THE INFLUENCE OF FILMIC REPRESENTATIONS ON NARRATIVES OF PLACE AND TOURIST DESTINATION IMAGE: JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA.

by

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to investigate the influence of popular media representations, specifically film and television, on narratives of place and tourist destination image. The argument is based on the premise that popular media representations of potential tourist destinations, through wide dissemination and use, construct and sustain specific expectations and perceptions in potential tourists. This may ultimately influence motivational indicators for travel to or deterrents from travel to a specific destination. The dissertation reflects on various aspects in films, at destinations, and inherent to audiences that can have an influence on location filming, film tourism and filmic destination marketing. It further explores certain infrastructural arrangements that make location filming, film tourism and filmic destination possible. These aspects are first examined through international examples, then related to a South African context and finally to specific filmic representations of Johannesburg in the *Marvel Cinematic Universe* and by Director Neill Blomkamp between 2009 and 2018.

Key Words: Film Tourism; Narratives of Place; Destination Image; Filmic Destination Marketing; Johannesburg; South Africa, Marvel Cinematic Universe.

List of Abbreviations

AFDA	African Film Drama Academy
AVE	Advertising Value Equity
CBI	City Brand Index
DHHS	Department of Historical and Heritage Studies
DIT	Digital Image Technician
DMO	Destination Marketing Organisation
DTIC	Department of Trade, Industry and Competition
FFO	*Film Facilitation Office India*
GRDM	Garden Route District Municipality
GRFC	Garden Route Film Commission
IPSOS	*Insitut de Publique Sondage d'Opnion Secteur*
IMDB	*Internet Movie Database*
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
LOTR	*Lord of the Rings*
MCU	Marvel Cinematic Universe
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NBI	Nation Brand Index
NGO	Non-Government Organisations
NVFV	National Film and Video Foundation
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SACO	South African Cultural Observatory
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UIS	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
UK	United Kingdom
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UP	University of Pretoria
US	United States of America
WESGRO	Western Cape Trade, Tourism and Investment Promotion Agency

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim of the Study

The three essential elements in the tourism industry at its very basic level are tourists (people, demand) and destinations (places, supply) and how the two connect (information, media). The potential tourist gains knowledge of possible travel destinations in various ways. Of these, popular media, and specifically film and television, has a "prominent role in producing and distributing" this knowledge.[1] Filmic representations of places, at least to some extent, influence impressions held about the reputation of a destination, in other words a destination's "image" or "place brand".[2] In this regard, Stephanie Donald and John Gammack argue that "cinema affords insight into how a city tells its stories, and thereby builds its self-perception and the perception of others".[3] Kevin Meethan refers to these "stories, histories and myths that are associated with people and place" as "narratives of place".[4]

In light of these views, one of the main aims of this dissertation is to explore the filmic representation of a place or destination. It investigates filmic representations of place with reference to South Africa and specifically to Johannesburg. The narratives of place that are constructed through various filmic representations of the country and in particular the city are explored. The influence of these narratives and visualisations on destination image and tourist perceptions as "conceptualisations of media realism" described by Alice Hall and the "psychological drivers in a film that encourages tourist visitation" presented by Rafael Basanez, amongst others, are investigated. In Hall's study, participants in focus group interviews were evaluated for the way they perceive "realism in media texts" and "six distinct means" were identified, namely: "plausibility; typicality; factuality; emotional involvement; narrative consistency; and perceptual persuasiveness"[5] In Basanez's study, the focus is on aspects such as "attention";

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[1] J. Hartley, *Television Truths: Forms of Knowledge and Popular Culture*, Blackwell, Oxford, 2008, p. 1.

[2] C. Iwashita, "Media representation of the UK as a destination for Japanese tourists: popular culture and tourism", *Tourism Studies,* 6 (1), 2006, pp. 59-77; M.G. Gallarza, I. Gill & H. Calderon, "Destination Image: Towards a Conceptual Framework", *Annals of Tourism Research,* 29 (1), 2002, p. 60; S. Anholt, "Definitions of place branding – Working towards a resolution", *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 6 (2010), p. 7.

[3] S.H. Donald & J.G. Gammack, *Tourism and the Branded City: Film and Identity on the Pacific Rim*, Ashgate, Hampshire, 2007, p. 3.

[4] K. Meethan, "Narratives of Place and Self", in K. Meethan, A. Anderson & S. Miles (eds.), *Tourism, Consumption and Representation*, CAB International, Oxfordshire, 2006, p. 7.

[5] A. Hall, "Reading Realism: Audiences' Evaluations of the Reality of Media Texts", *Journal of Communications,* December, 2003, p. 638.

“memory and imagination”; “emotions”; and “depth of movement”.[6] This dissertation makes deductions regarding responses to specific narratives created and reinforced through fictional filmic representations of South Africa and Johannesburg in target audiences, i.e. potential tourists, which can inform travel decision-making.

In addition, international examples of interdepartmental and inter-industry collaboration to capitalise on these filmic representations as a means to improve a destination image are investigated for their applicability to a South African, and in particular Johannesburg, environment. At the heart of such a question is the notion of “Authorship” – who gets to tell the story or who controls the narrative?

This dissertation further intends to explore industry linkages between tourism and film as already manifest in other parts of the world. For example: “the film offices of Montana, Wisconsin, North Dakota and South Dakota are part of their state’s tourism operations and are funded through their respective tourism departments” in the US.[7] In South Africa, a call went out in 2011 for the participation in a Gauteng Film Partnership committee, involving a number of industries, including tourism.[8] Furthermore, during two panel discussions at the Rapid Lion 2017 film festival in March 2017, Brand South Africa asked the question “how African and South African Nation Brand stories can be communicated in visual form and through compelling storytelling”.[9] These instances indicate a clear interest at government level in cinema as a powerful medium for storytelling. This has the potential as a form of “cultural exchange” to “communicate” and “create images in the minds of certain publics”.[10] Cultural exchange is also noted as one of the “six channels or areas of activity” that Simon Anholt considers as the building blocks of place image or brand.[11]

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[6] R.P. Basanez, “Film-Induced Tourism: The Imaginary of Place and the Place of the Imaginary”, M.S. – dissertations, University of Wales Institute, Cardiff, pp. 86 - 89.

[7] S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, Channel View, Clevedon, 2005, p. 20.

[8] Gauteng Film Commission, “GFC Film Partnerships Nominations”, April 2011, <http://www.gautengfilm.org.za/news/news-archive/2011/april-2011/874-gfc-film-partnership-nominations>, Access: 28 November 2015.

[9] *Brand South Africa*, “Brand South Africa interrogates how African and South African Nation Brand stories can be communicated through compelling storytelling”, 3 March 2017, <https://www.brandsouthafrica.com/southafricafastfacts/pressreleasebrandsouthafricainterrogatesafricansouthafricannationbrandstoriescanco…>, Access: 5 March 2017.

[10] S. Anholt, “Competitive Identity”, in N. Morgan, A. Pritchard & R. Pride, *Destination Brands: Managing Place Reputation*, Butterworth-Heinemann, Oxford, 2011, p. 23.

[11] S. Anholt, “Competitive Identity”, p. 23.

1.2. Definitions and Conceptualisation

A number of concepts are explored throughout this dissertation for their applicability to the study. These include a variety of disciplines and fields that necessitate some discrete definitional parameters. This is germane to the field of tourism studies given its multi-layered and interdisciplinary nature.[12] As will be discussed throughout, perhaps the most salient background literature for this research resides in the growing field termed "movie induced tourism",[13] also referred to as "film-induced tourism",[14] "popular media induced tourism",[15] and most often "film tourism".[16] These terms are often used interchangeably with small variations in meaning dependent on the specific scope. The term "film tourism" is defined by Melanie Smith, Nicola MacLeod and Margaret Robertson as:

> film and TV tourism describes tourism visits prompted by seeing locations on television or at the cinema. This form of tourism also includes visits to places associated with film and television characters or celebrities.[17]

Although the focus in this study will be on filmic representations of tourist destinations, to merely look at the relationship between film and tourism in isolation, can be perceived as reductionist and negates the relationship between film, tourism and other forms of popular media. Thus, although the term film tourism will be used as the main focus of this disseration, it is worth reflecting on the relationship between film as a dominant popular media form today and its precursor literature. In this regard, Chieko Iwashita considers a broader definition of the phenomenon, termed "popular media induced tourism" that "involves visits to a destination which has strong associations or connections with films, television programmes and novels or their authors".[18] Consequently, this study often reflects on this relationship and considers sources in other forms such as fictional novels that contribute to the building of worlds in the

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[12] J. Tribe, "The Indiscipline of Tourism", *Annals of Tourism Research*, 24(3), 1997.
[13] R.W. Riley, D. Baker & C.S. Van Doren, "Movie Induced Tourism", *Annals of Tourism Research*, 25(4), 1998, pp. 919 – 935.
[14] S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*.
[15] C. Iwashita, "Media representation of the UK as a destination for Japanese tourists: popular culture and tourism", p. 60.
[16] S. Roesch, *The Experience of Film Location Tourists*, Channel View, Bristol, 2009.
[17] M. Smith, N. MacLeod & MH. Robertson, *Key Concepts in Tourism Studies*, Sage, London, p. 71.
[18] C. Iwashita, "Media representation of the UK as a destination for Japanese tourists: popular culture and tourism", p. 60.

minds of potential tourists, whether complete fiction, historical accounts or based on reality.

Furthermore, based on the backdrop of film tourism, Stefan Roesch considers the potential of marketing a destination based on the images portrayed through film. He terms this "filmic place branding and marketing".[19] This consideration sprouts from the concept or idea of a destination brand or image. Perhaps considered the father of the concept "nation brand", Anholt describes this concept by stating that:

> the reputation of countries (and, by extension, cities and regions too) function rather like the brand images of companies and products and that they are equally critical to the progress, prosperity, and good management of those places.[20]

And that:

> national image has more to do with national and regional identity and the politics and economics of competitiveness than with branding as it is usually understood in the commercial sector.[21]

He further elaborates on the concept by considering the many factors that influence the impressions people have about certain places. This most pertinently includes "cultural exchange and cultural activities and exports" with examples including "a national opera, the works of a famous author, and the national sports team".[22] To these examples, storied depictions of a place's cultural capital through the medium of film and television can be added.

This also then leads us to the next conceptual grounding for this dissertation, namely: "narratives of place", "placemaking" and "cultural landscapes". Although descended from a number of disciplines or fields, these concepts have the common thread that they refer to the relationship between the tangible place and the storied or lived associations with such places. What it is like in such a place, what are the cultural

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[19] S. Roesch, "Destination Promotion through Film", *Film Quest*, n.d., <http://www.filmquest.co/b2b/>, Accessed August 2017.
[20] S. Anholt, "Competitive Identity", p. 21.
[21] S. Anholt, "Competitive Identity", p. 21.
[22] S. Anholt, "Competitive Identity", p. 23.

expressions, the memories and identities of its inhabitants. For the purpose of this dissertation we will refer most often to narratives of place as described by Meethan, when he states:

> places are invested in a variety of meanings that encompass notions of home, belonging, shared culture, shared language and history, and forms of personal and collective identity. It is these values that are inherent to specific places, or the values ascribed to activities that are undertaken in such places, together with a bundle of associated services that comprise the tourist product sold in the marketplace.[23]

1.3. Theoretical Framework and Methodology

In accordance with John Tribe's assertions about the "multi- and interdisciplinary" nature of tourism research in his seminal article "The Indiscipline of Tourism",[24] the study draws from various disciplines and fields. Tribe argues that:

> the search for tourism as a discipline should be abandoned. It is a sign of nostalgia (hankering after an overly idealized concept) and insecurity (lack of academic self-confidence) and would involve casting adrift important parts of tourism studies in the quest for conceptual coherence and logical consistency. Tourism studies seems likely to remain in a pre-paradigmatic phase but this should not be seen as a problem. Rather tourism studies should recognize and celebrate its diversity.[25]

Similarly, and perhaps more directly tailored to the topic of this study, Donald and Gammack argue that cities and city branding "can have [and should] explore the possibilities offered by multidisciplinary and trans-disciplinary research across, in particular, cultural studies, and film studies, marketing and psychology in the complex theoretical and applied [problem] of branding the city".[26] Furthermore, Joanne Connell states that "the perspectives of cultural geography and film theory/studies [has] the most […] conceptual advances" to inform this specific field of study.[27] With these

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[23] K. Meethan, "Narratives of Place and Self", pp. 4-5.
[24] J. Tribe, "The Indiscipline of Tourism".
[25] J. Tribe, "The Indiscipline of Tourism", p. 656.
[26] S.H. Donald & J.G. Gammack, *Tourism and the Branded City*, p. 25.
[27] J. Connell, "Film tourism – Evolution, progress and prospects", *Tourism Management*, 33, 2012, p. 1008.

statements as a point of departure for this dissertation, a wide range of literature, disciplinary approaches, theoretical frameworks and methodologies are adopted. In this pursuit a number of both quantitative and qualitative methods are used. The research draws from the disciplines or fields of Anthropology, History, Marketing, Geography, Sociology, Visual Culture, Media, Tourism and Film Studies, as a range of theoretical approaches and relevant concepts intersect, and methodologies complement each other.

When a place is portrayed through a filmic representation, whether as itself or whether as a stand-in location, it stands to reason that how a place is represented becomes important. Questions arise such as: Is a place represented in a positive or a negative way? Does positive or negative matter for tourism, or is it simply a matter of inspiring interest? How are specific narrative associations with place made, i.e. what is being represented, what is constructed? What are the current narrative constructions about Johannesburg (and South Africa) in popular parlance? In the light of this a number of theoretical approaches to Tourism Marketing will be explored.

Firstly, Anholt presents a framework "to develop the competitive identity of a country, city or region [by stating] that people's perceptions of a place are formed:

1 By the things that are done in the country and the way they are done
2 By the things that are made in a country and the way they are made
3 By the way other people talk about a country
4 By the way the country talks about itself.[28]

Filmic representations of a place clearly form part of "different messages [communicated] about [a] place [and is] an important factor in the way the place builds its reputation".[29] This is one of the frameworks relevant for this study and is related to the premise that filmic representation can in many ways be related to some, if not all four, of the above. It consequently becomes clear that stock needs to be taken of exactly how South Africa, and Johannesburg in particular, is represented through multiple forms of media. However, this study focuses specifically on fictional filmic

[28] S. Anholt, "Competitive Identity", pp. 24-25.
[29] S. Anholt, "Competitive Identity", pp. 24-25.

representation of the city, with secondary reference to other media forms such as news media and online commentary.

Secondly, specific theoretical frameworks and typologies for tourist destination image are also explored in this study. The seminal work of William Gartner that proposes a typology of image formation agents related to "the degree of control by the promoter and credibility to the target market" will be utilised. Amongst these are four induced (high control and low credibility) and four autonomous (high credibility and low control) agents that present a valuable framework for further investigation. Although filmic and news media are usually described as "autonomous image formation agents [that] are authoritative and credibly [derived from] widely received sources beyond a destination's control",[30] the involvement of film commissions and tourism organisations in film tourism practices across the world, could possibly alter this into a more controlled agent while still maintaining credibility. Roesch supports this view by stating that:

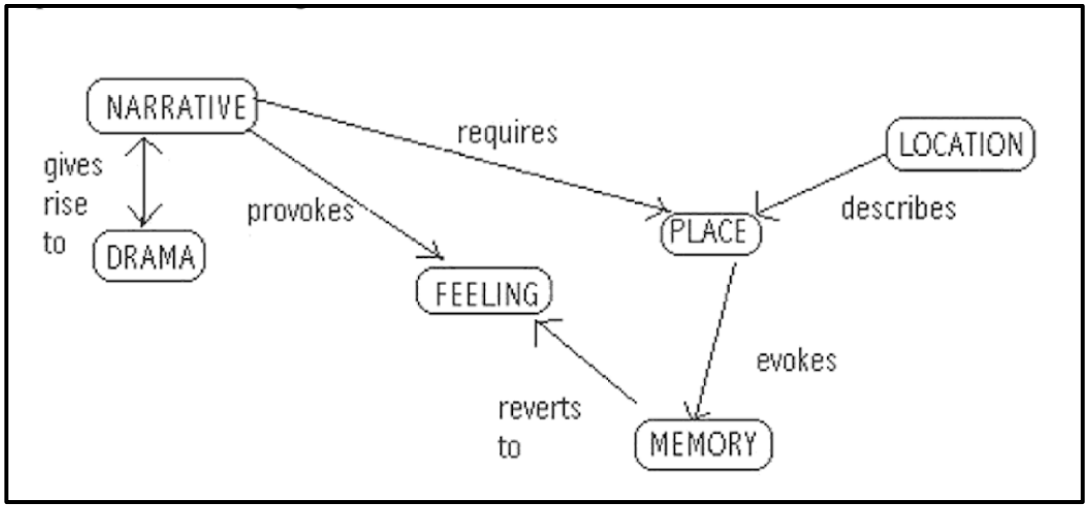
> Fictional film productions tell universal stories which are highly emotional and have a wide reach. Destination marketing via film and TV is not perceived as promotion (below-the-line-advertising) and the advertising value equivalency (AVE) in film tourism commonly reaches a relation of 1:10 or higher.[31]

Other applicable theoretical and conceptual frameworks related to social and communication science are also explored in more detail. These are conceptualisations of media realism as described by Hall;[32] cognitive and concept mapping as described by Donald and Gammack;[33] public, private and personal meaning associated with narratives of place as described by Meethan, Alison Anderson and Steve Miles;[34] framing in the cinema and cinematic landscapes as described by Graeme Harper and

[30] K.J. Mackay & D.R. Fesenmaier, "Pictorial Element of Destination in Image Formation", *Annals of Tourism Research* 24(3), 1997, p. 539; W.C. Gartner, "Temporal influences on image change", *Annals of Tourism Research*, 13(4), 1986, pp. 635-644.
[31] S. Roesch, "Destination Promotion through Film".
[32] A. Hall, "Reading Realism: Audiences' Evaluations of the Reality of Media Texts", pp. 624-641.
[33] S.H. Donald & J.G. Gammack, *Tourism and the Branded City*, pp. 25-44.
[34] K. Meethan, "Narratives of Place and Self", pp. 4-7.

Jonathan Rayner;[35] the tourist gaze as described by John Urry and Jonas Larsen;[36] cognitive and affective components of destination image related to filmic representation of places as explored by Hyounggon Kim and Sarah Richardson;[37] and the landscape as text described by David Ley.[38] Of these Donald and Gammack's adapted model for concept mapping related to a city brand and filmic representation proves particularly useful (Figure 1). This model shows "some elementary concepts and their semantic relationships", using "drama", "narrative", "feeling", "place", "location" and "memory" as indicators of how stories are mapped to a landscape.[39]

Figure 1: Conceptual model showing some elementary concepts and their semantic relationships.[40]



At the heart of many of these theories, and by extension this study, is the complex relationship that exists between representation and perception. Ley, for example, describes the landscape as "a medium to be read for the ideas, practices and contexts constituting the culture which created it".[41] Meethan *et al.* caution about "the simple

[35] G. Harper & J. Rayner, *Cinema and Landscape*, Intellect, Bristol, 2010; G. Harper & J. Rayner, *Film Lanscapes: Cinema, Environment and Visual Culture*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle, 2013.
[36] J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*, Sage, London, 1990; J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, Sage, London, 2002; J. Urry & J. Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, Sage, London, 2011.
[37] H. Kim & S.L. Richardson, "Motion Picture Impacts on Destination Images", *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30(1), 2003, pp. 216 – 237.
[38] D. Ley, "Cultural/Humanistic Geography", *Progress in Physical Geography* 9(3), 1985, pp. 415 - 423.
[39] S.H. Donald & J.G. Gammack, *Tourism and the Branded City*, p. 32.
[40] S.H. Donald & J.G. Gammack, *Tourism and the Branded City*, p. 32.
[41] D. Ley, "Cultural/Humanistic Geography", p. 419.

acceptance of one dominant reading" by potential tourists, viewers or consumers.[42] However, as stated by Anholt, the argument remains that:

> we all navigate through the complexity of the modern world armed with a few simple clichés, and they form the background of our opinions, even if we are not fully aware of this and do not always admit it to ourselves: Paris is about style, Japan about technology, Switzerland about wealth and precision, Rio de Janeiro about carnival and football, Tuscany about the good life, and most African nations about poverty, corruption, war, famine, and disease.[43]

One of the key concerns that is explored in more detail for this study is implicit in Anholt's observation above. He refers to specific cities across the world, however, when it comes to the African continent, the remarks are generalised to an entire continent. This is not to say that Anholt is himself biased against Africa, but merely an observable, albeit somewhat anecdotal, perception held that the African continent is all one place. A blog such as "Africa is a Country" is a site which is uniquely positioned to address perceptions such as these as "[i]t started as an outlet to challenge the received wisdom about Africa".[44]

Another relevant aspect which is considered is "place-myths" as originally theorised by Rob Shields[45] and further defined by David Crouch and Nina Lübbren.[46] Crouch and Lübbren describe place-myths as:

> conglomerates of place-images, that is, stereotypes and clichés associated with particular locations, in circulation within a society. Place-myths need not necessarily be faithful to the actual realities of the site; they derive their durability, spread and impact from repetition and widespread dissemination.[47]

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[42] K. Meethan *et a.l*, *Tourism, Consumption and Representation: Narratives of Place and Self*, p. 6.
[43] S. Anholt, "Competitive Identity", p. 22.
[44] S. Jacobs, "About", *African is a Country*, n.d., <http://africasacountry.com/about/>, Accessed August 2017.
[45] R. Shields, *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity*, Routledge, London, 1991.
[46] D. Crouch & N. Lübbren (eds.), *Visual Culture and Tourism*, Berg, Oxford, 2003, p. 5.
[47] D. Crouch & N. Lübbren (eds.), *Visual Culture and Tourism*, p. 5.

In the context of popular film and television as a form of media that is widely disseminated and used, this becomes an important factor in what and how a place is represented. The specific relevance of "place-myths" to this dissertation is indicated by Duncan Light's investigation of the persistence of a specific place-myth in the representation of Transylvania in Romania that started with the publications of Bram Stoker's popular novel *Dracula* in 1897. Hereby, associations of vampirism and mysticism are mapped to the Transylvanian landscape through the novel as the popular media of the day, and still persist over a century later "through the medium of film".[48]

Moreover, the study draws from secondary research materials, such as books and academic journals. This literature will be employed for theoretical as well as practical considerations in the form of case studies conducted in other parts of the world. Furthermore, a collection of industry reports and internet sources such as the annual reports by the *National Film and Video Foundation* (*NFVF*) as well as the *Internet Movie Database* (*IMDB*) are used for statistical information in the form of film viewer numbers, both nationally and internationally. This informs the spread of specific stories or narratives of place through filmic media representations.

In order to ascertain a specific narrative constructed through filmic representations of Johannesburg, several films that mention, feature or are shot in Johannesburg, or South Africa are analysed. Considering the focus on film as an image inducing agent for potential tourists and a visual medium, an adapted version of Patricia Albers and William James's methodology for the analysis of travel photography is used. Albers and James state that:

> [t]ravel pictures can be used as evidence for two different kinds of research. On the one hand, they can serve as supplementary data for illustrating and illuminating aspects of the tourist experience and its associated travel environment. On the other hand, they can become a primary source of data

[48] D. Light, "Dracula Tourism in Romania: Cultural Identity and the State", *Annals of Tourism Research* 34(3), 2007, pp. 746-765.

for understanding the form, meaning, and process of photographic representation in tourism.[49]

It is the latter of these that can be adapted to filmic representation and is the concern of this research study. The primary focus of the research conducted by Albers and James was postcards as a medium for research. Although different from fictional films, in that films are not normally created for tourism, they do share some key similarities in their influence and use. Foremost amongst these is that both mediums are mass consumed and are used, to a greater or lesser degree, to market travel.[50]

Albers and James propose the use of two specific methods for the analysis of postcards, namely semiotic and content analysis. Content analysis can be described as a mostly quantitative method "concerned primarily with appearances – their distribution, frequency, clustering and corresponding conditions" and is relevant for large data-sets.[51] Furthermore, content analysis is initialised by setting up parameters and categories to analyse the sources.[52] In the context of this study, this means sorting filmic representations of Johannesburg and South Africa into categories by various criteria. This is explored in chapter three.

Semiotic analysis as described by Albers and James is the viewing of sources more holistically and to "contextualize analysis in written narratives associated not only with the picture itself (or analogous images), but also with the subjects who are being portrayed".[53] Although related to photography in the case of Albers and James, the method has already been adopted for use on the medium of film and television by John Fiske and John Hartley in their seminal text *Reading Television*. Fiske and Hartley described the central concerns of semiotics as "the relationship between a sign and its meaning [and] the way they are combined into codes".[54] These codes are used to convey specific messages and meanings in film which occur on a number of levels or "orders of signification", sometimes carrying "representational meanings" and

[49] P.C. Albers & W.R. James, "Travel Photography: A Methodological Approach", *Annals of Tourism Research* 15, 1988, pp. 138-139; S. Roesch, *The Experience of Film Location Tourists*, p. 231.
[50] P.C. Albers & W.R. James, "Travel Photography: A Methodological Approach", p.139;
[51] P.C. Albers & W.R. James, "Travel Photography: A Methodological Approach", p.139.
[52] P.C. Albers & W.R. James, "Travel Photography: A Methodological Approach", p.145.
[53] P.C. Albers & W.R. James, "Travel Photography: A Methodological Approach", p.147.
[54] J. Fiske & J. Hartley, *Reading Television*, Methuen & Co., London, 1978, p. 37.

sometimes “cultural” ones.[55] This method has also been employed to some extent by both Roesch and Beeton in their abovementioned respective books.[56]

Another aspect in the analysis of postcards that is pertinent to this dissertation is illustrated by Jeanne van Eeden when she states that “[p]ostcards can be analysed by focussing on their […] mechanisms of production, distribution, reception and collection”.[57] This highlights the importance of contextualising visual imagery. For the context of this study, a number of the more widely disseminated filmic representations post-1994, both local and international, of Johannesburg are analysed in this fashion as they possibly inform meanings and associations related to place.

To reconcile some of the deliberations about narratives of place constructed in filmic representation (production/distribution/supply) and the resultant perception by viewers or potential tourists (reception/collection/demand), some direct feedback from audiences both inside and outside of South Africa is justified. Film and television audiences worldwide produce and post online newspaper articles, blogs, reviews and comments that are used to inform the reception side of the filmic communication continuum in this dissertation. Although the objective of these comments is primarily tailored to discussions about filmic media, commenters often draw parallels to real locations that indicate knowledge and impressions of a place. In this regard, Roesch remarks that “film locations are encountered as real as well as imaginary places”.[58]

During this research, analytic techniques based on grounded theory was used, and the selection of commentary was based on relevance to the study. According to Japhet Lawrence and Usman Tar:

> proponents of the grounded theory advocate that an approach which concerns itself with the meanings, definitions, and interpretations which are made by the subjects of the study has greater potential for depicting their

[55] J. Fiske & J. Hartley, *Reading Television*, Methuen & Co., London, 1978, pp. 40, 41.
[56] S. Roesch, *The Experience of Film Location Tourists*, p. 24; S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, p. 25.
[57] J. van Eeden, “Study in purple: The Jacaranda city in postcards”, *Image & Text*, 25(1), 2015, p. 44.
[58] S. Roesch, *The Experience of Film Location Tourists*, p. 24; S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, p. 231.

> world and priorities more accurately than methods which begin by preconceiving the world and its meaning.[59]

In the interest of brevity and owing to Covid 19 constraints, e-ethnology or netnography was employed to glean a general impression of received messages from specific filmic media through the aforementioned online commentary. Ray Poynter indicates that this online observational research takes two distinct forms: “Blog and Buzz mining” using sophisticated data scraping tools and a “process of visiting sites, reading the comments and following threads”.[60] To glean general themes in the reception of messages through filmic media, the latter of these are employed in this dissertation without data scraping tools to merely “listen to the buzz” and avoid further ethical quandaries.[61] Furthermore, this study only reports on themes in online commentary and “avoids literal quotes” to ensure anonymity.[62] Poynter describes this technique as primarily qualitative with quantitative elements such as “counting the frequency of words”[63]. He further indicates that e-ethnological approaches are seen as a “move away from asking questions towards listening”.[64] The principle is based on the web as a primary data source for consumer responses to specific brands, in this case, countries and places, which are considered more natural and less restricted than traditional questionnaire techniques.[65]

All of the material and sources used in this study are available within the public domain, negating the need to obtain permissions. According to Poynter, ethical issues arise in searching “closed or semi-open communities (i.e. a community that you have to join to read, but which anyone can join)”. In this study no such site was used. Poynter states that the general rule is that “covert viewing of subjects should be preceded by permission”, unless they can “reasonably expect to be observed”. Since

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[59] J. Lawrence & U. Tar, “The use of Grounded Theory Techniques as a Practical Tool for Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis”, *Electronic Journal of Business Research Methods*, 11(1), 2013, p. 30.
[60] R. Poynter. *The Handbook of Online and Social Media Research*, John Wiey & Sons, Chichester, 2010, p. 380.
[61] R. Poynter. *The Handbook of Online and Social Media Research*, p. 397.
[62] R. Poynter. *The Handbook of Online and Social Media Research*, p. 397.
[63] R. Poynter. *The Handbook of Online and Social Media Research*, p. 108.
[64] R. Poynter. *The Handbook of Online and Social Media Research*, p. 223.
[65] R. Poynter. *The Handbook of Online and Social Media Research*, p. 223.

subjects that "post a blog article or add a comment to the end of an online news story […] might reasonably expect to be observed" negates the need for site permissions.[66]

1.4. Chapter Outline

It is at this juncture important to note that this study does not seek to reproduce any of the studies thus far mentioned. Rather it combines and builds on previous research and applies this, where applicable, to a South African situation.

This chapter was introductory in nature and outlined the aims and some of the key concepts as well as the parameters and methodology of the study. Chapter 2, the literature review, explains the literary base of this study in more detail. It considers the existing literature for its respective and varied contributions.

Chapters 3 and 4 explore the cross-disciplinary theories and best practice examples related to filmic destination branding. They set out to reconcile these theories into a more cohesive structure. They focus on both developed and developing industries in the global North and South. This forms the basis of the analytical toolkit and benchmark for further analysis and starts to compare them to the South African situation.

A more specified and closer look at the narrative devices and perceptions of Johannesburg as both a fictional and real place are considered in Chapter 5. In addition, the potential perception constructed or perpetuated by filmic representations of the city are analysed in relation to six films between 2009 and 2019. Specific films of relevance are the trio of films directed by South African-born Neill Blomkamp: *District 9* (2009), *Chappie* (2015) and to a lesser extent *Elysium* (2013).[67] The chapter further considers aspects of cultural capital that are disseminated through popular filmic representations of South Africa through three films from the *Marvel Cinematic Universe* (*MCU*), namely: the highest-grossing film ever to be shot in Johannesburg,

[66] R. Poynter. *The Handbook of Online and Social Media Research*, p. 231.
[67] N. Blomkamp (Dir.), *District 9*, [Film], TriStar Pictures, 2009; N. Blomkamp (Dir.), *Elysium*, [Film], TriStar Pictures, 2013; N. Blomkamp (Dir.), *Chappie*, [Film], Columbia Pictures, 2015.

Avengers: Age of Ultron (2015), *Captain American: Civil War* (2016) and the subsequent cultural phenomenon *Black Panther* (2018).[68]

Chapter 6 reflects on the research conducted and, where relevant, makes recommendations for possible practical use.

[68] J. Whedon (Dir.), *Avengers: Age of Ultron*, [Film], Marvel Studios, 2015; A. Russo & J. Russo (Dirs), *Captain America: Civil War*, [Film], Marvel Studios, 2016; R. Coogler (Dir.), *Black Panther*, [Film], Marvel Studios, 2018.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

The interdisciplinary nature of this study necessitates the casting of a wide net in search of appropriate literature on the key concepts explored in this dissertation. For this reason, the literature review below is divided into appropriate key concepts and/or fields of study. It also starts to explore the links between the concepts across disciplines as indicated in the theoretical framework in chapter one. Key concepts explored in this literature review include: film tourism, narratives of place (placemaking) and destination image or place brand.

Furthermore, this literature review has a duel function in this dissertation as it also serves as the basis for the construction of a framework for analysis in later chapters. It highlights and appraises the analytic techniques utilized and implemented by other researchers.

