an existing location, it was not used in *Mary Queen of Scots*. Location Manager Pat Karam explains: “We tried to create a world that reflected the characters rather than an exact architectural replica of every place they would have been in reality. The production designer wanted to create a certain atmosphere for the interior of Holyrood so that meant we needed a certain type of exterior” (“What locations were used”). Besides, Holyroodhouse now looks different from what it looked like during Mary’s life, so too many alterations would be needed to make it look like a palace from Mary’s era. Furthermore, the creators wanted to show a contrast between Queen Elizabeth and Queen Mary and the contrast in their lifestyles also needed to be reflected in their environment: Queen Elizabeth had a relatively comfortable life and lived in a palace, whereas Queen Mary’s conditions in the Highlands were quite challenging (“What locations were used”).

2.3.2 On-site experiences and observations

Unlike the other visited locations, Blackness Castle was the only place where they had a binder in the giftshop next to the *Outlander* merchandise with photos of the production of *Outlander* at Blackness Castle and stills from the episodes in which Blackness was featured, provided by HES (see appendix 2, figures 9 & 10). Although *Mary Queen of Scots* and *Outlaw King* were filmed at Blackness Castle more recently than *Outlander*, neither were mentioned and there was only attention for the filming process of *Outlander*. There was a poster provided by HES just outside the giftshop that gave

information and photos on how the crew had to place the cannons inside the castle and how the crew transformed Blackness Castle into Fort William (appendix 2, figure 11). This sign not only indicates how they changed Blackness Castle into Fort William, but also clearly reveals where the filming took place, so *Outlander* fans will easily recognise it. Due to its appearance in *Outlander*, visitor numbers at Blackness Castle rose with nearly 182% between 2013 and 2017, which is the biggest increase after Doune Castle (“The Outlander Effect & Tourism” 9).

The placards that are used inside and around the castle focus on the historical narrative as a prison, fortress and ammunition depot and do not mention its usage as film location. Respondents of the survey also indicated that they expected it to look like a prison – like it did as well on screen – and especially appreciated the view. During my visit, people mainly walked around the courtyard and the ramparts surrounding it, and they hardly took photos. The courtyard is completely empty, so there is no stimulant for re-enactment. But that is also the case at the other visited locations.

The respondents indicated they were not keen to photograph the towers, for they were too dark, and the staircases were too steep and small for many to go up. Contrary to the other locations, respondents specifically indicated that they took photos of the locations that were used in *Outlander* as the courtyard and ramparts were very familiar for them. *Outlander* is also far more often mentioned as the most interesting aspect of the castle, followed by its history. Many respondents were not aware of its historical narrative but found it interesting to learn more about the site. As respondent 17 stated: “I went there mainly because of *Outlander*, but learnt about its history and that’s what I found more interesting” (p. 105). To the question what was most interesting about Blackness Castle, one respondent said: “Filming scenes from *Outlander*, Robert the Bruce, and history” (Respondent 24, p. 105). Considering that the castle was not built yet while Bruce was alive, this respondent probably had seen the film.

2.3.3 Blackness castle on social media

Content

Photos posted on Flickr are taken all around the castle (see appendix 2, figure 12). Contrary to Facebook where every post about Blackness Castle includes a photo of the courtyard, similar to my photo in figure 13 (appendix 2), the courtyard is the least photographed location on Flickr. Nearly all posts are of the exterior of the castle and do not include people, whereas most photos on Facebook are selfies or portraits. The fortress aspect is really emphasised on Flickr, while on Facebook the site is presented as a pilgrimage site and a must-visit location for *Outlander*-fans. Blogposts again try to show the castle from all angles, both inside and outside the castle and pay extra attention to the view on the bridges over the Firth of Forth.

On Instagram, many photos are family photos, suggesting that it is a site for family excursions rather than a pilgrimage site. The exterior of the castle is also photographed more often than the courtyard and ramparts. There is only one post in which a girl is seen dressed in an 18th-century outfit, posing at the ramparts of Blackness Castle overlooking the courtyard. The photo is posted as a series of photos at different *Outlander* film-locations, so there is a clear link here. But other than that, the photos on Instagram are mostly of the parts of the castle that had not featured in the series or in any of the other films.

Captions

Similar to the other castles, the captions on Flickr mainly focus on the history of the castle. Its function as a film location is hardly mentioned. The same goes for Instagram. If *Outlander* is mentioned, it is often in combination with *Outlaw King* and *May Queen of Scots*, or only in the hashtags. On Facebook on the other hand, the historical aspect of the castle is hardly mentioned in the captions. The posters also do refer to it as Fort William and Blackness Castle, which corresponds with the contents of their photos. The same goes for the other castles, for it is often mentioned in combination with other film locations in a post, making it clear that it was either part of a tour or a roundtrip through

Scotland. There was only one post that also referred to *Outlaw King* and *Mary Queen of Scots*, making it clear that these narratives were not as interesting as that of *Outlander* for the other visitors.

On all social media websites Blackness's shape of a ship is often mentioned. It is often one of the first things mentioned in blogs or even used as title³, suggesting that it is something that makes the castle unique and stand out compared to other castles and that it is worthwhile mentioning in the caption. To the question 'what makes this place interesting according to you?', respondent 7 in my survey said: "Not part of the TV series, but it was interesting to learn that the perimeter wall is the shape of a boat (front) which was cool to see and learn" (p. 105). But it is not only its shape that makes it interesting, according to respondent 27 it is "its military history, and beyond that, its filming of *Outlander*, and the views of the Forth" that makes Blackness an interesting location to visit as well (p. 105).

2.3.4 Conclusion

Facebook was the only website that clearly presented Blackness Castle as a pilgrimage site and a film location, because every post included at least a photo of the courtyard. The different angles from which the photos were taken were also presented in the series, indicating that this site is very recognisable for visitors and that they take photos of it as they remembered seeing it on screen. Although this was the only site that I visited that had most visual material related to *Outlander* available on-site, none of the analysed posts referred to either the binder with stills from the series or the poster board with information on the filming process, perhaps because they were not displayed in plain sight. The binder was located in the corner of the souvenir shop and the poster was located just outside the shop and can therefore easily be missed by visitors that are not made aware of it. The other social media websites mainly focused on the historical narrative of the site and some on its role as film location in general.

³ The blog *Love, From Scotland*, for example, titled their article: "Blackness Castle: The ship that never sailed".

This site is included in many *Outlander*-tours and the fact that so many family photos were taken there, makes it more likely to be part of a holiday rather than a pilgrimage site for fans. It can therefore be said that push-factors outweigh the pull-factors here, as it seems more likely that these families visited Blackness as an escape from daily life. For the blogs, however, it is most likely that the 'place' pull-factor was at play here as they often mentioned the surroundings of the castle, while the references to the flogging scene in the captions on Facebook indicate that those visitors were driven by the 'personality' pull-factor.

2.4 Craigmillar Castle

2.4.1 Available narratives

Historic Environment Scotland

Another castle closely linked to the life of Mary Queen of Scots and one of the best-preserved castles in Scotland, is Craigmillar Castle just outside of Edinburgh. HES presents Craigmillar as 'the other castle of Edinburgh', still close enough to the city, yet far away from the political cauldron. The castle was originally a simple tower house of the Preston family and over the centuries, the buildings were regularly altered to keep up with the changing lifestyle standards ("Craigmillar Castle" 4). The building has some characteristic features: it has walls that are almost 3m thick, the courtyard wall had gun holes shaped like inverted keyholes, and it holds a maze of rooms with many nooks and crannies, which makes it beloved among families with children as well ("Craigmillar Castle" 2-3). Overall, the website tries to trigger the visitor's curiosity and invites them to explore the castle and its mysterious chambers, and to enjoy the view from the top. They present themselves as a family friendly castle, rather than focusing on the historical narrative of the building and Queen Mary.

Nevertheless, the history page of HES does focus on Queen Mary, who stayed a few times in the castle, among which her stay in November 1566 is the most famous. She has had a tumultuous year in which her adviser David Rizzio was murdered by her husband in her presence, her only son was born,

and she fell seriously ill. Craigmillar was her safe haven and during this stay, the so-called 'Craigmillar Bond' was agreed in which Mary's entourage decided to murder her husband Darnley ("Craigmillar Castle" 10).

Outlander narrative

The creators of the series were looking for a location that was as menacing and ominous as Blackness Castle to portray Ardsmuir prison ("Outlander: Episode 303"). They mainly used the outer and inner courtyards of the palace, along with the castle exterior as sets. The interior of the prison was built on set in the studios. The fictional Ardsmuir prison is where Jamie and other highlanders are captured after the battle of Culloden. The prison is under the control of the English Lord John Grey with whom Jamie forms a friendship, which soon becomes complicated when John falls in love with Jamie. Jamie is the only senior Jacobite officer in the prison and the other prisoners still consider him as their leader. John soon realises he needs Jamie in order to gain control over the other prisoners.

The scenes in Ardsmuir also tell the viewer something about the events and Highland culture after Culloden. Executive producer/writer of the episode Toni Graphia says in the podcast:

After Culloden, they didn't allow them a lot of things, they couldn't carry swords or wear their tartans, no bagpipes, no Gaelic being spoken. And one of the things that broke their hearts is they weren't able to use their tartans which marked their own clan, and so Murtagh's kept a tiny piece and it's just like a little token to him and it reminds him of home and of what happened before the battle and he keeps it hidden away which is very dangerous since it's a serious offense. They could be hanged or sentenced to death for it. ("Outlander: Episode 303")

The castle itself was not involved in Jacobite history nor served as a prison, so the fictional and historical narrative have nothing in common. The prisoners in Ardsmuir were used to conduct renovations of the fortress, but after the fortresses ceased functioning as a prison in 1756, the prisoners were transported to the American Colonies, among them Jamie's godfather Murtagh. Jamie is the only exception because he is not just a prisoner but a convicted traitor and is sent to Helwater in the Lake District of England to serve Lord Dunsany.

Other films and series

Craigmillar Castle is one of the most important film locations in *Outlaw King*, as it represents Bruce's castle and village. On the northside of the castle, the crew built an entire medieval village and on the outer courtyard, an extra gate was built. It is the site where viewers are first introduced to Bruce's second wife Elizabeth and his daughter Marjorie from his first marriage (Morsche). The castle did not exist yet when the real Robert the Bruce was alive, so the castle is not fulfilling its true historical role in the film.

2.4.2 On-site experiences and observations

Similar to the other visited locations, the presence of Craigmillar Castle in *Outlander* and *Outlaw King* is only concentrated in the giftshop where visitors can buy the same merchandise as at the other locations. Although not indicated, the exact location that was used in *Outlander* is quite easily recognisable. When entering through the gate that gives access to the castle, one is already at the location that was used: the castle wall and the grass field in front of it (the outer courtyard, see figure 14, appendix 2). Respondent 12 said: "I can see the scenes filmed there". Because there are no references on-site to *Outlander*, she probably recognised it from the series, as she also said, "really loved the scenes here in season 3 and wanted to reimagine them" (p. 107). This is also one of the locations that was used in *Outlaw King*. But there is only a placard with information about how people used arrive at the castle and *Outlander* and *Outlaw King* are not mentioned (see figure 15, appendix 2). Other placards on-site focus on the narrative of Mary Queen of Scots and the time that she spent at the castle.

Despite the fact that Craigmillar Castle had a 42% increase in visitor numbers in 2017 compared to the year before, only 7 of the respondents of my survey had visited the castle ("Visitor numbers"). Both the history and the connection to *Outlander* is what makes this castle special according to them.

Furthermore, the proximity to Edinburgh is mentioned, which makes it easily accessible for those visiting Edinburgh. None of them mentioned Mary Queen of Scots however, but ‘history’ in general.

During my visit, there were only two other visitors who mainly made photos of each other at the ramparts of the castle with Edinburgh in the background. Their poses did not resemble anything that could be related to *Outlander*.

2.4.3 Craigmillar Castle on social media

Content

The screenshot of Craigmillar Castle on Flickr in appendix 2, figure 16 shows that most photos of the castle are taken in the outer courtyard and in the castle itself. The outer courtyard is where both *Outlander* and *Outlaw King* were filmed and should therefore be the most recognisable locations of the castle for viewers. Perhaps not surprisingly this is also the location that is included in all the Facebook-posts, often with a person posing in front of the castle to show others on Facebook that they have visited the castle.

On Instagram, there are some posts of women dressed up as Mary Queen of Scots, but this is most likely because it is the ‘Month of Mary’, organised by HES, during which people dress up as Queen Mary at different castles that are related to her history throughout Scotland. As figure 16 already showed, photos are taken throughout the entire castle, mainly of the outer courtyard and the view from the top of the castle. The photos that are posted on blogs are similar to those of the other castles and include more detailed photos of rooms in the castle, the view from the top and the castle from a distance.

Captions

The focus in the blogs is mainly on the Preston family and Mary Queen of Scots. Under a photo of the inner courtyard, Colin Baird of *The Cycling Scot* wrote: “In such peaceful surroundings it is difficult

to believe that a murder was once planned in this castle”, indicating that he was aware of the historical events that took place in Craigmillar, which is also briefly mentioned at the information sign at the courtyard (figure 15, in appendix 1). Craigmillar is featured less frequently on blogs than the other castles and is often referred to as Edinburgh’s ‘other’ castle due to its proximity to the city. Its role as a film location is usually very briefly mentioned without getting into detail. The texts on blogs are quite similar to the captions on Instagram, which more often also focus on Mary Queen of Scots, the castle itself and the activities you can do there with kids, than on any of the screen productions filmed there. About the activities for kids, Zoe wrote on her blog *My Little Wildlings*: “We had sword fights, searched for dragons and tried to imagine what it would have been like to lived there all those years ago, what the rooms would have been like, what would have been hanging on the walls. The place is magnificent.” The posts that refer to Craigmillar as Ardsmuir prison or to *Outlaw King* are rare and only mention the fictional name rather than describing an experience related to what they have seen on screen.