2.2. Film Tourism

Perhaps the most salient background literature for this study can be found in the field of film tourism research. A particularly useful point of departure is the literature review conducted by Joanne Connell in 2012.[69] Connell contends that "the parameters of film tourism are multi-dimensional and informed by a number of cross-disciplinary perspectives" and further identifies two broad discourses, namely: "an applied approach" related to "a practical context, identifying the occurrence and impact of film tourism, and the associated management and marketing implications, opportunities and challenges"; and a "conceptual and/or theoretical focus [that explores] underlying constructs that stimulate, contribute to and explain film tourism activity, meaning, behaviour and responses".[70] Connell further elaborates on a number of concepts that are explored within the field of research which are pertinent to this study, these include: "embedded meanings and symbols associated with both cinema and tourism as cultural practice".[71] She also provides some very useful statistical data about the occurrence of film tourism that is often very limited owing to the complexity of the

[69] J. Connell, "Film Tourism – Evolution, Progress and Prospects", pp. 1007 – 1029.
[70] J. Connell, "Film Tourism – Evolution, Progress and Prospects", p. 1008.
[71] J. Connell, "Film Tourism – Evolution, Progress and Prospects", p. 1008.

phenomenon. These include studies that estimate the film tourism contribution to, for example, the United Kingdom (UK) at around £1,9 billion in visitor spending in 2009.[72]

When considering film tourism as a field of study, two particularly prominent authors serve as the bedrock for any scholar venturing into this field. Firstly, Sue Beeton's 2005 book *Film-Induced Tourism* provides a fairly comprehensive background on a variety of theories on film tourism. The book also provides a reasonably comprehensive typology of the occurrence and spread of the phenomenon using a detailed table with different forms: "On-Location", "Commercial", "Mistaken Identities", "Off-Location", "One-off Events" and "Armchair Travels".[73] She also expands and updates her work in a second edition of her book in 2016 by including newer divisions and subdivisions such as "Commercial On-Location" vs "On-Location", whereby the former indicates supply side development specifically geared for film tourism.[74]

In Beeton's first book, the focus is primarily on detailing the occurrence of film tourism as a touristic product and she briefly mentions, but self-admittedly only glosses over, the general marketing implications of featuring a destination on screen and the resultant image created.[75] She does, however, spend much more time on this in chapter 3 of her second edition by referring to a number of aspects related to destination marketing and image and film – including aspects of the "Tourists' Destination Selection Process" that will be of particular relevance here.[76] One particularly relevant section from the first book refers to the effects of film by creating "undesired images" of people and place. Beeton cites an example of the influence and effects of the 1985 film *Witness* on "Amish country in Lancaster County Pennsylvania [in which] the Amish [are] portrayed in a highly-skewed manner" and the film having induced unwanted attention to such a private community.[77] Furthermore, both books' scopes are limited to mainly examples from the developed world. The one African example that she does briefly cite pertains to the relationship between the Shakaland cultural village in South Africa and the television series *Shaka Zulu* (1986-1989). However, she only refers to this as an example of a "purpose-built film tourism theme

[72] J. Connell, "Film Tourism – Evolution, Progress and Prospects", pp. 1007 - 1008.
[73] S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, pp. 10-11.
[74] S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, 2nd edition, Channel View, Clevedon, 2016.
[75] S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, p. 3.
[76] S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, 2nd edition.
[77] S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, pp. 154-155.

park [and] industrial heritage tourism with a film theme where the Front and Back stages have been artificially joined to present a historical film industry perspective".[78] In this specific instance, she does not delve deeper into resultant issues of representation of people and place.

Secondly, Stefan Roesch as the scholar and author of the 2009 book *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, as well as consultant in "Filmic Place Branding and Place Marketing" through his website *Film Quest*, provides important concepts and frameworks for the study at hand. Unlike Beeton, Roesch seems to be more concerned with the practical branding implications of film on destination image and place brand, evidenced by the second chapter of his book being devoted to this phenomenon. Roesch presents various models and intersections in theory which are of prime concern for this study. He, for example, comments on the potential for marketing a destination through film by stating that the "[t]ouristic place marketing opportunities are provided throughout the film exhibition cycle with its various windows of exhibition"[79] and by outlining each stage of this cycle for its potential to market a destination. Furthermore, he presents a model for "Film Tourism Market Potential Analyses" by stating that "the core of a film-focused market potential analysis is the assessment of the film script",[80] or i.e. the story or narrative. He is currently running film tourism marketing projects across the world.[81] However, he does not appear to consider the implications for the African continent and does not seem to currently have any projects on the continent.

It is thus clear that a dichotomy exists within the study of film tourism. Two areas of study can be identified. The first domain is film tourism as travel inspired by specific stories and tourists engaging in "flights of fantasy" to immerse themselves in the fictional world by visiting the specific locations where films or television series were set or shot. And the second domain refers to how tourists are "influenced in their travel decision through a movie as an organic image source [that] inspires [them] to experience"[82] a location featured in a film as a result of how it is portrayed and not

[78] S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, p. 196. S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, 2nd edition.
[79] S. Roesch, *The Experience of Film Location*, p. 33.
[80] Roesch, "Destination Promotion through Film".
[81] S. Roesch, *The Experience of Film Location Tourists*; S. Roesch, "Destination Promotion through Film".
[82] S. Roesch, *The Experience of Film Location Tourists*, p. 7.

specifically toward the fantasy world or escape in the film. Although it would be inaccurate to discretely separate these two branches of the field of film tourism, it is the latter of the above meanings that is of primary concern for this study.

Apart from Beeton and Roesch, a number of other authors have made significant contributions to the field of film tourism research. Amongst these is a thesis, later published in book format, by Erik Sellgren entitled: *The effects film have on destination image formation, motivation and travel behaviour*.[83] Sellgren reflects on a number of aspects related to the relationship between film and destination image that make a valuable contribution to this study. These include concepts such as "branded entertainment", "product placement", "stereotypes" and "authenticity".[84] Sellgren further constructs some frameworks that provide useful elements that can be extrapolated and employed in this study, particularly pertaining to visitor perception and "pre-visit destination image".[85] However, he does not pay too much attention to the cross-disciplinary nature of studies in this arena. Moreover, he only very briefly refers to the African continent in regard to the scenic beauty depicted in the feature film *Blood Diamond* (2006), but does not reflect on the socio-geographical aspects in more detail.[86]

Some of the earliest references to film tourism commented on the power of cinema to market a destination with Roger Riley and Carlton van Doren stating that "movies become 'pull' factors (attraction) situated in 'push' locations (tourism generating areas)".[87] According to Nigel Morgan and Annette Pritchard, "the ultimate in tourism product placement [is] to place your destination in a film".[88] Apart from fairly developed academic literature on the subject, this phenomenon has led to the practical implementation of what Roesch calls "Filmic Place Branding and Place Marketing".[89]

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[83] E. Sellgren, *Film-Induced Tourism: The effects films have on destination image formation, motivation and travel behavior*, LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing, Saarbrücken, 2011.
[84] E. Sellgren, *Film-Induced Tourism*, pp. 4, 19, 26.
[85] E. Sellgren, *Film-Induced Tourism*, pp. 28, 31.
[86] E. Sellgren, *Film-Induced Tourism*, pp. 38 – 39.
[87] R.W. Riley & C.S. Van Doren, "Movies as tourism promotion: A pull factor in a push location", *Tourism Management*, September, 1992, p. 270.
[88] N. Morgan & A. Pritchard, *Advertising in Tourism and Leisure*, Butterworth-Heinemann, Oxford, 2000, p. 193.
[89] S. Roesch, "Destination Promotion through Film".

A number of other studies in the form of journal articles and Master's dissertations have focussed on the intricate relationship between a destination's images and the narratives constructed about a place in filmic representations. A particularly helpful study conducted by the previously mentioned Iwashita investigates the influence of popular media narratives of the UK on Japanese tourists' perception of place. Surveys conducted in this case indicated that "films and television programmes featuring the UK were the most important source of information in increasing interest in travel to the UK, listed by 70.1 per cent of respondents".[90] Furthermore, specific films were identified as having a particularly influential attraction factor for these tourists. These films are cultural products that were considered to have "a British subject matter or setting" such as *Notting Hill* (1999) and *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (2001).[91] This indicates the specific importance of relaying cultural qualities associated with a place through popular fictional film as a medium that contributes to a "sense of place", i.e what I can expect to experience should I travel to a specific destination.[92]

Similarly, Basanez explores cultural motivations for travel and states that the "way [a] destination's culture is depicted in [a] film is important when deciding to visit [that specific] place".[93] By exploring "the psychological drivers in a film that encourages visitation" such as "depth and movement"; "attention"; "memory and imagination" and "emotion".[94] Basanez posits that by identification with the characters in a film, people are moved to search for similar experiences by travelling to the destinations in which the film is set or shot. This provides a valuable theoretical contribution to this study. Furthermore, his empirical work also substantiates statistical findings that proposes that 40% of visitors to the UK are very likely to visit film locations in their travels, by finding that 41% of his participants had already visited such sites.[95]

One of the key links between film tourism and narrative of place can be found in the work of already mentioned Light. In his 2007 article entitled: "Dracula Tourism in Romania: Cultural Identity and the State", he explores the notion of "place-myths" as

[90] C. Iwashita, "Media representation of the UK as a destination for Japanese tourists", p. 66.
[91] C. Iwashita, "Media representation of the UK as a destination for Japanese tourists", p. 66.
[92] S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, p. 229.
[93] R.P. Basanez, "Film-Induced Tourism", p. 65.
[94] R.P. Basanez, "Film-Induced Tourism", pp. 87 - 88.
[95] R.P. Basanez, "Film-Induced Tourism", pp. 35, 65, 73, 87 and 88.

they are constructed and reinforced by popular media.[96] In his case study he reflects on the construction and expansion of the vampirism myth as it is conceptually mapped to the landscape of Transylvania in Romania, first by the publication of Bram Stoker's novel *Dracula* (1897) and later expanded to television and film in the 20th century. Light illustrates the effects that fiction and fantasy have on the perceptions, expectations and behaviors by stating that "well over a century after it was written, Dracula continues to structure the ways in which Transylvania is understood in Western popular imagination" and possibly even beyond.[97]

Donata Juśkelyté explores the question whether it is "possible to use film industry and films as a tool in a tourist image formation process",[98] by focusing on the phenomenon from a developmental perspective for Lithuania and the Baltic region. Juśkelyté suggests two potential models that can be utilized for analysis and strategic planning in filmmaking, tourism and regional image formation which include elements such as film genre, emotional involvement and special interest. These can all be useful elements to consider both as literary sources and analytic devices for this dissertation.[99]

A number of other scholars in the field have attempted to describe the various processes and aspects involved in film tourism and filmic destination marketing. One of the earliest frameworks, and perhaps the most comprehensive in scope, is by Simon Hudson and Brent Ritchie in their article entitled: "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism: An Empirical Identification of Supporting Marketing Initiatives".[100] They reflect on a number of aspects and processes ranging from the inherent "destination attributes" (for example: scenery), film-specific factors (for example: the success of a film), practical marketing activities and the structural arrangements between organisations and stakeholders.[101] This and other frameworks will be further discussed and applied in later chapters.

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[96] D. Light, "Dracula Tourism in Romania: Cultural Identity and the State", pp. 746-765.
[97] D. Light, "Dracula Tourism in Romania: Cultural Identity and the State", pp. 746-765.
[98] D. Juśkelyté, "Film Induced Tourism: Destination Image Formation and Development", *Regional Formation and Development Studies*, 2(19), 2016, p. 54.
[99] D. Juśkelyté, "Film Induced Tourism", pp. 54 – 67.
[100] S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism: An Empirical Identification of Supporting Marketing Initiatives", *Journal of Travel Research*, 44 (May), 2006, pp. 387-396.
[101] S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism", p. 390.

As indicated previously, of the literature on film tourism, few of the studies conducted are specifically focussed on the developing world, let alone Africa specifically. Some scattered, mostly anecdotal, reflections have considered and emanated from places such as India and Nigeria. A specific example is presented by a study conducted by Mridul Chowdhury, Tamas Landesz, Massimiliano Santini, Luis Tejada and Gloria Visconti, that states: "[w]hile it would be difficult to estimate the impact that Nollywood had on tourism in Nigeria, the branding of Nollywood has indirectly positioned the overall Nigerian cultural industry at the forefront of the African landscape, thus possibly stimulating indirectly indigenous and foreign tourism".[102] The bulk of the research from and or on the developing world considers Indian cinema or Bollywood. Daya Thussu, for example, provides a detailed account of the rise and spread of Bollywood cinema from small-scale local cinema, to large global industry and ultimately intermingling with mainstream Hollywood films as a new genre. Thussu spends some time examining Bollywood films as a form of "soft power" and cultural capital in his 2013 book entitled *Communicating India's Soft Power: Buddha to Bollywood*.[103] This also reflects on the idea of national cinema as an influencer of global image which will be explored in more detail in later chapters.

From a South African perspective, in a pioneering article reflecting on the history of South African tourism under apartheid, Albert Grundlingh makes a significant reference to the recognition of film as an "invaluable publicity medium" of tourism marketing specifically in the 1970s.[104] There are also a couple of studies including Master's dissertations and a research project commissioned by the National Department for Tourism, have focussed on the film tourism phenomenon. Of these, three studies focus on the potential of film tourism products, and one study focuses on the marketing potential of film. Of the former three, Charlene Herselman provides a compelling account of the inter-linkages between literature and film as influential forms of popular media and the resultant boom in tourism to off-the-beaten track locations, through the case of *Twilight* and vampire tourism to the small town of Forks

[102] M. Chowdhury, T. Landesz, M. Santini, L. Tejada & G. Visconti, "Nollywood: The Nigerian Film Industry", *Microeconomics of Competitiveness,* Harvard Business School, 2008. p. 24.

[103] D.K. Thussu, *Communicating India's Soft Power: Buddha to Bollywood*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, NY, 2013.

[104] A. Grundlingh, "Revisiting the 'Old' South Africa: Excursions into South Africa's Tourist History under Apartheid", 1948–1990, *South African Historical Journal*, 56, (1), 2006, p. 110.

in the United States.[105] Nicole Hoffmann presents a basis for the numerous potential film tourism products for on-location film tourism in South Africa indicating a number of sites and opportunities.[106] The last of these, conducted by the Department of Historical and Heritage Studies (DHHS) at the University of Pretoria (UP), provides a possible model for the collaborative efforts required in numerous South African government departments, non-government organisations and industry stakeholders to effectively promote film tourism in the country.[107] The Masters study focusing on marketing conducted by Carmen Loedolff provides valuable insights into the structure of the current South African situation and the inner working of the South African film industry. It does not, however, focus on the narrative representation and place. Like the others mentioned above, it mainly considers film tourism as a form of niche tourism and not the overall branding and image implications.[108] It is to this aspect that this study turns.

2.3. Narratives of Place

The concept "narratives of place" has been investigated from a variety of fields and disciplines. Sources refer to notions of religious and cultural identity;[109] belonging;[110] urban planning,[111] linguistic traditions[112] and cinematic depictions.[113] As indicated in chapter one, owing to the multidisciplinary nature of the concept, it is referred to in a number of ways by different disciplines.

Perhaps the most popular of these is the concept of "placemaking". Mostly linked to the field of urban planning, M. Tewdwr-Jones reflects on placemaking by stating that "planning and place and people's perceptions of planning and of place are

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[105] C. Herselman, "From Logging Capital to Tourism Phenomenon: The Impact of Literary Tourism on Forks, WA., United States of America", M.A. Dissertation, University of Pretoria, 2014.
[106] N.B. Hoffmann, "On-Location Film-Induced Tourism: Success and Sustainability", M.A. Dissertation, University of Pretoria, 2015.
[107] DHHS, UP, "The Potential of the Creative Industry for Destination Development in South Africa – Film Tourism as a Case Study", March 2017.
[108] C. Loedolff, "Promoting South Africa as an International Film Tourism Destination", M.Com. Dissertation, University of Pretoria, 2015.
[109] J.V. Birkenholtz, *Reciting the Goddess: Narratives of Place and the Making of Hinduism in Nepal*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2018.
[110] A. Christou, *Narratives of Place, Culture and Identity*, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, 2006.
[111] M. Tewdwr-Jones, *Urban Reflections: Narratives of Place, Planning and Change*, The Policy Press, Bristol, 2011.
[112] S. Taylor, *Narratives of Identity and Place*, Routledge, East Sussex, 2010.
[113] G. Harper & J. Rayner (eds.), *Cinema and Landscape*; S.H. Donald & J.G. Gammack, *Tourism and the Branded City*.

indecorously bound together".[114] He further contends that the perceptions of places are constructed through media and that media, such as film, is a beneficial tool to not only assist in the understanding of a place and its social aspects, but also serve as guidelines for urban planners about future planning and design of places.[115] This consideration is of great importance to this dissertations as it reflects on the symbiotic relationship between the tangible and intangible aspects associated with place, the one influences the other and vice versa. Although, Tewdwr-Jones's book provides some valuable insights related to tourism and the topic of this dissertation, the focus remains on the role of urban planning in society.[116]

Similarly, Harper and Rayner, in their book *Cinema and Landscape*, state that cinema has the power to "animate space".[117] This contention further illustrates the ability of storytelling and specifically popular media to colour in the physical world with emotions and associations. Both in *Cinema and Landscape* and a second compilation by Harper and Rayner entitled: *Film Landscapes: Cinema, Environment and Visual Culture*, the perspective is mostly related to film and media studies.[118] They do, however, present some specific reflections that venture into the field of tourism research, thus already starting to cross the disciplinary divide. A good example of this is the second chapter of *Film Landscapes: Cinema, Environment and Visual Culture*, written by Ann-Marie Cook entitled "Terror Firma: Manufacturing and Marketing the Horrors of the Bush in Picnic at Hanging Rock", where she reflects on "the relationship between text and tourism".[119] She considers how tourist experiences are mediated through film and how the film influences tourist experiences to the site. This both in tourist experiences manufactured and marketed for fans of the film and general perceptions and stereotypes about the place created and sustained by the film and resultant tourism

[114] M. Tewdwr-Jones, *Urban Reflections*, p. xiii
[115] M. Tewdwr-Jones, *Urban Reflections*, p. xiii – xiv.
[116] M. Tewdwr-Jones, *Urban Reflections*, p. xvi.
[117] D. Dresser, "Foreword", in G. Harper & J. Rayner (eds.), *Cinema and Landscape*, Intellect, Bristol, 2010, p. 9.
[118] G. Harper & J. Rayner (eds.), *Cinema and Landscape*; G. Harper & J. Rayner (eds.), *Film Landscapes: Cinema, Environment and Visual Culture*.
[119] A. Cook, ""Terror Firma: Manufacturing and Marketing the Horrors of the Bush in *Picnic at Hanging Rock*", in G. Harper & J. Rayner (eds.), *Film Landscapes: Cinema, Environment and Visual Culture*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013, pp. 25-42.

marketing campaigns.[120] This presents one of a number of case studies that provide comparative examples for the case study in this dissertation.

A notable thread that runs across disciplines and also links narratives of place, cultural landscapes, placemaking, and debates about space and place, is the idea of "identity". A number of scholars from various disciplines and fields reflect on national or regional identity constructed through various means and depicted or delivered to the world by storytelling, in other words mostly film in today's global society. In her book *Narratives of Identity and Place*, Stephanie Taylor considers the "connection [that] exists between a place and the people who inhabit it".[121] She further reflects on the notion of local identities and gender, class and shared cultural environments as aspects of identity construction.[122]

In her book, *Narrative of Place, Belonging and Language: An Intercultural Perspective*, Máiréad Nic Craith considers language as a primary structure behind our storytelling by stating that our experience of "different cultural settings" is "mediated by language" and a "desire to belong" in intercultural settings.[123] This provides a very useful theoretical background for later application to the inter- and multicultural landscape that is South African. It also assists in aspects of language as a form of cultural capital and identity that will be utilized in later analysis of filmic narratives and identities represented in popular media.

One compilation that is particularly relevant to the study at hand is entitled *Narratives of Travel and Tourism* by editors Jacqueline Tivers and Tijana Rakić.[124] Discussions and case studies in the book centre on occurrences of narratives of travel and tourism, such as travel writing, through different ages and countries and in different media as "essential ingredient[s] in the construction of personal, collective and place identities [and] are also important in the process of contemplating, experiencing, remembering and disseminating travel and tourism experiences, both factual and fiction".[125] This is

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[120] A. Cook, "Terror Firma: Manufacturing and Marketing the Horrors of the Bush in *Picnic at Hanging Rock*", p. 33.
[121] S. Taylor, *Narratives of Identity and Place*, p. 3.
[122] S. Taylor, *Narratives of Identity and Place*, p. 15.
[123] M. Nic Craith, *Narratives of Place, Belonging and Language: An Intercultural Perspective*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2012, p. xiii.
[124] J. Tivers & T. Rakic (eds), *Narratives of Travel and Tourism*, Ashgate, London, 2012.
[125] J. Tivers & T. Rakic (eds), *Narratives of Travel and Tourism*, pp. 1 - 2.

pertinent to this study as it reflects on the mesh of factual and fictional information that make up the perceived identity of a place in popular parlance. It is also particularly applicable to the medium of fictional film and media as it considers the idea of the travel story as a motivator prevalent towards the construction of place identity.

Jessica Birkenholtz explores place making practices and identity construction through the telling of religious and mythological stories in the Nepal Himalaya.[126] Her focus is on localizing narratives that construct a local goddess as part of the transformation of Nepal's distinct "sociocultural, religious, and political landscape".[127] These elements, and others considered from the sources, all compile into aspects of national identity that construct the stories and narratives that give us an idea-image or sense of place, which ultimately inspires interest in travel to a destination.

Another aspect, is the idea of origins or roots, explored by Anastasia Christou. Her book *Narrative of Place, Culture and Identity*[128] investigates notions of belonging and a search for identity in second generation Greek-Americans as they return migrate to visit Greece. She very aptly describes this as "a collection of stories of journeys" in reference to belonging and a sense of place".[129]

In a South African context, the literature on place narratives is not that well-developed as yet. However, some valuable studies have been conducted in connection with some instances of narratives mapped to a landscape. In particular an article by Heidi Grunebaum-Ralph entitled "Re-Placing Pasts, Forgetting Presents: Narrative, Place, and Memory in the time of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission" [130] and an article entitled "Mapping and excavating spectral traces in post-apartheid Cape Town" by Julian Jonker and Karen Till,[131] provide some insight into South African explorations on the topic.

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[126] J.V. Birkenholtz, *Reciting the Goddess*.
[127] V. Birkenholtz, *Reciting the Goddess*, p. 3.
[128] A., Christou, *Narratives of Place, Culture and Identity*.
[129] A., Christou, *Narratives of Place, Culture and Identity*, pp. 15, 16, 33.
[130] H. Grunebaum-Ralph, "Re-Placing Pasts, Forgetting Presents: Narrative, Place, and Memory in the time of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission", *Research in African Literature*, 32 (3), 2001, pp. 198-212.
[131] J. Jonker & K.E. Till, "Mapping and excavating spectral traces in post-apartheid Cape Town", *Memory Studies*, 2(3), 2009, pp. 303 – 335.

Grunebaum-Ralph reflects on the public history, memorial practices and commemorative practices as narrative devices. She considers the nation-building role of the Truth and Reconciliations Commission (TRC) in mediating and framing "individual trauma rooted in individual bodies" and contends that those actions "subsume the individual into a homogenous and disembodied narrative of collectivity".[132] This makes the salient point that the study of collective identity politics can be reductive if scholars do not take heed of individual identity. Jonker and Till explore how histories are mapped to a landscape as it tries to move forward in time. They do this by considering what they call "spectral traces at places marked by acts of violence and injustice" in Cape Town.[133] They further reflect on the palimpsest nature that is contemporary urbanism, specifically in South Africa, by considering luxury apartments in juxtaposition with informal burial grounds. Although these studies reflect on factual rather than fictional, it is important to consider the factual as this often emerges, albeit transformed, in fictional media such as film.

These ideas of a sense of place, national and/or regional and collective identity also lead us to the literature on the next conceptual background for this study, namely place brand and destination image.

2.4. Place Brand and Destination Image

As indicated, this study is also enveloped in the literature on "place brand" and "destination image", handled simultaneously here in the interest of brevity and not meant as a reductive measure to imply that they mean exactly the same thing.

Of particular relevance here is the abovementioned work of Anholt when he refers to the notion of national and regional identity as part of a destinations brand.[134] As already indicated in chapter 1, his work is central to some aspects of the theoretical background of this study and it assists as an overarching model for other concepts and considerations to be incorporated and expanded for the purposes here. As briefly alluded to in chapter 1, Anholt presents a model with six channels or areas that he considers as the building blocks of a place or nation brand. The six pillars or channels include Governance, Exports, Tourism, Culture and Heritage, People, Investment and

[132] H. Grunebaum-Ralph, "Re-Placing Pasts, Forgetting Presents", p. 198.
[133] J. Jonker & K.E. Till, "Mapping and excavating spectral traces in post-apartheid Cape Town", p. 303.
[134] S. Anholt, "Competitive Identity", p. 22.

Immigration. They provide a valuable lens to consider aspects of destination brands and guides us to a link between this notion and that of tourism destination image. The "Tourism" pillar is described as a country's "tourism promotion activity, as well as people's first experience of visiting the country as tourists or business travelers".[135] Anholt further contends that the tourism promotion activities by destination marketing organisations (DMOs) are often the most visible in the development of a national or regional brand.[136] It is this channel or area that can directly be related to tourist destination image. However, other aspects such as Culture and Heritage remain important aspects of this dissertation.

The literature on place or destination brands has developed steadily over the past decade, and has also taken a multidisciplinary turn as already indicated in chapter 1. These come from areas such as marketing, urban design and tourism research, amongst others. Reference is made to "self-representation",[137] "mental representation",[138] "virtual environments",[139] "city branding strategies"[140], "the emotional power of travel as experience"[141] and the stability and volatility of destination brands.[142]

The compilation by Donald and Gammack, which fortuitously has already crossed the disciplinary divide, entitled *Tourism and the Branded City: Film and Identity on the Pacific Rim* investigate how cities reveal themselves to the world through the use of filmic representations. They cite the example of the effects local cinema productions such as *Hero* (2002) that are exported have on the image of cities, in this case Hong Kong, by stating that "cities are what they are due to the artistic and cultural self-representations that they produce".[143] This highlights the importance of ideas such as

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[135] S. Anholt, "Competitive Identity", p. 23.
[136] S. Anholt, "Competitive Identity", p. 23.
[137] S.H. Donald & J.G. Gammack, *Tourism and the Branded City*, pp. 3, 69.
[138] A. Vanolo, *City Branding: The Ghostly Politics of Representation in Globalizing Cities*, Routledge, New York, 2017, p. 3.
[139] R. Govers & F. Go, *Place Branding: Glocal, Virtual and Physical Identities, Constructed, Imagined and Experienced*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2009, p. 2.
[140] K. Dinnie (ed.), *City Branding: Theory and Cases*, Plagrave Macmillan, New York, 2011, p. xv.
[141] N. Morgan, A. Pritchard and R. Pride (eds), *Destination Branding*, 2nd Edition, Butterworth-Heinemann, Oxford, 2002, p. 4.
[142] N. Morgan, A. Pritchard & R. Pride (eds), *Destination Brands: Managing Place Reputation*, 3rd edition, Butterworth-Heinemann, Oxford, 2011.
[143] S.H. Donald & J.G. Gammack, *Tourism and the Branded City*, pp.3, 69.

national cinema for the identity, image or brands of cities which will be investigated to a greater extent in later chapters.

Alberto Vanolo considers the idea of city branding in the wake of the current digital era in his book *City Branding: The Ghostly Politics of Representation in Globalizing Cities*.[144] He reflects on the concept of knowledge with regard to places and spaces across the world and contends that it is an "impossibility [to know] every place".[145] He elaborates on this by reflecting on virtual versus physical knowledge of places and how these construct and sustain "vague and stereotyped imaginaries".[146] This is a prevalent theme throughout the remainder of this dissertation. Vanolo considers a wide range of cities from both the global North and South, including Dakar and Johannesburg in Africa.[147] This provides a useful mirror for a number of aspects of this dissertation.

Similarly, Robert Govers and Frank Go reflect on the "way we brand places has changed profoundly, both from a supply (projecting of identity) as well as demand (perceiving of images) perspective".[148] Although their work is mostly concerned with the internet and instant access to information, it considers a number of aspects that would be undesirable to ignore and are also applicable to fictional filmic media. They, for example, contend that there is a need for "participatory relations" between a number of stakeholders, not necessarily directly related to the tourism industry.[149]

The compilation by Keith Dinnie entitled *City Branding: Theory and Cases*[150] provide a number of case studies on "city branding strategies" that have been employed and contributes to a theoretical base in regard to city branding. It also considers a variety of opinions by a number of authors on the subject and explores some key concepts in city branding theory that will be reflected on later in this dissertation.[151]

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[144] A. Vanolo, *City Branding*.
[145] A. Vanolo, *City Branding*, p. 4.
[146] A. Vanolo, *City Branding*, p. 5.
[147] A. Vanolo, *City Branding*, pp. 4, 8, 105.
[148] R. Govers & F. Go, *Place Branding*, p. 2.
[149] R. Govers & F. Go, *Place Branding*, p. 8.
[150] K. Dinnie (ed.), *City Branding: Theory and Cases*, Plagrave Macmillan, New York, 2011.
[151] K. Dinnie (ed.), *City Branding: Theory and Cases*, pp. xv, 3.

Both the 2nd and 3rd editions of the compilations by Nigel Morgan, Annette Pritchard and Roger Pride, *Destination Branding*[152] and *Destination Brands, Managing Place Reputation*,[153] have been significant sources of information for this dissertation and individual chapter contributions will be reflected on in more detail later. The benefit of reading such compilations is that they also provide a sense of evolution in destination branding literature, from the initial mobility of destination branding "beyond the tourism industry"[154] to more in-depth discussions on the contested nature, elusiveness and misinterpretation of place brand and related concepts.[155]

The literature on tourist destination image is intradisciplinary and has a more established history than that of destination brands dating back to the 1970s. Pioneering authors in the field include J.D. Hunt (1971),[156] Clare Gunn (1972)[157] and Gartner (1994).[158] The academic interest in the concept was generally one of two perspectives: "effective destination position" (supply side) and "the destination selection process" (demand side).[159] Contributions have emanated from the disciplines and fields of "anthropology, sociology, geography, semiotics and marketing".[160] This dissertation, however, is mainly influenced by the works of: Gartner;[161] Charlotte Echtner and Brent Richie;[162] Tom Selwyn;[163] Kevin Meethan, Allison Anderson and Steven Miles;[164] M.G. Gallarza, I. Gill & H. Calderon[165] and K.J. Mackay & D.R. Fesenmaier[166,] that will be considered in the following paragraphs.

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[152] N. Morgan, A. Pritchard and R. Pride (eds), *Destination Branding*, 2nd Edition, Butterworth-Heinemann, Oxford, 2002.
[153] N. Morgan, A. Pritchard & R. Pride (eds), *Destination Brands: Managing Place Reputation*, Butterworth-Heinemann, Oxford, 2011.
[154] N. Morgan, A. Pritchard and R. Pride (eds), *Destination Branding*, 2nd Edition, p. 4.
[155] A. Pritchard & R. Pride (eds), *Destination Brands: Managing Place Reputation*, 3rd edition, p. 1.
[156] J.D., Hunt, "Image: a factor in tourism", unpublished doctoral dissertation, Colorado State University, 1971. cited in J. Jafari, *Encyclopedia of Tourism*, Routledge, London, 2000, p. 296.
[157] C. Gunn, *Vacationscape. Designing Tourist Regions*, Taylor and Francis, Washington DC, 1972.
[158] W.C. Gartner, "Image Formation Process", *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing*, 2(2-3),1994, pp. 191-215.
[159] M.G. Gallarza, I. Gill & H. Calderon, "Destination Image: Towards a Conceptual Framework", p. 57.
[160] M.G. Gallarza, I. Gill & H. Calderon, "Destination Image: Towards a Conceptual Framework", p. 57.
[161] W.C. Gartner, "Image Formation Process", pp. 191-215.
[162] C.M. Echtner & J.R.B. Ritchie, "The Meaning and Measurement of Destination Image", *The Journal of Tourism Studies*, 14(1), 2003, pp. 37 - 48.
[163] T. Selwyn (ed.), *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism*, John Wiley & Sons, Chichester, 1996.
[164] K. Meethan, A. Anderson & S. Miles (eds.), *Tourism, Consumption and Representation*, CAB International, Oxfordshire, 2006.
[165] M.G. Gallarza, I. Gill & H. Calderon, "Destination Image: Towards a Conceptual Framework", p. 57.
[166] K.J. Mackay & D.R. Fesenmaier, "Pictorial Element of Destination in Image Formation", p. 539.

Arguably the most prominent work of literature on destination image is Gartner's 1993 typology of image inducing agents.[167] Here he introduces the eight stages or types of tourism image formation agents that present an important theoretical frame for the conceptualisation of different image inducing media. As already alluded to in chapter 1, filmic representations can be seen as organic image inducing agents and the ramifications of this will be discussed throughout the remainder of this dissertation.[168]

Echtner and Richie describe the notion of three stages of destination image formation in their 2003 article entitled "The Meaning and Measurement of Destination Image".[169] Hereby, they contend that images are firstly obtained from "non-touristic, non-commercial sources" such as news media or film; secondly, "commercial sources of information, such as travel brochures enter the fray; and lastly, "actual first-hand experience" while on tour is "used to modify the destination's image" in the mind of a tourist.[170] This process provides a solid backdrop for the theoretical assertion that tourists do not generally search for information on all destinations. They first get inspired by the organic image inducing agents or non-touristic media, such as film, and will then search for more information on a particular destination.