On Facebook, similar to the other castles, people refer to their trip to Scotland in general and often post photos of Craigmillar in combination with photos of other castles. One user wrote “We were going to break Jamie out of prison but Murtagh beat us to it”, obviously referring to the episode in which Craigmillar was featured and indicating that they visited the castle for the *Outlander* narrative rather than the historical narrative. Surprisingly, Mary Queen of Scots was not mentioned in any of the captions, nor the Preston family. Only one mentioned that the site was also used in *Outlaw King*, but the photo of Craigmillar was posted in combination with Doune Castle and Blackness Castle which were also used for filming. *Outlaw King*, however, is the only screen production that is referred to on Flickr, whereas all the other posts just simply use the castle’s name in their caption or write some information about the history of the castle. This seems to imply that for users of Flickr, the castle’s status as cultural heritage is more important, and thus the ‘place’ pull-factor, than the fact that it was used as a film location.

2.4.4 Conclusion

Despite the increase in visitor numbers, Craigmillar Castle is the least visited castle among the respondents of my survey and in the Facebook-groups. A possible reason for this could be that Craigmillar is not included in most tours whereas Blackness, Doune and Linlithgow usually are, probably because tours usually visit location further located from Edinburgh and Craigmillar is relatively easy to reach. Besides, the other locations all featured in the first season whereas Craigmillar was featured in the third season, so the other castles were exposed to the *Outlander*-effect long before Craigmillar was shown on screen.

Although Queen Mary is often mentioned on blogs and in captions on Instagram, the room in which she allegedly stayed is not photographed more often than the other places within the castle. She is however, quite often mentioned in the captions of the photos. Nonetheless, it does not give the impression that visitors come to Craigmillar especially because of her connection to the castle and it can therefore not be considered as a pilgrimage site. The 'place' pull-factor seems to be most present here, since the top of the castle gives a panoramic view over Edinburgh and the bay and is often mentioned on blogs as must-see. Nevertheless, it could also be argued that visit come to Craigmillar because of push-factors, especially considering that Craigmillar was mostly featured on blogs about kids' activities. These blogs treat the castle more like a playground than a cultural heritage site, as they focus more on the games they played with their children than on its history.

3 Towns

3.1 Falkland

3.1.1 Available narratives

VisitScotland and National Trust for Scotland narrative

In the narrative about Falkland, as presented by various websites, the emphasis is again on Mary Queen of Scots. VisitScotland describes Falkland as a “picturesque town in Fife, famous for its royal palace” (“Falkland”). The palace was once a country residence of the Stewart monarchy, which was transformed by James IV and James V who were inspired by the grand chateaux of France. It is therefore also linked to Mary Queen of Scots, as she liked to stay at the Falkland palace where she used to play tennis at what is now the oldest (royal) tennis court in the world, and where she pursued falconry and hunting (“The Fife of Mary Queen of Scots”). Since Mary spent a great part of her childhood in France, it is believed that the architecture of the Falkland palace reminded her of the palaces she used to live in in France. The NTS, owner of the palace, also praises its Renaissance architecture and mentions the palace gardens as another highlight for visitors (“Falkland Palace & Garden”). These websites solely focus on the palace and the presence of Mary Queen of Scots in their narrative and other locations in the town are not mentioned.

Outlander narrative

Although VisitScotland, Welcome to Fife and NTS focus on the Falkland palace and Mary Queen of Scots’ presence in the palace, the palace was not used in *Outlander*. Instead, the picturesque centre of the town was used for filming. The town is heavily featured in the first episode as the place where Claire and Frank stay during their second honeymoon to reconnect with each other after the second World War. Here, Falkland is used to portray Inverness in the 1940s. The Inverness of today is too modern to pass for the Inverness of 1945. Ironically, most of the buildings in Falkland are from the 17th and 18th century (Arbuckle). The Bruce fountain in the centre of the town was used in the scene where

Frank sees the ghost of Jamie looking at the bedroom window of the room in the bed & breakfast where Frank and Claire are staying. Mrs. Baird's bed & breakfast is in reality also a hotel, so guests can actually stay in the room that was used in the series.

In both of Claire's timelines (1743 and 1945) Inverness is a place to escape to and becomes her focus point. During her time with Frank, it is a place to which they go to reconnect and escape the Second World War. After she got trapped in 1743, she desperately tries to escape to Inverness so she can go back to the stones at Craigh Na Dun, but without success. Other than that, the city holds no importance in the storyline.

3.1.2 On-site experiences

Despite the fact that the online narratives focus mostly on the palace, the respondents of the survey were more excited to see the fountain where Jamie stood and the bed & breakfast where Claire and Frank stayed, than seeing the palace. To the question 'What did you take photos of in Falkland', respondent 29 answered: "Me, looking up at Claire's window" (p. 109). and respondent 11: "Mrs. Baird's B&B, fountain in town square, general area focusing on areas that we saw in *Outlander*" (p. 108). Nevertheless, they also took photos of the palace, the cobblestoned streets, the abbey, and some shops. This indicates that although *Outlander* might have inspired them to visit Falkland, they also paid attention to the castle and the rest of the town.

History is also mentioned as an interesting aspect of Falkland, although the respondents did not specify whether this is related to the palace and thus Mary Queen of Scots, or to the town as a whole. However, to the question which parts of the town they did not take photos of, the inside of the palace is mentioned. Respondent 13 said: "Didn't go into the palace, on a time crunch" (p.108), and respondent 22 answered: "We didn't have much time to spend there so I'm not sure of what I missed" (p.108). These time restraints might indicate that these people visited Falkland on a tour. One respondent (survey 23, p. 108) even found a reference to Johnny Cash in Falkland: "It was a smaller

town than I expected. It was interesting to me the connections [sic] of Johny Cash with the town. When I came home, I read more about that”.

When looking at the forms of screen tourism that Beeton distinguishes, Falkland can be classified as a ‘mistaken identity’ location, since the town represents another city from a different time period. Exact tourism numbers are not available for Falkland, but it can be assumed that the *Outlander* fans know that there is a difference in where the series was filmed and where it is set, considering the many websites referring to *Outlander* film locations. Simultaneously, Inverness also benefits from the *Outlander*-effect, especially from those who have read the books, not only because it is the location where the story takes place, but also because of its proximity to Culloden. A quick search on the internet reveals that there are many *Outlander* (walking) tours⁴ organised in Inverness as well. It is, however, expected that these are more popular among the book readers since they are more likely to visit the locations where the story takes place rather than where it was filmed.

3.1.3 Falkland on social media

Content

Although the square with the Bruce fountain and the castle are located very close to each other, figure 17 (appendix 2) shows that more photos were taken on the square that featured in *Outlander* than at the castle grounds. Photos of the castle only include exterior shots and photos from the grass fields surrounding the castle and are most featured on Flickr and on blogs.

On Facebook, it is clear that tourists are inspired by the scene in which Jamie – as a ghost – is seen looking at Claire who is brushing her hair in her hotel room. Many tourists pose like Jamie, with their back towards the camera, looking at the window of the hotel. The ‘personality’ pull-factor is clearly at play here, although the posts suggested that people did not dress up like either Claire or Jamie. The

⁴ For example, organised by: Wow Scotland Tours, Highland Tours, Happy Tours, Inverness Tours, and Walk Inverness among others.

town square is also featured most frequently on Instagram. However, the geotag for Falkland only shows a few photos of the towns square. Most photos are taken elsewhere in the town (mostly inside houses or in gardens) and do not include the palace of square. So, on Instagram, neither narrative is strongly represented.

Blogs often also include a photo of the town square, but mostly focus on the palace (gardens) and the surroundings of Falkland. As Julie Falconer wrote on her blog aladyinlondon.com: “But there’s more to the village than just the palace, and a day out in Falkland wouldn’t be complete without a wander through the streets.” Photos of shops, coffeehouses and streets are therefore common on blogs, showing that there is more to Falkland than the *Outlander* film locations and the palace.

Captions

The captions on Flickr are again very sparse and often only refer to what is seen on the photo. Although the photos of the researched castles often included the historical narrative in the captions, for Falkland, the historical and fictional narratives is mostly left out. One user described the history of every building he took a photo of, focusing on architectural details and the people who used to live there. The photos that refer to *Outlander* are mostly of the hotel that represented Mrs. Baird’s bed & breakfast and the Bruce fountain, such as that of Stephanie Sarah on Instagram: “Thought I’d check out Mrs. Baird’s B&B in Inverness (Falkland). Brushed past a handsome kilted stranger. But when I turned around, he’d vanished”.

The photos shared on Facebook often only have the short caption in which reference is made to Falkland as Inverness. A reference to the *Outlander* scene which the people in the photos re-enacted is not given, presumably because everyone in the Facebook-groups has seen the series and understands the reference. A bit more explanation is given on Instagram, where nearly all posts with [#falklandscotland](https://www.instagram.com/explore/tags/falklandscotland) refer to Falkland as Inverness in *Outlander*, while Queen Mary is not mentioned at all, not even in the photos of the palace.

In blogposts, however, *Outlander* is often briefly mentioned at the end of the article, but Mary Queen of Scots and her fondness of the palace are always addressed. With its cobblestone streets, Falkland is named one of the most picturesque towns in Scotland and Queen Mary's presence seems more of a reason to visit Falkland than the *Outlander* narratives here.

3.1.4 Conclusion

The lack of photos of the interior of the palace in Falkland can be attributed to the prohibition to take photos inside, which explains why there are only photos of the palace gardens. However, although the palace' tennis court is praised by the official tourism instances, it was in none of the photos. It is the castle and Mary however that seem to attract most visitors to Falkland, as the *Outlander* groups on Facebook were the only places where the focus was only on the film location.

It is clear, however, that the people who visit Falkland because of *Outlander* focus on what they have seen on screen and recreate the scene in which Jamie's ghost stares at Claire through her hotel window. Even the photos that did not have a person in it, were taken from the same angle as seen in the series. And in the captions, people make sure to refer to the fact that Falkland portrays Inverness in 1945. So, although those people are clearly drawn to Falkland because of the 'personality' pull-factor, push-factors seem to be more important for the people on Instagram, Flickr and especially the blogs as they present readers with multiple activities to do in Falkland. The experiences of the diasporic respondents of my survey did not differ from those without diasporic ties to Scotland.

3.2 Culross

3.2.1 Available narratives

National Trust for Scotland and VisitScotland narrative

Culross is considered one of the most picturesque towns in Scotland. The NTS writes on their website: “Step into the past along the cobbled streets of a picturesque village with its own ochre-coloured palace!” (“Royal Burgh of Culross” NTS). The first reason for visiting they mention is because the streets of Culross appeared in *Outlander* many times, followed by the palace, the organic palace gardens, and the charming streets dating back to the 17th century. The palace is completely restored to resemble the 17th- and 18th-century interiors to give visitors a sense of what life in Culross looked like. Especially the original painted woodwork of the palace and the herb and vegetable garden are promoted. Although NTS does mention *Outlander*, they fail to give visitors information on which scenes were filmed in Culross. They barely give any background information on the town, whereas the website of VisitScotland gives more historical information about the town and the palace, saying that it was built by coal merchant George Bruce as an impressive house rather than a palace between 1597 and 1611. The website of VisitScotland, however, does not mention *Outlander* at all (“Royal Burgh of Culross” VisitScotland).

Outlander narrative

Culross was used for multiple scenes and locations in *Outlander*. The castle gardens, as can be seen in figure 18 (appendix 2) were first featured in the second episode of season one, when Claire is seen collecting herbs and she meets Geillis Duncan in the fictional town of Cranesmuir. The same garden is later used in season four when Brianna talks with Joan MacKimmie about their (step)father, not knowing they are both talking about Jamie. Although filmed at the same location, the scenes are set at different locations in the series and look different from each other on screen.

The town square of Culross is used in season one, when a young boy who has stolen a loaf of bread is nailed to the pole by his ear. At the same square, three windows from one white house were used

as the outside of Geillis's her apartment, which overlooks the towns square (see figure 19 appendix 2). The street next to this house was used in a scene in which Claire and Black Jack Randall are walking to meet his sick brother who is dying in season two.

However, not only outdoor locations were selected, also rooms inside the palace were used for filming: in season one as Geillis's apartment and again later in season two as a tavern, a bedroom, and as a place where Jamie swears his oath to Bonnie Prince Charlie to fight with the Jacobites. Moreover, in season four the palace is used to portray the interior of Laoghaire's house. Culross therefore represented multiple locations in the series rather than one entire town.

3.2.2 On-site observations and experiences

Since Culross is a town where people still live, this location is different from the castles. It is considered one of the most picturesque towns in Scotland, which is agreed upon by the respondents of the survey, who used descriptions as 'unique architecture', 'beautiful village', 'picture-perfect' and 'incredibly picturesque'. Respondent 1 even indicated that her husband's great grandmother was born in Culross, which made the place even more special for her (p. 110). Especially the palace gardens and the town square were visited and photographed by them, presumably because they are most recognisable.

From the answers given by the respondents, it turned out that the diasporic Scots had a similar experience in Culross compared to those without diasporic connections to Scotland, as their responses in the survey were similar to those of the non-diasporic respondents. The responses of the diasporic Scots were, however, a bit more enthusiastic compared to those of the non-diasporic respondents. Respondent 33, who has Scottish ancestors said: "This was the first stop on my *Outlander* tour, and I was so excited to recognise some locations from the show. I also found the village incredibly picturesque" (p. 111). She continued by saying: "I liked seeing the locations from *Outlander* filming, but I also liked walking around this little village where you could see people's homes and shops. It was

nice to spend some time in an area that wasn't only catering to tourists like a museum or gallery" (p. 111). Respondent 7, also with Scottish ancestors, shares this enthusiasm by saying: "Such a beautiful village! I really enjoyed exploring the area" (p. 110).

There is a small shop in the centre of the town that sells *Outlander* merchandise and other Scottish souvenirs, but the focus is mainly on *Outlander*. However, Culross does not present itself as 'the *Outlander* town'. There are no markers in the town itself that hint that certain sites were used as film location, except in the palace where some signs can be found that indicate which scenes were filmed in which room. Although the palace saw a rise of 53% in visitor numbers between 2013-2017, most respondents did not visit the palace due to time restraints, nor did they take photos inside because it is not allowed ("The Outlander Effect & Tourism" 9).

The palace gardens can be seen without visiting the palace itself, by climbing stairs to reach the higher parts of the village, but this makes them not accessible for those who have mobility issues. While many of the respondents of the survey indicated they expected to see the gardens, not everyone was able to, which might have been a disappointment. Nearly every one of the tour group took photos of the gardens as they were easily recognisable for the ones who had seen *Outlander*. The same goes for the town square which was also used in the series. The centre of Cranesmuir in *Outlander* is the same as the centre of Culross and remains hardly unchanged in the series, making it again easily recognisable for visitors. So, the people of the tour group were seen taking photos of each other and the buildings. Because the town is mostly traffic free and the cobble stone streets remain unchanged, it is easy to imagine life in the 18th century.

Inside the townhouse of Culross, there is a photo exhibition with work by professional photographer Graham Harris Graham who made photos of the cultural heritage sites that were used as *Outlander* film locations and other castles and iconic landscapes in Scotland. These photos are for sale and all the participants of the tour took a look inside. Besides the photos, there is also a huge poster positioned directly opposite the entrance, mapping out all the locations throughout Scotland that were used as *Outlander* film locations.

3.2.3 Culross on social media

Content

Photos on Flickr are mostly of the mustard coloured palace from different angles and from the cobblestone streets. As can be seen in image 20 (appendix 2), photos are taken all over town and are not concentrated on particular spots, emphasising the notion that this town is considered as very picturesque. Photos on Facebook, however, are limited to three locations: the square, the exterior of the palace, and the palace gardens. Other parts of the town are hardly included in the posts, contrary to Instagram, where the streets and houses of Culross are more frequently photographed than the palace and the town square. There are hardly any photos of the palace gardens and the town square on Instagram and contrary to all other locations, there are barely photos on any social media channel with people in it, making it look like a desolate town.

Blogs again present a mix of what is posted on the other social media channels. Although they do include a photo of the town square, the focus is more on the photogenic streets and the mustard coloured palace. Especially colour seems to be important in their photos, as they choose the houses with the most popping colours to photograph for their blogs.

Captions

Similar to Falkland, on Flickr some photographers describe the history of the houses, when they were built and by whom. They also refer to the fact that the town is maintained by the National Trust for Scotland, which indicates that this cultural heritage status is important for users on Flickr, as Jacqueline Harte wrote under her photo of the palace:

Culross is a beautiful little village overlooking the shores of the River Forth. It is probably best known for its quaint cottages and winding streets, making it one of the most photographed villages in Scotland. A former Royal Burgh, the village has a strong sense of history evidenced by the architecture that is dotted all around. The 16th-century Culross Palace was the former home of merchant Sir George Bruce – a local entrepreneur who established the first coal mine in the world to travel under the sea at Culross.

However, this is also mentioned in most blog posts, such as that of Nicola Holland: “Like Falkland, it’s easy to see why the locations scouts for *Outlander* picked this location. The National Trust for Scotland has painstakingly restored the village to how it looked in the 17th and 18th century and the results are outstanding and of course this means the team didn’t have to change much at all”.

On Facebook, nearly all posts refer to Culross as Cranesmuir, Claire’s meeting with Geillis in the gardens, and the scene where the little boy is nailed to a pole for stealing a loaf of bread. Despite its usage in multiple seasons, visitors only seem to link it to the first season and hardly pay attention (at least in the photos they post) to the rest of the town. On Instagram and on blogs, the focus in the captions is on how picturesque Culross is. Susanne Arbuckle writes on her blog *Adventures Around Scotland*: “... there is something about this quaint little place that fires your romantic imagination about living in one of the colourful cottages with a quirky name”. The fact that it was used as a film location seems to be less important here, although *Outlander* is regularly mentioned in the hashtags on Instagram. But whereas the official instances hardly had any historical information on their websites, the authors of the analysed blogs seem to have done more research and do not shy away from telling their readers something about George Bruce and the trading history of the town.

3.2.4 Conclusion

Among the *Outlander* fandom, Culross is known as Cranesmuir and mainly for the scenes that were filmed there in the first season. Their photos in the Facebook-groups indicate that they only paid attention to the location that were featured in the series and not to the other parts of the town, although the people who did the tour with me did show interest in the cobblestoned streets and the exposition in the townhall. This suggests that the prime motivation of the fandom is to see the locations that were used for filming, and that thus the ‘place’ pull-factor attracted them to Culross rather than a certain character or theme, despite the fact that it does not promote itself as an *Outlander* town. However, since the buildings in the town hardly changed since the 17th century, it

could also be argued that visitors travel back in time when visiting Culross and that therefore the 'performance' pull-factor could also be attributed to Culross, were it not that the time traveling aspect was hardly mentioned on social media.

The lack of references to *Outlander* indicated that this town is also attractive for those who are not there to see a film location, as expressed by Nicola Holland on *FunkyEllas Travel*: "Outlander was filmed there but even if it wasn't, I'd still be raving about it." The fact that many captions refer to how picturesque Culross is and the differences in the photos posted on social media, suggests that its photogenicity is Culross's unique selling point and main pull-factor.

4 Natural Heritage

4.1 The Battlefield of Culloden

4.1.1 Available narratives

Historical narrative

On 16 April 1746, the battle of Culloden took place and marked the end of the Jacobite Rising. In less than an hour, 1,600 men were killed on the battlefield, from whom 1,500 were Jacobites who tried to restore the Stuart monarchy to the British throne. The visitor centre located at the site features artefacts from both sides of the battle and interactive displays tell the story of the battle and the events that led up to the battle. The NTS really makes sure to emphasise both sides of the battle in their narrative on-site and online (“Culloden”). One of the respondents of the survey proved that there is a need to hear the story from both sides, as she said: “I’m English and Protestant, my husband is Scottish and Catholic. We were taught 2 very different versions of this era of history” (respondent 1, p. 112). By highlighting the event from both sides, the location can be experienced as ‘neutral’ rather than taking a side in the battle and painting the others as the ‘bad guys’ or ‘wrong’.

The period after the battle became known as the ‘Highland Clearances’: many Scots fled the country and people who were caught with anything related to Highland culture risked getting arrested (Stewart). The surviving Jacobites were hunted and killed, which was also seen in the first episode of season three of *Outlander*. As a retribution for the Jacobites and to prevent any further groundswell of support for the Stuart monarchy, laws were instigated, of which ‘The Act of Proscription’ in 1747 was a direct attack on the Highland culture and way of life. During the Jacobite period, clan tartan had become popular and was now forbidden, as were bagpipes and the speaking and teaching of Scottish Gaelic (Stewart).

The NTS, who manages the battlefield and visitor centre, offers visitors the opportunity to research whether their ancestors fought on the battlefield. They have a book which holds a unique collection of names from the Jacobite Rising and gives visitors the opportunity to find out on which side their

ancestors fought. For the summer of 2019, they plan to add an ancestry hub where visitors can discover the origins of their last names in more detail (“Clans”).

Outlander

The battle of Culloden functions as a climax in the *Outlander* series; the first two seasons lead up to this traumatic event and even though Clair and Jamie try their best to prevent it from happening, the battle is inevitable even as the loss of the Jacobite army. To protect Claire, who is pregnant with Jamie’s child at that moment, Jamie forces Claire to go back to the stones at Craig na Dun and go back to the time period she is originally from and raise their child with her other husband Frank. Although Jamie knows how the battle is going to end, he returns to Culloden to fight with his clan. Back in 1948, Claire desperately tries to find out if Jamie died in the battle but does not find out until 20 years later when she visits Scotland with her daughter Brianna to do research and visit the battlefield. The battle not only represented a historical battle that meant the end of the clan system in Scotland in the series; it is also the end of a fictional battle between Jamie and Jack Randall as Jamie kills Jack in a one-on-one fight on the battlefield.

Because the battlefield is classified as a war grave and monument, the scenes were filmed in a field in Greengairs, near the film studios Cumbernauld (“*Outlander’s* Culloden filmed in Cumbernauld”). Nevertheless, this is not the location that fans of the series visit, so in relation to screen tourism, the battlefield can be classified as a ‘mistaken identity’ location.

4.1.2 On-site experiences

The battlefield of Culloden is the only analysed location where the experiences of the respondents of the survey were different from their expectations, as many did not expect the place to be so emotionally charged and overwhelming. Respondent 15 even had ancestors that fought at the

battlefield (p. 112). Another respondent, a 36-year old female from Australia with Scottish ancestors, responded in the survey:

There is something particularly strong in a soul's way when visiting Culloden. I have Scottish ancestry, but *Outlander* really brought to the forefront my knowledge and understanding of what happened there, and by visiting it really affects you about how special the site is and that it should be respected and preserved (respondent 7, p. 112).

That *Outlander* created an awareness for the battle among viewers of the series, can be seen in the increase in visitor numbers; between 2013 and 2017, the Culloden Visitor Centre saw a rise of +65,84% in visitor numbers ("The Outlander Effect & Tourism" 9). Respondent 20 even said: "Have been twice. First time was just for history but second time it came alive because of *Outlander*" (p. 112). This proves how much awareness on-screen events can raise for real historical events.

But the popularity of the series also had its negative influences on locations, especially on Culloden. As indicated by a 25-year old female from the USA who has lived in Scotland for some part of her life:

Outlander Tourism has been a blessing and a curse for Scotland. It's awesome that so many people have been inspired to learn its history but it has really worn down on some of these older sites and sadly many tourists have given the larger group a bad name due to their disrespect for the solemnity of places such as Culloden (Respondent 26, p. 113).

The grave marker has become a popular destination for *Outlander* fans, where they take selfies or lay flowers as a respect to the character of Jamie Fraser. Due to the rise in visitor numbers and the cold, wet, winter weather, the grave marker and the turf surface round the marker became damaged and needed to be repaired in 2018 (Campsie).

From the responses I received on the survey, it is clear that this location made the greatest impression on the respondents. The way the event is narrated in the visitor centre gave them a clear understanding of what that fatal day in April 1746 looked like and how many lives were lost in a short amount of time. It is the location where the fictional and historical narrative intertwine and probably also the location that taught visitors more about the Scottish history and the consequences of the battle for the Scottish way of life. Although viewers had already acquired some knowledge about the battle and the events that led up to it from the series, they would get a better understanding of it

during their visitation, as respondent 23 stated: “I have learned so much about Scotland since visiting and want to go back and experience it again” (p. 113). And Respondent 20 said: “The site is fascinating. So much to learn from the English and Scottish perspectives” (p. 112).

4.1.3 The battlefield of Culloden on social media

Content

Since the series was actually filmed elsewhere, the battlefield itself might not look familiar to the viewers as they have not seen it on screen. But it is the event that draws people to this location rather than the motivation to visit a film location. Although the site has grave markers for all the clans that fought during the battle, the grave marker for clan Fraser has been photographed most frequently, obviously for its connection to the fictional Jamie Fraser. It is often seen with flowers that people laid there to pay their respects.

On Flickr, the photos are either of the memorial cairn in the middle of the field, the thatched Leanach Cottage near the entrance, which was the former visitor centre, or of the new visitor centre (figure 21, appendix 2). The memorial cairn with the placard commemorating the event is also most photographed and posted on Facebook, together with, unsurprisingly, the grave marker of clan Fraser. Contrary to blogposts about the other locations, blogs about Culloden only have a few photos, mostly of the memorial cairn in the middle of the battlefield and a photo of one of the grave markers, indicating that the focus is more on the historical narrative of the site.

Although most photos are without people in it, a few stand out: those of smiling people posing near the clan Fraser grave marker. Whereas at all other locations, this behaviour would seem normal and perhaps even expected, it is a strange sight to see people smiling at a spot that marks a mass grave. It could even be argued that it lacks respect.

Captions

The tone in the captions on Facebook differs from those at the other locations. There are no jokes or feelings of being happy to be in Scotland this time. The captions have a rather serious tone and reflect a sadness and respect for those who fought at the battlefield. Posts about the battlefield on Facebook often elicit a lot of reactions from others acknowledging the feeling of sadness, even years after people visited. Especially around the 16th of April, the date of the battle, there was an influx of posts commemorating the battle.

Although there are many photos of the clan Fraser grave marker, the captions on both Facebook and Instagram hold little reference to *Outlander* but have a more general caption referring to the battle and the emotions they felt on-site. Martin Edlef Nielsen wrote under his photo of the Fraser grave marker on Instagram: “We visited Culloden Battlefield where many Scottish men were slaughtered by English forces back in 1746. To see local people mourning by these gravestones after so many years, really made an impact on us”. On Facebook, some even admitted bursting out in tears on-site, making that this location had a greater emotional impact on the visitors than any of the other analysed locations.

Whereas the other locations showed that users on Flickr often refer to the historical narrative, this is hardly the case for Culloden. Posts with a caption are even more rare than for those other locations, perhaps because users assume that others know the history and do not feel the need to explain. Most blogposts about Culloden are from tour operators, travel agents and historical blogs and hardly from individual travellers. The rare few that do write about Culloden give a historical overview of what happened. There are hardly any references to *Outlander* here, or only very brief in one or two sentences, the focus of is on the historical narrative and the emotions it evoked, such as in that of Samantha Grant on *The Wee White Dug*:

I’ve visited Culloden many times over the years – repeatedly drawn back to pay homage to the brave men who followed and fell. I find it a place of incredible sadness, but it also has a still, haunting beauty. The scattered stones marking the graves of the fallen Jacobites are a

heart-breaking sight to see, and sometimes when I walk there a fat tear escapes and rolls down my cheek.

4.1.4 Conclusion

Culloden is different from the other locations, not only because it is not a film location, but also because this is the only location that really evoked emotions and that the ancestral diaspora felt the strongest connection with. Here, fiction and reality become one. Although this location could be considered a pilgrimage site for *Outlander* fans, it is not necessarily the character of Jamie Fraser that lures people to Culloden. The captions on social media seem to suggest that it is the event itself that sparked the interest of viewers to visit Culloden, as they tend to focus more on the historical narrative than on the *Outlander* narrative. Nevertheless, the photos confirm that the rise in visitor numbers can be attributed to the role it played in *Outlander*, as most of the photos of grave markers are indeed of clan Fraser and thus related to *Outlander*.

Remarkably, there are hardly any Jacobite references in the captions, they are mentioned as one of the parties in the battle, but any further historical information about their cause is often left out, but so is the narrative of the opposing party in the battle. So, although the visitor centre does its best to highlight both sides of the battle, it does not resonate into the narratives told on social media. Thus, the on-site experiences seem to be more important than the historical or fictional narrative here.