Gallarza, Saura and Carcia's article entitled "Destination Image: Towards a Conceptual Framework"[171] assists in conceptualising a number of views and meanings of the term from a variety of sources and disciplines. They present a conceptual model for tourist destination image that can serve to produce a better understanding of the "existence of a multiplicity of factors or variables that make up the identity of a destination's image".[172]

Selwyn explores the influence of visual imagery and myths on destination image and the impact on place perception. His work on myths and mythmaking also assists in tying together the various concepts discussed in this dissertation.[173] This is evident when considered with the work of Light mentioned earlier in this literature review.

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[167] W.C. Gartner, "Image Formation Process".
[168] W.C. Gartner, "Image Formation Process".
[169] C.M. Echtner & J.R.B. Ritchie, "The Meaning and Measurement of Destination Image".
[170] C.M. Echtner & J.R.B. Ritchie, "The Meaning and Measurement of Destination Image", p. 38.
[171] M.G. Gallarza, I. Gill & H. Calderon, "Destination Image: Towards a Conceptual Framework".
[172] M.G. Gallarza, I. Gill & H. Calderon, "Destination Image: Towards a Conceptual Framework", p. 77.
[173] T. Selwyn (ed.), *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism*.

Similarly, the work of Meethan, Anderson and Miles assist in crossing the disciplinary divide and coupling together concepts of various disciplinary backgrounds. This is evident in the 2006 compilation entitled *Tourism, Consumption and Representation*,[174] when they state that "tourists do not only travel to consume, but what they consume is in many respects the destination itself" and further contending that "place is arguably bound up with the construction of image and symbolism".[175] This assertion highlights the interconnectivity of the stories or the narrative meaning or images associated with places and the destination image as a potential travel experience. It is this notion that underpins the undertaking in this dissertation and research.

Lastly, Mackay and Fesenmaier's article entitled "Pictorial Element of Destination in Image Formation"[176] is specifically concerned with the visual as an image formation medium. Since filmic representation is arguably mostly visual the conjuncture with this study is apparent. This article serves as a theoretical and methodological source, as well as a comparative benchmark on account of the primary data represented in their case study. They explore a number of aspects related to experiencing visual elements of a destination's image (supply) and perception of that destination (demand). This includes aspects such as "familiarity", "uniqueness" and "atmosphere"[177] which will have some effect on how a destination is perceived and is ever-present in film.

2.5. Conclusion

From this literature review, a variety of scholars have proposed various process models and frameworks that should be considered as part of the filmic destination branding and marketing continuum.[178] From these concepts and theories on film tourism, narratives of place, destination image and place brands, several critical components for filmic destination marketing have been identified and collated to create a model for analysis and potential best-practice scenario in order to analyse the situation in South Africa, and Johannesburg.

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[174] K. Meethan, A. Anderson & S. Miles (eds.), *Tourism, Consumption and Representation*.
[175] K. Meethan, A. Anderson & S. Miles (eds.), *Tourism, Consumption and Representation*, p. xiv.
[176] K.J. Mackay & D.R. Fesenmaier, "Pictorial Element of Destination in Image Formation".
[177] K.J. Mackay & D.R. Fesenmaier, "Pictorial Element of Destination in Image Formation", pp. 538, 546, 554.
[178] S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism", pp. 387-396; S. Roesch, *The Experience of Film Location Tourists*; E. Sellgren, *Film-Induced Tourism*; J. Connell, "Film Tourism – Evolution, Progress and Prospects", pp. 1007 – 1029.

CHAPTER 3: FILMIC DESTINATION MARKETING: ATTRIBUTES

3.1. Framework Overview and Conceptual Aspects

As indicated in chapter 2, perhaps the first and most holistically relevant model for the exploitation of filmic destination marketing opportunities is by Hudson and Ritchie (Figure 2).[179] This model is, however, deconstructed, reworked and integrated with the work of other scholars by the author in this dissertation to create a new analytic tool. This is done to reflect advances made and additions from other fields of research.

Hudson and Ritchie identify five broad factors to consider when filmic destination marketing is to take place, namely: "destination marketing activities, destination attributes, film-specific factors, film commission and government efforts, and location feasibility".[180] Of these factors, "destination attributes" and "film-specific factors" are relevant to the understanding of certain features inherent to a destination and within a film that have a greater or lesser influence on the decision-making of audiences/ potential tourists. These two factors address two of the three essential elements of tourism considered in the introduction to this dissertation, namely: the destinations (places, supply, destination attributes) and the method of connection (mediatised representation, fictional films, film-specific attributes). However, as Meethan suggests:

> If we see gazing [both filmic media and the tourist gaze] as an active rather than a passive process, and as with other forms of production/consumption, it is incorrect to assume that the intentions of producers are simply absorbed.[181]

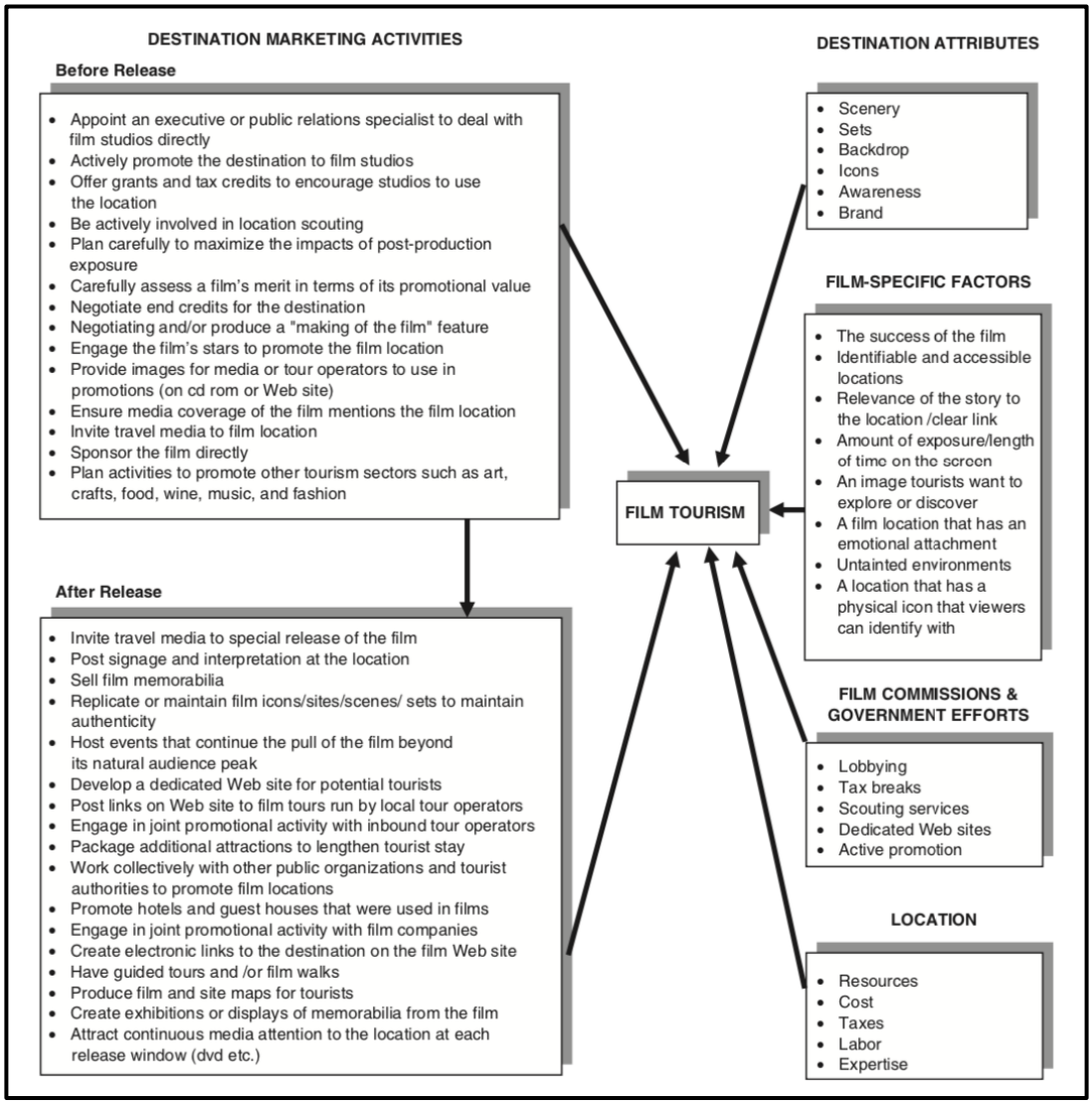
Thus acknowledging the third tourism element, the individual sensibilities of the tourists (people, demand, audiences, audience attributes).

It is these three core categories, "Destination Attributes", "Film Specific Attributes" and "Audience Attributes" that form the "conceptual" basis for the filmic destination image formation process constructed in this dissertation (Figure 3). Furthermore, these three categories also serve as criteria for film analysis in chapter 5. It is with these arguments, amongst others, that this rather lengthy chapter embarks on the

[179] S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism".
[180] S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism", p. 388.
[181] K. Meethan, *Tourism, Consumption and Representation: Narratives of Place and Self*, p 5.

exploration of the different attributes of destinations, films and audiences that are pivotal to the filmic destination marketing continuum. It further reflects on the visual and psychological processes that connect these attributes to the formation of a destination image in the mind of film audiences/potential tourists. Consequently, they are first described in this chapter in relation to international examples with tangential reference to the South African situation, in order to use them as analytic tools in chapter 5.

Figure 2: Film Tourism: A model for exploiting film marketing opportunities.[182]



The three core categories and their functioning, i.e. the "conceptual" elements, are however, also predicated on and inform the existence of certain "infrastructural"

[182] S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism", p. 390.

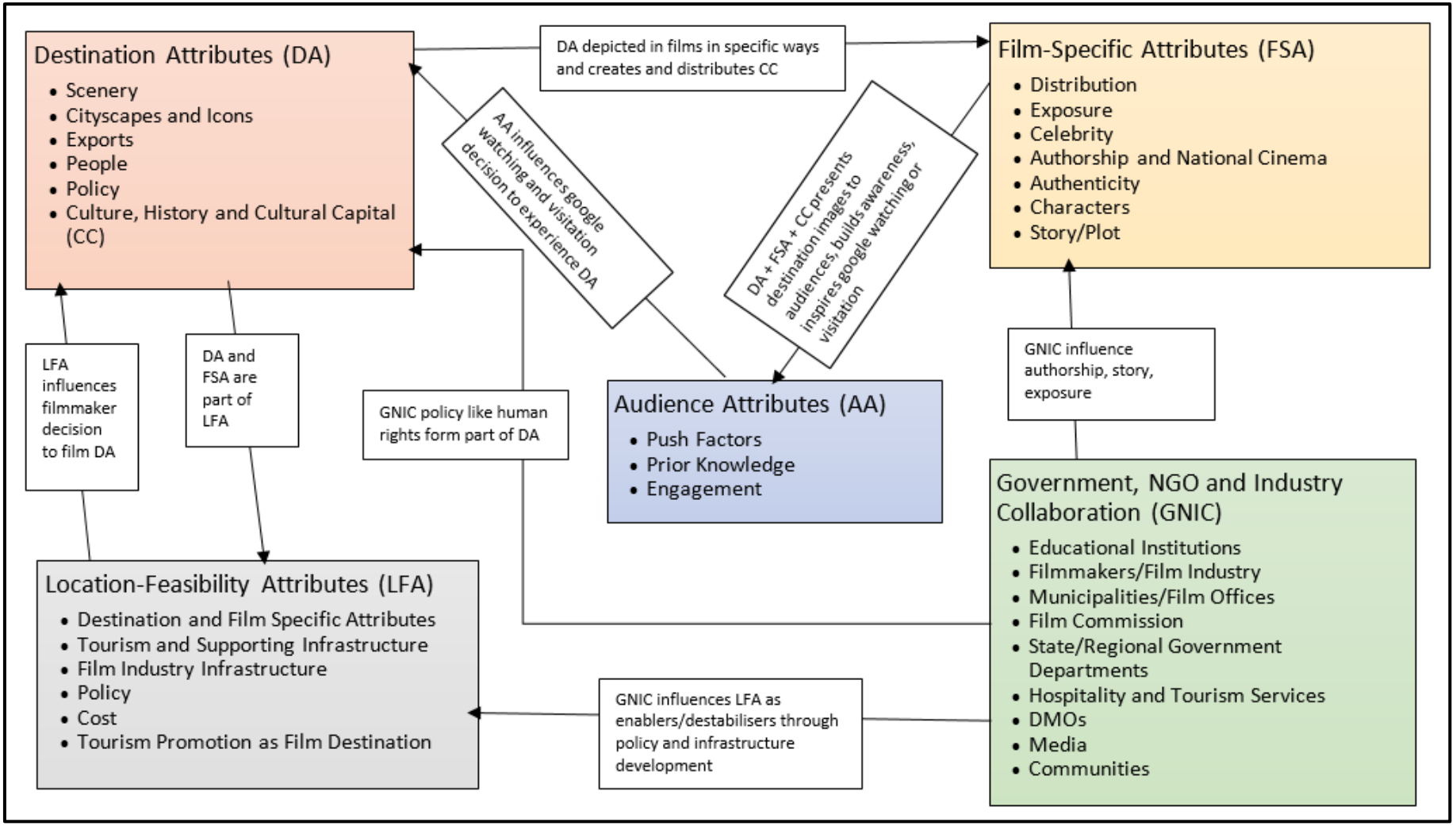
arrangements necessary for the functioning of filmic destination marketing within a destination, namely: "Government, Non-Government Organisation (NGO) and Industry Collaboration" and "Location-Feasibility Attributes". These will be explored in further detail in chapter 4. Throughout the development of attributes and processes in this dissertation there are also certain "practical" suggestions that emerge from the literature and international examples as regards to the arrangements, collaborative practices and marketing of destinations through film that will be illustrated. Further integrated reflection on these "practical" suggestions will be presented in chapter 6.

It is important to note that all these elements and processes are inextricably linked, interconnected, influence each other, and work in a series of practical and conceptual processes to ensure the successful implementation of filmic destination marketing. The "conceptual" aspects can also be used in a "practical" sense to leverage awareness or interest in a destination through the placement of, for example, iconic landmarks in filmic media and consequently mapping a narrative to a destination. As stated by Harper and Rayner: "[a]ll maps involve stories, in which there is both a narrative and discourse" and "[b]oth maps and film assume and position audiences, ideologically as well as geographically".[183] Furthermore, the "conceptual" elements can also assist in guiding "infrastructural" arrangements like collaborative agreements that are needed for film tourism and filmic destination marketing to prosper.

With an approach stemming from the field of product placement research, Hudson and Ritchie state that "[j]ust as product placements will influence a viewer's attitude towards a brand, so too will film have an impact on destination image if the location plays a part in a film".[184] They further argue that the destination image influences tourist behaviour and that "a destination must be favourably differentiated from its competition and positively positioned in the minds of consumers" or potential tourists.[185] Furthermore, Kim and Richardson contend that it has been "clearly illustrated that perceptions of destinations and purchase decisions are positively correlated".[186]

[183] G. Harper & J. Rayner (eds.), *Cinema and Landscape*, p. 15.
[184] S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism", p. 388.
[185] S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism", p. 388.
[186] H. Kim & S.L. Richardson, "Motion Picture Impacts on Destination Images", pp. 216 – 237.

Figure 3: Processes and Attributes that affect Filmic Destination Image.[187]



[187] Compiled from: S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism"; C. Ryan, *Recreational Tourism: Demand and Impacts*, Channel View, Clevedon, 2003; K. Meethan, *Tourism, Consumption and Representation*, R.P. Basanez, "Film-Induced Tourism", Juškelyté, "Film Induced Tourism".

3.2. Destination Attributes

Various scholars have indicated the impact of destination-specific attributes on the perception, image or brand of a destination.[188] These include general destination marketing, place brand, destination image, as well as film tourism specific literature. Within the broader scope of tourism research, these also overlap with both the tangible and intangible "attraction features" of a destination[189] and what is termed "pull factors"[190] as tourist motivations.

Related to the multiple and varied tourist motivations that inspire travel, Chris Ryan identifies two facets to the motivations of tourists, namely: "push" and "pull" motivations. He broadly defines push factors as aspects that "push" a potential tourist into the act of travelling or a desire to "get away from a place". These include, for example, if "someone [wishes] to go to an exotic location to achieve a sense of prestige".[191] The search for prestige (i.e. an Audience Attribute) pushes the individual toward the action of travel. On the other side of this "push-pull" relationship and more germane to the destination attributes, is "pull factors". Pull factors are defined by Ryan as the "desire to see some other area" exemplified by destination attributes that "attract/pull" a tourist to a specific place. Similarly, and in specific reference to media-induced travel, Riley and Van Doren indicate that "movies become pull factors (attractions) situated in push locations (tourism generating areas)".[192] Ryan also cautions that aspects that attract tourists to a destination do not necessarily mean attractiveness, beauty or pleasantness.[193] This sentiment is echoed by Roger Riley, Dwayne Baker and Carlton van Doren in stating that:

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[188] H. Kim & S.L. Richardson, "Motion Picture Impacts on Destination Images", pp. 216 – 237; R.P. Basanez, "Film-Induced Tourism"; S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism", pp. 387-396; E. Sellgren, *Film-Induced Tourism*; D. Juškelyté, "Film Induced Tourism", pp. 54 – 66.

[189] E. Inskeep, *Tourism Planning: An integrated and Sustainable Development Approach*, John Wiley & Sons, Hoboken, NJ, 1991.

[190] C. Ryan, *Recreational Tourism: Demand and Impacts*, Channel View, Clevedon, 2003, p. 84; Juškelyté, "Film Induced Tourism", pp. 54 – 66; R.W. Riley & C.S. Van Doren, "Movies as tourism promotion", p. 270.

[191] C. Ryan, *Recreational Tourism: Demand and Impacts*, p. 84.

[192] R.W. Riley & C.S. Van Doren, "Movies as tourism promotion", p. 270.

[193] C. Ryan, *Recreational Tourism: Demand and Impacts*, p. 84, 136.

> Locations need not be beautiful nor storylines positive in order to attract visitors. While positive affect may well be important, dark movies have also created visitation booms.[194]

By this is implied that the pervasiveness of film and television in virtually every home across the world, even more so with new streaming services such as *Netflix*, *Amazon Prime*, *Disney+* and *Showmax*, that audiences/potential tourists are met with images of destinations across the world daily without necessarily seeking them out (i.e. autonomous image formation agents).[195]

Moreover, Anholt illustrates the reliance of destination images or place brands on "six channels or areas of activity".[196] Subsequent to Anholt's initial conceptualisation of these elements in 2002, the mostly termed "Nation Brand Index" (NBI) is widely used to monitor the brand images of cities, destinations, regions, nations and countries in various iterations.[197] Originally known as "the hexagon of competitive identity" the elements of the NBI still used today remain close to Anholt's original creation (Figure 4).[198] It has also then been adapted specifically toward smaller geographical regions such as cities to form the "City Brand Index" (CBI)(Figure 5).[199]

In both hexagons, Anholt considers various general attributes that influence the image, brand or perception held of a place (country or city) in the minds of prospective publics around the world. These are comparable to the film-specific and destination attributes respectively identified by other authors as they overlap and complement each other. Through this process of comparison and combination, several destination attributes that influence the viewer or potential tourist's perception of a place have been identified, namely: "Scenery", "Cityscapes and Icons", "Exports", "People", "Policy", "Culture, History and Cultural Capital". These attributes address the question of "what" images about a destination are represented to audiences or potential tourists and will be discussed forthwith.

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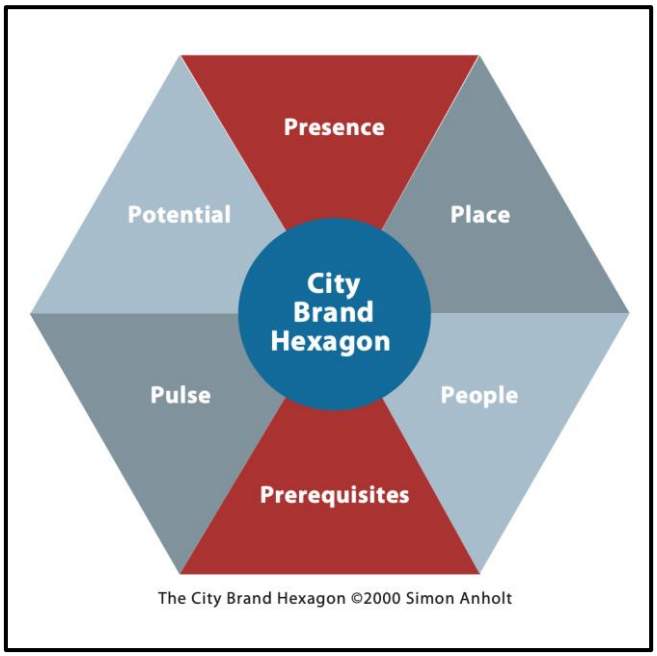
[194] R. Riley; D. Baker and C.S. Van Doren, "Movie Induced Tourism", p. 932.
[195] K.J. Mackay & D.R. Fesenmaier, "Pictorial Element of Destination in Image Formation", p. 539
[196] S. Anholt, "Competitive Identity", p. 23.
[197] S. Anholt, "Competitive Identity", p. 23;
[198] IPSOS, "Anholt Ipsos Nation Brand Index", 2019.
[199] IPSOS, "Anholt Ipsos Nation Brand Index", 2019.

Figure 4: The Nation Brand Hexagon.[200]

Figure 5: The City Brand Hexagon.[201]



3.2.1. Scenery

Scenery can be described as the tangible and intangible natural and geological aspects inherent to a country, region or city that makes it of touristic interest. These are often generally connected to a destination as places or aspects of interest for touristic consumption and pull tourists to a specific destination of choice. Various

[200] IPSOS, "Anholt Ipsos Nation Brand Index", 2019, p. 1.
[201] IPSOS, "Anholt Ipsos Nation Brand Index", 2019, p. 2.

scholars include aspects such as “scenery”, “landscapes”, “climate”[202] and even cityscapes that are grouped under the broad category of scenery. However, as indicative of other aspects in the destination attributes category, they have to be connected in films as “a part of the plot, or [if] displaced like in the case of New Zealand and ‘Middle-earth’” through DMO marketing activity in accompanying media.[203]

Arguably the former is inherently more effective in linking a story to a specific region than the latter as it already maps a story to a specific landscape that can then pique film audiences’ interest to travel to these destinations. However, the latter can be effectively linked to a destination by DMOs during and post-production, as is the case in the often-cited example of New Zealand and “Middle Earth” (Figure 6).[204]

Figure 6: Home of Middle Earth.[205]

Hereby, the DMO, in this case, Tourism New Zealand maps narratives to locations by actively marketing these locations in conjunction with the films in newspaper articles and marketing drives (i.e. induced image formation agents).[206] The narrative of the fictional world of JJR Tolkien’s *The Lord of the Rings* (*LOTR*) is mapped to various landscapes in New Zealand. This is further evidenced by describing fictive places from

[202] D. Juśkelyté, “Film Induced Tourism”, pp. 54 - 66, R.P. Basanez, “Film-Induced Tourism”; E. Sellgren, *Film-Induced Tourism*.
[203] D. Juśkelyté, “Film Induced Tourism”, p. 60.
[204] D. Juśkelyté, “Film Induced Tourism”, p. 60., S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, p. 81; S. Roesch, *The Experience of Film Location Tourists*, pp. 102 – 103.
[205] *Tourism New Zealand*, “Home of Middle – Earth”, n.d., <https://www.newzealand.com/ie/home-of-middle-earth/>, Accessed April 2018.
[206] K.J. Mackay & D.R. Fesenmaier, “Pictorial Element of Destination in Image Formation”, p. 539.

the popular books and films in direct relation to each other on the Tourism New Zealand website. For example, the juxtaposition of "Mount Ngauruhoe", the real name of a New Zealand mountain, with the fictive "Mount Doom", from *LOTR* stories (Figure 7).[207] This is then also complemented with language that conjures the fantasy genre of *LOTR*, for example, describing scenery as "enchanting valleys" can lend it an air of magic associated with the world of wizards in the books and films.[208] To consider this in terms of push and pull factors, the specific type of tourist that seeks "escape" or "play" (push motivation) will be pulled to New Zealand to "escape" into the fantasy world of the *LOTR* or to re-enact or role-play scenes from the films in the places where they were filmed.[209]

Figure 7: Description of Mount Nguaruhoe/Mount Doom.[210]

Mount Ngauruhoe: Mount Doom

In New Zealand, Mount Doom is more commonly known as Mount Ngauruhoe, found in Tongariro National Park. You can get a good look at Mordor and Mount Doom while tackling the full-day Tongariro Crossing. This is considered one of the best day walks in New Zealand.

Examples of landscapes that are incorporated into a plot are abundant within the sphere of both literary and filmic popular media representations. Particularly prevalent examples can be found in films that have a man-battling-the-elements plotline in their story. Although these types of films may potentially deter some travellers from going to dangerous natural areas, they do still attract specific adventure tourists[211] or mass tourism in more innocuous depictions of outstanding scenery. An example of this is skateboarding through glacial landscapes and the volcanic eruption in *The Secret Life of Walter Mitty* that is often credited with the boom in inbound tourism to Iceland in the

[207] *Tourism New Zealand*, "The Lord of the Rings Filming Locations", n.d., <https://www.newzealand.com/int/feature/the-lord-of-the-rings-trilogy-filming-locations/>, Accessed April 2018.
[208] *Tourism New Zealand*, "Home of Middle – Earth".
[209] C. Ryan, *Recreational Tourism*, pp. 10, 74; S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, 2nd edition; R.P. Basanez, "Film-Induced Tourism", p. 129.
[210] *Tourism New Zealand*, "The Lord of the Rings Filming Locations".
[211] S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, p. 154.

mid-2010s, along with other films and televisions series such as *Game of Thrones* where Iceland was a stand-in shooting location like the Middle Earth example above. Iceland's scenic beauty depicted in filmic media has been such a successful pull factor that by 2019 the island nation had concerns of over-tourism, most notably, closing the Fjaðrárgljúfur canyon after an influx of Justin Bieber fans damaged the canyon as a result of over-visitation inspired by a music video he shot at that location.[212] Although outside of the scope of this study, this example also illustrates another aspect of film tourism and filmic destination marketing that is worth further research, namely: sustainability and over-tourism.

A general aspect of filmic destination marketing that is evident from the Iceland example is the fact that the effects are cumulative and spread over multiple media forms that depict a specific country or region (i.e. autonomous image formation agents). These are then received as messages from a variety of media sources by potential tourists and thus build the destination image, place brand or narratives of place.[213] As trends in filming at specific world locations increases for reasons that will be explored in more detail under location-feasibility attributes, tourism increases to these locations soon follows. Although cumulative effects are tangentially considered, scholars in the field often focus on the more tangible results from one film to another film and their filmic destination marketing success.

3.2.2. Cityscapes and Icons

Cityscapes and icons refer to tangible manifestations (buildings, statues and other identifiable features) that symbolize (intangible meanings) of a place, most pertinently a specific cityscape. In this regard, Fiske and Hartley illustrate that visual signs depicted in films function to create "levels of meaning or […] orders of signification".[214] Furthermore, signs, in this case, images or scenes in a film that depict icons, are not

[212] B. Stiller (Dir.), *The Secret Life of Walter Mitty*, [Film], Twentieth Century Fox, 2013 ; *Iceland Review*, "Movies Determine Holiday Destination for 40 Million", 20 July 2015, <https://www.icelandreview.com/news/movies-determine-holiday-destination-40-million/>, Accessed February 2021; H. Shirka, "Icelandic canyon closed due to overtourim damage fuelled by Justin Bieber fans", *The National News*, 21 May 2019, <https://www.thenationalnews.com/lifestyle/travel/icelandic-canyon-closed-due-to-overtourism-damage-fuelled-by-justin-bieber-fans-1.864279>, Accessed March 2021.

[213] K.J. Mackay & D.R. Fesenmaier, "Pictorial Element of Destination in Image Formation", p. 539; C. Gartner, "Temporal influences on image change", pp. 635-644.

[214] J. Fiske & J. Hartley, *Reading Television*, pp. 40-41.

necessarily self-referential, but incorporate "cultural meanings" associated with "the way [a] society uses and values" these specific signs or icons.[215]

A particularly prevalent example of these can be found in the sign or icon of the Eiffel Tower and the city of Paris. On one level, the Eiffel Tower or an image thereof functions as a visual signal that is recognizable and iconic to immediately identify the setting of a film as the city of Paris.[216] The effect stories and narratives have on icons and cityscapes as symbols are perhaps, to this day, best expressed by Roland Barthes in his essay describing *The Eiffel Tower* as:

> the universal symbol of Paris, [...] there is no journey to France which isn't made, somehow, in the Tower's name, no schoolbook, poster, or film about France which fails to propose it as the major sign of a people and a place: it belongs to the universal language of travel. [...], it's simple, primary shape confers upon it the vocation of infinite cypher: in turn and according to the appeals of our imagination, the symbol of Paris, of modernity, of communication, of science or of the nineteenth century, rocket, stem, derrick, phallus, lightning rod or insect, confronting the great itineraries of our dreams [...] its mythic function is to join [...] earth and heaven.[217]

The same could be said for other skyscrapers and landmark architectural features of any city since they are commonly used in the popular media of the day: the Statue of Liberty or the Empire State Building in New York City; the statue of Christ the Redeemer in Rio de Janeiro; the Elizabeth Tower (Big Ben's Tower) at the Palace of Westminster; and more recently other tall structures such as The Shard or The Gherkin, in London. Sometimes the juxtaposition of these in filmic media can symbolize different aspects of a city as is the case with the poster *Thor: The Dark World* (Figure 8) where both The Elizabeth Tower and The Gherkin are included in the background. By pure inference, the fan website, *Hey U Guys* reflected that from a "few new international posters [the setting of the film is] translat[ed] to London" before the

[215] J. Fiske & J. Hartley, *Reading Television*, pp. 40-41.
[216] J.H., Engelbrecht, "Film-Based Perceptions of Host Destinations", Hons Research Report, University of Pretoria, 2015, p. 13.
[217] R. Barthes, 1982. "The Eiffel Tower", in Sontag, S. (ed.), *A Barthes Reader*, Hill & Wang, New York, NY, p. 237.

release of the film in 2013.[218] The presence of both these structures in the film identify the setting of the film as London, however, they arguably represent both the culture and history (the Elizabeth Tower) and the modern metropolis (The Gerkhin) images that can be associated with London.

Moreover, through continuous use in concurrence within the settings of specific cities these icons gain secondary meanings or associations that are infused onto the icons by a city and the stories of its inhabitants.[219]

Figure 8: *Thor: The Dark World* international poster.[220]

Barbara Mennel further describes the process of these secondary meanings associated with icons through the phenomenon of place-myths and myth-making by exploring the romantic love association with Paris and how this came about. Mennel cites the film *Cleo from 5-7* (1962) by stating that the film articulates "politics through a love story mapped onto the cityscape".[221] Furthermore, she describes how the "sugar-coated [love story] of contemporary Hollywood" was mapped onto the

[218] K. Lloyd, "Thor and Jane Foster visit London in New International Posters for *Thor: The Dark World*", *Hey U Guys*, 9 September 2013, <https://www.heyuguys.com/thor-jane-foster-visit-london-new-international-posters-thor-dark-world/>, Accessed April 2021.
[219] J.H., Engelbrecht, "Film-Based Perceptions of Host Destinations".
[220] K. Lloyd, "Thor and Jane Foster visit London in New International Posters for *Thor: The Dark World*".
[221] B. Mennel, *Cities and Cinema*, Routledge, Abington, 2008, pp. 62-63.

landscape of Paris through repeated use.[222] Consequently, the Eiffel Tower then absorbs these images and associations of romantic love as new meanings and in turn symbolizes a new mythic aspect now associated with the city of Paris.[223] To reflect on the image of romantic love now permeated with the Paris cityscape and the Eiffel Tower, Mennel cites a respondent in her primary research in stating that "one expected romantic couples everywhere".[224] Similarly, "Christ the Redeemer" as originally a symbol of Catholicism in the city of Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, today means a variety of things to many people, including "a general symbol of welcome" and hospitality.[225]

It is at this juncture important to note that natural formations such as rivers, mountains, canyons and other geological features, as well as archaeological sites and famous or infamous citizens can become icons indicative of a place and people in their own right. Meanings can, for example, be mapped to natural landscapes through popular media representation to imbue them with stories, both factual and fictional. Catherine Elwes provides the example of the Australian Outback as a symbol in filmic representations of Australia. She cites the use of the Outback in films such as *Crocodile Dundee* and *Mad Max* as a symbolic representation of the "Australians heroic individualism, a rebellious spirit that is both non-conformist and resourceful in adversity".[226] Furthermore, Elwes acknowledges the disparity between perceived national identity presented by certain symbolic representations of people and place, and the lived experiences of Australians themselves. In this regard she considers both the importance of the Outback as a symbol of Australian National Identity to Australians and the foreignness of the landscapes to the lives of the majority of suburban Australians. In a reflection on the "preconceptions" built by films such as *Crocodile Dundee* and *Mad Max* she comments that it is:

> tempting to slip into the old colonial fantasy and imagine that surely here, amongst the intrepid frontiersmen and women of the outback, among the

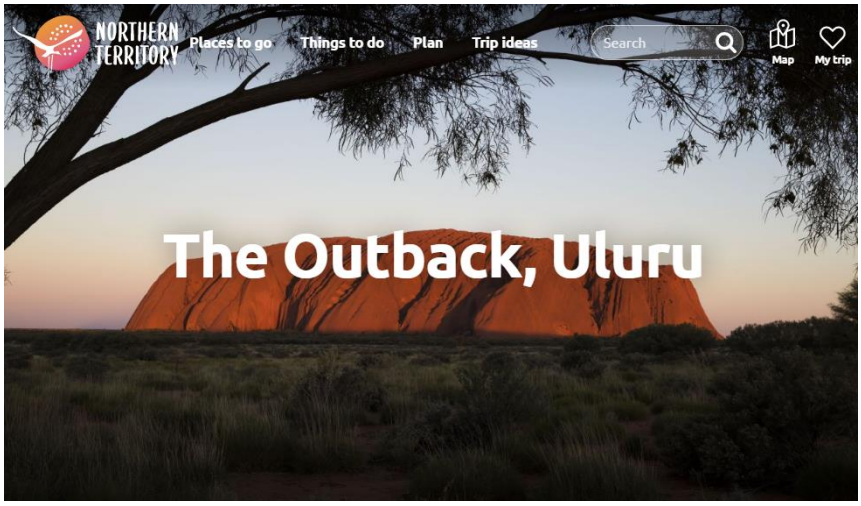
[222] B. Mennel, *Cities and Cinema*, pp. 62-63.
[223] B. Mennel, *Cities and Cinema*, pp. 62-63.
[224] B. Mennel, *Cities and Cinema*, pp. 62-63.
[225] M. Boorstein, "The many meanings of Rio's massive Christ statue", *Washing Post*, 9 August 2016, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2016/08/09/the-many-meanings-of-rios-massive-christ-statue/>, Accessed April 2021.
[226] C. Elwes, "Figuring Landscapes in Australian Artists' Film and Video", in G. Harper & J. Rayner (eds.), *Film Landscapes: Cinema, Environment and Visual Culture*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013, p. 165.