4.2 Clava Cairns

4.2.1 Available narratives

Historic Environment Scotland narrative

Clava Cairns – or the Prehistoric Burial Cairns of Bulnuaran of Clava - is one of Scotland's most evocative prehistoric sites according to the HES, near Inverness and the Culloden battlefield ("Clava Cairns"). The site holds the remains of an ancient cemetery from the Bronze Age, dating back about

4,000 years, and is exceptionally well preserved. The site consists out of two parts: a part with the graves, a kerb ring and a ring of standing stones, and a part that includes the remains of a medieval chapel with possible the remains of more standing stones. The three well-preserved cairns have a central chamber and are surrounded by a ring of standing stones. Although the usage of some parts of the site still remain unclear, it suggests that midwinter was an important time of year. The site was important not only 4,000 years ago when it was built, but it was reused a thousand years later for new burials. However, Clava Cairns is not unique, there are more similar cairns on the British Isles (“Clava Cairns”).

Outlander narrative

In *Outlander*, the standing stones function as a portal to travel through time, which makes it a site of interest for fans of the series. It is Claire’s key between two homes, two men, and two different time periods. Whereas her focus in the first season is to find her way back to the stones to return to the twentieth century, this need to travel back diminishes over time.

Although the stones that were used for filming were made out of Styrofoam and can therefore not be visited, many search for an alternative site to visit while in Scotland. Because of its proximity to Culloden Moor, tours often include a visit to Clava Cairns. In the books, the stone Claire travels through is a split stone and there is also a split stone at Clava Cairns, it is therefore promoted as ‘the real Craig Na Dun’ by tour operators.

4.2.2 On-site experiences

Just as the other locations, HES also saw an influx of footfall at Clava Cairns since the release of *Outlander*.

For many years, it played second fiddle to its more famous neighbour, Culloden Battlefield. That all changed in 2014, with the release of the TV dramatization of Diana

Gabaldon's popular Outlander novel. Clava Cairns became a bucket list destination overnight, after it was suggested that Outlander's fictitious stone circle, Craigh na Dun was inspired by the site. (Grant)

However, respondents of the survey indicated that it was not only the standing stones that made this place interesting for them, those who had visited Clava Cairns indicated that it exceeded their prior expectations and that they took photos of both the standing stones and of the cairns, and that they thus focused on the entire site. There were no particular places that they did not visit here. Nevertheless, it was the ancient history of the site that made it special to them, together with its mysterious atmosphere. According to respondent 28: "seeing something that has withstood for so many centuries was amazing and learning how deep traditions span", was what made Clava Cairns special to her (p. 114). Only 16 of the respondents visited the standing stones, from whom six with Scottish ancestors and none of the lived diaspora, but their experiences were the same as of those without connections to Scotland, probably because the history dates too far back to have (ancestral) connections to this location.

4.2.3 Clava Cairns on social media

Content

Touching the stones and posing as if one is trying to travel through the stones like Claire did in the first episode, is seen in many photos on Instagram and Facebook. In fact, this is the location that has the most photos with people in it, especially women, all more or less recreating the same photo. The posing by the women is quite similar in the photos: two hands placed on the stone and slightly leaning into it. Although the women's pose resembles Claire's, none of them went as far as to dress up like her; the photographed women all wear modern-day clothes, which might indicate that they are not trying to impersonate Claire in their photos.

The minority of the photos on Instagram and Facebook are of the kerb rings, whereas these are the most photographed objects on Flickr and on blogs, that cover the whole site rather than just the part

with the standing stones. As can be seen in figure 22 (appendix 2), people take photos everywhere on the site; although some of the pink dots are so close to each other that they merged into one pink dot, indicating that more photos are taken at that exact spot.

Captions

Many of the captions under the photos of people touching the stones on Facebook and Instagram make a reference to *Outlander*, either expressing their discontent that their attempt to travel through time failed (albeit with a comical tone) or saying they are on their way to meet (their own) Jamie. The hashtags that are used on Instagram also indicate that the photos are inspired by *Outlander*. Captions often contain the words ‘interesting’, ‘magical’ and ‘peaceful’, referring to the experiences people have on-site, not only at photos of the standing stones, but also at photos of the kerb circles. The real history of the site is hardly ever mentioned on Facebook and Instagram, and posts really focus is on the experiences people have on-site.

On Flickr and on most blogs, on the other hand, the emphasis is once again on the historic narrative of the site and far less on *Outlander* and the experiences that people have on-site. The shared information is based on the narrative as told on the HES website and is kept relatively short. Even the writers of blogposts that visited to have their own *Outlander*-experience, wrote about the history of the location first, such as Jordyn Acconcia:

An ancient and mystical stone circle, it dates back almost 4,000 years ago. There are several stone structures that were built for astronomical purposes. One structure was used for cremation while another allows the sun’s beam to shine through its entrance on the winter solstice of December 21st symbolizing a path to the next life.

4.2.4 Conclusion

At this location, the 'performance' pull-factor is clearly at play. Most people are drawn to this place through the concept of time traveling and the romantic allure of finding a highlander for one's self, rather than its status as cultural heritage. Perhaps not surprisingly, this is mostly done by women who refer to 'looking for Jamie' or 'I had to try' in their captions. Their search for a fictional character implies that the personality pull-factor is also at play here, although less strong than the concept of time traveling. Nevertheless, people can have this experience at other stone circles as well, so the experience and behaviour are not bound to this specific location, but this location is more popular due to its proximity to Culloden. When searching online for stone circles in Scotland, there are also photos of women touching the stones in a similar way as seen at Clava Cairns and they also refer to *Outlander*.

Furthermore, people recreate the same photo over and over again, being inspired by either Claire and the series or others that went before them and shared their photos on social media, making this the clearest example of the circle of representation in this research. These photos also evoke reactions of others asking them where the photo was taking, possible to visit and recreate the photo of themselves.

Overall, the captions were positive about the site and even the photos that did not refer to *Outlander* often called the site 'magical', connoting that both historical and fictional narrative have the same characteristics. Although this is a burial site as well, the people in the Facebook-groups seem to pay no attention to this at all, their focus is on standing stones only, whereas the attention on the other platforms seem to be a bit more on the historical narrative as well and include more photos of other parts of the site.

5 Conclusion & Recommendations

It is undeniable that *Outlander* has had a positive impact on the Scottish economy, both directly and indirectly. Cultural heritage sites that were used as a film location saw visitor numbers rise year after year since the release of *Outlander* in 2014. However, the influx of tourists also has negative impacts on these sites, such as vandalism, nuisance, and damage to the buildings. Nevertheless, by using cultural heritage sites and natural scenery as filming location, the series indirectly promotes Scotland as a destination among its viewers and “opens a gateway to the past that places history firmly in the audience’s mind”, sparking their interest in Scotland even more (McGucken 18). Although the series offers a combination of real historic events and characters mixed with fiction, some locations that were used as film locations stayed true to their role in history, such as Blackness Castle and Doune Castle that were both on- and off-screen prisons, albeit with a different screen name. Other locations, such as Craigmillar Castle, Linlithgow Palace, Culross and Falkland acquired a completely different role in the series that does not reflect their historical past. However, this shift away from historical facts did not seem to influence the experiences of the visitors in any way.

The film locations present themselves first and foremost as cultural heritage sites. The fact that they are also a film location is not promoted on-site and online, but those who are interested can often find a little bit of information on the official HES, NTS or VisitScotland websites. More specific information can only be found on other (fan)websites. Cultural heritage sites mainly focus on the historical narrative and historical characters that are associated with the sites, both on-site and online. Exceptions are Doune Castle and Blackness Castle which also focus on the fictional narratives in which the castle plays a role, through the audio guide or by presenting visitors information about the filming process. Perhaps not coincidentally, both sites also saw the highest rise in visitor numbers in the last few years since the release of *Outlander* and were also the most photographed locations that were shared on social media. Whether this rise in visitor numbers can be attributed to the fact that these locations tell the fictional narrative on site as well, or because the sites are very recognisable for fans, or because of marketing, remains unclear and was not researched. Further research about the success

factors of these locations is necessary to determine which of these contributes to the rise in visitor numbers. That way, other cultural heritage sites that are also film locations can also benefit from that knowledge in the future. Although the fictional narratives were not included in the information given on-site, the giftshops of every location that I visited sold the same merchandise of *Outlander*, *Outlaw King*, and general Scottish souvenirs, which were provided by the NTS and HES. So, while the organisations charged with maintaining these properties recognise that the sites were used as film locations with regard to commercial merchandise, they do not provide references to the screen productions on-site.

Respondents of the survey indicated that the history and scenery of Scotland were the most important motivations for them to visit Scotland, followed by the appeal of its cultural heritage sites, the setting (and filming) of their favourite book/film/TV series, and an escape from daily life. These results confirm the results of the VisitScotland research on visitor motivations that *Outlander* indeed inspires viewers to travel to Scotland and visit the location(s) that they saw on screen. It also confirmed that the most important markets for *Outlander* tourism are the United States, Canada, Germany and the UK, as most of the respondents resided in these countries. Furthermore, the respondents indicated that *Outlander* indeed inspired them to visit the locations that were researched, but they also showed interest in the historical narratives and did not solely focus on the *Outlander* part. This implies that screen tourists are open to other narratives as well and are ready to learn more about a country or a location's history. However, the most successful locations in attracting visitors also paid specific attention to the fictional narrative of *Outlander* in some form to cater to the screen tourists. This implies that, in order to attract screen tourists and successfully transmit a historical narrative to visitors, it is viable to make a link to the screen production as well, both on-site and online. This gives screen tourists the opportunity to explore the site through both fictional and historical narrative, while other visitors can solely focus on the historical narrative of the site. Although Sue Beeton already indicated years ago that film locations should also pay attention to the fictional narrative in order to prevent disappointment among the visitors, cultural heritage sites do not yet seem to recognise this

need. It is therefore advisable for HES and NTS to make a reference to screen productions and their fictional narratives on their websites, as is now the only case for a few of the heritage sites. This way, screen tourists can already find information on the official websites prior to their visit instead of having to find this information on other websites that are not related to the heritage sites. This might benefit screen tourists' experiences on-site and prevent disappointment after their visit.

The different social media websites showed that the pull-factors at film locations were not the same for each social media website. For Flickr, which is mostly used by (professional) photographers, it was the 'place' pull-factor that usually motivated them to travel to the location. Locations were often photographed during sunset, sunrise, and in different seasons, with emphasis on the scenery. This was also reflected in the captions they used, as there were hardly ever any references to *Outlander* or other films or TV series that were filmed at the location, but rather references to the historical narratives as provided by the HES or NTS. Nevertheless, captions were rare, indicating that the content of the photo is more important for the users of Flickr than the story behind the photo.

Photos in the Facebook-groups were shared with like-minded people who know the series, so the captions were often kept quite short as no explanation was needed and emphasised how much the person who posted the photo(s) enjoyed being in Scotland and seeing these locations for themselves. They often posted them in a series of photos of multiple visited locations, indicating that they did a tour through Scotland. Similar to the users on Facebook, respondents of the survey also indicated that they would use short captions with the real name of the location and the fact that they were in Scotland when sharing photos on social media. However, respondents of the survey indicated that photos with family members on them were often only shared privately, which limited this research. For the people in Facebook-groups, it was obvious that *Outlander* inspired them to visit Scotland and these locations, and the references they made to Claire and Jamie indicated that the 'personality' pull-factor is what drew them to these locations, together with the push-factor to escape from daily life as they often visited with friends and family or as part of a tour through Scotland. It was therefore often

a mix of pull- and push-factors, rather than solely pull-factors that inspired people to travel to these locations.

Instagram often showed more or less the same content as shared on Facebook; however, the captions were not solely focusing on *Outlander* but also reflected the historical narrative or only a personal experience. It was not necessarily the fictional characters that pulled people to a location, but especially for the researched castles and palace, it was Mary Queen of Scots who attracted visitors. So here, the 'personality' pull-factor was also linked to a historical character. However, whereas on most locations the historical narrative was mostly shared on social media, Doune was the exception as the three fictional narratives were more prominently mentioned in captions than the historical narrative, as this was also the only location that presented the fictional narratives on-site. Furthermore, this research indicates that the 'performance' pull-factor had the least influence on visitors' motivations to visit Scotland, as respondents and social media posts hardly referred to the concepts of time traveling and genealogy, except for Clava Cairns and Culloden. Despite the fact that *Outlander* is popular among the Scottish diaspora, genealogy did not seem more important than visiting the film locations for the diasporic screen tourists to travel to Scotland. The other two pull-factors have proven to be more influential on screen tourists' motivations for traveling to cultural heritage sites that were used as film location.

The analysis has proven that places that were most recognisable in the TV series, such as Doune Castle and Blackness Castle, were far more often photographed than locations that were less recognisable or that were not included in *Outlander*-tours. None of the locations had any props that were used for filming, so visitors could not re-enact scenes, except for Doune Castle where they had gowns inspired by *Outlander*. The number of photos taken in these gowns proved that there actually is a desire for people to dress up like their favourite character and have their photo taken. Furthermore, at Clava Cairns, women were having their photo taken with a standing stone and pretended to travel through time, and at Falkland they re-enacted a scene as well. This implies that, if there is an opportunity for screen tourists to somehow recreate or re-enact a certain scene from their

favourite tv series or film, they use this opportunity and share it on social media, which is basically free publicity for the heritage site. It is therefore recommended to have something on-site that is associated with a tv series or film that was filmed at location, so that visitors can take photos with it and share them with others. At these locations, the circle of representation was also most visible, as most photos showed a lot of resemblance, clearly inspired by photos they have seen before. And these photos might in turn inspire others to travel to Scotland as well.