> indigenous population with its unique cosmology and centuries of spiritual engagement with nature, I would find landscape pristine and unfettered.[227]

Her reflection is related to nature myths from the minds of the Romantics as regards the sublime qualities of nature fostered in the Europe of the Industrial Revolution, but the idea of "untouched" nature, at least to some extent, still carries appeal today. She further recognizes the difference between countries or regions that self-represent through a strong national cinema, versus representation from a perspective outside and the differences in place narratives or meanings conveyed through the placement of iconic symbols in these films.[228] This concept is discussed in further detail under the aspect "Cultural Capital", "Distribution", "Authorship and National Cinema".

The recognisability aspect of the Outback as an icon is usually embodied by the image of Mount Uluru. This is then reinforced in other media, for example, the tourism production activities of DMOs as is evident from the image on Australia's Northern Territory website (Figure 9).[229]

Figure 9: The Outback, Uluru.[230]



[227] C. Elwes, "Figuring Landscapes in Australian Artists' Film and Video", p. 165.
[228] C. Elwes, "Figuring Landscapes in Australian Artists' Film and Video", p. 165.
[229] *Northern Territory*, "Travel to Central Australia and experience the true Outback – rugged desert landscapes, ancient rock formations, and an abundance of unique wildlife", n.d., <https://northernterritory.com/uluru-and-surrounds/see-and-do/nature-and-wildlife/the-outback#:~:text=Uluru%20%26%20Surrounds,experience%20the%20true%20Australian%20Outback>, Accessed April 2021.
[230] *Northern Territory*, "Travel to Central Australia and experience the true Outback".

3.2.3. Exports

One of Anholt's channels of communication described above, namely: "exports" should also be considered as a part of the filmic destination branding continuum. Anholt here indicates that "a country or region's exported products and services, act as powerful ambassadors for each country and region".[231] The examples of product placements in films are historically numerous, but perhaps the most iconic is *Ray Ban's* Aviator Sunglasses in the film *Top Gun*.[232] However, Anholt recognises that for exports to act as ambassadors of a country or region "their place of origin [needs to be] explicit" in any depiction of them in media, as with other manifestations of exports as place brand ambassadors. This is less prevalent in the literature on filmic destination branding, but nonetheless adds to the cumulative effect of filmic destination marketing.

A clear example of this is the number of times the female apparel store Saks Fifth Avenue is referenced in filmic depictions of New York City. Examples include several references and depictions in the popular television series *Law & Order* (various incarnations between 1990 and 2010) and films such a *Prom* (2020).[233] It not only adds to the brand of the store itself, but by mapping it very clearly, by virtue of its name inferring a specific geographical location, and repeatedly to the New York cityscape and specifically Fifth Avenue, a narrative emerges of New York and specifically Fifth Avenue as the place to go for high-end shopping.

3.2.4. People

"People" are also a very discerning indicator of a country, city or region's identity, narrative and brand. Anholt describes the influence of this on a place brand in stating that:

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[231] S. Anholt, "Competitive Identity", p. 23.

[232] Y. Goh, "Tom Cruise's *Top Gun:* Maverick Sunglasses Can Be Our Wingman Anytime", *GQ*, 17 March 2020, <https://www.gq.com/story/tom-cruise-top-gun-maverick-sunglasses>, Accessed May 2021.

[233] *IMDB*, "Most Popular Movies and TV Shows tagged with keyword reference-to-saks-fifth-avenue", n.d., <https://www.imdb.com/search/keyword/?keywords=reference-to-saks-fifth-avenue&sort=moviemeter,asc&mode=detail&page=1&ref_=kw_ref_typ>, Accessed May 2021.

> the people of a country themselves: the high–profile leaders and media and sports stars, as well as the population in general; how they behave when abroad and how they treat visitors to their country.[234]

Although Anholt does consider the idea of celebrities as influencers in the perception of a place, a discrete distinction needs to be made between the popular figures hailing from a specific place and thus potentially influencing the view of others about that specific place, i.e. a destination attribute, attraction or pull factor, and the views espoused about a place as by actors and celebrities "knowledgeable others" while filming on location, i.e. a film-specific attribute. An example of the former is the film star Chris Hemsworth acting as an ambassador for Australia (his country of origin) in the "There's nothing like Australia" marketing campaign in 2016. Thus, leveraging his celebrity status earned in recent film exposure as Thor in the MCU to the benefit of his country of origin and not the destination where a film is set or shot.[235] Importantly, although this example is very specific as a more covert induced image formation agent,[236] the general knowledge of the actor's origin associated with his/her character as a media personality means that everything he/she does and says adds to the brand, image or narrative of his/her country of origin, i.e. autonomous image formation agent.[237] In a more generalised South African context more notable famous influencers that operate to influence the image of the country depicted or present in a film are: multiple films featuring and filmic references to Nelson Mandela,[238] filmic references to sports stars such as Oscar Pistorius,[239] and the celebrity status of South African media personalities such as such as Charlize Theron and Trevor Noah.

As regards the general citizens of a country or city concerning filmic destination branding and image formation processes, it functions similar to word of mouth reflections on a place with the added cumulative effect of building generalisations and

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[234] S. Anholt, "Competitive Identity", p. 23.

[235] *Travel Daily*, "Tourism Australia and Chris Hemsworth", [YouTube Video], 26 January 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V7dukhch8u0>, Accessed February 2021; E. Owen, "Celebrity Endorsements: Eight Stars Who Are Also Tourism Ambassadors", *Travel and Leisure*, 28 April, 2015, <https://www.travelandleisure.com/travel-tips/celebrity-travel/celebrity-endorsements-eight-stars-who-are-also-tourism-ambassadors>, Accessed February 2021.

[236] K.J. Mackay & D.R. Fesenmaier, "Pictorial Element of Destination in Image Formation", p. 539.

[237] K.J. Mackay & D.R. Fesenmaier, "Pictorial Element of Destination in Image Formation", p. 539.

[238] C. Eastwood (Dir.), *Invictus*, [Film], Spyglass Entertainment, 2009; J. Polson (Dir.), *Elementary: Rip Off*, [Television Series: Season 3, Episode 5], Hill of Beans Productions, 2014.

[239] C. Gernon (Dir.), *New Girl: Walk of Shame*, [Television Series: Season 4, Episode 18], Elizabeth Meriwether Pictures and 20th Century Fox Television, 2011.

stereotypes over time based on the filmic representation of the people in a specific place or destination. Anholt states that "clichés and stereotypes – whether positive or negative, true or untrue – fundamentally affect our behaviour towards other places and their people and products".[240]

It has long been accepted that perceived generalised reputation of a host population for friendliness and other attitudes towards tourists influences the perception of prospective tourists to be attracted or pulled to a specific travel destination.[241] Now consider the earlier example by Elwes, apart from the characteristics traditionally associated with the Australian Outback, she also comments that the symbolic function of the Outback extends to the character of the Australian people in that it symbolizes a "heroic individualism, a rebellious spirit that is both non-conformist and resourceful in adversity".[242] Thus not only mapping meaning to the place, but characteristics to the bodies of the people that inhabit such a place.

3.2.5. Policy

Another of Anholt's channels of communication that affect place brand are implicated in this destination attribute, namely: "Policy". Anholt describes this as:

> The policy decisions of the region's governments, whether it is foreign policy which directly affects us, or domestic policy which gets reported in the international media.[243]

Anholt further contends that although diplomacy is the traditional route through which these policies "are communicated to the outside world, there is an increasing closeness between the policy-makers and the international media".[244] These are implicit in the depiction of a country as regards its human rights, freedoms, the rule of law, clean governance and activities in the world arena such as positions on climate change.[245] This aspect does not feature very prominently within the literature on filmic destination image. However, some deductions can be made based on studies geared more generally at destination image and place brand, such as Anholt's. He argues

[240] S. Anholt, "Competitive Identity", p. 22.
[241] R.W. Riley & C.S. Van Doren, "Movies as tourism promotion"; E. Inskeep, *Tourism Planning*, p. 147.
[242] C. Elwes, "Figuring Landscapes in Australian Artists' Film and Video", p. 165.
[243] S. Anholt, "Competitive Identity", p. 23.
[244] S. Anholt, "Competitive Identity", p. 23.
[245] S. Anholt, "Competitive Identity", p. 31.

that, in general terms, the communication of a government's policy alone has limited effect on improved brand perception and that countries should not make any policy changes just to improve their brand. However, he does indicate instances in what he terms "symbolic actions" that are then communicated in the media taken by countries to improve the policy or governance aspect of its brand. He cites examples such as the:

> The Slovenian government donating financial aid to their Balkan neighbours in order to prove that Slovenia was not part of the Balkans; Spain legalising same-sex marriages in order to demonstrate that its values had modernised to a point diametrically opposed to the Franco period.[246]

Arguably then the depiction of these aspects of a country or region in fictional filmic media should have some influence on the image of that country or pull motivations to visit a specific place. Perhaps, here more than with other destination attributes, the reality, truth or authenticity, or at least the perception thereof in media audiences is integral. Should a film's depiction of a specific negative policy or human rights abuse, for example, be reinforced in other media or the government themselves, it can potentially influence the image of such a destination negatively. In a generalised South African sense, the depiction of apartheid and segregation policies and the resultant human rights abuses that impact on the society today, has in the past and continue to have an impact on the country's destination image. The iterations of the depiction of this narrative in international fictional filmic media are considerable.

Although more research on this aspect is required, an aspect of policy or governance that does present fairly strongly within the literature, as regards destination image, is the impression and resultant behaviour of tourists linked to perceptions of a country's rule of law and safety and security concerns. An example of this is the case study conducted by Sevil Sönmez and Ercan Sirakaya on the perceived destination image of Turkey. They state that aspects such as "political instability, health and safety and security concerns at a destination – whether real or perceived - have a direct bearing on the formation of negative images".[247] Arguably then repeated depictions of

[246] S. Anholt, "Competitive Identity", pp. 26-27.
[247] S. Sönmez & E. Sirakaya, "A Distorted Image? The Case of Turkey", *Journal of Travel Research*, 41(2), 2002 p. 187.

countries as war-torn or prone to gang violence in popular fictional films, will also add to the cumulative effect of the brand or image of a destination as unstable or undesirable. As is often acknowledged, Sönmez and Sirakaya also then indicate that aspects such as safety and security at a destination may not have any positive impact on destination image, but should a destination be perceived unsafe it does have a negative effect and deter travel to the said destination. Interestingly, even though their study is more focused on news media, they do cite the example of the 1978 film *Midnight Express*, where "an American college student that is caught smuggling drugs in Turkey and is thrown into prison".[248] They indicate that this negative depiction of Turkey "may create an almost permanent negative image".[249]

Another example in the sphere of filmic destination image formation is presented by Amir Shani, Youcheng Wang, Simon Hudson and Sergio Moreno Gil that specifically investigated the destination image of South America as a result of the historical film *The Motorcycle Diaries*, a "dramatization of a motorcycle road trip Che Guevara went on in his youth that showed him his life's calling".[250] In their study, they interview a sample group about their perception of South America before and after viewing the film. Participants in the study did indicate changes in the "mean scores of the majority of the attributes" associated with their impression of South America, however, no significant changes in how they perceived South America were recorded. Negative perceptions of South America were reinforced and made even stronger and no changes from a positive to negative perception, or vice versa, about South America, was recorded in the study.[251] Interestingly, Shani *et al.*'s study indicates that although the image of the destination may have been affected negatively as a result of viewing the film, the "desire to visit South America" in the target audience increased.[252] They cite three potential reasons for this: firstly, it might be as a result of the homogeneous demographics of the sample participants, young American students; secondly, depictions of culture and history in the film have a stronger impression than negative

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[248] *IMDB*, "*Midnight Express*", n.d., <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0077928/>, Accessed May 2021.
[249] S. Sönmez & E. Sirakaya, "A Distorted Image? The Case of Turkey", p. 189.
[250] A. Shani, Y. Wang, S. Hudson & S. M. Gil, "Impacts of a historical film on the destination image of South America", *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 15(3), 2009, pp. 229 - 242; *IMDB*, "*The Motorcycle Diaries*", n.d., <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0318462/>, Accessed May 2021.
[251] A. Shani, Y. Wang, S. Hudson & S. M. Gil, "Impacts of a historical film on the destination image of South America", pp. 238 – 239.
[252] A. Shani, Y. Wang, S. Hudson & S. M. Gil, "Impacts of a historical film on the destination image of South America", p. 237.

plotlines; and lastly, the time setting of the film is too far removed from the present day "and/or the lack of interest of young North Americans regarding issues such as socialism and Marxism [previously] perceived as a serious threat to America".[253]

This does, however, support Riley *et al.* and later Beeton's assertions that negative images, at least as associated with fictional filmic depictions of destinations, do not necessarily deter travel.[254] It also supports the idea that some aspects are more influential in the destination image and place brand creation process than others. The "awareness" or "making […] famous" of the cultural expressions associated with a destination facilitated by filmic distribution channels might outweigh any storylines in the film that portray the destination in a negative light.[255] Further study in this area will be needed to draw wide-ranging conclusions, however, it does seem from the few examples in the literature that the instances where negative images do not deter travel is limited to specific target demographics, i.e. youthful adventurers.

3.2.6. Culture, History and Cultural Capital

Perhaps the most salient destination attribute for this dissertation, namely cultural capital, is related to the ability of countries and DMOs to leverage all the cultural products (both tangible and intangible) inherent to their destination to be featured in films. Anholt describes this under the category of "culture" as one of the six channels for a destination of communicating their identity or brand in that "cultural exchange and cultural activities and exports: a world tour by a national opera company, the works of a famous author, and the national sports team" influence the image or brand of a destination.[256]

These sentiments are further described by various authors that include other aspects like the cultural expressions of a destination,[257] the history or historic events of a

[253] A. Shani, Y. Wang, S. Hudson & S. M. Gil, "Impacts of a historical film on the destination image of South America", p. 239.
[254] R. Riley; D. Baker & C.S. Van Doren, "Movie Induced Tourism", p. 932; S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, p. 50.
[255] S. Anholt, "Definitions of place branding – Working towards a resolution", p. 7; H. S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism", p. 390; A. Shani, Y. Wang, S. Hudson & S. M. Gil, "Impacts of a historical film on the destination image of South America", p. 239.
[256] S. Anholt, "Competitive Identity", p. 23.
[257] C. Iwashita, "Media representation of the UK as a destination for Japanese tourists: popular culture and tourism", pp. 59-77.

destination,[258] architecture,[259] fashion, art, film and music. Graham Bugsby and Julia Klug describe the relationship between such cultural expressions and their depictions in filmic media as "not simply a function of media influences but a medium through which a range of cultural meaning is communicated".[260] They further contend that these meanings are not merely communicated in one direction, but that they are part of a process that shapes and reshapes the meaning of place.[261]

Furthermore, primary research conducted by Iwashita and Basanez illustrates the effect filmic depictions of cultural expressions have on travel behaviours.[262] Respondents to Iwashita's study of filmic influence on Japanese tourists inbound to the UK indicated that films with British subject matter or settings, were particularly influential in their decision to visit the UK.[263] In Basanez' case, respondents to interviews indicated that the depiction of historical events in films pulled them to that region or place, specifically citing a new interest in the Whitechapel area in London based on the story of Jack the Ripper and the Whitechapel murders depicted in the film *From Hell* starring Johnny Depp.[264]

Furthermore, Bugsby and Klug describe the cumulative effect in reference to an adapted version of the "circuits of culture" model (Figure 10). Hereby they indicate a continuous process where during "production" (DMOs and cultural production agents in tourism) the decisions about place promotion are made; "text" (images of places in filmic and other media sources) represents a place and is interpreted in a specific way; "readings" where "visitors" use and react to their visit to the site (organic image formation agent); this then has an "impact" on audiences/tourists attitudes and values. It is ultimately circular in nature and implicates the representation of culture not only as destination images, but in the continual process of "cultural production and consumption" of cultural manifestations that are continually renegotiated.[265]

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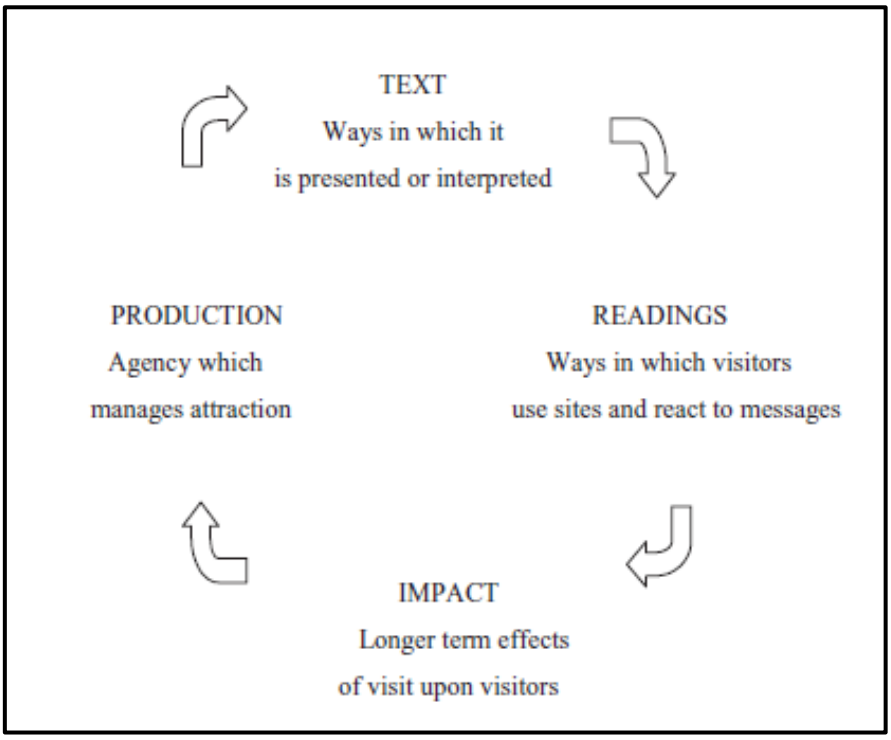
[258] R.P. Basanez, "Film-Induced Tourism", p. 67.
[259] M. Tewdwr-Jones, *Urban Reflections*.
[260] G. Bugsby & J. Klug, "Movie-induced tourism: The challenge of measurement and other issues", *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 7(4), 2001, p. 321.
[261] G. Bugsby & J. Klug, "Movie-induced tourism", p. 321.
[262] R.P. Basanez, "Film-Induced Tourism", p. 76; C. Iwashita, "Media representation of the UK as a destination for Japanese tourists", p. 66.
[263] C. Iwashita, "Media representation of the UK as a destination for Japanese tourists", p. 66.
[264] R.P. Basanez, "Film-Induced Tourism: The Imaginary of Place and the Place of the Imaginary", p. 76; *IMDB*, "*From Hell*", n.d., <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0120681/>, Accessed May 2021.
[265] G. Bugsby & J. Klug, "Movie-induced tourism", pp. 316 – 332; S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, pp. 25-26.

Figure 10: Circuits of Culture.[266]



This aspect of circuits of culture is also strongly associated with the notions of distribution and authorship that manifest in well-developed national cinema. The cultural capital sprouting from such well-developed national cinema is related to the concept of "soft power" that emerges from the field of international relations.[267] This can be described as the ability of nations, regions or even cities, to "affect others by attraction and persuasion rather than coercion or payment".[268] Specifically related to national cinema, this phenomenon was attributed to Hollywood, and later to Bollywood, as a cultural export brand, i.e. part of the cultural capital, as well as distributors of other forms of a country's cultural capital. This cyclical process that produces and reproduces images about countries, cities and regions, develops their brands and builds[269] narrative awareness[270] of the cultural capital of a destination. As stated by Basanez:

[266] G. Bugsby & J. Klug, "Movie-induced tourism", p. 322.
[267] D.K. Thussu, *Communicating India's Soft Power*; K. Smith, "South Africa and India As Regional Leader in the Global South", in R. Modi (ed.), *South-South Cooperation: Africa on the Centre Stage*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2011, pp. 171 – 183; S.H. Donald & J.G. Gammack, *Tourism and the Branded City*, p. 155.
[268] J. Nye, "Soft Power: the origins and political progress of a concept", *Palgrave Communications*, 3 (17008) ,2017, DOI: 10.1057/palcomms.2017.8., p. 2.
[269] D.K. Thussu, *Communicating India's Soft Power*.
[270] H. S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism", p. 390.

The way the destination's culture is depicted in the film is important when deciding to visit the place. This could be the history of that place or the way people dress. Perhaps because American films have a larger production, distribution and marketing power to attract people to watch their films, the American way of living is sought by lots of people, thus making people want a slice of that, either experiencing when visiting the country or copying their lifestyles from watching their films.[271]

3.3. Film-Specific Attributes

As indicative of references to film-specific attributes in the descriptions of processes under destination attributes above, film-specific attributes interact with the destination attributes on several levels to deliver destination messages to audiences/potential tourists. While destination attributes address the aspect of "what" images are communicated, film-specific attributes address questions around "how" and "how effectively" these messages are communicated. Figure 3 visually illustrates the interaction of the various attributes in the process of filmic destination marketing and branding.

As with the destination attributes, film-specific attributes here indicate specific elements inherent to a film, films or the filming process that depict a destination in specific ways and how they could potentially influence the perception created in audiences/potential tourists of a destination. Hudson and Ritchie highlight attributes such as "the success of the film", "the relevance of the story to the location", the "amount of exposure" a destination gets in a film/films, "a film location that has an emotional attachment", "untainted environments", "a location that has a physical icon that viewers can identify with".[272] From Hudson and Ritchie's model and the contributions from other authors, various film-specific attributes have been identified and are discussed for this dissertation, namely: Distribution, Exposure, Celebrity, Authorship and National Cinema, Authenticity, Characters and Story/Plot.[273]

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[271] R.P. Basanez, "Film-Induced Tourism", p. 65.

[272] S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism", p. 390.

[273] H. S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism", p. 390; R.P. Basanez, "Film-Induced Tourism"; S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*; S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*; R.W. Riley & C.S. Van Doren, "Movies as tourism promotion", pp. 267 – 274; I. Yeoman & U. McMahon-Beattie, "The future challenge", in N. Morgan, A. Pritchard & R. Pride, *Destination Brands: Managing Place Reputation*, 3rd Edition, Butterworth-Heinemann, Oxford, 2011,

3.3.1. Distribution

The first film-specific attribute is related to how effectively a message communicated about a destination in a filmic representation is distributed for it to serve as a channel to potentially influence destination image. Various authors, unsurprisingly, consider the performance or distribution of the film an important factor in the dissemination of a particular destination image.[274] It stands to reason that the more widely a film is disseminated and watched the greater the potential for it to influence more people as regards how they view the destination depicted in the film.

An aspect of this is the distribution power of big national cinema conglomerates such as Hollywood and Bollywood. The impact of these in association with destination image and filmic destination marketing is threefold: as a cultural export; as distributor of images; and lastly, as a point of view related to authorship. The mechanisms inherent to these make them powerful agents for the distribution of films far beyond national reach.[275] As a measure of size, "In 2019, the US motion picture and video production and distribution industry generated a total revenue of 74.97 billion US dollars, an increase from 73.99 billion US dollars in 2018."[276] The total gross output of India's media and entertainment industry was estimated at about $ 33,3 billion in 2017.[277] These then stand in direct opposition to countries with less developed national cinema or film industries and cannot distribute films as effectively beyond borders. These countries, like South Africa, then need to rely on the former to distribute their stories around the globe, which also have very notable effects on the notion of authorship.

Comparatively, the South African film industry has seen a steady rise in production and income generation in the 21st century, although significant regional, national and international challenges still exist.[278] The cultural and creative industries amounted to

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pp. 169 – 182; S.H. Donald & J.G. Gammack, *Tourism and the Branded City*; E. Sellgren, *Film-Induced Tourism*; A. Hall, "Reading Realism", pp. 624 – 641.

[274] H. S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism", p. 390; R.P. Basanez, "Film-Induced Tourism", p. 65; D. Juškelyté, "Film Induced Tourism", p. 60.

[275] K. Smith, "South Africa and India as Regional Leader in the Global South", p. 174; R.P. Basanez, "Film-Induced Tourism", p. 65.

[276] J.G. Navarro, "U.S. motion picture/video production and distribution – revenue 2005 – 2019", *Statista*, 12 August 2021, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/184140/estimated-revenue-of-us-motion-picture-and-video-industry-since-2005/>, Accessed December 2021.

[277] Deloitte Touché Tohmatsu India, "Economic Contribution of the Film and Television Industry in India, 2017", March 2018.

[278] UNESCO, *The African Film Industry: Trends Challenges and Opportunities for Growth*, 2021, p. 214.

about 5.6%, or $18.01 billion, of South Africa's GDP in 2018.[279] Significantly, however, local content only constitute about 5 % of this GDP contribution.[280] The 2020/2021 contribution shows a significant decline, mostly attributed to production losses as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic. However, a general decline in growth has also been recorded since 2017.[281] This decline has been ascribed to a variety of historical, policy and structural challenges.[282]

Perhaps the most often cited reason for slow development in the production of local content is the profitability of local films.[283] Ruan Jooste illustrates the point that the South African Film industry cannot sustain itself and reaffirms this in stating that:

> the SA market is just too small to make it so [and quotes the] Chairman of Nthibah Pictures, Wayne Fitzjohn [in saying] that if we want to create our own sustainable ecosystem in moviemaking SA needs to create content that appeals to a global audience. We have had some very good examples in *Invictus* and *District 9*, he says, but we are not cutting it overall. We need to be more attuned to what works commercially abroad.[284]

Newer features in this arena in the form of online streaming services offer more opportunities for a wider audience reach. In an interview, Greg Peters, chief product officer at *Netflix*, highlights these opportunities by stating that *Netflix* believes "that great stories should be able to come from anywhere on the planet" and that "people have always wanted authentic storytelling that is rooted in local culture".[285] This is further evidenced by recent *Netflix* successes in distributing "content from Asia" to the

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[279] UNESCO, *The African Film Industry*, p. 214.

[280] SACO, "The Establishment of the Film Sector as a Catalyst for Economic Growth in South Africa: Towards a Sallywood – Framework", January, 2019, p. 177.

[281] S. Planting, "DTIC blamed as rocky times hit South African film industry", *Daily Maverick*, 21 November 2021, <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2021-11-21-rocky-times-hit-south-african-film-industry-where-it-hurts/>, Accessed December 2021; City Of Cape Town, "CCT Film Strategy", 23 July 2020.

[282] S. Planting, "DTIC blamed as rocky times hit South African film industry".

[283] SACO, "The Establishment of the Film Sector as a Catalyst for Economic Growth in South Africa"; R. Jooste, "SA film industry still not getting the big picture", *Business Maverick*, 8 December 2019, <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2019-12-08-sa-film-industry-still-not-getting-the-big-picture/>, Accessed May 2021.

[284] R. Jooste, "SA film industry still not getting the big picture".

[285] *WARC*, "*Netflix* sources local content for global audiences", 1 April 2019, <https://www.warc.com/newsandopinion/news/netflix-sources-local-content-for-global-audiences/41881>, Accessed May 2021.

"interest of global audiences".[286] This points to the democratisation of distribution channels by streaming platforms and the consequent multipliers which provides substantial opportunities for developing film industries as regards cultural capital and filmic destination image.

In a South African context, the latest production by Nthibah Pictures *I Am All Girls* secured distribution with *Netflix*.[287] Since 2016, *Netflix* has invested an estimated R800 million in South African content.[288] In an interview conducted by Business Tech with Shola Sanni, *Netflix*'s director of public policy for sub-Saharan Africa indicated that "more people watch South African shows outside of the country than in it, with a popular show like Blood and Water receiving 14 million views outside of South Africa".[289] Further impacts of *Netflix* are illustrated in Figure 11.

Associated with these distribution networks, but more specific to the success of individual films, are other aspects such as genre.[290] These are often related to the supply and demand within the global film industry as indicative of the statement about the interest of global audiences.[291] Arguably, the most widely desired and consumed film genres are the most effective disseminators of brand stories and destination images.[292] Although accurate film viewer statistics are very difficult to ascertain on account of the multifaceted consumption behaviours, i.e. in the cinema, via streaming services, or DVD's, the success of a film is usually measured according to its box office success.[293] A report conducted across 97 countries by the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) in 2016 indicated that the:

> Most popular feature films watched in theatres in 2012 and 2013 confirm a very high concentration of consumption of blockbusters produced (or co-produced) and distributed by [major production companies from the United

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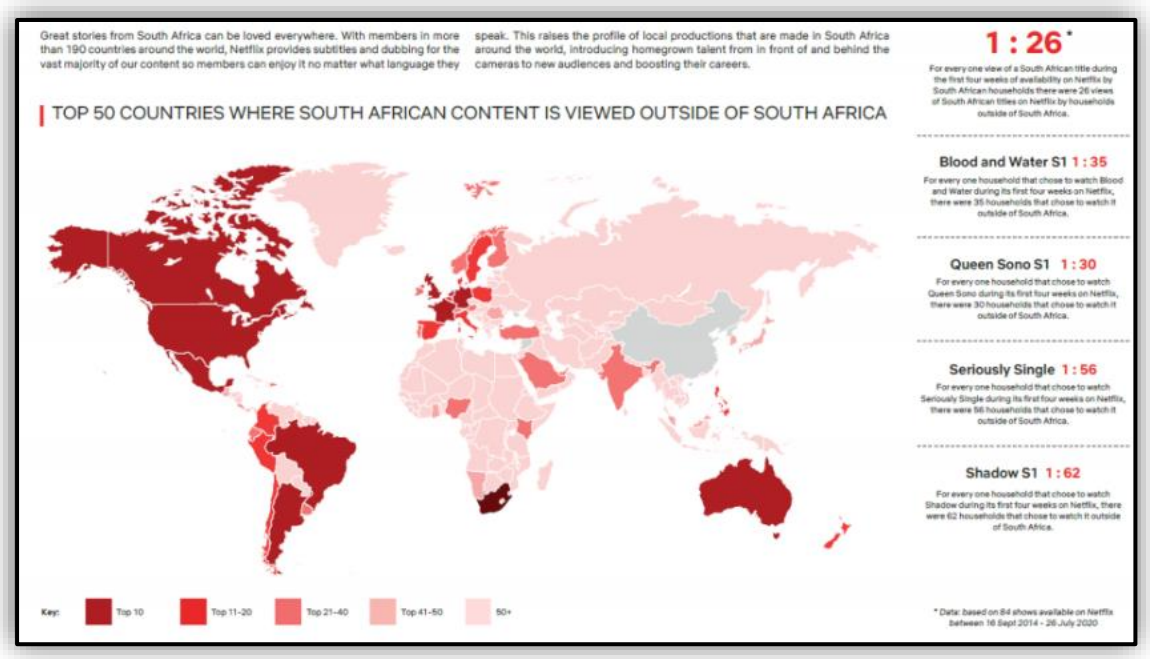
[286] *WARC*, "*Netflix* sources local content for global audiences".
[287] *IMDB*, "*I Am All Girls*", n.d., <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt9013182/locations?ref_=tt_dt_dt>, Accessed May 2021; R. Jooste, "SA film industry still not getting the big picture".
[288] *Business Tech*, "Plans to regulate *Netflix* content in South Africa", 2 June 2021, <https://businesstech.co.za/news/media/495281/plans-to-regulate-content-on-netflix-in-south-africa/>, Accessed 3 June 2021.
[289] B*usiness Tech*, "Plans to regulate *Netflix* content in South Africa".
[290] D. Juśkelyté, "Film Induced Tourism", p. 60.
[291] *WARC*, "*Netflix* sources local content for global audiences", Accessed May 2021.
[292] S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, p. 88.
[293] S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, p. 47.

States]. They are mostly action/adventure movies [with] multi-million budgets and international advertising campaigns. [Furthermore], mass consumption of feature films in theatres has favoured the franchise of various series [depicting] stories that were originally created as comics.[294]

Figure 11: Made in South Africa, watched by the world.[295]



Historically, the slow development of the South African film industry and the consequent production of local narratives have been attributed to a small cinema-going audience.[296] Moreover, according to more recent studies conducted by the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) and the South African Cultural Observatory (SACO), low consumption of local content can be attributed to audience demand and consumption patterns. These studies indicate that although there is a demand for local content, the types of local content available do not fit South African audience consumption preferences in terms of tone, genre and viewer motivations.[297] Although genre preferences differ slightly from one region or country to another, global film statistics indicate a persistent preference for Animation, Action, Adventure, Fantasy

[294] UNESCO, UIS, "Diversity and the film industry", DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.15220/978-92-9189-190-0-en, 2016.
[295] *Business Tech*, "Plans to regulate *Netflix* content in South Africa".
[296] M. Botha, *South African Cinema 1896 – 2010,* Intellect, Bristol, 2012, pp. 23, 249.
[297] University of Kwa Zulu Natal, "The Role of Film in the Promotion of Culture in KwaZulu-Natal", July 2018; SACO, "The Establishment of the Film Sector as a Catalyst for Economic Growth in South Africa".

and Sci-Fi films, with Comedy and Drama following at significantly lower percentages for film, but performing better on television and streaming services.[298] Similarly, more than half of South African film and television consumers prefer Action films, followed by Comedy and Horror, then Drama and other genres.[299]

It is perhaps prudent at this interval to caution against the presumption that one aspect presented in this discussion is unilaterally responsible for the dissemination of filmic destination images. In this regard, Beeton indicates that "box office success and potentially attractive locations do not guarantee demand".[300] Similarly, Roesch cites the example of "*Captain Corelli's Mandolin*, which turned into a film-induced attraction in spite of the film's modest box office success".[301]

3.3.2. Exposure

Exposure refers to the amount of exposure a destination gets as a result of its association with a film or films. This is distinguishable from distribution in that it is more defined towards the images of a destination disseminated in a film or during the filming process, rather than the success of a film as a qualifier for filmic destination marketing. Importantly this is also geared towards identifying a specific location in a film and related to other aspects such as setting and icons.[302] Exposure has four aspects that are considered here, namely: screentime, repeat exposure, accompanying media exposure and ultimately identification.

Firstly, screentime refers to the "length of time on the screen" a film or films depict/s a particular destination or place as the backdrop or setting.[303] Arguably there is a marketable difference between a location, for example, featuring for ten minutes at the beginning of a film and an entire film that is set or shot in only one specific town or city.

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[298] UNESCO UIS, "Diversity and the film industry"; *The Numbers*, "Market Share for Each Genre", n.d., <https://www.the-numbers.com/market/genres>, Accessed December 2021; K. Moore, "What Movie & TV Genres Perform Well in the *Netflix* Top 10s", *Netflix*, 9 February 2021, <https://www.whats-on-netflix.com/news/what-movie-tv-genres-perform-well-in-the-netflix-top-10s/>, Accessed June 2021; S. Follows, "The Relative Popularity of Genres Around the World", *American Film Market*, n.d., <https://americanfilmmarket.com/relative-popularity-genres-around-world/>, Accessed December 2021.

[299] University of Kwa Zulu Natal, "The Role of Film in the Promotion of Culture in KwaZulu-Natal", p. ii.

[300] S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, p. 47.

[301] S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, p.198.

[302] S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism", p. 390; S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, p. 40.

[303] S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism", p. 390.

Secondly, repeat exposure relates to how often audiences/potential tourists are exposed to the images of a destination in a film or what Riley and Van Doren theorise as to the function of films as "Hallmark Events".[304] They explain that fictional films function like other hallmark events such as trade fairs in that they are of "limited duration" and pull tourists to visit a location. However, they do differ from both "traditional [travel] promotion efforts such as print advertisements or broadcast communication" in that the cycles of production and consumption of fictional films allow for repeat exposure through the "re-release of popular movies in cinemas, the rescreening of movies on nationwide [and international] television networks and […] conversion into" other formats, more recently video streaming sites.[305] An example of this is the popular television series *Friends* that originally ran from 1994 – 2004, but was still the most-watched television series over multiple streaming platforms in the first quarter of 2018 in the UK.[306] This can also be protracted into how often a location is depicted or serves as the setting or background in films as "[e]xtended exposure […] through the medium of film [that] allows potential tourists to gather information and vicarious knowledge".[307] This is then also clearly linked to other attributes such as authorship and national cinema and location-feasibility attributes that are discussed in greater detail later.

Thirdly, accompanying media exposure refers to the exhibition cycle of a film as illustrated by Roesch when he states that:

> Touristic place marketing opportunities are provided throughout the film exhibition cycle with various windows of exhibition, which normally lasts up to 36 months.[308]

This then also leads to further practical suggestions for DMOs, for example, the use of celebrity social media during filming and the before mentioned marketing of New Zealand Tourism and "Middle Earth".

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[304] R.W. Riley & C.S. Van Doren, "Movies as tourism promotion", pp. 267 – 274.
[305] R.W. Riley & C.S. Van Doren, "Movies as tourism promotion", p. 269.
[306] *IMDB*, "*Friends*", n.d., <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0108778/>, Accessed May 2021; Ofcom, "Media Nations:UK", 2018, p. 51.
[307] R.W. Riley & C.S. Van Doren, "Movies as tourism promotion", p. 269.
[308] S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, pp. 37 – 38.

Lastly, all these aspects of filmic exposure and other attributes in this chapter add up to and complement the ability of a destination to be "identifiable" and thus affords filmic depictions the ability to influence the said destination's image. It sets the scene, whether it is icons that identify and symbolise aspects of the place depicted in a film or used as filming locations, narrative attributions of the setting in the plot, dialogue, voiceovers and captions or the efforts of DMOs accompanying media.[309]

3.3.3. Celebrity

As already alluded to under the destination attributes "People" and "Scenery", celebrities through their actions can also influence the travel behaviour of tourists. "Celebrity", unlike the "People" destination attribute, is not related to the actor or celebrity's country of origin. Rather "Celebrity" or actors as a film-specific attribute that influences destination image are highlighted by several authors.[310] Ian Yeoman and Una McMahon-Beattie reflect on a long history associated with the use of celebrities as destination brand ambassadors. They indicate that a fifth of the UK population openly agrees that if a famous person endorses a product they would be more likely to buy it and that it is more prevalent in younger demographic groups.[311]

Concerning filmic destination marketing, this is particularly prevalent along with the boom in social media use over the last two decades, as "social media and online videos on YouTube play an essential role in spreading pop[ular] culture including [filmic representations] across the world".[312] Although there is often secrecy around filming locations, celebrities, other cast members and crew often share their experiences while filming on location as part of the promotional activities for a film and these are then posted on various social media platforms. An example of this is a picture of actor Patrick Demsey at the Mussenden Temple in Northern Ireland, posted

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[309] S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism", p. 390; S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, p. 40; R.W. Riley & C.S. Van Doren, "Movies as tourism promotion", pp. 267 – 274.

[310] D. Juśkelyté, "Film Induced Tourism", p. 60; S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, pp. 32 - 34; Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, p.102; R.P. Basanez, "Film-Induced Tourism", p. 67.

[311] I. Yeoman & U. McMahon-Beattie, "The future challenge", pp.172-173.

[312] K. P. Farayi and M. Bolivia, "The potential contribution of film tourism to destination image recovery in Zimbabwe", *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure*, 7(3), DOI: http//:www.ajhtl.com, p. 3.

on his Instagram account with 6.2 million followers while shooting the film *Disenchanted* (Figure 12).[313]

Figure 12: Picture of actor Patrick Demsey at the Mussenden Temple in Northern Ireland posted on his Instagram while filming *Disenchanted*.[314]

They function as "unsolicited organic information agents" as the celebrities can be seen as knowledgeable others that are "unbiased" in their opinions of a destination.[315] This element is particularly important to the mapping of completely fictive narratives to a destination where the plot does not specifically indicate a specific destination as the setting or where the setting is displaced. This is usually also accomplished with intervention by DMOs with complementary media exposure (induced image formation agents). However, celebrity social media could ultimately also be perceptually seen as covert induced agents, depending firstly on the involvement of DMOs and the audience's awareness of said involvement.

3.3.4. Authorship and National Cinema

It has already been established earlier in this chapter that the nationality of filmmakers or production companies can have a significant effect on what stories are told, from what perspective and what destinations are depicted in which ways. Countries with

[313] N. Breen, "Patrick Demsey visit Northern Ireland beauty spot on filming trip for new Disney sequel", *Belfast Live*, 14 May 2021, <https://www.belfastlive.co.uk/whats-on/be/patrick-dempsey-visits-northern-ireland-20595370>, Accessed May 2021.
[314] N. Breen, " Patrick Demsey visit Northern Ireland beauty spot on filming trip for new Disney sequel".
[315] K.J. Mackay & D.R. Fesenmaier, "Pictorial Element of Destination in Image Formation", p. 539.

pervasive filmmaking traditions and well-developed industries that transcend national boundaries ultimately become cultural exports such as Hollywood. They depict destinations based on particular national perspectives as indicative of the "American way of living" cited in Basanez.[316] Donald and Gammack consider this same aspect concerning cities and their brands or images in stating that:

> Many films are set in New York, Chicago and San Francisco [and are distributed] over the American international film market, which is one of the two largest such markets in the world. Those same cities are hyper-brands: everyone would claim to know a little about all three – an accent, the weather, and icon…[317]

They further explain that:

> The export and consumption of US cinema linked the film industry to the branding phenomenon [with the effect that], in national cinemas other than that of the US, cities are by default exotic, other, or […] unrecognizable as cities.[318]

Herein lies the reasons why many people are almost intimately familiar with a city like New York, its people, places, cultural expressions and more. We are repeatedly and continuously exposed to images and stories, like *Friends*, that hail from and depict this city as its setting. Whether we have visited New York or not and the reality or authenticity of our impressions notwithstanding, it certainly is one of the most depicted in films and television series spanning multiple decades and genres: "*Friends*, *Sex and the City*, *How I met your Mother*, *Elementary*, *Law & Order*, *The Fifth Element*, *American Psycho*, …", the list is virtually endless.[319]

Similarly, and perhaps more descriptive as regards the cumulative effect of the authors' voice in films is the evolution of Bollywood. Thussu and Smith detail the rise

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[316] R.P. Basanez, "Film-Induced Tourism", p. 65.
[317] S.H. Donald & J.G. Gammack, *Tourism and the Branded City*, p. 15.
[318] S.H. Donald & J.G. Gammack, *Tourism and the Branded City*, p. 15.
[319] *IMDB*, "Most Popular Movies and TV Shows tagged with keywords new york, new york-city", n.d., <https://www.imdb.com/search/keyword/?keywords=new-york%2Cnew-york-city&mode=detail&page=1&ref_=kw_ref_key&sort=moviemeter,asc>, Accessed May 2021.

of Bollywood as a symbol of India's soft power.[320] Smith attributes, at least to some extent, an increase in India's soft power and consequently brand to a shift from the US to India, amongst others. She explains that:

> today's Bollywood films are one of the most obvious and powerful sources of India's increasing soft power. No longer limited to audiences in India and those who form part of the Indian Diaspora, Bollywood films and their stars now have followers across the globe.[321]

This is also then evident in the images presented in these films and their relationship with reality as "the poverty of the majority of the people is glossed over and the films are often shot in foreign locations".[322] Bollywood depicts India in the way they prefer. They choose which sites and cultural expressions to present and distribute and are no longer reliant on the depictions of others. Notably, Bollywood can be implicated in a significant increase in India's brand over the last couple of decades.[323]

From a South African perspective, the country's film industry is one of the oldest in the world, dating back to May 1886, when the "first projected motion pictures were shown at the Empire Palace of Varieties" in Johannesburg.[324] This makes the introduction of filmic media in South Africa a contemporary of the start of film in Hollywood.[325] Early productions of filmic media in South Africa include documentary-style titles such as *The Cyanide Plant on the Crown Deep* and culminating in both real and reconstructed film footage produced at the time of the South African War (1899 to 1902).[326] The first feature-length film produced in South Africa in 1910, *The Great Kimberley Diamond Robbery*, was produced under British control by the Springbok Film Company from outside of South Africa.[327] Thus already placing the earliest production of filmic images

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[320] D.K. Thussu, *Communicating India's Soft Power*; K. Smith, "South Africa and India as Regional Leader in the Global South", pp. 171 – 183.
[321] K. Smith, "South Africa and India as Regional Leader in the Global South", p. 174.
[322] K. Smith, "South Africa and India as Regional Leader in the Global South", p. 174.
[323] *Brand Finance*, "India 100: The annual report on the most valuable and strongest brands", June 2020, p. 28; *Financial Express*, "India's nation brand value increases 5% in 2018", 19 October 2018, <https://www.financialexpress.com/economy/indias-nation-brand-value-increases-5-in-2018-us-china-dominate-most-valuable-nation-brands-list/1354482/>, Accessed May 2021.
[324] J. Maingard, *South African National Cinema*, Routledge, Oxon, 2007, p.4; M. Botha, *South African Cinema 1896 – 2010*, p. 21.
[325] UNESCO, *The African Film Industry*, p. 213.
[326] M. Botha, *South African Cinema 1896 – 2010,* pp. 21-22.
[327] M. Botha, *South African Cinema 1896 – 2010,* p. 22.

about South Africa in the grasp of Western Media and primarily for consumption in the international market.[328]

The production of filmic images of South Africa by and for the international, mainly English speaking audiences, remained the case for most of the film history of South Africa.[329] This, of course, with the exception of Afrikaans-language films that started gaining local popularity in the 1930s.[330] South African cinema mostly followed the route of the country's history in that "racial segregation was part of the exhibition system" from the first built cinemas in 1909 until the 1980s with the gradual unravelling of apartheid.[331] For instance, black South Africans had very little say in what images of themselves or the country that was distributed nationally and internationally, particularly with direct interference by the apartheid government in the film and media industries in, amongst others, the information scandal.[332]

Unsurprisingly then, the first claim of a national cinema in South Africa was reserved for Afrikaans-language cinema as an exclusionary representative identity of the country.[333] Consequently, the concept of a national cinema for South Africa is problematic or perhaps even non-existent prior to 1994.[334] In defining national cinema in the South African context, Jacqueline Maingard states that the idea should "function as a *mise-en-scene* of scattered and dissembling identities as well as fractured subjectivities and fragmented hegemonies".[335] In the context of a national brand and particularly filmic destination marketing, it highlights the important role of a diversity of filmic voices and subsequent depictions in order to create and distribute a more nuanced image of a country and its cities.

With the emergence of democracy in 1994 and a steady transformation of the industry in South Africa, significant strides have been made in the establishment of a national

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[328] M. Botha, *South African Cinema 1896 – 2010,* p. 22.
[329] M. Botha, *South African Cinema 1896 – 2010*; J. Maingard, *South African National Cinema*.
[330] M. Botha, *South African Cinema 1896 – 2010,* p. 26.
[331] M. Botha, *South African Cinema 1896 – 2010,* p. 23.
[332] J. Maingard, *South African National Cinema*, p.129. What became know as the information scandal was a significant political event that lead to the resignation of apartheid State President, B.J. Vorster, in the 1970s. It came to light that government officials used funds from the Defence budget to back organisations to create and distribute apartheid propaganda.
[333] J. Maingard, *South African National Cinema*, pp. 4, 8, 14.
[334] J. Maingard, *South African National Cinema*, pp.4, 8, 14.
[335] J. Maingard, *South African National Cinema*, p.14.

voice, or more accurately, diverse voices with a variety of narratives in South African film productions.[336] Martin Botha highlights examples of narratives representing "certain marginalised communities, such as the homeless, the Himbas of Kaokoland, AIDS victims, the gay subcultures of the fifties and sixties and the San Bushman" in films and documentaries produced after 1994.[337]

It would seem that although the South African Film Industry and National Cinema Brand are developing, it is still in a pre-paradigmatic state, at least as far as an internationally recognisable style or brand similar to Hollywood, Bollywood and Nollywood. Although largely as a result of the country's fractured past, it has to be acknowledged that current policy and internal narratives also carry its fair share of the blame.[338] Nonetheless, some efforts have been made towards the idea of a "Sallywood", as has become the practice in branding national film industries in the Hollywood tradition across the globe.[339] A recognizable South African "voice" has started to establish itself steadily internationally in terms of South African directors and production companies operating out of the places such as the United States and Britain, a developing production capacity within South Africa and consequent international distribution of South African narratives.[340] However, significant challenges still exist in the ability of South African cinema in the form, types of stories told and genres of South African films produced, in that:

> most [South African productions] portrayed Afrikaans culture, and the ones that venture out focused on tragedy [and] stark realism […] and the variety of colourful South African experiences are left off the screen. South African realism is often linked to a limited budget – fantasy and sci-fi are expensive to make – but limiting ourselves to slapstick comedy and serious dramas only inhibits us further.[341]

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[336] J. Maingard, *South African National Cinema*, Routledge, p.2; M.P. Botha, "Post-apartheid cinema: A thematic and aesthetic exploration of selected short and feature films", *Ilha do Desterro: A Journal of English Language, Literatures and Cultural Studies,* 61 (July/December), 2011, p. 236.

[337] M.P. Botha, "Post-apartheid cinema", p. 236.

[338] M. Botha, *South African Cinema 1896 – 2010,* pp. 249-250.

[339] SACO, "The Establishment of the Film Sector as a Catalyst for Economic Growth in South Africa", p. 2.

[340] N. Mosieane, "The South African Film and TV Industry is Breaking into the International Market", *Canada Media Fund*, 14 September 2017, <https://cmf-fmc.ca/now-next/articles/the-south-african-film-and-tv-industry-is-breaking-into-the-international-market-2/>, Accessed June 2021.

[341] SACO, "The Establishment of the Film Sector as a Catalyst for Economic Growth in South Africa", p. 177.

Up until recently filmic stories of the country were mostly positioned as good quality "arthouse" or "foreign language" films to the international market, for example: the *Academy Award* winning film *Tsotsi* (2005) in the category best foreign language film.[342] By virtue of its genre, Crime/Drama, and stark realistic tone,[343] arguably films such as *Tsotsi* do not expand the narrative of, and has limited effect on, the destination image of South Africa and Johannesburg. This does not mean that this story, a lived reality for many in the country,[344] should be excluded from the diversity of experiences that defines the narratives that make up the place, Johannesburg, South Africa, nor does it comment on the quality of the film or critique the representation of the black body in the film. Critiques that can and have been lobbied.[345] It does, however, by virtue of the plot of the film's correlation with existing flat or one-dimensional representations and consequent perceptions of the city, country, or its people, reinforce stereotypes.

3.3.5. Authenticity

The relationship between authenticity and reality in the filmic representation or depiction of countries, cities or regions is also often included within the wider literature as regards their effect on filmic destination image.[346] Ultimately, it is about the cumulative representation and "narratives [that are] more complex than a story, and draws upon themes", i.e. more nuanced impressions of destinations.[347] To comment on the ability of filmic representation of a place to be perceived by an audience as accurate, real or authentic, it is advisable to investigate the relationship between representation and perception. As indicated in chapter 1, in the form of Anholt's assertions about clichés, this can be attributed to an aspect of both conscious and subconscious perception or as Elwes' describes it, "media-moulded preconception".[348]

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[342] G. Hood (Dir.), *Tsotsi*, [Film], Ster-Kinekor Pictures, 2005; *IMDB*, "*Tsotsi*", n.d., <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0468565/awards>, Accessed December 2021.

[343] *IMDB*, "*Tsotsi*"; SACO, "The Establishment of the Film Sector as a Catalyst for Economic Growth in South Africa", p. 177.

[344] C. Patterson, "*Tsotsi*": *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*, 5(Autumn), pp. 105 – 107.

[345] K.B. Khan, "The Limits of Liberalism in South African Film: Recycling Black Stereotypes in *Sarafina*! And *Tsotsi*", *Commonwealth Youth and Development*, 15(1), 2017, pp. 1 – 9, DOI: http://doi.org/10.25159/1727-7140/3299.

[346] E. Sellgren, *Film-Induced Tourism*, pp. 25 – 29.

[347] S.H. Donald & J.G. Gammack, *Tourism and the Branded City*, p. 60.

[348] S. Anholt, "Competitive Identity", p 22; C. Elwes, "Figuring Landscapes in Australian Artists' Film and Video", p. 165.

Hall explores this relationship, by first probing the notion behind the audience's perception of reality in cinema. She indicates that "modern sophisticated audiences' perceptions of realism in media should not be discretely viewed as audience members" complete acceptance of media texts as "absolute realism, or the likelihood that what is portrayed in a media representation will occur", but that audience perception of realism can also relate to what is termed "relative realism".[349] The latter indicates a more nuanced perspective from the side of media audiences in that they relativise stories to consider "whether a text's portrayal would be realistic if the events of the story were to happen".[350] These additional nuanced perceptions of media realism, with audiences seen less as passive perceivers and more as active participants, leads Hall to the deduction that audiences have "different evaluations of different elements of the same [filmic] texts".[351] She further illustrates this by citing the example of the film *Forest Gump* in a focus group discussion, where participants variously indicated realism by stating that "the emotions of the title character in the film was realistic, whereas several plot points and the uplifting ending were not".[352]

In her evaluation, Hall identifies "six distinct means of evaluating media realism [from] participant comments", namely: "plausibility", "typicality", "factuality", "involvement", "narrative consistency", and "perceptual persuasiveness".[353] Although all of these aspects have some degree of relevance to this study in the fact that all filmic texts will be judged, perhaps inadvertently for their representation of a place, and whether or not representations are true or real. A valuable contribution by her study is finding that factuality in the portrayal of characters and events were not only judged on filmic genre (i.e. documentaries are more factual than an adventure film), but that factuality judgement is made with supplementary knowledge gleaned from other sources.[354] These other sources in the form of prior knowledge or fact-checking can variously be associated with the image formation process as autonomous and organic image formation (the former) and solicited organic agents.[355]

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[349] A. Hall, "Reading Realism", p. 626.
[350] A. Hall, "Reading Realism", p. 626.
[351] A. Hall, "Reading Realism", p. 628,
[352] A. Hall, "Reading Realism", pp. 628 – 629.
[353] A. Hall, "Reading Realism", p. 638.
[354] A. Hall, "Reading Realism", p. 639.
[355] K.J. Mackay & D.R. Fesenmaier, "Pictorial Element of Destination in Image Formation", p. 539.

This is perhaps integral to the construction of destination images in the minds of audiences/potential tourists and lends itself to what is termed "google watching"[356] here. Since audiences judge reality based on other sources, it is theorised that the modern act of watching filmic media is often accompanied by the act of "googling" events and places portrayed in fictional films to glean more knowledge, i.e. films trigger or solicits an organic image formation process.[357] Evidence of this can be found in the fact that numerous online blogs are dedicated to fact-checking films in very nuanced ways and consequently publish this supplementary media. One example illustrating this phenomenon is a video published on *Vanity Fair*'s YouTube channel, entitled: "Propmaster and Historian Fact Check Weapons from *Game of Thrones* and *300*". [358] Thus, filmic depictions of places, events or interesting cultural expression create awareness and have the potential to spark further research and knowledge gained about a destination and increases the image in audiences'/potential tourists' minds.

Further evidence of this enticement to find more facts about a place, its culture and historical events is in the existence of blog sites like "Information is beautiful" that are dedicated specifically to fact-check specific depictions in a film with a dedicated page entitled: "Based on a *True* True Story?" stating the following:

> *The Big Short*. *The Imitation Game*. *The Kings Speech*. Which film is the most true? Which takes the most liberties? You might be surprised / appalled by the answer. We were.[359]

Relevant to previously marginalised histories or narratives, Laurie Ochoa in a *Los Angeles Times* article entitled: "*Watchmen* revived it. But the history of the 1921 Tulsa race massacre was nearly lost" reflects on the ability of fantasy and sci-fi genres to educate about real historic occurrences.[360] This is in reference to the depiction of a

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[356] To the author's knowledge this is the first time the term "google watching" has been used in this context.

[357] K.J. Mackay & D.R. Fesenmaier, "Pictorial Element of Destination in Image Formation", p. 539

[358] *Vanity Fair*, "Prop Master and Historian Fact Check Weapons from '*Game of Thrones'* to '*300*'", [YouTube Video], 21 November 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=awioL9P8RPw>, Accessed December 2020.

[359] *Information is Beautiful*, "Based on a *True* True Story?", n.d., <https://informationisbeautiful.net/2016/based-on-a-true-true-story/>, Accessed January 2020.

[360] L. Ochoa, "*Watchmen* revived it. But the history of the 1921 Tulsa race massacre was nearly lost", *Los Angeles Times*, 27 October 2019, *<https://www.latimes.com/entertainment-arts/story/2019-10-27/history-behind-the-tulsa-race-massacre-shown-in-watchmen>, Accessed May 2021.*

rarely acknowledged historic event in the history of a much less prominent American city (Tulsa, Ohklahoma) in a TV Mini-series set in "an alternate history where masked vigilantes are treated as outlaws".[361] This can be related to Anholt's assertion that place branding is about "making a place famous"[362] and Shani's assertion that "at least in the case of distant and not well-known destinations, that any publicity is good publicity".[363] In a South African context this would mean that even genre such as Adventure, Sci-Fi and Fantasy can disseminate historic information and cultural capital by interjecting real historic events, figures and customs into fantastical stories.

3.3.6. Characters

Deeper within the confines of a filmic representation is the relationship between filmic media and the experiences audiences have while watching films. One of these film-specific attributes that can affect filmic destination image, is the characters within a film.[364] This is related to the audience's responses to specific images depicted in film and very individualistic way (push motivations). However, Basanez does indicate that participants in his study indicated an interest in visiting a location based on the fact that they had the same "interest [or identified with] the character in the film".[365]

An example of this is provided by Beth J. Harpaz in an NBC News article entitled: "*Eat, Pray Love*, fans retrace journey".[366] This is related to the best-selling memoir and subsequent film by author Elizabeth Gilbert entitled: *Eat, Pray, Love*. The book and film details Gilbert's physical and emotional journey after a divorce. Harpaz's article provides the perspective of numerous fans of the book in anticipation of the film release. She claims that:

> in Bali, they're seeking guidance from a spiritual healer. In Rome, they're lapping up gelato. And in India, they're visiting temples.[367]

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[361] *IMDB*, "*Watchmen*", n.d., <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt7049682/>, Accessed May 2021.
[362] S. Anholt, "Definitions of place branding", p. 7.
[363] A. Shani, Y. Wang, S. Hudson & S. M. Gil, "Impacts of a historical film on the destination image of South America", p. 239.
[364] R.P. Basanez, "Film-Induced Tourism", p. 67.
[365] R.P. Basanez, "Film-Induced Tourism", p. 76.
[366] B.J. Harpaz, "*Eat, Pray, Love* fans retrace journey", *NBC News*, 5 August 2010, <https://www.nbcnews.com/id/wbna38562247>, Accessed May 2021.
[367] B.J. Harpaz, "*Eat, Pray, Love* fans retrace journey".

Her article even presents the example of a visitor seeking help with their love life by visiting and "seeking the guidance from Ketut Liyer, a spiritual healer" Gilbert consulted while in Bali.[368] Thus, not only retracing the sites from the film, but also her emotional journey. However, for this aspect to impact the destination image of a specific destination, the character has to be from that destination and consequently impact the "People" destination attribute or the "Character" has to visit the destination in the film.

3.3.7. Story/Plot

Similar to the characters in the film, but more prominently featured in the literature, is the "relevance of the story to the [film] location".[369] Of prime concern here and perhaps the most effective film-specific attribute is the depiction of the stories of a place and its people, in the place and by the people of that place. This phenomenon is part of what is termed place-making.[370] Beeton describes this process as follows:

> All cultures and people have put meaning and depth into spaces to make them Places. They are given stories – our own stories or experiences in that space, the stories of others we care about (or are influenced by), or perhaps imaginary stories created by us or by others.[371]

Perhaps central to this phenomenon is the idea of "co-production" as described by Rosa Schiavone and Stijn Reijnders.[372] As regards the production and consumption of culture in or of a filmic destination, they state that "the fictional is performed during film tours and used to create new, or confirm existing, notions of place".[373] It is premised by the engagements of citizens and visitors in creating meaning at a place. This then lends a stronger positioning for fiction stories about a place as destination image drivers. They illustrated that:

> [tourist] guides point out connections between fictional storylines and aspects of the materiality of locations […] functions as a hook for a story

[368] B.J. Harpaz, "*Eat, Pray, Love* fans retrace journey".
[369] S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism", p. 390.
[370] M. Tewdwr-Jones, *Urban Reflections*.
[371] S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, p. 229.
[372] R. Schiavone & S. Reijnders, "Fusing fact and fiction: Placemaking through film tours in Edinbrugh", *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 1(17), 2020, DOI: 10.1177/1367549420951568, p. 2.
[373] R. Schiavone & S. Reijnders, "Fusing fact and fiction", p. 2.

> related to a specific spot [the] fiction is projected and subsequently localized on site.[374]

They use the example of *Harry Potter*, where the tourist guide points out a patch of grass and conceptually maps the fictional story to a physical place by identifying it as the scene where Harry has his first flying lesson. This then acts as a doorway for the guide to "hook" the interest of the tour group to explain the infrastructure of the land to develop Alnwick Castle. As regards co-creation, tourists often role-play or act out scenes from a film, in this case, broom flying lessons. The cultural capital built through the fictional story and filming on location is then almost made real and imposed on the destination as an "activity that is undertaken in such places".[375] As stated by Tewdwr-Jones it "evoke[s] both real and imagined perspectives of place […] photographs and textual narratives of place [and that] these reflections can be accurate portrayals or distorted images, but all serve to tell a story of how cities experience change, a process that is forever enduring."[376]

3.4. Audience Attributes

Another aspect that is included in this framework is the role of audiences/potential tourists as active participants in the image formation process. For the purpose of distinction here, they will be called "Audience Attributes" and refer to the autonomy of audiences/potential tourists to "decode" and interpret messages about destinations received through filmic media.[377] The complexity and variety of potential audiences for both film and tourism are virtually endless. Within tourism literature, entire fields of study are dedicated to the idea of tourist motivations or push factors, market segmentation techniques, niche tourism markets and others. To present a complete overview of this variety, numerosity and complexities in this dissertation would simply not be possible within the parameters of the study. Nonetheless, the autonomy of audiences/audience members to choose, co-create experiences and individual likes or dislikes have an impact on their ability to be influenced by a specific film. As stated by Wimal Dissanayake:

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[374] R. Schiavone & S. Reijnders, "Fusing fact and fiction", p. 7.
[375] R. Schiavone & S. Reijnders, "Fusing fact and fiction", p. 7; S. Anholt, "Competitive Identity", p. 23.
[376] M. Tewdwr-Jones, *Urban Reflections*, p. xvi.
[377] W. Dissanayake, "Landscapes of Meaning: Two Indian Examples", in G. Harper & J. Rayner (eds.), *Cinema and Landscape*, Intellect, Bristol, 2010, p. 201.

> The filmmaker encodes the landscape in the vocabulary of cinema, and we as spectators decode it in terms of our frames of cultural intelligibility and grids of recognition. These acts of encoding and decoding are not symmetrical, and there are gaps and slippages between them, making the reading of cinematic landscapes that much more challenging and exciting.[378]

Thus, a brief reflection of these attributes is warranted to further elucidate the interaction between destinations and people through filmic media. In the interests of brevity these have been divided into three categories or audience attributes in this dissertation, namely: Push Factors, Prior Knowledge and Engagement.

3.4.1. Push Factors

As indicated under "Destination Attributes", the constant push and pull between the desires inherent to a particular individual to fulfil certain needs and the offering of certain experiences by destinations determine travel decision-making. Tourists are motivated to travel to, or pulled, to a particular destination as a result of destination attributes depicted in a film, that correspond with the fulfilment of a specific need. Ryan states that these needs may "include self-esteem, a need for society, a desire for knowledge, a wish for prestige and the desire to relax".[379] To contextualise this in terms of filmic destination marketing, a person that is influenced by a desire for knowledge and generally interested in history or particular histories might be more influenced by destination attributes such as "Culture, History and Cultural Capital", whereas an individual seeking relaxation might be more influenced by the destination attribute "Scenery" depicted in a film. Moreover, Beeton reflects on the potential for these internal motivations to be multifaceted in that more than one, sometimes contradictory, motivations can be part of the decision making of a particular tourist at different times.[380] She states that:

> as a tourism academic, [she is] personally interested in interacting with local communities and immersion in their cultures while travelling. Yet, as a

[378] W. Dissanayake, "Landscapes of Meaning", p. 201.
[379] C. Ryan, *Recreational Tourism: Demand and Impacts*, p. 90.
[380] S. Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism*, p. 124.