Nevertheless, future research should be carried out in order to examine what the role of social media is in the decision-making process of people to visit a film location and the influence it has on their perceptions of the site before they visited. Although respondents of the survey indicated that they decided to visit the *Outlander* film locations while at home, the role of social media in this process remains unresearched, just like the role of social media after they returned home. Information about the role of social media in the decision-making process to visit a film location will give insight in the effectiveness of marketing of cultural heritage sites, the guest journey, and the image that people have of the sites based on what they have seen on social media. Furthermore, the sample size of diasporic Scots in this research was relatively small. Their experiences were similar compared to the non-diasporic screen tourists but there was no opportunity to ask in-depth questions based on their answers. In-depth interviews could have given a better understanding of the (different) experiences of diasporic and non-diasporic screen tourists, in order to gain insight in how authenticity of the narratives and the cultural heritage sites is perceived and if ancestral connections influence how a cultural heritage site that is also a film location is perceived.

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Appendix 1 Surveys

'The Outlander Effect' at cultural heritage sites in Scotland

Dear respondent,

I am Eline and I am a student at the Radboud University in Nijmegen in the Netherlands. For my master program Tourism & Culture, I am writing a master thesis about the narratives that are being told at the many cultural heritage sites in Scotland that were used as film locations for Outlander, and which parts of their visit people share online.

The first part of the survey consists out of general questions, to get a bit more insight in the motivations people have when visiting these cultural heritage sites/film locations. The rest of the survey consists out of open-ended questions related to your experiences when you visited these sites. I have made a selection of film locations based on their historic narrative and their importance in the Outlander TV series. You can skip the locations that you haven't visited.

Any data that you submit to this study will be entirely anonymous and treated confidentially, solely for the purposes of this study. Completing this survey will approximately take 10-15 minutes.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and you have the right to withdraw your consent and terminate your participation at any point without any consequence.

You are kindly asked to fill out the form below to indicate that you understand the terms of your participation in this study and to grant your consent to participate.

Should you have any further questions or concerns pertaining to the study, please do not hesitate to contact me via email at eline.raterink@student.ru.nl.

Thank you!

Consent

Consent form

I have read and understood the information above. I hereby grant my consent *
to participate in this study.

☐ Yes

Travel motivations

This section contains some general questions to get more insight in your motivations to travel to Scotland, and to explore to which extent Outlander had an influence in the decision to visit Scotland.

Country of residence *

Korte antwoordtekst

Gender *

1. Female
2. Male
3. Prefer not to say

What is your age?

Korte antwoordtekst

Do you have Scottish ancestors? *

☐ Yes

☐ No

Have you lived in Scotland for some part of your life? *

☐ Yes

☐ No

☐ I currently live in Scotland



Which of the following motivated you to visit Scotland? (multiple answers allowed) *

- ☐ History of Scotland
- ☐ Cultural heritage sites
- ☐ Scottish ancestry
- ☐ Landscape/Scenery
- ☐ Your favourite actor/actress
- ☐ Shooting location of a specific book/film/TV series
- ☐ Setting of a specific book/film/TV series
- ☐ Relive past experiences/nostalgia
- ☐ Escape from daily life
- ☐ Other...

How important was Outlander in the decision-making process of going to Scotland? *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not important at all / always wanted to go	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Very important / Main reason for visit

When did you decide to visit Outlander film locations? *

- ☐ At home
- ☐ While in Scotland

Which social media channels do you use? *

- ☐ Instagram
- ☐ Facebook
- ☐ Pinterest
- ☐ Blog
- ☐ Flickr
- ☐ Snapchat
- ☐ I don't use social media
- ☐ Other...

Doune Castle / Castle Leoch

Doune Castle was used to portray the fictional Castle Leoch, home of Clan MacKenzie. In the first episode of season 1, Claire and Frank visit the ruins of the abandoned castle. In the following episodes, Jamie and the clan take Claire to meet Colum MacKenzie and his family.

Doune Castle



What were your expectations of this site and were they met?

Long-answer text

What did you take photos of in Doune Castle?

Long-answer text

Were there parts that you didn't visit or take photos of? Why not?

Long-answer text

Were you aware that Doune Castle was also used as a film location for Monty Python and The Holy Grail?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Were you aware that Doune Castle was also used as a film location for the first episode of Game of Thrones?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Were you aware that Doune Castle was also used as a film location series Ivanhoe?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Besides these film/TV series, Doune Castle also has a rich history itself. So, there are 5 narratives here. How did this influence your visit? (Did you for example only focus on the Outlander part or did you also take the other narratives into consideration? Or does it make this place less interesting for you?)

Long-answer text

What makes this place interesting according to you?

Long-answer text

Linlithgow Palace / Wentworth Prison

This location featured in season 1 as the prison where Jamie gets tortured and raped by Jack Randall. Linlithgow Palace was one of the three castles/palaces that were used to create Wentworth Prison on screen.

Linlithgow Palace



What were your expectations of this site and were they met?

Long-answer text

What did you take photos of in Linlithgow Palace?

Long-answer text

Were there parts that you didn't visit or take photos of? Why not?

Long-answer text

Linlithgow Palace was also used as a film location for the Netflix movie Outlaw King, did you know that before today?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Were you aware that Linlithgow Palace is the birthplace of Mary Queen of Scots?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Did the fact that it was used for another film besides Outlander influence your experience of Linlithgow Palace?

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	A lot

...

What makes this place interesting according to you?

Long-answer text

Blackness Castle / Fort William

Blackness Castle is used as a stand-in for Fort William, Jack Randall's prison where Jamie gets whipped in the courtyard.

Courtyard of Blackness Castle



What were your expectations of this site and were they met?

Long-answer text

What did you take photos of in Blackness Castle?

Long-answer text

Were there parts that you didn't visit or take photos of? Why not?

Long-answer text

What makes this place interesting according to you?

Long-answer text

Craigmillar Castle / Ardsmuir Prison

Description (optional)

Craigmillar Castle



What were your expectations of this site and were they met?

Long-answer text

What did you take photos of in Craigmillar Castle?

Long-answer text

Were there parts that you didn't visit or take photos of? Why not?

Long-answer text

What makes this place interesting according to you?

Long-answer text

Culross

Culross has been used in several Outlander episodes. Several rooms in the palace in Culross and the palace garden have been used in seasons 1, 2, and 4. Furthermore, one of the houses in the town has been used as the exterior of Geillis's house; the town square was used in the scene where a little boy is punished by hanging him on his ear. And in season 4, the palace gardens have been used again as the gardens of Laoghaire's home.

Culross palace gardens



What were your expectations of this site and were they met?

Long-answer text

What did you take photos of in Culross?

Long-answer text

Were there parts that you didn't visit or take photos of? Why not?

Long-answer text

What makes this place interesting according to you?

Long-answer text

Falkland / Inverness

Falkland was used as a stand-in for Inverness in the 1940s.

What were your expectations of this site and were they met?

Long-answer text

What did you take photos of in Falkland?

Long-answer text

Were there parts that you didn't visit or take photos of? Why not?

Long-answer text

What did you take photos of in Falkland?

Long-answer text

The Battlefield of Culloden

Description (optional)

What were your expectations of this site and were they met?

Long-answer text

What did you take photos of in Culloden?

Long-answer text

Were there parts that you didn't visit or take photos of? Why not?

Long-answer text

What makes this place interesting according to you?

Long-answer text

Clava Cairns

The standing stones that were used in Outlander were made of Styrofoam and can therefore not be found. Scotland, however, does have multiple standing stone circles. Clava cairns is located next to the battlefield of Culloden and the split stone that can be found at the site allegedly formed the inspiration for Diana Gabaldon, it is therefore often included in tours that also visit Culloden.

What were your expectations of this site and were they met?

Long-answer text

What did you take photos of?

Long-answer text

Were there parts that you didn't visit or take photos of? Why not?

Long-answer text

What makes this place interesting according to you?

Long-answer text

Lastly...

Thank you so much for participating and helping me with my research! I have one last question for you before you are finished.

If/When you share the photos that you took on social media, what kind of captions will you write?

Long-answer text

Do you have any remarks or anything to add?

Long-answer text

Link to the survey results:

https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1Ec894gGhvlSkU3s_YrOWAnJbGssQoh264zers7z7L_g/edit?usp=sharing

Respondent	I have read and understood the information above. I hereby grant my consent to participate in this study.	Country of residence	Gender	What is your age?	Do you have Scottish ancestors?	Have you lived in Scotland for some part of your life?	Which of the following motivated you to visit Scotland? (multiple answers allowed)	How important was Outlander in the decision-making process of going to Scotland?	When did you decide to visit Outlander film locations?	Which social media channels do you use?
1	Yes	UK	Female		No	No	History of Scotland, Cultural heritage sites, Landscape/Scenery, Relive past experiences/nostalgia, Escape from daily life, My husband is Scottish	3	At home	Instagram, Facebook, Pinterest
2	Yes	Scotland	Female	39	Yes	Yes	Live here	3	At home	Facebook
3	Yes	USA	Female	50	Yes	No	History of Scotland, Cultural heritage sites, Scottish ancestry, Landscape/Scenery, Setting of a specific book/film/TV series, Escape from daily life	2	At home	Instagram, Facebook, Pinterest
4	Yes	Ireland	Female	32	No	No	Shooting location of a specific book/film/TV series, Setting of a specific book/film/TV series, Escape from daily life	4	At home	Instagram, Facebook
5	Yes	Germany	Female	43	No	No	Shooting location of a specific book/film/TV series	5	At home	Instagram, Facebook, Pinterest
6	Yes	UK	Prefer not to say	60	No	No	Landscape/Scenery, Shooting location of a specific book/film/TV series, Setting of a specific book/film/TV series, Relive past experiences/nostalgia, Escape from daily life	1	At home	Facebook
7	Yes	Australia	Female	36	Yes	No	History of Scotland, Cultural heritage sites, Scottish ancestry, Landscape/Scenery, Shooting location of a specific book/film/TV series, Setting of a specific book/film/TV series	4	At home	Instagram, Facebook, Pinterest, Snapchat
8	Yes	USA	Female	60	Yes	Yes	Cultural heritage sites, Scottish ancestry, Landscape/Scenery, Visit family	2	While in Scotland	Instagram, Facebook, Pinterest
9	Yes	Canada	Female	33	Yes	No	History of Scotland, Scottish ancestry, Landscape/Scenery, Setting of a specific book/film/TV series, Escape from daily life	1	While in Scotland	Instagram, Facebook
10	Yes	USA	Female	44	Yes	No	History of Scotland, Scottish ancestry, Landscape/Scenery	2	While in Scotland	Facebook, Pinterest
11	Yes	Canada	Female	70	Yes	No	History of Scotland, Cultural heritage sites, Scottish ancestry, Landscape/Scenery, Shooting location of a specific book/film/TV series, Setting of a specific book/film/TV series	3	At home	Facebook
12	Yes	USA	Female	67	No	No	History of Scotland, Cultural heritage sites, Landscape/Scenery, Shooting location of a specific book/film/TV series, Setting of a specific book/film/TV series	5	At home	Instagram, Facebook, Pinterest
13	Yes	UK	Female	46	No	Yes	History of Scotland, Cultural heritage sites, Landscape/Scenery, Shooting location of a specific book/film/TV series, Setting of a specific book/film/TV series, Escape from daily life	4	At home	Instagram, Facebook
14	Yes	USA	Female	63	No	No	History of Scotland, Landscape/Scenery, Setting of a specific book/film/TV series	3	At home	Facebook
15	Yes	Canada	Female	68	Yes	No	Scottish ancestry	5	At home	Instagram, Facebook
16	Yes	Italy	Female	49	No	No	Cultural heritage sites, Landscape/Scenery, Shooting location of a specific book/film/TV series	3	At home	Facebook, Twitter

17	Yes	Argentina	Female	36	No	No	History of Scotland, Cultural heritage sites, Landscape/Scenery, Shooting location of a specific book/film/TV series, Setting of a specific book/film/TV series	3	At home	Instagram, Facebook
18	Yes	USA	Female	72	No	No	History of Scotland, Landscape/Scenery, Shooting location of a specific book/film/TV series, Setting of a specific book/film/TV series	5	At home	Instagram, Facebook, Pinterest
19	Yes	USA	Female	64	No	No	History of Scotland, Cultural heritage sites, Landscape/Scenery, Your favourite actor/actress, Shooting location of a specific book/film/TV series, Setting of a specific book/film/TV series	5	At home	Instagram, Facebook
20	Yes	USA	Female	65	No	No	History of Scotland, Cultural heritage sites, Your favourite actor/actress, Shooting location of a specific book/film/TV series, Setting of a specific book/film/TV series	4	At home	Instagram, Facebook, Snapchat
21	Yes	USA	Female	55	No	No	History of Scotland, Your favourite actor/actress, Shooting location of a specific book/film/TV series, Setting of a specific book/film/TV series	4	At home	Instagram, Facebook
22	Yes	USA	Female	66	Yes	No	Escape from daily life	4	At home	Instagram, Facebook, Pinterest, Snapchat
23	Yes	USA	Female	61	No	No	History of Scotland, Cultural heritage sites, Landscape/Scenery, Shooting location of a specific book/film/TV series, Setting of a specific book/film/TV series	4	At home	Instagram, Facebook, Pinterest, Blog
24	Yes	USA	Female	49	Yes	No	History of Scotland, Landscape/Scenery, Shooting location of a specific book/film/TV series, Setting of a specific book/film/TV series	5	At home	Instagram, Facebook, Pinterest, Flickr, Snapchat
25	Yes	UK	Female	49	No	No	History of Scotland, Landscape/Scenery	1	At home	Instagram, Facebook
26	Yes	USA	Female	25	Yes	Yes	History of Scotland, Cultural heritage sites, Scottish ancestry, Landscape/Scenery	1	While in Scotland	Instagram, Facebook
27	Yes	UK	Female	50	No	No	History of Scotland, Cultural heritage sites, Landscape/Scenery, Shooting location of a specific book/film/TV series, Setting of a specific book/film/TV series, Escape from daily life	5	At home	Instagram, Facebook, Snapchat
28	Yes	USA	Female	53	No	No	Escape from daily life	3	At home	Instagram, Facebook
29	Yes	USA	Female	65	No	No	History of Scotland, Landscape/Scenery, Shooting location of a specific book/film/TV series, Setting of a specific book/film/TV series	5	At home	Facebook, Pinterest, Twitter
30	Yes	UK	Female	39	No	No	History of Scotland, Cultural heritage sites, Landscape/Scenery, Shooting location of a specific book/film/TV series, Relive past experiences/nostalgia	3	While in Scotland	Facebook, Pinterest, Twitter
31	Yes	Ireland	Female	50	Yes	No	easy holiday destination - like home but different	2	While in Scotland	Facebook, Twitter
32	Yes	Canada	Female	52	Yes	No	History of Scotland, Cultural heritage sites, Scottish ancestry, Setting of a specific book/film/TV series	5	At home	Instagram, Facebook
33	Yes	Canada	Female	26	Yes	No	History of Scotland, Cultural heritage sites, Landscape/Scenery, Shooting location of a specific book/film/TV series, Setting of a specific book/film/TV series	4	At home	Instagram, Facebook, Pinterest
34	Yes	Germany	Male	35	No	No	Landscape/Scenery, Escape from daily life	1	At home	Instagram, Facebook