> professional who works long hours, [she'd] love to relax in a resort where [she does] not have to even make a decision.[381]

Thus, various different destination attributes in a film might at different times correspond with different audience/potential tourist motivational needs that push them to visit a particular destination at a particular time.

3.4.2. Prior Knowledge

As alluded to on a number of occasions in this dissertations, destination images about destinations and consequent perceptions held by audiences, more often than not, do not start from a null point before seeing a destination depicted in a film, nor does it only rely on a filmic depiction of place to base travel decision making. Prior knowledge through visitation, other media forms and "cultural intelligibility",[382] amongst others, can all serve as indicators that pre-image[383] a destination even before it is seen in a film. Furthermore, this can then also be interspersed with "google-watching" as indicated under "Authenticity" to indicate the complex whole that is the constant negotiation and renegotiations of destination images in the minds of viewers or prospective tourists.

3.4.3. Engagement

Perhaps the guiding light between "Push factors" and "Prior knowledge" that furthers the influence on potential audience members as audience attributes is levels of "Engagement". This can take numerous forms such as "emotional involvement" with a "Character" as illustrated with the *Eat, Pray, Love* example.

Another aspect of engagement is the fact that "films create communities of fans"[384] that engage in fictional worlds and the filmmaking process that perhaps have the highest levels of engagement with specific filmic narrative and thus "providing a large existing market base".[385] Roesch indicated that "mental simulations take place when

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[381] S. Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism*, p. 124.
[382] W. Dissanayake, "Landscapes of Meaning", p. 201.
[383] E. Sellgren, *Film-Induced Tourism*; Shani, Y. Wang, S. Hudson & S. M. Gil, "Impacts of a historical film on the destination image of South America", p. 232.
[384] D. Juśkelyté, "Film Induced Tourism", p. 57.
[385] S. Roesch, *The Experience of Film Location Tourists*, p. 7; S. Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism*, p. 194.

we immerse ourselves in fictional text".[386] In this way, fans of fictional films engage with filmic representations of a place on a number of levels and in a number of instances. These special interest groups not only engage with the filmic narrative, they re-watch the same film often, seek out film locations, create fan clubs, they attend festivals and create additional media that further influence the destination image of a place.[387]

Thus, "Destination Attributes" are depicted in and distributed through films in certain ways, i.e. "Film Specific Attributes", which are interpreted by audiences according to individual sensibilities, i.e "Audience Attributes", and form or re-evaluate the image of a destination in the mind of audiences/prospective tourists.

This chapter set out the multifaceted attributes linked to filmic destination marketing. It expounded on the various components featured in the diagrammatic representation in Figure 3. The subsequent chapter considers the infrastructural components of this process, highlighting government, NGOs and industry collaboration.

[386] S. Roesch, *The Experience of Film Location Tourists*, p. 144.
[387] S. Roesch, *The Experience of Film Location Tourists;* pp. 96, 97; S. Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism*, pp. 11, 230.

CHAPTER 4: FILMIC DESTINATION MARKETING: INFRASTRUCTURE

4.1. Infrastructural Aspects

As indicated in chapter 3 and the filmic destination image process constructed in this dissertation (Figure 3), the merger of two already complex industries requires coordination which highlights the importance of certain "infrastructural" elements. These include features such as "film commissions and government efforts" and "location" specific aspects that make it more feasible as a film destination and thus unlocking the potential for filmic destination marketing.[388] The "infrastructural" elements thus refers to the collaborative-, legal-, policy- frameworks, organisational structures and industry developments that are needed to effectively create an enabling environment for filmmaking, film tourism and filmic destination marketing to flourish.

A number of scholars in this field indicate a very real link between collaborative work amongst stakeholders and the successful marketing of a destination through filmic media.[389] This is described in this dissertation as "Government, Non-Government Organisations (NGO) and Industry collaboration". Moreover, this collaboration is predicated on the existence, functioning and levels of development of a country's film and tourism industry. In order to unlock the potential for filmic destination marketing, a location must first demonstrate its "feasibility" as a film destination.[390] Consequently, this chapter describes the "Government, NGO and Industry collaboration" and "Location-Feasibility Attributes" and relates them to the South African environment.

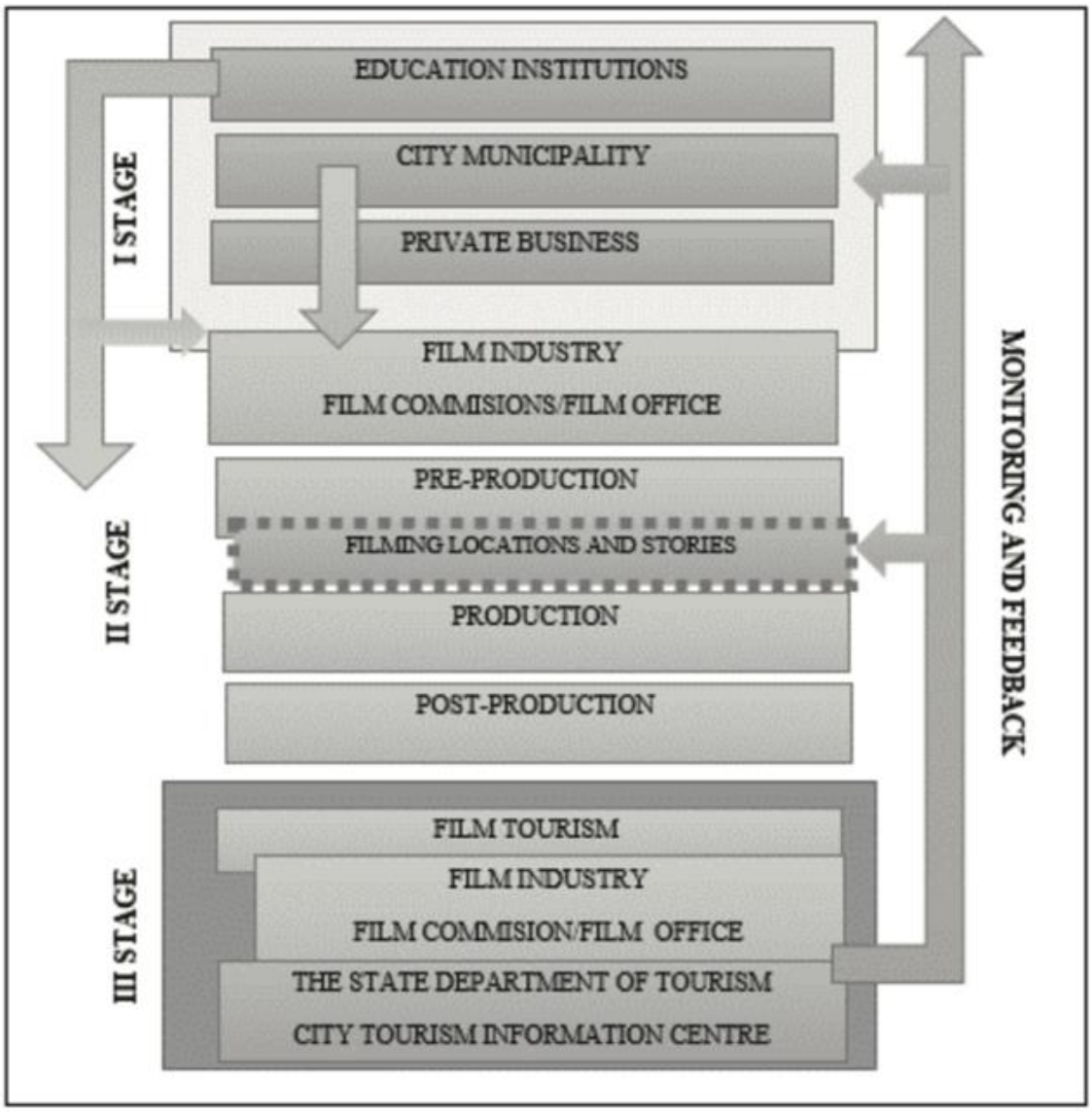
4.2. Government, NGO and Industry collaboration

This attribute elucidates the various role players that enable location filming and consequently filmic destination marketing at a destination. Juškelyté suggests some models for "further development of a destination image through films".[391] Of particular relevance to the "Government, NGO and Industry collaboration" implicated in this dissertation is her three-phased approach with various stakeholder initiatives (Figure

[388] S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism", p. 388.
[389] DHHS, UP, "The Potential of the Creative Industry for Destination Development in South Africa"; S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism", pp. 387-396; S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*; D. Juškelyté, "Film Induced Tourism", pp. 54 – 66; S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*; R.W. Riley & C.S. Van Doren, "Movies as tourism promotion"; C. Loedolff, "Promoting South Africa as an International Film Tourism Destination".
[390] S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism", p. 388.
[391] D. Juškelyté, "Film Induced Tourism", p. 62.

13).[392] She highlights “film industry development and formation” as the first essential step or phase towards film tourism and filmic destination marketing. She implicates role-players such as “educational institutions”, “city municipalities” and “private business”.[393] She very crucially highlights the role of film offices or film commissions as “institutions that bridge the gap between the city municipality and filmmakers” and includes their involvement in every stage of this process.[394]

Figure 13: Film industry based city touristic image formation.[395]



[392] D. Juśkelyté, “Film Induced Tourism”, pp. 62 – 63.
[393] D. Juśkelyté, “Film Induced Tourism”, p. 63
[394] D. Juśkelyté, “Film Induced Tourism”, p. 63.
[395] D. Juśkelyté, “Film Induced Tourism”, p. 64.

Contributions from other authors and destination examples highlight other stakeholders that act as drivers of the processes of location filming, film tourism and filmic destination marketing that include: "Educational Institutions",[396] "Filmmakers/Film Industry",[397] "Municipalities/Film Offices",[398] "Film Commissions/DMOs",[399] "Sate/Regional Government Departments",[400] "Hospitality and Tourism Services",[401] "Media"[402] and "Local Communities"[403] (Table 1). As with the other attributes in this filmic destination process the functioning of these organisations are intimately connected to the tangible results they produce, i.e. Location-Feasibility Attributes, either in terms of the development of skills or facilities.

4.2.1. Educational Institutions

Juśkelyté indicates the role of educational institutions to "help build industry" by, for example, "educating young filmmakers".[404] Apart from the development of a strong national cinema brand as already considered in chapter 3, this can be related to the feasibility of a location for filmic destination marketing in that the availability of skilled local crew for on-location film production.[405] Globally, the top-ranked film schools are still mostly situated in the Global North with institutions like the *American Film Institute* in Los Angeles, the *Toronto Film School*, the *London Film School* and *La Fémis* in Paris featuring on the list.[406] Some inroads from Asia include the Beijing Film Academy and the Korean Academy of Film Arts.[407]

South Africa has emerged as a leader on the African continent with a robust education and training sector in the production of filmic media.[408] South Africa has "27 public

[396] D. Juśkelyté, "Film Induced Tourism", p. 63.
[397] S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, p. 34-36.
[398] D. Juśkelyté, "Film Induced Tourism", p. 63.
[399] R.W. Riley & C.S. Van Doren, "Movies as tourism promotion", p. 268; S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism", p. 389.
[400] DHHS, UP, "The Potential of the Creative Industry for Destination Development in South Africa", pp. 63-65; D. Juśkelyté, "Film Induced Tourism", p. 63.
[401] D. Juśkelyté, "Film Induced Tourism", p. 63.
[402] S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, pp. 26, 27, 120.
[403] S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, pp. 123, 129.
[404] D. Juśkelyté, "Film Induced Tourism", p. 63.
[405] S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* p. 49.
[406] Laura T, "Top Film Schools around the World", *QS Top Universities*, 1 October 2021, <https://www.topuniversities.com/courses/communication-media-studies/top-film-schools-around-world>, Accessed December 2021.
[407] Laura T, "Top Film Schools around the World".
[408] UNESCO, *The African Film Industry*, pp. 47, 224.

universities and private institutions that offer formal qualifications" and "an additional 50 registered bodies that offer some qualification and the Media and ICT SETA that have over 150 other short course and diploma courses" in the film, television and media.[409] Some of these institutions are long-running and quite well respected in the field internationally, for example, the AFDA, initially an acronym for Africa Film Drama Art, but registered under the South African School of Motion Picture Medium and Live Performance, established in 1994.[410]

4.2.2. Filmmakers/Film Industry

Apart from the development of skilled labour provided by educational institutions, both the local and international film producers have an important role to play in the destination marketing continuum. The clearest example of this is negotiations between filmmakers and destinations in the use of copyrighted film materials for film tourism and destination promotion campaigns indicated by both Beeton and Roesch.[411]

Roesch cites the example of *VisitBritain* and Warner Brothers in a *Harry Potter* movie map campaign that was "limited in terms of media coverage and other promotion measures [owing to] strict copyright laws the production company, Warner Brother, imposed on *VisitBritain*".[412] Roesch indicates that these negotiations and relationships require constant maintenance and that "an important precondition for professional film tourism is copyright clearance, which has to be negotiated between the involved tourism stakeholders and the responsible film production company from early on".[413]

In a South African context it is uncertain if such co-marketing negotiations do indeed take place. As early as 2006, the City of Cape Town indicated that such negotiations and concessions do indeed take place in a "criteria for reduction of film location permit fees for tourism and investment promotion" explained in "a film permit guide" for

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[409] UNESCO, *The African Film Industry*, p. 224.

[410] AFDA, n.d., "About AFDA", <https://news.afda.co.za/About-AFDA.html#:~:text=AFDA%20was%20founded%20in%201994,kind%20in%20the%20world%20today>, Accessed December 2021; *International Association of Cinema, Audiovisual and Media Schools*, n.d., "South Africa: Full members", <https://www.cilect.org/profiles/members/205/4#.Ys8GOnZByM8>, Accessed July 2022; UNESCO, *The African Film Industry*, pp. 47, 224.

[411] S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, pp. 93 – 95; S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, p. 37.

[412] S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, p. 34.

[413] S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, pp. 14, 227.

"Location Filming in Cape Town".[414] An interview conducted with Public Relations and Communications Manager of Joburg Tourism, Laura Vercueil and Senior Vice President, Country Manager of Walt Disney Company Africa, Christine Service by *Creamer Media* in 2015 does indicate that such co-marketing agreements do take place.[415] However, the efficacy of this can be questioned as will be discussed in chapter 5.

Furthermore, the assistance provided by "local service providers […] affect the location selection process significantly".[416] In a South African context, production services like Moonlighting Films have assisted in several big-budget Hollywood films since 1997. This company has been involved in practically every major film or television series filmed on location in South Africa, including amongst others: *Lord of War* (2005); *Blood Diamond* (2006), *Invictus* (2009), *Homeland* Season 4 (2014), *Avengers: Age of Ultron* (2015), *Mad Max: Fury Road* (2015); *Resident Evil: The Final Chapter* (2016), *The Crown* Season 1 Episode 2 (2016); *Tomb Raider* (2018).[417]

4.2.3. Film Commissions and DMOs

The most often cited organisation in the film tourism and filmic destination marketing is the existence of functioning local and national film commissions. The roles of these organisations take many shapes and forms, however, some of the most successful often cited in the working relationship between the *British Film Commission* and *British Tourism Authority*, along with other film and tourism organisations such as *Creative England* and *VisitBritain*.[418] Organisations such as *Creative England*:

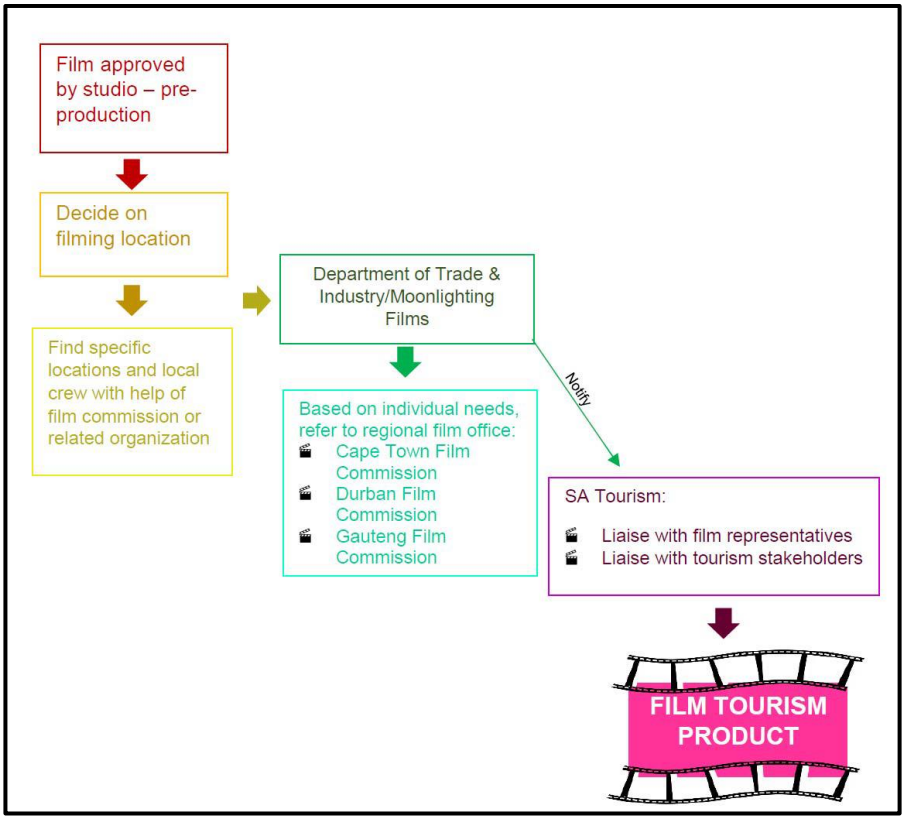
> function as a "welcoming mat" for film productions wanting to film in that country and ease the filming process for them [by providing] a free film office service to productions filming in England [and as a] "one-stop shop" for locations, studios, facilities and crew. From sourcing locations to negotiating

[414] City of Cape Town, "Location Filming in Cape Town: a film permit guide", 2006, p. 36.
[415] *Creamer Media*, "Downtown Joburg showcased in big-budget Hollywood movie", [YouTube Video], 28 April 2015, <https://youtu.be/rU9qkFcCBB4>, Accessed December 2021.
[416] Loedolff, "Promoting South Africa as an International Film Tourism Destination", p. 76.
[417] Moonlighting Films, "Films & TV: About Us", n.d., <https://www.moonlighting.co.za/films-tv/about-us/>, Accessed December 2021.
[418] S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism"; p 391; Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, p. 20; C. Loedolff, "Promoting South Africa as an International Film Tourism Destination"; p. 145; S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists,* p. 220; DHHS, UP, "The Potential of the Creative Industry for Destination Development in South Africa", p. 25.

film permissions, the organisation connects film and TV programme makers to the people, places and facilities.[419]

Most notably, a clear relationship is visible between the *British Film Commission* and tourism organisation like *VisitBritain* in that even before on-location film takes place "the national film organisation will inform the national tourism organisation, like *VisitScotland* or *VisitBritain*, of the potential production and the national tourism organisation will have the option to get involved in the production".[420] A 2017 report by the DHHS at the UP mapped the film tourism and filmic destination marketing situation in South Africa and proposed a similar process based on the British process with South African stakeholders (Figure 14).[421]

Figure 14: The film tourism journey – South African proposal.[422]



[419] DHHS, UP, "The Potential of the Creative Industry for Destination Development in South Africa", pp. 62 – 63.
[420] DHHS, UP, "The Potential of the Creative Industry for Destination Development in South Africa", p. 65.
[421] DHHS, UP, "The Potential of the Creative Industry for Destination Development in South Africa", p. 102.
[422] DHHS, UP, "The Potential of the Creative Industry for Destination Development in South Africa", p. 102.

South Africa has a reasonably well-established hierarchy of commissions dedicated to the promotion of the film industry and locations, however, not every region is represented and not without its complications. Under the auspices of the Department of Arts and Culture (Now the Department of Sport, Arts and Culture) the National Film and Video Foundation (NFVF) was established via an act of parliament in order to "ensure the equitable growth of South Africa's film and video industry"[423] The NFVF started operating between 1999 and 2002[424] with the mandate to provide:

> funding for the development, production, marketing and distribution of films and also the training and development of filmmakers. In addition, the NFVF commissions research and produces industry statistics that provide both the public and stakeholders with valuable insights into the South African film industry.[425]

This was followed by regional film commissions in the Western Cape Province in 2000, Gauteng Province in 2001 and later KwaZulu-Natal Province in 2010.[426] Further developments include the planned establishment of an independent film commission in the Eastern Cape Province.[427] The roles and objectives of these organisations are very similar in scope, namely: the promotion of the region as film destination, promotion of locations, facilities and services available, collaboration with stakeholders in the management of film activities and the development of the local film industry.[428]

In South Africa, significant progress has been made in the collaboration between film commissions and DMOs. The most notable development on a national level is that the DMO, South Africa Tourism, has taken the initiative to get involved with film tourism and filmic destination marketing in that they initiated a partnership with *Netflix* that will

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[423] Republic of South Africa, "National Film and Video Foundation Act, Act No. 73, 1997", *Government Gazette*, No. 18489, December 1997.

[424] Parliamentary Monitoring Group, "National Film and Video Foundation Growth Strategy Briefing", 14 June 2005, <https://pmg.org.za/committee-meeting/5233/>, Accessed December 2021.

[425] NFVF, "About Us Overview", <https://nfvf.co.za/home/index.php?ipkContentID=233>, n.d., Accessed December 2021.

[426] *News24*, "Cape Film Commission shutting down over lack of support", 1 February 2016, <https://www.news24.com/Channel/cape-film-commission-shutting-down-over-lack-of-support-20160201>, Accessed December 2021; Gauteng Film Office, "Annual report", 2006; KZNFC, "Vision & Mission", n.d., <https://kznfilm.co.za/vision-mission/>, Accessed December 2021.

[427] ECPACC, "Annual Report 2018/2019".

[428] NFVF, "About Us Overview"; Gauteng Film Office, "Annual report"; KZNFC, "Vision & Mission"; City of Cape Town, "Location Filming in Cape Town", p. 6.

see “must-visit sites being highlighted in several locally produced *Netflix* programmes” in 2021.[429] Furthermore, there are some indications of a working relationship between Joburg Tourism and the Gauteng Film Commission in the above-mentioned interview posted on *CreamerMedia*.[430]

4.2.4. Municipalities / Film Office

Apart from the establishment of some national/regional/provincial film commissions in a country, in larger cities like London, film permitting and logistical support are often handled at a local/municipal level.[431] Similarly, large cities in South Africa like Cape Town and Durban have dedicated City Film Offices that assist film commissions with “logistical support to productions filmed in their jurisdictions”.[432] Both these Cities have also produced film permit guides to help facilitate the process.[433] In Gauteng (where Johannesburg is situated), however, it would appear that these permits are facilitated by the Gauteng Film Commission, although issued by other relevant public departments.[434] If a more direct route exists, it is not readily available.

Furthermore, sub-regional collaborations also sometimes exist to further the development of local film industry in smaller municipalities, as is manifested in the Garden Route District Municipality (GRDM), “The Garden Route & Klein Karoo Creative Industry Strategy” document that is supported by all seven local government municipalities, which include “Bitou, Knysna, George, Mossel Bay, Hesseque, Kannaland and Outshoorn municipalities”, and facilitated by “the South Cape Economic Development Partnership” compiled in 2019.[435] This is the culmination of the establishment of the interim Garden Route and Klein Karoo Film Office in early 2018 and now seems to have transformed into the Garden Route Film Commission

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[429] M. Jackson, “*Netflix* to showcase SA’s tourism sites”, *Southern & East African Tourism Update*, 1 April 2021, <https://www.tourismupdate.co.za/article/netflix-showcase-sas-tourism-sites>, Accessed April 2021.

[430] *Creamer Media*, “Downtown Joburg showcased in big-budget Hollywood movie”.

[431] Film London, “Permission”, n.d., <https://filmlondon.org.uk/filming-in-london/plan-your-shoot/permission>, Accessed December 2021.

[432] UNESCO, *The African Film Industry*, p. 213.

[433] City of Cape Town, “Location Filming in Cape Town”; Durban Film Office, “Permits and Procedures”, n.d., <http://www.durbanfilmoffice.co.za/Filming-In-Durban/Permits-and-Procedures>, Accessed December 2021.

[434] Gauteng Film Commission, “Guidelines for Location Filming in Gauteng”, 2010, p. 3.

[435] GRDM, “The Garden Route & Klein Karoo Creative Industry Strategy”, 2019; GRDM, “Overview”, n.d., <http://www.gardenroute.gov.za/documents/garden-route-klein-karoo-grkk-film-strategy/>; Accessed December 2021.

(GRFC) with a functioning website.[436] Although an independent non–profit company in its infancy, it is compiled of "government, tourism and industry experts" that aim to provide "an effective one-stop entry point for local and international productions coming to the Garden Route" with services like "permitting, crew, gear, locations, catering and transport".[437]

In the second phase of Juśkelyté's city image formation process, which "revolves around filmmaking" and activities to be undertaken during different stages of production that indicates some "practical" suggestions that the role-players in phase I can undertake, such as a "city [suggesting] locations and stories which can be placed in a film" during pre-production.[438] In a South African context it does indeed seem like city locations are suggested by local film offices or provincial commissions in the case of Gauteng. However, the implementation of suggesting of stories to international film producers is difficult to ascertain, although the above-mentioned *Netflix* investments in South African content, may be an indicator.

4.2.5. State / Regional Government Departments

Perhaps the most notable influence of Government Department in a country is in the implementation of "film friendly" policies. This involves notable government departments such as Home Affairs, Trade, Industry, Tourism, Environment and Culture. Roesch, for example, cites the "New Zealand Department of Conservation support[ing] location filming even in relatively fragile areas as long as everything is returned to its original state after wrap-up".[439]

Moreover, cooperation with national government departments can be a critical inducer of filming, film tourism and filmic destination marketing. For example, India's "Ministry of Tourism and the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting [signing] a MoU in 2012

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[436] GRDM, "The Garden Route & Klein Karoo Creative Industry Strategy"; GRFC, "About", n.d., <https://gardenroutefilmcommission.com/about/>, Accessed December 2021; *George Herald*, "Film Producers to be Lured to our Region", 8 March 2018, <https://www.georgeherald.com/News/Article/General/film-producers-to-be-lured-to-our-region-201803070103>, Accessed December 2021.

[437] GRDM, "The Garden Route & Klein Karoo Creative Industry Strategy", 2019; GRFC, "About"; *George Herald*, "Film Producers to be Lured to our Region".

[438] D. Juśkelyté, "Film Induced Tourism", p. 63.

[439] S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, p. 42.

to promote film tourism as a niche tourism product".[440] Furthermore, India initiated a "film facilitation unit with the help of the National Film Development Corporation for facilitation of film shooting in India, as well as production incentives for producers and states".[441]

Indian film incentives differ according to the region. However, a complete guide with regional subdivisions is available through the *Film Facilitation Office India* (*FFO*) website.[442] Perhaps the most complex, comprehensive and mindful of filmic destination marketing is a point score system in Haryana.[443] According to this incentive points system, International Films can get a "50% discount on state-owned location charges for shooting purposes".[444] Local Haryanvi films can score points according to criteria such as featuring "Haryanvi characters in the story" on a sliding scale that awards the most points for featuring "lead characters" and fewer points for ambient characters.[445] Another example of the Haryana criteria is if "the film demonstrates Haryanvi creativity, art & cultural/historical/architectural heritage and/or diversity" with 2 points awarded from 40-50 % Haryanvi subject matter up to 5 points for 70-80% Haryanvi subject matter.[446] Other regions have similar criteria and incentives. For example, Odisha offers a film subsidy of INR 2.5 crore (25 million Indian Rupees or approximately $ 330 000 US) for "English, Hindi, International, other language films" with a "minimum of 10% of the screen time promoting Odisha, its culture, heritage, tourist destinations, etc.".[447]

As a further development of filmic destination marketing, Juškelyté highlights the importance of feedback and monitoring. She illustrates "the State Department of Tourism, city tourism information centre and film office" in collaborative activities such

[440] DHHS, UP, "The Potential of the Creative Industry for Destination Development in South Africa", pp. 69 - 70.
[441] DHHS, UP, "The Potential of the Creative Industry for Destination Development in South Africa", p. 69.
[442] *FFO*, "Incentives", n.d., <https://www.ffo.gov.in/en/filming-in-india/incentives>, Accessed December 2021.
[443] *FFO*, "Filming Incentives in India", n.d., pp. 12 – 19.
[444] *FFO*, "Filming Incentives in India", n.d., p. 17.
[445] *FFO*, "Filming Incentives in India", n.d., p. 13.
[446] *FFO*, "Filming Incentives in India", n.d., p. 14.
[447] *FFO*, "Filming Incentives in India", n.d., p. 40.

as cooperation to “analyse the number of tourists that choose this destination” as the result of viewing a film.[448]

4.2.6. Hospitality and Tourism Services

Tourism and Hospitality services are often cited as key stakeholders in location filming, film tourism and the filmic destination marketing process in activities such as “transport and accommodation of cast and crew”.[449] Both Roesh and Beeton cite examples of tour operators and film tourist guides specifically trained for the purpose of providing film tours that are marketed after the release of the film.[450] However, perhaps a less commonly acknowledged aspect of this is the involvement of Hospitality and Tourism Services in the pre-production phase of a film. International examples indicate some involvement of the tourism industry “immediately after it receives the script”.[451] Hudson and Ritchie, for example, cite the fact that the film commission of the Bahamas operates under the auspices of the Ministry of Tourism.[452]

Arguably the effect of this is more pronounced in that tourism services and skills are transferable to the film production process. For example, the knowledge of tourist guides can be utilised in locations scouting at film destinations. Although not often found in the literature, examples of location scouts citing their tourist guiding experience to attract location scouting business is evident in places such as Italy.[453] In a South African context, some cursory evidence of this is exist in that the KwaZulu–Natal (KZN) film commission use “familiarisation tours [to host] host members of the international film industry”.[454] How actively this level of integration between tourism and film is encouraged, both nationally and internationally, requires more investigation.

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[448] D. Juśkelyté, “Film Induced Tourism”, pp. 62 – 63.
[449] S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, p. 49.
[450] S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, p. 190; S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, p. 164.
[451] S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, “Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism”, p. 391.
[452] S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, “Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism”, p. 391.
[453] *Luca Tour Guide*, “Location Scout in Naples”, n.d., <https://lucatourguide.eu/location-scout/>, Accessed December 2021.
[454] C. Loedolff, “Promoting South Africa as an International Film Tourism Destination”, p. 109.

4.2.7. Media

As evidenced by a number of studies cited in this dissertation, the creation of destination images is not static, they are in a constant process of negotiation and re-negotiation based on exposure to various sources of media information about destination.[455] Furthermore, in accordance with Anholt's assertions that "national image has more to do with national and regional identity" it is essential to place the image or brand of a destination within a regional context in order to ascertain its current standing within global popular perceptions.[456]

Sönmez and Sirakaya illustrate this effect by citing the case of Turkey, whereby, perceptions held by certain publics (in this case US inbound tourists) about a destination are interlinked in a country's geographical and conceptual grouping with other countries as a regional block.[457] Sönmez and Sirakaya chronicle the changes in perceptions held of Turkey based on not only political changes and instability in the country itself, but also the concept of "proximity" to instability and/or membership to a specific geopolitical block, most notably a favourable upturn in perceptions about Turkey with potential consideration as a member of the European Union in the early 2000s.[458] By virtue of its liminal geography and historical cultural influences (Mediterranean, Middle-Eastern or Asian), Turkey's perceived image in source tourist markets fluctuates greatly dependent on source market and geopolitical events reported in the media at a specific time. This is of course subject to the awareness of tourists in source markets of such changes, thus the reliance on other media dissemination of these events.

Similarly, with the outbreak of Ebola in West Africa in 2014, perceptions of safety and consequent inbound tourism to South Africa and other Ebola-free countries in Africa was affected by the news.[459] Simply by virtue of belonging to the conceptual

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[455] G. Bugsby & J. Klug, "Movie-induced tourism"; E. Sellgren, "Film-induced Tourism"; A. S.hani, Y. Wang, S. Hudson & S. M. Gil, "Impacts of a historical film on the destination image of South America".
[456] S. Anholt, "Competitive Identity", p. 21.
[457] S. Sönmez & E. Sirakaya, "A Distorted Image? The Case of Turkey", pp. 185 - 196.
[458] S. Sönmez & E. Sirakaya, "A Distorted Image? The Case of Turkey", p. 190.
[459] I. Mizrachi and G. Fuchs, "Should we cancel? An examination of risk handling in travel social media before visiting ebola-free destination", *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management*, *28 (September)*, 2016, pp. 59-65; *News 24*, "Shock as tourists cancel travel plans over Ebola", 18 August 2014, <https://www.news24.com/News24/Shock-as-tourists-cancel-SA-plans-over-Ebola-20140818>, Accessed December 2021.

geopolitical continental block Africa, the image of South Africa is negatively impacted by events that are far removed from itowing to perceived risk. Consequently, representations of the greater continent in popular media impact the image of South Africa. An analysis conducted of UK news media by Heather Brookes supports this idea in stating that Africa is often represented as a "homogenous block with violence, helplessness, human rights abuses and lack of democracy as its main characteristics".[460] Thus the broader media industry, both local and international is implicated in the formation of destination images, filmic or otherwise.