							History of Scotland, Cultural heritage sites, Landscape/Scenery, Your favourite actor/actress, Shooting location of a specific book/film/TV series, Escape from daily life			
35	Yes	USA	Female	65	No	No		5	At home	Facebook, Linkedin
36	Yes	USA	Female	59	No	No	History of Scotland, Cultural heritage sites, Bucket list	3	At home	Facebook
37	Yes	Germany	Female	36	No	No	Cultural heritage sites, Setting of a specific book/film/TV series	4	At home	Instagram, Pinterest, Blog
38	Yes	Germany	Female	55	No	No	Cultural heritage sites, Escape from daily life	1	At home	I don't use social media
39	Yes	Germany	Female	62	No	No	History of Scotland, Cultural heritage sites, Landscape/Scenery, Escape from daily life	3	At home	Facebook
40	Yes	Germany	Female	44	No	No	History of Scotland, Landscape/Scenery, Escape from daily life	1	At home	Instagram, Facebook
41	Yes	The Netherlands	Female	24	No	No	Escape from daily life	2	At home	Instagram, Facebook

Respondent	DOUNE - What were your expectations of this site and were they met?	What did you take photos of in Doune Castle?	Were there parts that you didn't visit or take photos of? Why not?	Were you aware that Doune Castle was also used as a film location for Monty Python and The Holy Grail?	Were you aware that Doune Castle was also used as a film location for the first episode of Game of Thrones?	Were you aware that Doune Castle was also used as a film location series Ivanhoe?	Besides these film/TV series, Doune Castle also has a rich history itself. So, there are 5 narratives here. How did this influence your visit? (Did you for example only focus on the Outlander part or did you also take the other narratives into consideration? Or does it make this place less interesting for you?)	What makes this place interesting according to you?
1	A friend used to visit as a child and recommended it. I decided to visit because of Outlander	Many pics of Interior, and exterior	No	Yes	No	Yes	General interest plus Outlander location	Great sense of history plus enjoyed seeing how it had been used in the series.
2	Yes	Yes		Yes	No	No	We live twenty mins away so consider it a local landmark	History
3	Was excited to see "Leoch", but visit was enhanced when I arrived & found out that Doune is also the original "Winterfell" from GOT. Was very impressed with how well preserved the site is. Loved the fact that Sam Heughan recorded part of the audio guide!	Everything- interior & exterior, despite drenching rain!	No	Yes	No	No	Initially focused on Outlander connection.	I'm a former History major. I love visiting historical buildings and ruins and trying to picture them in their prime.
4	Historic location, good historic information / tour	Outside and interior -		Yes	Yes	No	Just outlander	Nice to see and appreciate architecture, historical aesthetic of building
5	More than met! The audio guide has Jamie's voice!	Everything I recognized from Outlander, and more of the historic rooms.	I don't think so	Yes	Yes	No	It was very interesting anyway, the fact that it's a filming location just made it better	Mostly the GOT-Outlander context. That's the reason I visited.
6								
7								
8	Visited many years ago.	Castle	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Visited before Outlander fame	History
9	I went to Doune Castle before watching Outlander so I didn't have any fan-specific expectations. I expected to find a cool castle and those expectations were met.	The courtyard and some of the interiors	I visited the whole thing and only didn't take photos in some rooms because it was too dark	Yes	Yes	No	The castle was a stop on a day tour from Edinburgh so I didn't pick this castle specifically but because it was part of the package. Certainly all of the narratives you mentioned were discussed by our guide (all the shows, movies, and the actual history). I am a historian so the real history was the most important part for me.	It is a castle! We don't have those in Canada.
10				No				
11	Yes, completely	The grounds, the kitchen area, the upper walkway.	Not that I remember.	Yes	Yes	No	All 5 narratives. I am a great fan of castles and cathedrals.	History
12	Going tomorrow!	Not there yet		Yes	No	No		
13	Oh yes!	The courtyard from the top of the wall, the kitchens, the great hall	There are only so many broken stones you can take photos of!	Yes	No	No	Took all narratives in - Scottish history is wonderfully rich	Outlander, History, Scotland itself
14	Yes	Too many to list	No	Yes	No	No	While Outlander may have triggered the visit there was a lot more to it that we enjoyed. We also spent a good deal of time outside the castle.	Love anything to do with history.
15	History & yes	Everything	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Wanted to see everything	All of the history
16			When I went in Scotland, I hadn't read Outlander	Yes	Yes	No		Outlander
17	I had high expectations of this place and it definitely surprised me in a good way.	To everything, the kitchen (Mrs Fitz), the entrance Hall, the patio with its well, the rooms, the outside, the river...	I didn't take pictures of the stairs, as they were really baroque and there were people coming and going	Yes	No	No	I focused on Outlander and tried to learn as much as I could about its history	I AM interested in castles in general, but Outlander made it special to me
18	Had no expectations. But amazed at the castle, rooms, lighting, and staircases.	Yes	Outside on walkway up stairs. Didn't visit as knees were hurting.	Yes	No	No	Only focused on Outlander. Knowing that other filming took place made it more interesting.	The great hall. Windows. Chandeliers. Imagining past gatherings.
19	Loved it!	Inside rooms. Outside		Yes	Yes	No	Outlander prime focus	It's history as well as Outlander
20	I didn't have many expectations but loved the site and the audio tape that was provided.	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	I definitely focused on the Outlander parts but enjoyed hearing the real history of the castle.	Historical meaning and Outlander
21	Loved it! It was my favorite Scottish castle so far.	Inside the building, outside in courtyard and around outside of the castle.	No, saw all of it.	Yes	Yes	No	Focused on Outlander, Monty Python connections plus the history.	It's a wonderful castle and has a nice atmosphere.
22	Yes, it was exactly as I expected.	a few	No	Yes	Yes	No	I love history and movies. All of that made it very interesting	See above
23	I was pleased with the headphones so I could learn more at my own pace of wandering.	Many, many photos of inside and outside.	The upper room because I did not climb the stairs to go there.	No	No	No	I came because of Outlander but liked learning the history of the castle.	Mainly the Outlander connection.
24	yes	yes	no	Yes	Yes	No	It was on the itinerary of places to see with the tour that I was on.	That it has been used in multiple shows that I watch
25	No expectations	Outside		Yes	Yes	No		

26	I visited it before Outlander had aired, so I didn't really have expectations	The outside, the river behind the castle	yes - I did not go inside as it was paid admission only	Yes	No	No	I really just stumbled upon it on a roadtrip through the highlands so I didn't go into it with any preconceived notions or knowing anything about it	its age
27	Fir me it was great to see where they filmed some of Outlander , and to listen to Sam's voice talking on the headphones . It surprised me to see how much smaller the court yard is, ir looks much bigger on the show. I am also very interested in history, so it always makes me feel special that I have walked where a king / queen or someone from hundreds and thousand of years ago once walked . Yes it met my expectations	The outside of the castle, inside the rooms and views	I didn't look around the outside of the castle due to running out of time , but I will return	Yes	Yes	No	My main reason for the visit was because of Outlander , I'm not into the other TV shows	Its history and Outlander
28	Yes except it was closed	Didn't go inside	Inside...was closed	Yes	Yes	Yes	Was closed	History and architecture
29	I knew CGI had been used, wanted to see reality and the real interiors	Exteriors, landscape, river stroll, interiors	Didn't go up stairs due to mobility issues	Yes	No	No	Only the outlander narrative	It's old, in good repair, nice setting, was critical to outlander
30	Loved it. Expectations met	Lots! Outside, inside, dressed up in the shop	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Enjoyed the castle for its own history as well as for the film location	History, familiarity
31				Yes	No	No		
32	Yes liked the audio and dress up	Over 100 photos	No.	Yes	Yes	No	Outlander only	To be able to touch. To understand history and the ppl that lived there.
33	This was one of the first stops on an organised day-long Outlander tour that I took. The audio tour including interviews with Outlander and Monty Python actors was a highlight.	The exterior, the kitchen area	I didn't take as many photos because I was very immersed in the audio guide during my visit.	No	No	No	The castle's history does not make it a less interesting place to visit, though I do not remember many facts about the castle itself off the top of my head.	Mainly it's connection to Outlander and Monty Python.
34				No	No	No		
35	Yes! See the filming site	Exterior + view from higher floor outside on lawn	Interior rooms with poor lightning for pictures	No	No	No	Focused on Outlander. Not much time on the tour stop.	
36	None	Great hall, upstairs chambers, the courtyard, walls	None	No	No	No	1st time to Scotland, no real expectations. Just close to Edinburgh	Actually that both Monty Python & Outlander were filmed here
37	Great	The Outside		No	Yes	No	Only focus on the Outlander part	To see it in real
38	To visit an old castle. Looked more impressive on tv. In reality cold and empty	Only from the outside	Not really much to see	No	No	No		History, how people lived in ancient times. Difference between old castles/new ones (space for people lived here in)
39	Meeting the MacKenzies :(Everywhere	I don't know	Yes	No	No		The originated / not renovated site. Even 'no museum' build up
40	- Nope, it look like in the series. - not all, I missed furniture	outside, great hall, courtyard	kitchen, looked like any other room	Yes	Yes	No	to be honest, I visit this castle because it was offered in the tour	
41	I had no expectations but I considered the castle very nice. Especially because it was used in Game of Thrones	The outside	I didn't visit the left side of the castle for time purpose	Yes	Yes	No	I focused on the Outlander & GOT narrative, although, the later wasn't included	That it was used in GOT

Respondent	LINLITHGOW - What were your expectations of this site and were they met?	What did you take photos of in Linlithgow Palace?	Were there parts that you didn't visit or take photos of? Why not?	Linlithgow Palace was also used as a film location for the Netflix movie Outlaw King, did you know that before today?	Were you aware that Linlithgow Palace is the birthplace of Mary Queen of Scots?	Did the fact that it was used for another film besides Outlander influence your experience of Linlithgow Palace?	What makes this place interesting according to you?
1	My husband had been past it on many occasions but wanted to visit. It is stunning	Courtyard, fountain and exterior	No	No	Yes		1 It's history mainly
2	Stunning scenery and yes	Yes		Yes	Yes		1 My sister was married at the cathedral and we spend a lot of time nearby
3							
4							
5	More than met, it was very interesting!	All the big rooms, courtyard and view	I think not	Yes	Yes		1 The historical story was more interesting than the location of filming in this palace.
6							
7							
8	Visited many years ago	Family in front of features	No	Yes	Yes		1 Scottish history
9	I have not been to this location						
10							
11	I didn't get to see it.			Yes	Yes		
12	Going tomorrow			Yes	Yes		4
13	Yes	The courtyard and fountain, views from the windows	Again, so much broken stone	Yes	Yes		3 Scottish history
14	N/A Didn't visit	NA		No	Yes		NA
15	History & yes	Exteriors	No	Yes	Yes		2 History
16			When I went to Scotland, I didn't know Outlander	Yes	Yes		1 Outlander
17	I wasn't expecting a lot from the palace, but i found it stunning. I really loved it. Definitely one of the most fantastic places i've ever been	As i arrived an hour and a half before the closing time, i focused on walking through its corridors, stairs and rooms more than on taking pictures, but of course i took some on the fountain, great Hall and chapel	I got Lost twice, so i'm not sure if i could see all the palace	No	Yes		2 I could picture Queen Mary and royal families going around the palace, walking through its corridors, with their dresses
18	Didn't visit site.			No	Yes		
19							
20	My expectations were met	Yes n	No	No	No		1 Historical significance and Outlander
21	Did not visit.			No	Yes		
22	I didn't realize it was so big	architecture, windows, hallways, rooms, courtyard	No	Yes	Yes		1 The history of Mary Queen of Scots primarily, and of course Outlander
23	Headed there next month. Haven't seen it in person yet.	NA	NA	No	No		1 The connection to Outlander.
24	yes	yes	no	Yes	Yes		5 The history of MQOS and the filming of different shows; but mostly history
25	Nothing	All over	No	Yes	Yes		1 Historic place
26	I was curious to see what the inside would look like - it was under massive restoration when I visited so I didn't know what I would or wouldn't be able to see	the courtyard, I climbed to the highest points to get some scenic photos of the surroundings	some of the corridors were being blocked off by scaffolding so I did not take too many photos where construction gear would be included	Yes	Yes		1 it's location is beautiful - it's hard to imagine from the front that it opens onto such a beautiful loch
27	To see another Outlander location and where Mary Queen of Scots was born, tes it met my expectations	Inside the palace, rooms, views of the loch and of all the crowned heads that the been there	No	Yes	Yes		1 To see the film location and because of the lovely history of the palace. The beautiful Loch and stunning views from the top

28	Exceeded expectations	Everything	None	Yes	Yes	2	Birthplace after Mary queen of Scots, fountain, architecture
29	Didn't visit			No	No		
30							
31				No	Yes		
32	Yes	All of it	No	Yes	Yes	3	Mary Queen of Scots birthplace
33	I spent a long time exploring all of the different rooms, corridors and towers in the castle.	I took many pictures of the landscape from the various towers at the palace.	n/a	No	No	1	I enjoyed seeing the artifacts on display in one of the main floor corridors of the palace.
34				No	No	1	
35	See the filming sites	Entrance, fountain sculpture, courtyard, great hall	Small rooms, they were too dark	No	No	1	Palace! Large rooms, great hall, large kitchen, chapel
36	The palace was beautiful, loved the great hall, original entrance hall, beautiful.	Front door/lake, central fountain	Upper levels	No	No	1	Birthplace of Mary Queen of Scots. Love her in history
37							
38	Impressing palace. I would like to see more pictures/PC animations how it looked like during Marys presence there	From the outside / inner court	No	No	No	2	Castles become bigger. Pleasant place to build a castle
39		Many, round the castle, the park		No	Yes	1	
40	No expectation. It was amazing	courtyard, great hall, top of the ruins, outside view	inside staircase towers, too dark	Yes	Yes	1	Historical background, Mary Queen of Scots
41	I had no expectations	The outside & the statue of Mary Queen of Scots	I didn't visit the inside because of the entrance fee	No	No	4	That it was the birth place of Mary Queen of Scots

Respondent	BLACKNESS - What were your expectations of this site and were they met?	What did you take photos of in Blackness Castle?	Were there parts that you didn't visit or take photos of? Why not?	What makes this place interesting according to you?
1	Didn't get to visit	N/A	N/A	N/A
2	Cold! And yes	Everything	No	
3				
4		Courtyard, views from top level and side of building - Claire rescue angle	Most of interior - dark	History of building and outlander location
5	Yes, it felt dark and cold	Some interesting rooms and the yard	The main tower, I was tired and didn't go up	The place is dark and yet beautiful, the outlander connection was very strong.
6	Yes	All of it	No	Seeing history brought to life
7	Yes, but I only viewed from a boat tour on the fourth river, I didn't actually get the chance to go in the castle unfortunately	The outside, mainly where they jumped of the wall in when escaping in Outlander	Inside the castle and castle grounds, I was travelling in a large family group so was only able to view from the river cruise	Not part of the TV series, but it was interesting to learn that the perimeter wall is the shape of a boat (front) which was cool to see and learn
8	Never visited			
9	I have no been to this location			
10				
11	Blackness Castle had just closed as we arrived. I was very disappointed.	Outside grounds only.	It was closed.	Outlander
12	See the places filmed in Outlander.	Yes	No	Will always be Fort William to me. I can imagine all the scenes in which it was used
13	Yes	The courtyard, the inside of the tower, views from the walls	The main entry & canon placements - I dont like thinking about war like that	An amazing history - imagining how it might have been.
14		NA	NA	NA
15	History & yes	Interior & exterior	No	History
16			Because I didn't know Outlander	
17	I wasn't eager to visit blackness because i'd seen videos of it before. Much as expectations we're highly covered. I really enjoyed it	Everything! I took Pictures in all the rooms, patio, outside, prison, everywhere	I don't think so	I went there mainly because of outlander, but learnt about its history and that's what i found more interesting
18	Wanted to see all of castle and Experience prison atmosphere	Yes		The dark, bleak, harsh courtyard
19	Yes!	Inner courtyard. Views from walls. Sea.		It's own history. And Outlander. They had a bagpiper greet us. Was very moving.
20	Yes	Castle and scenery	No	Outlander and visiting a historical place
21	Wasn't sure what to expect.	Inside castle buildings and courtyard, and outside of castle.	The center building/tower. I'm scared of heights and the staircase scared me.	I visited because it was an Outlander shooting site and because it's a castle.
22	I didn't expect it to be so grim and dark	Everything, lots and lots of pictures	No	The architecture, history, location, and that it was used in Outlander
23	No real expectation. Enjoyed my visit there.	Mostly a long shot of the exterior.		The connection to Outlander.
24	Yes	Yes	No	Filming scenes from Outlander, Robert the Bruce and history
25		Every where	No	Outlander location
26	I've not visited here	n/a	n/a	n/a
27	Yes , again it seemed much bigger on TV but it was still great	Inside the castle, the rooms, grounds and views	We didn't climb to the very top of the main tower , too narrow and steep for me	Its military history , and beyond that, its filming of Outlander , and the views over the forth
28	Yes	Everything	No	Architecture and history
29	That would look similar to outlander. Accessibility challenges were unexpected	Weird steps, that were just original rock		Outlander connection
30				
31				
32	Yes. Ocean was windy that day too.	Everything	Ran out of time	The court yard. The prison hole too.
33		I mostly took photos from the pier of the water and the castle itself.	I didn't take many photos while walking inside the castle. This was mainly due to rain and that I was tiring of taking photos after a long day of touring different sites.	Mainly its location. I really enjoyed getting to be near the coast for a few minutes.
34				
35	Yes, filming sites	View from tower, the square where filming was, the 3 bridges + the rainbow	Yes, not interested in other parts	Location on the date, use of the castle. Prison with their secrets.
36	Another nice castle/prison	Courtyard, outside, the 3 bridges	Top of the tower, I hate steps	courtyard
37		Outside + inside		to see it in real
38	I thought it would have been bigger	Outside	Not visiting inside	Old fort

39	no special expectations	outside, around, coast view	castle itself, difficulties with feet & time	beautiful landscape, history
40	My expectation was to find a beautiful view and it was totally met	outside, view from the top	inside was too dark	it's well located
41	I had no expectations	Of the view and the outside of the castle	I didn't take pictures of the inside	That it was part of the Outlander filming

Respondent	CRAIGMILLAR - What were your expectations of this site and were they met?	What did you take photos of in Craigmillar Castle?	Were there parts that you didn't visit or take photos of? Why not?	What makes this place interesting according to you?
1	Not visited			
2				
3				
4				
5	Didn't visit	Didn't visit	Didn't visit	Didn't visit
6				
7	Yes this is a wonderful place to visit and explore	Everything I could	No	The history
8	Never visited			
9	I have not been to this location			
10				
11	I didn't see Craigmillar Castlr.			
12	Really loved the scenes here in season 3 and wanted to reimagine them. Expectations were met	Yes	Saw it all	I can see the scenes filmed there
13	Yes	The courtyard, views from the wall	Too dark inside to capture much!	Amazing history - lived in Edinburgh for 5 yrs and never knew it was there!!
14	NA	NA	NA	NA
15	History & yes	No	Enjoyed seeing it - phone died so no photos	Outlander
16			I didn't know Outlander	
17	This was the first place i visited. I loved it! I was amazed by its beauty and well preservation.	I took photos of everything. Especially the beautiful tardes, gardens and door	No	Its history, that it is very well preserved
18	Didn't visit			
19				
20	Didn't visit	Didn't visit	Didn't vidit	Didn't visit
21	I didn't visit this site.			
22	It was MUCH larger than I thought	Everything	No, I took photos, many photos of everything	History!!
23	Haven't been.	NA	NA	The connection to Outlander.
24	yes	yes	no	
25				
26	I've not visited here	n/a	n/a	n/a
27	Expectations met , bigger grounds than I thought	Inside the castle, in the rooms and grounds and Arthur's seat	Part of the grounds outside were closed	Outlander film site , and its history
28	Did not go	N/a	Did not go n/a	N/a
29				Didn't visit
30				
31				
32	Didnt have time to go in	None	Na	Na
33	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
34				
35				
36				
37				
38				
39				
40				
41				

Respondent	FALKLAND - What were your expectations of this site and were they met?	What did you take photos of in Falkland?	Were there parts that you didn't visit or take photos of? Why not?	What did you take photos of in Falkland?
1	Had been before but wanted to visit again after having seen Outlander so that I could identify the locations	Palace and locations	No	
2	Yes	The palace		
3				
4	Yes old historic village, quaint and friendly	Streets, outlander locations		Outlander locstions
5	Didn't visit didn't	Didn't visit	Didn't visit	Didn't visit
6	Better than expected	Central monument. Small scale model of the monument and village square	Visited all	As above
7				
8	visited many years ago			
9	I have not been to this location			
10				
11	High expectations, completely met.	Mrs. Baird's B&B, fountain in town square, general area focusing on areas that we saw in Outlander.	Palace/museum - not enough time.	See above question.
12	Wanted to see the fountain!	Yes	No	Fountain, Covenenter Hotel, palace, street
13	Yes	The fountain and the window	Didnt go into the palace, on a time crunch	The fountain & the b&b
14	NA	NA	NA	NA
15	History & yes	Everything we saw	No	Everything we saw
16			I didn't know Outlander in 1997.	
17	Tes, totally. It's a fantastic place		Sure, i only went for a short walk as the streets were covered by ice	To the Abbey, fountain, different houses and streets
18	Didn't vilit			
19	Lovely. Very cool to be there and stroll around where Claire and Frank did. Where Jamie's ghost watched Claire in window. History of town.	"Mrs. Baird's". Where "ghost" stands. Church. Window of shop.	Inside church or inn.	Repeat.
20	Seeing a beautiful village and castle. Yes they were met	Different Outlander sites and Castle	No	Outlander sites and castle
21	I didn't visit this town.			
22	Yes, it was just like I imagines	Mostly buildings, the square	We didn't have much time to spend there so I'm not sure of what I missed	See above
23	It was a smaller town than I expected. It was interesting to me the connections of Johny Cash with the town. When I came home I read more about that.	All around the town , the square, the buildings, the Johny Cash memorial. Of course, the monument where Jamie's ghost stood!		
24	yes	yes	no	the round-about, looking up to the window that Clare was sitting at brushing her hair, the buildings used as the B&B.
25	High, yrs	All over	No	Everything

26	I visited Falkland in the pouring rain one July while hiking in the Lomond Hills, so I'm not sure I got the clearest view of the area (no pun intended haha) but it was very cute	the incredibly foggy hike I took up East Lomond Hill	I did not visit Falkland Palace	see above
27	First film site we saw , by accident , very excited to see it	The monument, mrs Baird guest house , the palace , tea room	No	As above
28				
29	Ghost	Me looking up at Claire's window		
30				
31				
32	Falkland was beautiful. Rotal Hunting palace was nice too	Everything. Even the Bruce pub	No	Village, castle, pub
33	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
34				
35				
36				
37				
38				
39				
40				
41				

Respondent	CULROSS - What were your expectations of this site and were they met?	What did you take photos of in Culross?	Were there parts that you didn't visit or take photos of? Why not?	What makes this place interesting according to you?
1	My husband's great grand mother was born there and we'd seen it on tv. Loved it	Palace, tollbooth, streets and houses, market cross	No	Fascinating history including trade with the Netherlands, husband's family connection. We could visit with our National Trust membership
2	Historical and garden. Visited before outlander... would like to go again	The gardens		History
3				
4		Streets and village square	Gardens / palace	Outlander location / seafront
5	It was nice but not extremely interesting	View, garden, local store	It was just a short visit	The view is great, and lots of movies were filmed there, but I came for outlander.
6				
7	Such a beautiful village I really enjoyed exploring the are	The pebbled laneway and the yellow houses (unfortunately couldn't access the gardens) we even spent time in the church at the top of the hill	The gardens as unable to access them	The quaintness of the village
8	History and esthetic.	Town centre		History and beauty
9	I have not been to this location			
10				
11	Great expectations, totally met.	Geillis's house, square where boy had his ear nailed, gardens.	Herb garden - not enough time.	Outlander
12	I love the plants. I'm attracted to gardens. They are lovely. Expectations met	Ues	No	Such an old and quaint wee village
13	Yes	Not much really, though I bought some photos!	There are beautiful villages like this all over	Outlander
14				
15	History & yes	Dead camera, friend took photos to share	No	Outlander
16			I would like to visit Culross	
17	I went to the town but the gardens were closed	To the Tron statue and the place where geillis' house was		
18	Expected to visit a unique architectural site and yes were met	Yes		The gardens. People living in this unique place.
19	Loved it.	The town. The square where the boy was punished. The gardens. Walked out towards the edge of town and the water.	Inside palace.	Charming town. Outlander.
20	Wanted to visit because of Outlander and to visit an old Scottish village	Buildings and scenery	No	History and Outlander
21	I didn't visit this site.			
22	It was just as I pictured	The buildings, landscape, rooms, and especially the gardens	No	Just that's it's a charming place and old and quaint, and history
23	I enjoyed this site very much. I was surprised at all the uphill climbing involved. Visited in October so gardens were beginning to go dormant but still beautiful. Enjoyed the town too.	Gardens and architecture.		The connection to Outlander and it appears to be a natural Scottish town.

24	Exceeded	yes	No	walking through the gardens was lovely and the town is picture-perfect
25	No expct,	Outside	No	Its s scottish villsge
26	I've not visited here	n/a	n/a	n/a
27	Didn't visit the palace or gardens	The monument, the houses and the narrow streets , wynds	Culross palace	How very old fashioned it still looks
28				
29	Outlander	Gardens, interiors		Outlander, quaint town
30	Very interesting, enjoyed a lot	Around the streets, outside the palace, in the garden	Inside the palace (signs forbidding this)	History of the village, unusual buildings
31				
32	Loved the town	Everything	No I took tons of pics	The true history. The streets. The colours of the homes and palace.
33	Yes! This was the first stop on my Outlander tour and I was so excited to recognize some locations from the show. I also found the village incredibly picturesque. I spent a lot of time exploring the ruins of what I believe was a monastery or abbey in the village.	I took some photos of the town square and the ruins.	I spent time just enjoying the sights of the village and did not take photos the whole time I was walking around.	I liked seeing the locations from Outlander filming, but I also liked walking around this little village where you could see people's homes and shops. It was nice to spend some time in an area that wasn't only catering to tourists like a museum or gallery.
34	no expectations	none		
35	Yes! Expected to see the filming areas	- Town square where season 1 scenes were filmed - young thief nailed to the post - Street where Claire visits Jacks sick brother - Top of the stairs - Firth of Fourth view	None	To see the sites in person is FUN! Relive in my mind the beautiful films + great story. Photographyshop is interesting and we met the photographer Graham Harris Graham.
36	No expectations,	Mercat tower, square	Castle	Loved the town - Scottish village
37	It was great - visit many locations	of the outside		to see it in real
38	To see ancient houses, roads, feel spirit how to live in the 16th century.	Abbey, houses, castle/garden, old centre	Don't know, I think not enough time for everything	You can feel history.
39		Everywhere, houses, yards, windows	the abbey -- too far	People still live in the houses of their ancestors
40	No expectations, was a nice surprise	Garden, palace		Like the old houses
41	I had no expectations but when visiting I really enjoyed the town	of the old buildings, the garde, and the palace	I didn't visit all the town because the time was limited	It was included in the tour