In relation to film tourism and filmic destination marketing Roesch indicates "the implementation of two types of media, namely official and unofficial imaging media".[461] The former refers to media actively used by DMOs, while the latter is not directly instigated as tourism promotion by destination marketers.[462] Official media channels can be utilised in the manner indicated by the New Zealand – Middle Earth example illustrated in the previous chapter. However, Roesch further illustrates the influence of additional (unofficial) media in stating that:

> the media exposure of the movie clearly influenced [film location tourists'] decision to participate in an organised tour. The best indication for this argument can be found in the *LOTR* case study. Some tour participants were not familiar with the movies, but knew about the prospect of seeing the kind of spectacular scenery shown in the film. This perception had clearly been transported by media rather than by the films themselves. A common statement was something like "everyone knows that Peter Jackson used stunning scenery in the movies".[463]

A South African example of the use of official media comes in the form of a blog article entitled: "Table Mountain rocks a starring role in new Resident Evil movie" on the *Table Mountain Aerial Cableway* website.[464] Unofficially, South African news outlets such as

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[460] H. Brookes, "Suit, tie and a touch of juju – the ideological construction of Africa: a critical discourse analysis of news on Africa in the British Press", *Discourse and Society*, 6(4), 1995, p.465.
[461] S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, pp. 26.
[462] S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, pp. 26 - 27.
[463] S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, p. 120.
[464] *Table Mountain Aerial Cableway*, "Table Mountain rocks a starring role in new Resident Evil movie", 13 October 2016, <https://tablemountain.net/our-blog/table-mountain-rocks-a-starring-role-in-new-resident-evil-movie>, Accessed December 2021.

News24 often report on film activities that impact on the country or its cities. As regards to *Resident Evil*, for example, distributing information about film activities by posting an article that leverage the "Celebrity" attribute in directing readers to film star Milla Jovavich's social media where she "celebrated [the finalisation of on location filming in Cape Town] by posting a selfie on *Instagram*" and tagging the city in her post.[465] Unfortunately, this particular film also generated some negative press in that a local crewman was killed during on location filming.[466]

4.2.8. Communities

Both Beeton and Roesch indicate the involvement of local communities in the filmic destination marketing process. Community is considered for their participation in the filming process and the effects film induced tourism have, as with the example of the South Africa crewman.[467] Beeton states that:

> While [film] tourism can provide a significant economic fillip to a community, especially in a marginalised rural area, the community may not be prepared or willing to deal with the changes associated with film-induced tourism.[468]

Roesch also cites examples of communities that "refused to support the filming due to fears of negative impacts".[469] He further highlights, that local communities should be involved in the process to ensure that "over-commercialisation is avoided and the effects of film tourism are embraced".[470]

An additional significant factor in marketing a destination through film is the idea that fan communities that are specifically interested in travelling to film locations, but also generate additional media content.[471] In a South African context, the working of such fan communities in combination with media can be related to the South African *Netflix*

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[465] *Channel 24*, "Resident Evil: The Final Chapter wraps filming in Cape Town", 11 December 2015, <https://www.news24.com/Channel/resident-evil-the-final-chapter-wraps-filming-in-cape-town-20151211>, Accessed December 2021.

[466] B. Huisman, "Resident Evil's real life horror stories on Cape Town film set", *City Press*, 28 December 2015, <https://www.news24.com/citypress/News/resident-evils-real-life-horror-stories-on-cape-town-film-set-20151228>, Accessed December 2021.

[467] S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, p. 53; S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, p. 234.

[468] S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, p. 234.

[469] S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, p. 53.

[470] S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, p. 56.

[471] D. Juśkelyté, "Film Induced Tourism", p. 57.

series *Blood and Water* that features a number of locations in Cape Town. International film location blog *Atlas of Wonders* wrote an article juxtaposing scenes from the series with historical accounts of buildings, for example:

> The magnificent building of the Parkhurst High School [a fictional school in the series] is the Smuts Hall, a UCT Student Residence. Located in the Upper Campus overlooking the city on the slopes of Devil's Peak, Smuts accommodates 230 students. […] Smuts Hall was founded in 1928 as Men's Residence and it was renamed after the death in 1950 of Jan Smuts, the UCT Chancellor and former prime minister of South Africa.[472]

Thus, by virtue of the popularity of a film or television series, the supplementary "Media" by fans of a series can assist in disseminating "Cultural Capital" in the form of real historical information juxtaposed by any number of "Film-Specific or Destination Attributes".

This section elucidated the role of key stakeholders integral to the development of film-specific and filmic destination marketing infrastructure. The results of stakeholder efforts and collaborative practices are also reflected in more tangible location-feasibility attributes.

[472] Ra Moon, "The Parkhurst High School: Where was Blood & Water filmed? Filming Locations", *Atlas of Wonders*, 29 May 2020, <https://www.atlasofwonders.com/2020/05/parkhurst-high-school-blood-and-water-filming-locations.html>, Accessed April 2021.

Table 1: Key Stakeholder Roles and Organisations.[473]

Stakeholder	Description and Roles
Educational Institutions	• This includes different types of institutions of higher learning that create knowledge, develop skills and other industry innovation. • Specifically the training of skilled film industry crew and tourism service providers.
Filmmakers/Film Industry	• Local and International filmmakers and production companies • Produce content that can be exploited for filmic destination branding. Preferably with a location specific story or element for optimum effect. • Be open to the process and willing to negotiate with filming location. • Local companies provide services, staff and equipment to international film companies. • Participation of local film industry in local and international film forums
Film Commission/DMOs	• Act as bridge between filmmakers and destinations. • Streamlines process for location filming, approvals, etc. • Participation in local and international film forums. • Effective investment promotion. • Effective tourism and specific film tourism promotion. • Collaborates with the broader media on the distribution of specific destination images, specifically film in this instance. • Decision-making as regards to which filmic destination images to support and promote. • Develop marketing partnerships with film production companies

[473] Compiled from: D. Juškelyté, "Film Induced Tourism: Destination Image Formation and Development"; DHHS, UP, "The Potential of the Creative Industry for Destination Development in South Africa"; S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism"; S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*; C. Loedolff, "Promoting South Africa as an International Film Tourism Destination"; S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*.

Municipalities/Film Offices	• This could include dedicated offices for promoting a destination and film or tourism. • Facilitates policy implementation that creates an enabling environment for film tourism and filmic destination branding. • Engages with communities about the impact of film tourism and filmic destination marketing.
State/Regional Government Departments	• These include various government departments on a number of levels that make policy and develop infrastructure. Most pertinently departments of arts and culture responsible for filmmaking, literature and other creative expressions and departments of tourism and transportation responsible for broader tourism infrastructure such as transportation services to and from filming locations. • Policy that enables location filming to make a region/country/city more attractive to filmmakers. • Policy that enables tourism and tourism service collaboration with film industries • Climate that value innovation. • Productive cultural relations internationally. • Guides domestic agreement on national identity. • Streamlining of work permits for visiting cast and crew.
Hospitality and Tourism Services	• Provides tourism services to visiting production companies. • Provides knowledge in terms of attractive locations, can serve as location scouts for filmmakers.
Media	• Distributes information about filming locations, activities and helps construct and reinforce destination images produced.
Communities	• Supports location filming and filmic destination image distribution, both in terms of hospitality to film crews and in media. • Fan communities that generate additional media that market a destination.

4.3. Location-Feasibility Attributes

There is considerable overlap between destination attributes, film-specific attributes and location-feasibility attributes as regards elements that act as influencers, as well as their function within the greater frame of film tourism and filmic destination marketing, i.e. to pull tourists. In the case of the location-feasibility attributes, it illustrates pull factors specific to a particular target audience or market, namely: film production companies. The feasibility of a location as a film destination can be measured by elements such as the "cost", "expertise" and availability of a skilled "labor" (sic) force in a country, city or region.[474] Thus, there is an important difference as regards where they are situated in the filmic destination marketing continuum that requires the separate attention afforded "Destination and Film-Specific Attributes", "Tourism and Supporting Infrastructure"; "Film Industry Infrastructure"; "Policy"; "Cost"; and "Tourism Promotion as a Film Destination".

4.3.1. Destination and Film-specific Attributes

Admittedly a large part of the location-feasibility attributes are destination attributes that attract or pull tourists. In this regard, Roesch states that:

> [i]t is the goal of film production companies to find locations that are easily accessible, close to production facilities and require as little physical and digital enhancement as possible. Consequently, many locations contain the necessary features from the outset, whether natural or man-made, which are required for location shooting. These features may already be popular tourist attractions, for example, an old castle or a specific natural feature.[475]

This is indicative of a number of destinations and film-specific attributes, such as "Culture" and "History" that can also serve as the providers of "Stories", histories and events that can form the raw material or inspiration behind the content of films, i.e. the "Cultural Capital". As indicative of previous discussions related to the development of a national cinema, Juškelyté reflects on her own situation in Lithuania by stating that:

> in order to attract tourists from foreign countries we have to broaden our research and choose strategy that is working in our region. Lithuanian

[474] S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism", pp. 387-396.
[475] S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, p. 44.

> language films about local problems might not attract global audience attention, but it might put us on the map.[476]

South Africa has a variety of diverse "Scenery"[477] and "location choices for foreign location shooting".[478] Furthermore, in the wake of the success of *Black Panther* a noticeable "wave of interest in Afrofuturism, a literary and musical movement that explores black identity, culture and struggles through the lens of science fiction" has been recorded.[479] This potentially indicates a renewed global interest in stories emanating from the continent and African diaspora.

4.3.2. Tourism and Supportive Infrastructure

Furthermore, well-developed tourism and supporting infrastructure is needed to provide for the basic needs of film crews while filming on location. Roesch states that "access to film locations within already developed tourist destination is easier to realise than in underdeveloped tourist areas".[480] This may include transportation services that "support the movement of cast, crew and equipment within a destination", as well as "established tourism and hospitality industry to support the influx of cast and crew".[481]

With indicators like "Air Transport Infrastructure" and "Tourism Service Infrastructure", the World Economic Forum "Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Report 2019", placed South Africa 61st in the world with notable mentions of the credits to ICT readiness and overall infrastructure as positives. However, the country did experience a fall in ranking "largely due a worsening business environment, where the nation dropped 36 places because of deterioration in performance on legal systems and market competition and the impact of taxes on incentives to work and invest".[482]

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[476] D. Juškelyté, "Film Induced Tourism", p. 62.
[477] R. Jooste, "SA film industry still not getting the big picture".
[478] UNESCO, *The African Film Industry*, p. 16.
[479] A. Fitzpatrick, "It's not just Black Panther. Afrofuturism is having a Moment", *Time*, 20 April 2018, <https://time.com/5246675/black-panther-afrofuturism/>, Accessed December 2021.
[480] S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, p. 189.
[481] DHHS, UP, "The Potential of the Creative Industry for Destination Development in South Africa", p. 84.
[482] *World Economic Forum*, "The Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Report 2019", 2019, pp. xi, xiii, 56.

4.3.3. Film Industry Infrastructure

Anholt considers investment in a location as a prime driver of a national brand that is also very applicable in relation to the filmic destination marketing continuum. He states that:

> to business audiences [which include production companies] the way the region or country solicits inward investment, recruitment of foreign talent, and expansion into the country or region by foreign companies.[483]

Particularly pertaining to film tourism and filmic destination marketing, Beeton indicates the importance of a destination to be able to "attract professional workers to an area".[484] Within the scope of on-location filming at a destination the ability of a destination to provide professional labour in the form of crew, such as camera men/women, makeup artists, etc., makes a destination more attractive to both national and international production companies.[485]

In a South African context, a skills survey conducted for the "2021 Creative Masterplan" indicates that a number of skills shortages exist in the following areas:

- Preproduction: Script Editors, Script Supervisors and Continuity Experts, Line Producers.
- Production: Technicians in on set departments, Drone Camera Operators, Officers and Medical Staffing, Production Accountants.
- Post-production: Data Wranglers and Digital Image Technicians (DIT), Editors, Post-Production Supervisors, Colourists / Grade Artists, Animation professionals at mid-career and senior level, Visual Effects Specialists and IT for Animation Programmers and Developers such as Render Farm Engineers and System Administrators, Broadcast Engineers."[486]

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[483] S. Anholt, "Competitive Identity", p. 23.
[484] S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, p. 44.
[485] DHHS, UP, "The Potential of the Creative Industry for Destination Development in South", p. 84.
[486] UNESCO, *The African Film Industry*, p. 224.

These shortages have then also been attributed to the high cost of entry into these institutions.[487]

Furthermore, Roesch also indicated the attractiveness of film studios and production facilities as a powerful contributor that pulled production companies to filming at a particular destination.[488] A recent international example of this is the planning of Lakeside Studio in Western Sydney, Australia as a result of increased demand for "purpose-built digital production facilities [that can] attract international film and television productions" to a specific city.[489]

Although the development of the local industry is experiencing slow development, as indicated in the previous chapter, South Africa has "solid cinematic infrastructure" and has been able to attract a considerable amount of international productions.[490] The quality of local actors and crew is generally seen as good and professional resulting in a number of big budget Hollywood films such as marvel *Avengers*, *Mad Max* and *Blood Diamond*.[491] Moreover, the development of infrastructure like the Cape Town Film Studios established in 2008-2009,[492] have significantly improved the production capacity in the country. Newer development have also seen the establishment of similar studios in George[493] and discussions are underway for the creation of *eThekwini Film City* in Durban.[494]

4.3.4. Policy

A particularly prevalent aspect of filmic destination marketing is a destination's policy toward filmmaking and location filming to make the process "hassle-free" or the "ease

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[487] UNESCO, *The African Film Industry*, p. 224.
[488] S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, pp. 43, 228.
[489] A. Wiseman, "New Film & TV Studio Planned in Western Sydney, Australia", *Deadline*, 16 August 2021, < https://deadline.com/2021/08/australia-new-film-tv-studio-western-sydney-1234815477/>, Accessed December 2021.
[490] UNESCO, *The African Film Industry*, p. 16.
[491] R. Jooste, "SA film industry still not getting the big picture".
[492] S. Haskins, "Cape Town Film studio takes root", *Engineering News*, 7 March 2008, <https://www.engineeringnews.co.za/article/cape-town-film-studio-takes-root-2008-03-07>, Accessed December 2021.
[493] *George Herald*, "Red Carpet Roll Out for Filmmakers", n.d., <https://www.georgeherald.com/News/Article/General/red-carpet-roll-out-for-filmmakers-20171220>, Accessed December 2021.
[494] T. Goba, "Proposal to turn Durban's old army site into film studio welcomed", *The Witness*, 16 October 2021, <https://www.news24.com/witness/news/durban/proposal-to-turn-durbans-old-army-site-into-film-studio-welcomed-20211016>, Accessed December 2021.

of production".[495] These include the streamlining of all regulatory barriers that are pertinent to filming on location. For example, work permits for international cast and crew or red tape regarding film permissions, permits and possible concessions.[496] As with the Indian example earlier, the South African Department of Trade, Industry and Competition (DTIC), amongst others, offers film incentives in order to make the country more film friendly.

The development of the post-apartheid film industry has been reliant on a number of incentive programmes provided by the DTIC. In order to qualify for these, production companies need to abide by several criteria, including collaborations with local production companies and black ownership, dependent on the specific incentive. However, the DTIC has recently been criticised for the amount of red tape surrounding these incentives and incidents of not complying with their obligation in that "millions of rands guaranteed through South Africa's film rebate scheme were unexpectedly withdrawn" resulting in court battles with local production companies.[497]

With the development and potential presented by streaming services such as *Netflix*, significant opportunities have developed for the production of local content that is then broadcast around the world. This brings great opportunity for film tourism and filmic destination marketing. However, a recent policy decision by the Department of Communications and Digital Technologies to enforce local content quotas and further administrative barriers on streaming services like *Netflix* in their offering inside South Africa, can potentially harm the relationship between these services and local film industry. In an interview conducted with, Shola Sanni, *Netflix*'s director of public policy for sub-Saharan Africa, Sanni makes the point that it is already investing heavily in local content. This will create further administrative burdens on both the regulator and streaming services, and that ultimately:

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[495] DHHS, UP, "The Potential of the Creative Industry for Destination Development in South Africa", p. 84, S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, p. 228.

[496] DHHS, UP, "The Potential of the Creative Industry for Destination Development in South Africa", p. 84; S. Hudson & J.R.B. Ritchie, "Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism", p. 389.

[497] S. Planting, "DTIC blamed as rocky times hit South African film industry", *Daily Maverick*, 21 November 2021, <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2021-11-21-rocky-times-hit-south-african-film-industry-where-it-hurts/>, Accessed December 2021.

> Consumers might be faced with higher costs and fewer choices and fewer providers would also mean less investment in high-quality South African content, and less opportunity for local talent.[498]

4.3.5. Cost

As indicated by John Lester, "cost … depends on the prices of labour, services and materials in alternate locations adjusted for exchange rates, transportation requirements to the filming location and government assistance, such as tax credits".[499] For the past two decades, South Africa has drawn international filmmakers as a result of a well-developed infrastructure, "lower production cost [than] the US and Europe"[500] and favourable exchange rates."[501]

4.3.6. Tourism Promotion as Film Destination

An absolutely germane aspect of the image formation of a destination or its brand is the tourism promotion activities of a destination as indicated in the domain of control of designated DMOs. Anholt states that:

> tourism promotion activity, as well as people's first-hand experience of visiting the country as tourists or business travellers [is] often the loudest voice in branding the nation or region, as tourist boards usually have the biggest budgets and the most competent markets.[502]

Particularly relevant to filmic destination branding is collaboration between film commission/film office and destination marketing organisation responsible for tourism to promote a destination, not only as a tourism destination, but also a "filming friendly location".[503] The combination of these organisations and functions into one has been successfully implemented in other places in the world with greater coherence such as the example of Montana, Wisconsin and the Dakotas presented by Beeton.[504]

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[498] *Business Tech*, "Plans to regulate *Netflix* content in South Africa".
[499] J. Lester, "Tax Credits for Foreign Location Shooting of Films: No Net Benefit for Canada", *Canadian Public Policy*, 39(3), 2013, p. 453.
[500] R. Jooste, "SA film industry still not getting the big picture".
[501] N. Mosieane, "The South African Film and TV Industry is Breaking into the International Market".
[502] S. Anholt, "Competitive Identity", p. 23.
[503] D. Juškelyté, "Film Induced Tourism: Destination Image Formation and Development", p. 63.
[504] S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, p. 20.

On regional/provincial level in South Africa, particularly Cape Town and the Western Cape, has made significant strides in that the function of the *Cape Film Commission* has been moved to the *Western Cape Trade, Tourism and Investment Promotion Agency* (*WESGRO*).[505] This follows international trends in combining the functions of film and tourism promotion organisations and thus allowing for better collaboration.

4.4. Conclusion

This chapter has made it apparent that although South Africa is fairly well-developed in terms of film infrastructure, tourism infrastructure and the collaboration and involvement of key stakeholders, a number of key challenges still exist. These are in terms of capitalising on film tourism and filmic destination marketing, namely: the collaboration between stakeholders and location-feasibility attributes, such as, cost, policy implementation and skills development.

[505] M. Jackson, "*Netflix* to showcase SA's tourism sites".

CHAPTER 5: DYSTOPIC VS FANTASTICAL: JOHANNESBURG (2009 – 2018)

5.1. Introduction

The 21st century has been a boon for the depiction of South Africa and particularly Johannesburg in films. Although often as a stand-in location, this nonetheless has a significant impact on the destination image of the city by the sheer value of its distribution. Notable Hollywood films set or filmed in South Africa include *Invictus* (2009), *Dredd* (2012), *Resident Evil: The Final Chapter* (2016).[506] All of these contribute to the destination image of the city in some shape or form in a cumulative way, through depictions of "Icons",[507] or "Story/Plot" integral to the film,[508] thus distributing stories of and mapping narratives to the city. In just under a decade, two particularly prominent Johannesburg narratives have emerged from the film genre of Sci-Fi, which will be explored in this chapter namely: Dystopic and Fantastical.[509]

As already indicated, the complex and multi-layered influence of various media forms in the construction of South Africa and Johannesburg's destination image has resulted in an image of a "homogenous block with violence, helplessness, human rights abuses and lack of democracy as its main characteristics" transposed from Africa.[510] In 2018 Gabi Zietsman illustrates this in relation to fictional media in a news article entitled: "According to Hollywood, South Africa is mostly known for Madiba and the birthplace of bad guys".[511] The observation is based on a database of occurrences and references to South Africa, its cities and people in popular English-language fictional films and television content.[512]

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506 *IMDB*, "Filming Locations Matching Johannesburg, South Africa", n.d., < https://www.imdb.com/search/title/?locations=Johannesburg,%20South%20Africa&ref_=ttloc_loc_2>, Acces December 2021.

507 R.L. Brown, "The South African Building That Came to Symbolize the Apocalypse", *The Atlantic*, 21 February 2017, <https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2017/02/the-south-african-building-that-came-to-symbolize-the-apocalypse/517056/>, Accessed June 2021.

508 C. Eastwood (Dir.), *Invictus*; J. Polson (Dir.), *Elementary: Rip Off*.

509 In the context of this study "Dystopic" and "Fantastical" are both meant as the imagery aspects of Johannesburg that each contain some elements of truthfulness in the images they represent. The former illustrates the suffering, injustice and terrible aspects of past, present and a possible future Johannesburg. The latter represents the more whimsical, wonderful and positive aspects of past, present and a possible future Johannesburg.

510 H. Brookes, "Suit, tie and a touch of juju", p.465.

511 G. Zietsman, "According to Hollywood, South Africa is mostly know for Madiba and the birthplace of bad guys", *News* 24, 20 August 2018, <https://www.news24.com/news24/travel/according-to-hollywood-south-africa-is-mostly-known-for-madiba-and-the-birthplace-of-bad-guys-20180820>, Accessed June 2021.

512 G. Zietsman, "According to Hollywood, South Africa is mostly know for Madiba and the birthplace of bad guys".

A telling albeit anecdotal example of how this perceived homogeneity manifests itself in the perception of potential tourists can be found in episode five of season seven of the popular American reality television series *The Amazing Race*.[513] In the episode the contestants travel to Johannesburg and upon arrival one contestant remarks that he is:

> "so glad Johannesburg is a real city. [He] was so afraid it was gonna (sic) be like chickens and camels and whatever".[514]

Filmic representations of the city present an opportunity to build and distinguish the identity or brand of the city in a more nuanced way. These take the form of filmic representations of national and international origin as it pertains to "Authorship". This chapter explores six such well-distributed Sci-Fi fictional films that feature the city of Johannesburg between 2009 and 2018. Three films with a South African authorial voice, and three films created by international (Hollywood) directors at the helm. The analysis that follows in this chapter is not meant to be expansive in terms of the themes, nor does it critique the quality of the films or the portrayals of ethnic groups. Rather, it is illustrative of the filmic narratives that can be mapped to Johannesburg and South Africa and influence its brand image. It further reflects on the narratives they create and distribute about the city and its "Scenery", "Icons", "Exports", "People", "Policy" and "Cultural Capital".

5.2. A South African Director's Dystopic Narrative

Of the films produced with a local authorial voice, perhaps the most abounding impact on Johannesburg's image is the work of Johannesburg-born director Neill Blomkamp in his films *District 9* (2009), *Chappie* (2015) and *Elysium* (2013).[515] These films display a number of film specific attributes that greatly affect the filmic destination image of the city. As illustrated in Table 2, *District 9* and *Chappie* both have a "Story/Plot" where the narrative is integral to Johannesburg as its location and setting. All three films have a fairly large global distribution. South African "Destination Attributes" receive quite a

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[513] Jerry Bruckheimer Television (Prod.), *Amazing Race: I've Been Wanting a Face-Lift for a Long Time*, [Television Programme: Season 7, Episode 5], Columbia Broadcasting System, 2005.

[514] Jerry Bruckheimer Television (Prod.), *Amazing Race: I've Been Wanting a Face-Lift for a Long Time*.

[515] N. Blomkamp (Dir.), *District 9*; N. Blomkamp (Dir.), *Elysium*; N. Blomkamp (Dir.), *Chappie*; D. Smith, "District 9: South Africa and Apartheid come to the movies", 20 August 2009, *The Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2009/aug/20/district-9-south-africa-apartheid>, Accessed September 2017.

bit of "Exposure" in that Johannesburg is on screen for the full duration of *District 9* and *Chappie* and South African "Characters" have a strong presence in all three films. In all three films, Blomkamp explores themes of dystopic futures and maps them to a South African context in various ways. These include decaying buildings, crime and violence that are often paralleled with the city and the country's past, present and hypothetical future.

5.2.1. District 9

District 9 received a gross income of "over $37 million dollars on its opening weekend in North America".[516] This indicates the popularity of this film internationally and is the most widely "Distributed" filmic narrative that is wholly set in the city of Johannesburg up to its year of release.[517] The cumulative worldwide gross of *District 9* at approximately $210 mil is, for example, significantly higher than *Invictus* at approximately $122 mil.[518] Furthermore, *District 9* has sparked quite a bit of debate and analysis on account of the allegoric nature of the themes that mirror the segregation and apartheid "History" of South Africa that further distribute the narrative via other "Media".[519]

The "Exposure" of Johannesburg in the film is substantial in that the entire film is set in the city. The film mostly presents the city in line with the stereotypical or clichéd way historically associated with an African city. The majority of the film takes place and was filmed in the slums of Soweto thus reinforcing the image of poverty as the pervasive narrative of the city.[520] Furthermore, the cinematography presents the "Cityscape" in a very grimy, smoggy way (Figure 15), and not by accident. In an interview conducted with Blomkamp, he states that:

> the film doesn't exist other than in Joburg. It was like, Johannesburg first, and *District 9* grew out of that. There are many different levels you can break it down into. From a photographic standpoint, there was what I wanted to

[516] D. Walker, Hysterical nostalgia in the postcolony: from Coming Home to District 9", *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 17 (2), 2014, p. 150.
[517] *IMDB*, "*District 9*", n.d., <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1136608/>, Accessed December 2021.
[518] *IMDB*, "*District 9*"; *IMDB*, "*Invictus*", n.d., <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1057500/>, Accessed December 2021.
[519] A. O'Hehir, "Is apartheid acceptable – for giant bugs?", *Salon.com*, 12 August 2009, <http://www.salon.com/2009/08/12/blomkamp/>, Accessed September 2017.
[520] A. O'Hehir, "Is apartheid acceptable – for giant bugs?".

> convey about Johannesburg, which is that it's almost this burnt, nuclear wasteland, at least in winter. It really is like that.[521]

Figure 15: Spaceship over Johannesburg.[522]

One subversive element at the start of the film is the line:

> Now, to everyone's surprise, the ship didn't come to a stop over Manhattan or Washington or Chicago, but instead coasted to a halt directly over the city of Johannesburg.[523]

Thus, proclaiming the existence as a "real" city, as if to say: "Yes, aliens can visit us too", making Johannesburg famous in the popular imagination, at least to those with little prior knowledge of the city. Along with this identifying its "Scenery", "Cityscapes and Icons", "Exports", "People", "Policy", "Culture, History and Cultural Capital".

By virtue of its main "Character", Wikus van der Merwe played by Sharlto Copley, some characteristics of the "People" of the city are identified, or at least an ethnic group. He represents the Afrikaner, develops the iconography of the Afrikaans accent established in other Hollywood films. He initially represents the familiar Hollywood trope of the "Amoral Afrikaner"[524] further exemplified by other supporting characters in

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[521] A. O'Hehir, "Is apartheid acceptable – for giant bugs?".
[522] N. Blomkamp (Dir.), *District 9*.
[523] N. Blomkamp (Dir.), *District 9*.
[524] *TV Tropes*, "Amoral Afrikaner", n.d., <http://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Main/AmoralAfrikaner>, Accessed June 2016. The basic trope of the "Amoral Afrikaner" is described as "an Afrikaner who is

the films such as the one-dimensional bloodthirsty soldier Koobus (sic) Venter. Van Der Merwe appears cruel, malicious and racist (at least to the aliens) at first, by for example, enjoying the alien eggs popping when set alight by flamethrowers, however, ultimately sacrifices his own interests to save the aliens and consequently breaks with the trope and thus supplements or expands the narrative of the Afrikaner in popular imagination.

Throughout the film, the "Culture" of multiple ethnic groups within the city is tangentially represented through language credits and other cultural aspects in the form of extras and supporting characters. Unfortunately, this only tangentially maps a narrative that represents the diversity of the city's inhabitants, without much description of the characteristics of other cultures. One exception is the one-dimensional portrayal of Nigerian immigrants as "gangsters, prostitutes or witch-doctors", which received widespread criticism and debate resulting in the film being banned in Nigeria.[525] The resultant effect may be to further map a narrative of criminality to the city.

Although, "Blomkamp insists he's got no specific allegorical, ironic or didactic message to deliver", the "Thematic" correlations with the country's segregation and apartheid histories as well as xenophobic violence at the time of its release,[526] had the effect of impacting the "Policy and History" destination attributes. Many journalists and academics naturally drew these parallels.[527] The resultant media discussion and debate, mapped or remapped the landscape of Johannesburg with narratives of racism and xenophobia.[528] Furthermore, by virtue of "Prior knowledge" or "Google-

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evil. Likely a mercenary and a racist." However, various iterations have been depicted in cinema, often with military associations linked to apartheid era South African soldiers or paramilitary currently employed as private military contractors, sometimes downplayed/subverted as politically incorrect heroes/villains who are motivated by self-interest or enrichment.

[525] D. Smith, "District 9 labelled as xenophobic by Nigerians", *The Guardian*, 2 September 2009, <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2009/sep/02/district-9-labelled-xenophobic-nigerians#:~:text=The%20squatters%20of%20Chiawelo%20share,having%20sex%20with%20the%20creatures.>, Accessed September 2017; *News 24*, "Nigeria bans District 9", 19 September 2009, <https://www.news24.com/news24/xarchive/entertainment/international/nigeria-bans-district-9-20090919>, Accessed December 2021.

[526] A. O'Hehir, "Is apartheid acceptable – for giant bugs?".

[527] Gauteng Film Commission, "Special Feature: Focus on *District 9*", 9 September 2009, <http://www.gautengfilm.org.za/news/news-archive/2009/september-2009>, Accessed September 2017; A. Nel, "Borders and Abjection in *Triomf*", in H. Viljoen (ed.), *Crossing Borders, Dissolving Boundaries*, Rodopi, Amsterdam, 2013, pp. 135 – 154; A. O'Hehir, "Is apartheid acceptable – for giant bugs?"; D. Smith, "District 9 labelled as xenophobic by Nigerians.

[528] Gauteng Film Commission, "Special Feature: Focus on *District 9*"; A. Nel, "Borders and Abjection in *Triomf*", pp. 135 – 154.

watching" audiences also drew these parallels in reviews of the film. With statements that related the title of the film to historic events in the country such as the forced removals that occurred in District 6 in Cape Town.

Apart from its, arguably, mostly negative effect on the image of the city, *District 9* does however, assist in the further establishment of "Iconic Cityscapes" by virtue of the depiction of the Ponte Centre and Hillbrow Tower in the final scenes of the film (Figure 16). This, as a result of the films "Distribution", serves to further establish these structures as "Icons" that make the city identifiable in future cinematic depictions.

Figure 16: Ponte Centre and Space Ship.[529]

Furthermore, indicative of earlier assertions by Beeton and Van Doren *et al.*,[530] as regards to negative images, tourist interest in the locations of the film are evident in tours dedicated to locations inspired by the film.[531]

[529] N. Blomkamp (Dir.), *District 9*.
[530] R. Riley; D. Baker and C.S. Van Doren, "Movie Induced Tourism", p. 932; S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, p. 50.
[531] *Jaya Travel*, "Visit Places that Inspired the story of Distict 9", 24 March 2017, <https://jayatravel.com/visit-places-inspired-story-district-9/>, Access July 2017.

5.2.2. Elysium

At a worldwide gross of approximately $ 286 mil,[532] the "Distribution" of images in *Elysium* is more than *District 9*. However, the "Exposure" of Johannesburg or South Africa is less, since it is not directly linked to the filmic narrative in the form of a "Story/Plot" that makes the city integral to the film. Nonetheless, *Elysium* presents narratives that are tangentially linked to the country and city.