Respondent	CULLODEN - What were your expectations of this site and were they met?	What did you take photos of in Culloden?	Were there parts that you didn't visit or take photos of? Why not?	What makes this place interesting according to you?
1	Husband and I had never visited, plus the Outlander connection. Very moving and atmospheric site	Battlefield and cairn	No	I'm English and Protestant, my husband is Scottish and Catholic. We were taught 2 very different versions of this era of history.
2				
3	I expected Culloden to be a solemn site, but I underestimated the emotional impact of my visit. The "theater in the round" battle experience in the visitors center is very effective.	Clan markers, overall landscape, visitors center	No	The historical significance
4				
5	Didn't visit- but I want to!	Didn't visit	Didn't visit	The history
6	Wasn't as big as I expected. Didn't realise you can visit the battlefield and graves for free. It's the visitor centre you pay for.	Battlefield and graves	Visited all	Real battle scene
7	Yes this is a remarkable site that should be preserved as part of Scottish history	The sign at the main entrance in Gaelic & English, the stone tower tribute, Clan Fraser stone, the cottage	No, well inside the museum I don't think were allowed to take photos in there	There is something particularly strong in a 'soul's way when visiting Culloden. I have Scottish ancestry, but Outlander really brought to the forefront my knowledge and understanding of what happened there, and by visiting it really affects you about how special the site is and that it should be respected and preserved
8	Visited many years ago.	Leannach cottage and some clan cairns	No	History and sad loss for Scotland and it's people
9	I have not been to this location			
10	History overview. Expectations met.	The battlefield	Yes. Raining heavily.	History
11	My expectations were not st close to my experience. I was overwhelmed. I burst into tears on a few occasions completely shattered.	The moor, the monument, clan stones, the cottage, the wall representing the numbers of fallen soldiers i.e. British and Highlanders.	No pictures taken inside.	The history. The people in the visitor's centre were so knowledgeable and helpful and friendly and welcoming.
12	Later in week we will be there			
13	Yes	The cottage, the landscape, the gravestones		History like this should not be forgotten
14	Yes	Too many to list		Important to Scottish history
15	History	As much as we could see.	No	Ancestors fought at at Culloden
16		Because of History		History
17	Totally.	To every sign with details of the battle, to the flags, memorial cairn, stones with clan names, little cottage	No	Its history. It's a magical place in which you can breath something special
18	Historical and sacred site. Yes.	Yes		History. Remembering battle and how fallen are honored.
19	Very moving.	Field. Visitor center.	Inside the cottage—was not open heard it is now.	History.
20	Have been twice. First time was just for history but second time it came alive because of Outlander. So yes they were met	Battlefield, Frazier stone, etc	No	The site is fascinating. So much to learn from the English and Scottish perspectives.

21	I expected it to be melancholy and moving, and it was.	The battlefield, the house on the battlefield, the memorial and some of the clan stones.	We walked the whole battlefield.	The history and what the loss of this battle cost the Scottish.
22	I didn't expect it to be so haunted	Everything, MANY pictures	No, went on all the paths and in the building	The spirituality of the place the history the sadness
23	It was a wonderful place to visit. I enjoyed walking the grounds and the museum there.	Monuments, hut, memorial stones.		The connection to Outlander and it's Scottish history. I have learned so much about Scotland since visiting and want to go back and experience it again.
24	yes	yes	no	it actually makes me rather sad ~ thinking about all the lives that were lost so quickly on that day and how the lives of so many people changed that day.
25	High historic interest, yes	All over		Historic
26	I expected to be way out in the complete middle of nowhere but I didn't realize there were farms and private property sort of on the fringe of the moor	the clan grave markers and the moor in the crazy weather that day	the inside of the museum - it was way too crowded and I don't tend to take photos of stuff in museums	the pilgrimage people make yearly to observe the anniversary of the Battle of Culloden every April
27	Unfortunately not been yet , planning a trip there for next year			Its remarkable history
28	Yes	Everything	No	History...very somber. Not many battlefields that aren't tacky tourist stores in the US anymore
29	Respectful battlefield		I didn't walk around much out side, but my daughter did	Historical battle site of some consequence
30				
31	No expectations.	the battlefield		History - learned about it in school
32	Yes. I brought flowers to lay at graves at headstones. Overwhelming. I cried	Everything	No. I took about 300	Proud of being Scottish. Proud they fought for freedom. Proud they were proud!
33	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
34				
35				
36				
37				
38				
39				
40				
41				

Respondent	CLAVA CAIRNS - What were your expectations of this site and were they met?	What did you take photos of?	Were there parts that you didn't visit or take photos of? Why not?	What makes this place interesting according to you?
1	Not visited			
2				
3				
4				
5	Didn't visit	Didn't visit	Didn't visit	Didn't visit
6	Better than expected. More complete	Cairns and standing stones	Na	Its very ancient
7				
8	Never visited			
9	I have not been to this location			
10	No expectations as visited before Outlander show was super popular. Our tour guide recommended to go and explained it could be inspiration for books. Expectations were definitely met we just a beautiful spot.	All of the area.	None.	Mystery of its origins.
11	I didn't go back through the stones!!!	Standing stones, cairn, general area.	No.	Standing stones
12	Later in week			
13				
14	Yes	Obviously the stones and informational sugnage		Interesting yet eerie in a way
15	History & beauty	Everything	No	Outlander connection
16				
17	I was waiting to see a special place. Yes!	Standing stones, Cairns, bridge	No	Its amazing history
18	Didn't visit.			
19	Fascinating ancient site.	Stones. Local scenery beyond.		History.
20	Wanted to see because of Stonehenge the first time and Outlander on my second visit. Expectations were met.	Stones and how light filtered through the stones	No	History and Outlander
21	It was even bigger than I thought it would be.	All stones, cairns and signs.	Saw it all.	The atmosphere, who built it and why.
22	I didn't expect to be there but was greatly pleased	The cairns, the standing stones	No	What it was, the history
23	No real expectations.	The stones and of course, one of me peeking out behind one of them!		The connection to Outlander as well as the history of the henge itself.
24	yes	yes	no	
25				
26	I've not visited this site	n/a	n/a	n/a
27	Not been as yet			Its history
28	Exceeded	Everything	No	History....seeing something that has withstood for so many centuries was amazing and learning how deep traditions span.
29	Bigger stones	Me touching the stones		Real authentic site
30				
31				
32	Yes.	Touching the stones, trying to TT	No.	History. 4000 years old. Pretty amazing. Very clean too
33	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
34				
35				
36				
37				
38				
39				
40				
41				

Respondent	If/When you share the photos that you took on social media, what kind of captions will you write?	Do you have any remarks or anything to add?
1	Don't normally say much	It has been good to see these places making the most of the Outlander effect, particularly as it is not on any of the major UK tv channels.
2	Nope	
3	I shared photos contemporaneously on FB with descriptions of the sites & the experience.	
4	Beautiful outlander locations including outlander names of locations and real location names	Many sites are not fully taking advantage of outlander series with only a few themed merchandise items available. Little to none in Edinburgh . Massive opportunity for Edinburgh tourism to take full advantage of tourists whilst they can in effort to raise funds for historic sites. Photo opportunities etc which to not affect landscapes etc
5	That people would love them, and they did!	I also visited locations in Edinburgh and "Lallybroch "
6	Already done on outlander universe	I understand there is to be building on the site at culloden which is a disgrace
7		
8		
9	When I visit a filming location I usually have something like #fangirl or #OutlanderNerd in my caption	One site I did go to specifically out of Outlander interest was Bakehouse Close in Edinburgh (exterior of the Print Shop). I shared photos of the steps on social media and fellow fans got a big kick out of it.
10	Wrote comments as to where picture was taken and how related to my ancestry or perhaps a setting for Outlander filming.	Love my Scottish roots and that Outlander highlights the beauty of the country.
11	Mostly "I made it!"	Good luck.
12	Outlander sites	No
13	Minimal	It's amazing how a tv show can affect tourism so much! The books have been out over 20yrs, but only when they are made visual do people want to see/experience.
14		
15	Names of places	Scotland is the most beautiful country I have ever visited. It made my heart sing. ❤️🇬🇧🇬🇧
16	Scotland - I love Scotland - Holidays	
17	Only the names of the places and my feelings about them	Only that i'll definitely ve back. I'm in love with Scotland. I also visited Inverness, fort William and Glasgow
18	Will write short feelings about site.	Outlander has opened a whole new country to me. I'm learning about history and culture of the Scots and how they influenced the Americas.
19	Thrilled to visit Scotland. Beautiful scenery. Fascinating history. Learned a lot (the NOT British perspectives). Lovely people. Great food. And of course—Outlander!	Good Luck!
20	I posted about the history and in some cases how they were in the Outlander tv series.	We gave been to Scotland three times. The first time we knew nothing of Outlander but enjoyed the beauty and history of the country. When we went back after having read the books and having seen the TV show we knew much more about the history of Scotland.
21	Just stating what the site is and how it pertained to Outlander.	
22	I'll note that they were Outlander sites, and include brief history	My heart will always be in Scotland
23	I caption my photos and I also blog about my visits. I keep my captions short and sometimes add humor if appropriate to keep the viewers interest.	
24	#outlander #standingstones #takemeback #fallingthroughtime #Scotland	
25		

26	After living in Scotland for a few years I definitely shared photos on social media but any captions I included were mostly to describe (for my own memory as much as to the benefit of any viewers) what the site was	Outlander Tourism has been a blessing and a curse for Scotland. It's awesome that so many people have been inspired to learn its history but it has really worn down on some of these older sites and sadly many tourists have given the larger group a bad name due to their disrespect for the solemnity of places such as Culloden.
27	My fabulous trip to Scotland	Scotland is such a beautiful place , the scenery is stunning , every turn you see something different , the people are very friendly , it's full of history , I feel very much at peace when I visit Scotland, I would like to move there one day
28	Just locations	No
29	Cite, real name and outlander name	
30	Lots of the photos had my family on, so shared with family and friends with captions like 'lovely holiday'	
31	Just the location. Don't tag it for Outlander	
32	Honest ones. Tried to take notes. But mostly the history and truth.	I couldn't see in some of the palaces or castles. Would like help with better light if possible.
33	I mainly have posted photos of the highlands and my comments have focused on the beauty of Scotland. I did post a photo before the Outlander Season 4 premiere and made a cheesy joke about looking for Jamie at the home used for "Lallybroch" in the TV series.	I definitely enjoyed visiting the sights on the Outlander tour, but also spent time exploring Edinburgh and Glasgow. I found that I could engage much more easily with the content in the museum exhibits at Edinburgh Castle due to learning about the Scottish clans through Diana Gabaldon's books (and the show to some extent). Good luck with your research!
34		
35	In the Facebookgroup: "Outstanding Outlander". The captions will simply note the site names.	
36	Just saying that I was in Scotland. Wandering, looking for Jamie!	
37		
38	Don't think that I will share the photos	
39	After getting back home, tour to the past	
40	- Short description of the location - My experience I had at that location	
41	The song lyrics of Outlander or a 'catchphrase' or pun from Game of Thrones	

Appendix 2 Images

Doune Castle



Figure 3: Frontal view of Doune Castle (Photo: my own)



Figure 4: Hidden poster in the giftshop of Doune Castle with limited information about film productions at Doune. (Photo: my own)



Figure 5: Information board at Doune Castle about filming *Outlander* (Photo: My own)



Figure 6: 28 most recent photos of Doune Castle posted on Flickr (Screenshot taken at 26 April 2019 from Flickr.com).

Linlithgow Palace



Figure 7: Courtyard of Linlithgow Palace (Photo: my own)



Figure 8: Linlithgow Palace on Flickr (Screenshot taken on 5 May 2019)

Blackness Castle



Figure 9: Binder in the giftshop of Blackness Castle (Photo: my own)

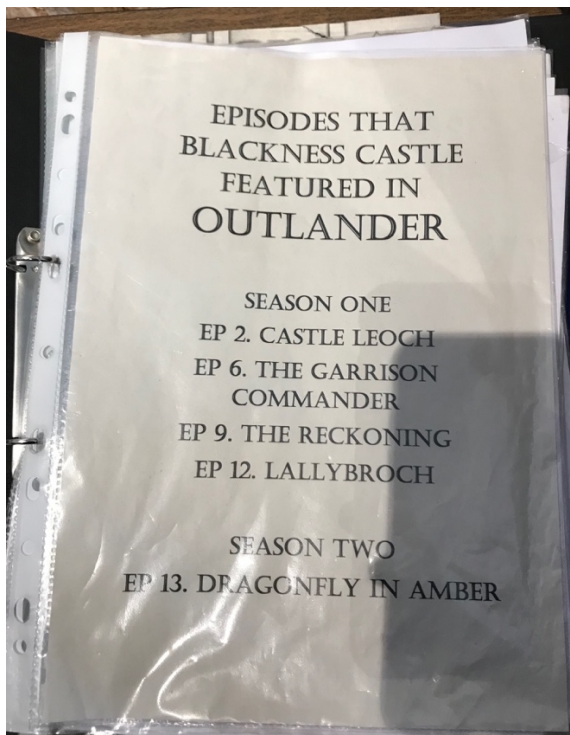


Figure 10: Binder in the giftshop of Blackness Castle (Photo: my own)



Figure 11: Poster outside the giftshop of Blackness Castle (Photo: my own)



Figure 12: Blackness Castle on Flickr (Screenshot taken on 19 May 2019)



Figure 13: Courtyard of Blackness Castle where the flogging scene was filmed (Photo: my own)

Craigmillar Castle



Figure 14: Outer Courtyard of Craigmillar Castle (Photo: my own)



Figure 15: Information sign at Craigmillar Castle (Photo: my own)



Figure 16: Craigmillar Castle on Flickr (Screenshot taken on 20 May 2019)

Falkland



Figure 17: Falkland on Flickr (Screenshot taken on 28 May 2019)

Culross



Figure 18: Palace gardens that were used in Outlander (Photo: my own)



Figure 19: Town square in Culross (Photo: my own)



Figure 20: Culross on Flickr (Screenshot taken on 30 May 2019)

Culloden



Figure 21: Battlefield of Culloden on Flickr (Screenshot taken on 31 May 2019)

Clava Cairns



Figure 22: Clava Cairns on Flickr (Screenshot taken on 2 May 2019)