The particular film specific attributes that are of importance for the South African destination image is "Character". The stereotypical portrayal of Sharlto Copley's character as the one-dimensional, villainous, mercenary Agent Kruger influences the destination attribute of "People". He is identifiable by his now "Iconic" Afrikaans accent, constantly swearing in Afrikaans, and even creepily singing the Afrikaans folk song *Jan Pierewiet*. It subsequently reinforces the trope of the "Amoral Afrikaner". However, by virtue of the use of the Afrikaans language in another Hollywood blockbuster, it does further distribute "Cultural Capital" of this ethnic group in South Africa. Furthermore, South Africa is also symbolically inserted in the film through the use of the flag on the military spacecraft that Kruger and his two South African henchmen fly in (Figure 17). This is also then often recognised by audiences in review comments, with some even asking if the accent was South African and others recognising it outright.

Figure 17: South African military equipment in dystopian future.[533]

[532] *IMDB*, "*Elysium*".
[533] N. Blomkamp (Dir.), *Elysium*.

5.2.3. Chappie

In *Chappie*, Johannesburg again receives considerable "Exposure" owing to the fact that the entire film is set in Johannesburg. However, although still high for a film featuring Johannesburg, the "Distribution" is less than the other two at a worldwide gross of just over $100 mil.[534] Although the narrative "Themes" of the film are still one of violence mapped to the city, *Chappie* presents a more complex narrative about the city that can be incorporated into the image of Johannesburg.

The "Story/Plot" itself presents the city as at first a "dangerous city", that is then regenerated through technological advancements in robotics.[535] As is if to mimic the "History" of the, by now, "Iconic" Ponte City Centre (Figure 18), the film further influences the iconography of the building owing to its distribution and makes the tower synonymous with the city. Although the tower is a haven for criminals and a dirty heap of garbage occupies the central core, the depiction of the tower in the film does present some opportunities. The aesthetics of the architecture when Chappie looks up from the middle point to the historically complex narrative of the tower as "symbols of the city's modernism, then its decay and now its struggle for regeneration".[536] Further implications are the clearly visible South African telecommunication company Vodacom's logo on the building as an "Export", perhaps extra marketing they happily received.

Figure 18: Chappie and the Ponte City Centre.[537]

[534] *IMDB*, "*Chappie*"
[535] N. Blomkamp (Dir.), *Chappie*.
[536] R.L. Brown, "The South African Building That Came to Symbolize the Apocalypse".
[537] N. Blomkamp (Dir.), *Chappie*.

Furthermore, it builds on the image of the city in that it presents a greater variety of South African experiences in background "Characters" and extras. The film presents numerous lived experiences evident in modern-day Johannesburg, from the slums to the more upmarket suburbs. Unfortunately, the main "Cultural" contribution is still a representation of Afrikaans culture, albeit a different narrative from *District 9* or *Elysium*, and not representative. The inclusion of the zef-rap-rave group *Die Antwoord* as themselves in the film also has implications on the representation of Afrikaner identity, whether constructive or not, and maps this to Johannesburg. As stated by Claire Scott:

> The fervour with which *Die Antwoord* has been embraced, both locally and internationally, and by representatives of every cultural grouping in South Africa, suggests that they might well be 'expressing how it feels to be in South Africa' in a way that recognises how deeply varied, multifaceted and contradictory our experiences of negotiating identity politics in South Africa today are. *Die Antwoord* perform a white identity that is complex and contradictory by simultaneously calling into question and exoticising the apparently marginalised Afrikaans 'poor white' stereotype.[538]

Interestingly, both *Die Antwoord* and the Vodacom tower are mentioned by audience reviews of the film as "People" and "Exports" from South Africa.

Lastly, *Chappie* presents filmic marketing opportunities in the form of international "Celebrities": Sigourney Weaver, Hugh Jackman and Dev Patel. In an interview conducted with Dev Patel by *Kinowetter*, he reflects positively on his experience in Johannesburg and South Africa by stating that:

> It's like one of the most diverse places I've been to, … you got the real city like Joburg and then you can go on the Safaris and have a Giraffe poke its head around your car, it's like incredible![539]

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[538] C. Scott, "Die Antwoord and a delegitimised South African whiteness: a potential counter-narrative?", *Critical Arts*, 26(5), 2012, p. 758.

[539] *Kinowetter*, "Interview De Patel Chappie", 6 March 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yCGjif0hK64>, Accessed June 2021.

Table 2: Depictions of Johannesburg, South Africa by Director Neill Blomkamp.

Film	Destination Attributes	Story / Plot	Production and Distribution	Exposure	Celebrity	Character	Authenticity (Themes)
District 9 (2009)	All attributes	Shot / Set, Integral part of the Narrative	Action, Sci-Fi, Thriller $ 210, 888, 950 (Worldwide Gross)	Approximately 2 hours of screen time.	N/A	Multiple	Explores themes of decay, racism and xenophobia[540]
Elysium (2013)	People, Cultural Capital	Indirectly	Action, Drama, Sci-F $ 286.140.700 (Worldwide Gross)	Approximately 60 minutes of screen time.	N/A	From South Africa x 3 = Agent Kruger, Crowe, Drake	Explores themes of decay and classism[541]
Chappie (2015)	All attributes	Shot / Set, Integral part of the Narrative	Action, Crime, Drama $102,811,889 (Worldwide Gross)	Approximately 2 hours of screen time	Dev Patel. Hugh Jackman, Sigourney Weaver.	Multiple	Explores themes of decay and humanity[542]

[540] N. Blomkamp (Dir.), *District 9*; *IMDB*, "*District 9*", n.d., <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1136608/>, Accessed December 2021.
[541] N. Blomkamp (Dir.), *Elysium*; *IMDB*, "*Elysium*", n.d., <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1535108/>, Accessed December 2021.
[542] N. Blomkamp (Dir.), *Chappie*; *IMDB*, "*Chappie*", n.d., <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1823672/>, Accessed December 2021.

However, more can be done by DMOs, Film Commissions and the South African media to capitalise on this positive review, for example, linking the video to an article about the movie on Gauteng Tourism, South Africa.

5.3. The Fantastical *MCU* comes to Johannesburg

In contrast to the dystopic "Themes" presented by Blomkamp, arguably, the most poignant of the international filmic representations of Johannesburg and South Africa's "Cultural Capital", are the depictions of the country, city, its "People" and "Cultures" in the *MCU*. This comes in the form of three films discussed here, namely: *Avengers: Age of Ultron* (2015), *Captain America: Civil War* (2016) and *Black Panther* (2018).[543] On account of the fact that they occupy the same imaginary world, and are consecutive stories, their effects on Africa, South Africa, Johannesburg and its people are also cumulative.

In order to contextualise the narrative, perhaps some brief comic book history is prudent. The *MCU* refers to a media franchise created by *Marvel Studios*, currently owned by *Disney*, that is set in a parallel reality (like earth, but not quite) to ours, with fictional narratives based on a team of comic book heroes that fight together to save the world against multiple villains and in multiple situations. The franchise released multiple feature films featuring various iterations of all the heroes in the franchise since 2008, amongst other media content. Sometimes the story is mainly about one superhero, with the other characters less pronounced, like *Captain America: Civil War* (2016), sometimes the story is about the team like *Avenger: Age of Ultron* (2015), and sometimes it only really highlights one character, such as *Black Panther* (2018).[544]

The character, Black Panther, was first introduced to the world in a 1966 edition of the *Fantastic Four* comic book.[545] The narrative is thus conceptually and ideologically grounded in the history of the civil rights movement in the United States of the 1960s.[546] The story went through multiple manifestations further developing the fictional country Wakanda that was first revealed to modern audiences in *Avengers:*

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[543] J. Whedon (Dir.), *Avengers: Age of Ultron*; A. Russo & J. Russo (Dirs), *Captain America: Civil War*, R. Coogler (Dir.), *Black Panther*.
[544] Marvel.com, "Marvel Cinematic Universe", <https://www.marvel.com/>, Accessed April 2018.
[545] J.C. Ashley, "Heroes and Legends: African-American Identity in Graphic Novels and Comic Books", M.A. Dissertation, University of East Carolina, 2015, pp. 17-18.
[546] A. Nama, "Brave black worlds: black superheroes as science fiction ciphers", *African Identities*, 7(2), 2009, p. 137.

Age of Ultron in 2015.[547] The character T'Challa (the superhero guardian Black Panther and prince, later king of Wakanda) got screentime in *Captain America: Civil War* of 2016;[548] and finally in 2018 we were treated to the full visual of the world of Wakanda in *Black Panther*.[549] Wakanda, a small fictional African country that was never colonised and is heralded as the most technologically advanced nation in the *MCU*.[550] The significance of this is that it presents an alternative narrative that reimagines Africa in a way not often seen in popular parlance. As mentioned earlier, the dominant narrative of Africa is that of "poverty, corruption, war, famine, and disease".[551]

All of these films had massive "Distribution" and audience reach, for example, *Black Panther*, broke a number of records, including: the highest gross for first release of a film featuring a single super-hero.[552] In South Africa, it was the best-performing movie of all time in cinemas, with similar reports across the African continent.[553] At a worldwide gross income of $ 1,4 billion for *Avengers: Age of Ultron*, $ 1,3 billion for *Black Panther* and $ 1,1 billion for *Captain America: Civil War*, these three occupy the number 12, 13 and 23 slots for the highest grossing films of all time by the end of 2021.[554] This represents unprecedented levels of "Distribution" for images of Johannesburg, South African and its "Cultural Capital".

The "Exposure" of the country and city are, however, significantly less in these film as, in most cases, the narratives are not directly linked to the landscape of the country or city through the "Plot/Story". Instead, the narratives are tangentially linked through various, destination, film-specific and audience attributes represented in Table 3.

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547 A. Nama, "Brave black worlds: black superheroes as science fiction ciphers"; J. Whedon (dir.), Avengers: Age of Ultron.

548 A. Russo & J. Russo (dirs), *Captain America: Civil War*.

549 R. Coogler (dir.), *Black Panther*.

550 *Africa News*, "Where is Wakanda? [Travel]", 1 March 2018, <http://www.africanews.com /2018/03/01/where-is-wakanda-travel//>, Accessed July 2018.

551 Anholt, "Competitive Identity", in N. Morgan, A. Pritchard & R. Pride, Destination Brands: Managing Place Reputation, Butterworth-Heinemann, Oxford, 2011, p. 22.

552 S. Mendelson, "*Black Panther* Box Office: Records and Milestones from Its First Two Months", *Forbes*, 16 April 2018, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/scottmendelson/2018/04/16/black-panther-box-office-all-the-milestones-it-set-in-its-first-two-months/#59ef8c062284>, Accessed July 2018.

553 *ENCA*, "*Black Panther* breaks SA box-office records with R100-million gross", 16 April 2018, <https://www.enca.com/life/black-panther-breaks-sa-box-office-records-with-r100-million-gross.>, Accessed April 2018.

554 *The Numbers*, "All Time Worldwide Box Office", n.d., <https://www.the-numbers.com/box-office-records/worldwide/all-movies/cumulative/all-time>, Accessed December 2021.

5.3.1 Avengers: Age of Ultron

In *Avengers: Age of Ultron*, Johannesburg is revealed to audiences in two primary indirect ways. These are facilitated by prior depictions, influence images and distribute information about several destination attributes of Johannesburg. Firstly, the short and intense "Exposure" the city receives as the filming location for a major fight scene, and secondly, the "Character" Ulysses Klaue displaying a very clear Afrikaans accent. These effect the narrative of Johannesburg in ways that both expand place narratives and simultaneously reinforce existing stereotypes.

Johannesburg is represented in a fairly innocuous, perhaps even positive way. Our first glimpse of the city is from a hilltop as the Incredible Hulk enters the city with the Ponte City Centre and Hillbrow Tower clearly visible in the background (Figure 19). Arguably both these buildings have by now achieved some "Icon" status akin, albeit not at the same level, to the Eiffel Tower. This is attributed to their unique shapes and proliferation in films such as *Chappie*.[555]

This is shortly followed by aerial footage of Iron Man flying into Johannesburg at sunset with tree-lined suburbs below and the skyline of Johannesburg in the background. Apart from the dust kicked up by Hulk and the smoke from Iron Man's jets the sky is clear, in direct contrast to the grimy and smoggy introduction in *District 9*. The "Cityscape" is presented to us in a quite grandiose, serene and aesthetically pleasing manner and the more unpleasant features of the city are never foregrounded during the scene in Johannesburg.

Figure 19: Hulk in Johannesburg.[556]

[555] R.L. Brown, "The South African Building That Came to Symbolize the Apocalypse".
[556] J. Whedon (Dir.), *Avengers: Age of Ultron*; *IMDB*

This is, of course, before the Hulk and Iron Man destroy the city in the about eight minutes of "Exposure" Johannesburg gets in the film. This presents an interesting aspect that could affect the destination image of Johannesburg, i.e. a city that's worth destroying. This is previously an honour historically reserved for the more famous cities like New York or London in these types of Hollywood blockbusters. Furthermore, Iron Man destroys a fictional new skyscraper under construction in the city, potentially adding a narrative of development.

Furthermore, the "People" of the city are presented in a colourful way. In the background of the fight between Hulk and Iron Man, the city is bustling with people of different races, walks of life, wearing various forms of attire, some of traditional and some Western influence. This represents an alternative narrative for the "People" of Johannesburg as "normal" "People" busy with their lives and work. Furthermore, the diverse architecture of the city is made famous in that the Hulk smashes into the Rissik Street post office, further advertising the "Cultural Capital" of the city and presenting opportunities to market the attraction features of the city and its "History".

Unfortunately, the city has no bearing on the "Plot" of the film, nor does it impact by virtue of a "Character" visiting the city, since Johannesburg is not clearly identified as itself. Contrary to initial claims by the Gauteng Film Commission that "Johannesburg would star as itself in the film",[557] it is identified only as a city "Off the Coast of Africa"[558] on screen, rendering it "other, or … unrecognizable as cities."[559] In this instance Brand South Africa, amongst others, made some effort to ensure that the filming location is credited in supplementary media in the form of a post entitled: "See Joburg on the big screen in the new *Avengers* movie", thus actively mapping the narrative to the city.[560] Arguably, however, the effects of "Additional Media" are not as strong as a city featured in the "Plot/Story". Nonetheless, the setting for the fight between Hulk and Iron Man is now universally identified internationally by the various "Media" as

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[557] *Drum*, "Joburgers upset over Avenger's filming", 20 February 2014, <https://www.news24.com/drum/News/joburgers-upset-over-avengers-filming-20170728>, Accessed December 2021.

[558] J. Whedon (Dir.), *Avengers: Age of Ultron*.

[559] S.H. Donald & J.G. Gammack, *Tourism and the Branded City*, p. 15.

[560] P. Pitamber, "See Joburg on the big screen in the new Avengers movie", 28 April 2015, <https://www.brandsouthafrica.com/people-culture/arts-culture/see-joburg-on-the-big-screen-in-the-new-avengers-movie>, Accessed June 2021; J. Whedon (Dir.), *Avengers: Age of Ultron*.

Johannesburg.[561] Johannesburg, for example, has been featured in an "*Avengers: Age of Ultron* travel guide", by Jade Bremmer, citing the city as having "the most impressive skyline and the tallest buildings [with an] edginess [and] fascinating mix of African culture".[562]

The "Character", Ulysses Klaue (aka Klaw) is a quintessential one-dimensional villain with a very clear Afrikaans accent, again reinforcing the trope "Amoral Afrikaner". The British actor, Andy Serkis, who portrays Klaue, said in an interview that this was intentional in that:

> [they] decided that Klaue … would [be] South African, a very strong Afrikaans, [as it] also serve[s] as a tool and advantage for the film's villain. … Also, because of the relationship to Wakanda as … it fits very well politically that he was of South African descent at a time when, of course, he grew up through apartheid.[563]

In the original comic books, the character Klaw, was connected to Germany and Belguim.[564] Perhaps, in an indirect way, Johannesburg is important to the "Story/Plot" of the film in that the fictional world of the *MCU* is mapped to Johannesburg and Johannesburg is mapped to the story of a "Character" through the mnemonic device of the accent. As implied by the above reference to Wakanda, Klaw then also makes a reappearance in *Black Panther* in 2018, further driving this narrative.[565]

5.3.2. Captain America: Civil War

Johannesburg or South Africa is not directly present within *Captain America: Civil War*. However, owing to the portrayal of "Cultural" attributes and the interconnectivity of the narratives built in the *MCU*, it does have some implications on the image of

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561 N. Jones, "Which Cities Are Still Standing in the *MCU*?", 3 July 2019, < https://www.vulture.com/2019/07/marvel-cinematic-universe-which-cities-have-been-destroyed.html>, Accessed December 2019.

562 J. Brenner, "The Avengers: Age of Ultron travel guide-from Italy to Korea, South Africa to Norwich", 28 April 2015, RadioTimes.com, <https://www.radiotimes.com/movies/the-avengers-age-of-ultron-travel-guide-from-italy-to-korea-south-africa-to-norwich/>, Accessed June 2021.

563 B Davis, "Why Klaw Has an Accent in *Black Panther*", *Comic Book*, 25 January 2018, <https://comicbook.com/wwe/news/aew-cody-rhodes-brandi-rhodes-officially-leave-tony-khan-statement/>, Accessed December 2021.

564 B. Sim, "*Black Panther*: 15 Things You Didn't Know About Klaw", 3 February 2018, <https://screenrant.com/black-panther-klaw-ulysses-trivia-facts/>, Accessed December 2021.

565 B Davis, "Why Klaw Has an Accent in *Black Panther*".

Johannesburg and South Africa. Perhaps the most striking of these is the use of *isiXhosa* as the language of Wakanda by both T'Chaka, played by South African actor John Kani, and T'Chala, played by Chadwick Boseman, as the king and prince of the fictional African national of Wakanda. This is also credited on *IMDB* as a language and impacts on the destination attribute of "Cultural Capital".[566] This also had some "Additional Media" "Exposure" in the form of articles such as "What Language Black Panther is Speaking in *Captain America: Civil War*" in the US edition of *Cinema Blend* crediting and mapping the language to South Africa, complete with some pronunciation tips:

> Xhosa is known as "the clicking language," as in order to properly pronounce its x's, you have to put your tongue to the roof of your mouth and then make a clicking noise, which closely resembles the sound of a horse trotting. One of the official languages of South Africa, it is spoken by around 18% of the country's population, while Nelson Mandela spoke it fluently.[567]

Another aspect, or shall we say absence, in *Captain America: Civil War* that impacts on the destination image of Johannesburg is the setting of Lagos, Nigeria as one of the scenes in the film. Lagos is represented in a similar way as Johannesburg in *Avengers: Age of Ultron* through diversity of "People" from various walks of life, with the "Cultural" attributes that entails. There is, however, a juxtaposition of shacks, skyscrapers, bustling markets, even some new construction taking place. The marked difference between the depictions of Johannesburg in *Avengers: Age of Ultron* and Largos in *Captain America: Civil War* is that Lagos is clearly identified with onscreen captions indicating its setting in text on screen. While this could potentially assist in distinguishing one African city from another and break perceptions of one continental "block",[568] the absence of Johannesburg as a place in the *MCU* is made evident by the presence of others.

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[566] *IMDB*, "*Captain America: Civil War*", n.d., <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt3498820/>, Accessed December 2021.

[567] G. Wakeman, "What Language Black Panther is Actually Speaking in Captain America: Civil War", *Cinema Blend*, 5 May 2006, <https://www.cinemablend.com/new/What-Language-Black-Panther-Actually-Speaking-Captain-America-Civil-War-129187.html>, Accessed December 2021.

[568] H. Brookes, "Suit, tie and a touch of juju", p.465.

5.3.3. Black Panther

Black Panther represents Africa as a place with "Cultural Capital" through a plethora of languages, fashions, strength of character, history and other cultural elements complete with Afrofuturistic innovations.[569] The film has been described as a "cultural phenomenon", not just for representing Africa in a positive light for the first time at this scale, but also for its commentary on geopolitical and "Historic" subject matter such as slavery. It has also received some criticism.[570]

Nevertheless, the film presents African tourism marketing organisations with a number of opportunities to market their destination and products. Inspiration for the various cultural representations has been described at length throughout the distribution cycle of the film. Production Designer, Hannah Beachler produced a lot of supplementary media regarding her travels throughout Africa to find inspiration for the architectural features of Wakanda's Golden City, particularly referencing South African rondavels on top of skyscrapers (Figure 20).[571]

In *Black Panther*, the Wakandans, still mostly speak isiXhosa, amongst other African and South African languages. Furthermore, the "Character", Ulysses Klaue again makes an appearance as the one-dimensional villain and finally maps the narrative at least partly to Johannesburg by addressing his co-conspirators by saying:

> When I get back to Joburg I will make sure you guys get paid.[572]

Unsurprisingly, audience reviews throughout the three *MCU* films most often make references to the *isiXhosa* language and the Afrikaner accent, "People" and "Cultural Capital", pertinent to the South African environment. However, South Africa or Johannesburg as a filming location feature very little in film reviews.

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[569] A. Nwakanma, "Wakanda: Will African Nations Rise to a New Challenge?", *The Nerve Africa*, 14 February 2018, <https://thenerveafrica.com/14253/wakanda-will-african-nations-rise-new-challenge/>, Retrieved 28 July 2018.

[570] S. Farrell, "Have you seen *Black Panther* yet?", UNISA, 6 March 2018, < http://www.sblunisa.ac.za/sites/myunisa/default/News/Articles/Have-you-seen-Black-Panther-yet%3F>, Accessed December 2018.

[571] G. Yalcinkaya, "*Black Panther*'s "voluptuous" sets are influenced by Zaha Hadid, says production designer", *Dezeen*, 1 March 2018, < https://www.dezeen.com/2018/03/01/black-panther-film-designer-zaha-hadid/>, Accessed December 2018.

[572] R. Coogler (Dir.), *Black Panther*.

Furthermore, the attribute of “Celebrity” also influences the destination image of South Africa, in that the actor Chadwick Boseman, T’Challa / Black Panther commented in an interview just before the release of the film, that South Africa was perhaps the most influential place he visited in the development of his character for the film.[573]

Figure 20: Wakanda Golden City.[574]

However, since Wakanda is a fictional African state and the characters and characterisations in the film are made up of various “Cultural” products from across the continent, the question arises: If I would like to go there, where is Wakanda? According to the website Hotelscan.com, this question has indeed arisen, in that traffic on the Wisconsin Wakanda Water Park webpage went up by 620% after the release of the film. Other reports of places with similar names, such as Wakaya in Fiji, have also been documented.[575] As a result of this, the Hartsfield-Jackson Atlanta International Airport even advertised a fictional flight to Wakanda on their departure terminal signage, apparently as a result of enquiries made by consumers.[576]

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[573] *Breakfast Club Power 105.1 FM*, “Chadwick Boseman Talks *Black Panther*, Turning Down Famous Biopics, Marvel Myths”, 14 February 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f6p9L_-Nfwg>, Accessed December 2018.

[574] G. Yalcinkaya, “*Black Panther*'s "voluptuous" sets are influenced by Zaha Hadid, says production designer”.

[575] *Tourism Update*, “Monday Smile: Wakanda Forever!”, 23 March 2018, <http://www.tourismupdate.co.za/article/178551/Monday-Smile-Wakanda-Forever>, Retrieved 26 March 2018.

[576] *Africa News*, “Where is Wakanda? [Travel]”.

According to the website *GeekTripper*, the places to visit in South Africa that inspired the "Scenery" of Wakanda are Golden Gate National Park and Blyde River Canyon Nature Reserve.[577] Furthermore, if you are looking for a "Cityscape" that represents the bustling street market, known as the Step Down district in the film (Figure 21), it was a set built in a studio. However, for similar "vibes, you might want to consider checking out the South African city of Johannesburg (or Jo'burg, as the cool kids say)."[578] Consequently, mapping a part of the narrative from the film to Johannesburg.

Figure 21: Step Down district.[579]

In South Africa, Brand South Africa has made some attempts to connect to the Wakanda phenomenon in the form of an article on their webpage to congratulate the South African actors, John Kani and Connie Chiume, featuring in the film.[580] Yet, more can be done in an official sense.

[577] GeekTripper Team, "You can find Wakanda in Rela Life! Here's Where", 30 March 2020, GreekTripper, < https://geektrippers.com/where-is-wakanda-in-real-life/>, Accessed December 2021.

[578] GeekTripper Team, "You can find Wakanda in Rela Life! Here's Where".

[579] R. Coogler (Dir.), *Black Panther*

[580] *Brand South Africa*, "*Black Panther* film hits South African cinemas", 16 February 2018, <https://www.brandsouthafrica.com/people-culture/arts-culture/black-panther-film-hits-south-african-cinemas>, Retrieved 28 July 2018.

Table 3: Depictions of Johannesburg, South Africa in *Marvel Cinematic Universe*.

Film	Destination Attributes	Story / Plot	Production and Distribution	Exposure	Celebrity	Character	Authenticity (Themes)
Age of Ultron (2015)	All attributes, some to a lesser extent	Indirectly, Shot: filming location	Action, Adventure $ 1,402,809,540 (Worldwide Gross)	Approximately 15 – 20 minutes screen time 8 min fight in the city.	Stars never in Johannesburg	South African character, villian: Ulyses Klaue Multiple South African extras	N/A[581]
Captain America: Civil War (2016)	Cultural Capital	Indirectly; Language credits.	Action, Adventure $1,153,337,496 (Worldwide Gross)	Use of language for about 5 min in the film	N/A	No South African character. African King portrayed by actor John Kani	N/A[582]
Black Panther (2018)	Cultural Capital	Indirectly; Filming locations and inspirations. Language credits.	Action, Adventure $1,347,597,973 (Worldwide Gross)	Multiple languages and cultural influences throughout the film. Intense end fight scene footage about 10 min	Star Chadwick Boseman undertook research trips.	South African character: villian: Ulyses Klaue. South African actors John Kani, Connie Chiume	Googling: Where is Wakanda in Africa?[583]

[581] J. Whedon (Dir.), *Avengers: Age of Ultron*; *IMDB*, "*Avengers: Age of Ultron*", n.d, <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt2395427/>, Accessed December 2021; A. Ndlovu, "Avengers on Jozi mean streets", *TimesLive*, 24 October 2014, <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2014-10-24-avengers-on-jozi-mean-streets/>, Accessed May 2021.

[582] A. Russo & J. Russo (Dirs), *Captain America: Civil War*; *IMDB*, "*Captain America: Civil War*", n.d., <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt3498820/>, Accessed December 2021.

[583] R. Coogler (Dir.), *Black Panther*; *IMDB*, "*Black Panther"*,n.d., <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1825683/>, Accessed December 2021; N. Nyker, "This is the Xhosa name bestowed on Chadwick Boseman", *Drum*, 22 February 2018, < https://www.news24.com/drum/celebs/this-is-the-xhosa-name-bestowed-on-chadwick-boseman-20180222>, Accessed December 2021.

5.4. Conclusion

Juxtaposing both dystopic and fantastical narratives of South Africa and Johannesburg in this chapter indicates the variety and complexity of the potential “Stories”, “Characters”, “Cultural Expressions”, “People”, “Exports”, “Histories”, “Scenery”, and “Icons” that the country and city has to offer. It also illustrates how these stories, meanings and narratives about the city are transmitted and received through popular filmic media and the consequent potential for tourism multipliers.

CHAPTER 6: REFLECTION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. Introduction

Although South Africa and Johannesburg have made a number of recent advances in terms of filming, film tourism and filmic destination marketing, more can be done to fully realise its potential on multiple levels. From the literature, case studies and examples identified and discussed in this dissertation, several "practical" suggestions in various phases of the filmic destination marketing continuum are evident. A summative representation of this is presented in Table 4.[584] They occur in parallel with the many "conceptual" and "infrastructural" processes and attributes illustrated in chapters 3 and 4 (Figure 3) of this dissertation and are indicative of the production cycle of films. The first phase relates to "preparation" for location filming and activities such as film incentives that make a destination film-friendly. The second phase is related to various activities during the "production cycle of a film", such as location selection. The third phase is the "capitalisation" on the images produced by a film after release and includes the development of film tourism experiences.

In many ways, whether intentionally or not, South African DMOs are already employing some of these techniques, but perhaps more conscious efforts can assist in distributing the narratives and stories of the country and city in international popular parlance in order to be more representative of the diversity of South African experiences.[585] Even though they overlap, in the interest of coherence, the headings "infrastructural", "conceptual" and "practical" will be used to deliberate hereon.

It cannot be denied that poverty, crime, violence and racism still persist in democratic South Africa[586] , along with the prevalence of both the legacies of apartheid and Mandela.[587] However, the story of the country is more complex, stratified and palimpsest. It has a multitude of identities, cultural expressions,[588] innovations and

[584] D. Juśkelyté, "Film Induced Tourism", pp. 62 – 63.
[585] SACO, "The Establishment of the Film Sector as a Catalyst for Economic Growth in South Africa", p. 177.
[586] G. Hood (Dir.), *Tsotsi*; N. Blomkamp (Dir.), *District 9*.
[587] D. Roodt, *Cry the Beloved Country*, [Film], Miramax, 1995; C. Eastwood (Dir.), *Invictus*; J. Chadwick (Dir.), *Mandela: Long Walk to Freedom*, [Film], 2013.
[588] K. Ramaphakela & R. Ramaphakela (Dirs)*, Seriously Single*, [Film],Burnt Union Productions, 2020; J. Moodley, *Keeping Up with the Kandasamys*, [Film], African Lotus Production Studios, 2017; R. Coogler (Dir.), *Black Panther*.

developments.[589] Perhaps herein lies the main conclusion of this dissertation, in that it is not as much about the individual specific narratives, but that representing, and mapping to the city, of a quantity of diverse experiences, represented by fully-fledged characters that proliferate on international television and movie screens that can develop the image of Johannesburg and South Africa.

6.2. Infrastructural

As regards the infrastructural aspects presented in this dissertation, a number of key findings for national and city-specific narratives need to be further developed within the industry. The development of local skills, film friendliness, growth in local content production and distribution both nationally and internationally is critical.

Skills development will require more investment in the local film industry. Significant investment and job creation have recently come from streaming services such as *Netflix*.[590] This makes it all the more important that these services are not alienated by policy developments. The development of more local content and the resistance to content quotas might seem contradictory. However, *Netflix*, supported by the local television industry, explain that the quotas and other regulatory frameworks, such as licenses for streaming services, might not have the desired effect, in that:

> the introduction of any content rules would reduce the number of co-productions that occur between streaming services and television broadcasters, as well as inflate the costs of making programs. It also suggests the quotas could cause other unintended consequences, such as setting a financial cap on content.[591]

Moreover, in terms of "Authorship and National Cinema", there is a clear absence in the popular international filmography of Johannesburg that includes more nuanced depictions of other ethnic groups, other than the Afrikaner, as primary characters in the more popular genres like Adventure and Fantasy with international "Distribution".

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[589] J. Whedon (Dir.), *Avengers: Age of Ultron*.
[590] *Business Tech*, "Plans to regulate *Netflix* content in South Africa".
[591] Z. Samios, "*Netflix* and local TV industry united on no content quotas for streaming apps", *The Sunday Morning Herald*, 31 May 201, <https://www.smh.com.au/business/companies/netflix-and-local-tv-industry-united-on-no-content-quotas-for-streaming-apps-20210530-p57wf0.html>, Accessed December 2021.

Black Panther, notwithstanding, there is very little clear indication of how other ethnic groups behave in the form of nuanced "Characters" in these more highly distributed genres as yet. There are, however, a growing number of depictions in comedies like *Keeping up with the Kandasamys* (2017) and *Seriously Single* (2020), which are not necessarily Oscar winners, but are being watched locally and internationally, thus expanding the narrative.[592] Again, also thanks to some efforts and investment from *Netflix*.[593]

Perhaps the critical lesson here is that, although we often talk about the *Academy Award*-winning films like *Tsotsi*, these represent only one part of the story of South Africa, its cities and people. Film Commissions, Government Departments, DMOs, Investors, Industry Professionals and South African society as a whole must be encouraged to embrace and be supportive of all the stories the country, its cities and people have to offer the world. Further research into the stories that South Africans want to see about themselves and how these varied communities would like to be represented might also be a key indicator here.

Furthermore, in accordance with Meethan's assertions that we should not accept "one dominant reading",[594] it is important to ensure that further primary research is conducted into how destination Johannesburg is received through filmic media in international audiences. It is also congruent with Juśkelyté's practical suggestion of monitoring that involves "the State Department of Tourism, city tourism information centre and film office [in cooperative ventures] to analyse the number of tourists that chose this destination, because they saw it on the big screen or TV".[595] This can perhaps be done in the form of primary research and survey data by both academic scholars and DMOs at, for example, the film "Icon" of the Ponte City Centre.

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[592] J. Moodley (Dir.), *Keeping Up with the Kandasamys*, [Film], African Lotus Production Studios, 2017; K. Ramaphakela & R. Ramaphakela (Dirs), *Seriously Single*, [Film],Burnt Union Productions, 2020; SACO, "The Establishment of the Film Sector as a Catalyst for Economic Growth in South Africa", p. 176.

[593] H. Eloff, "The Kandasamys return and this time they're coming straight to *Netflix*", *Channel 24*, 7 May 2021, < https://www.news24.com/channel/Movies/News/watch-the-kandasamys-return-and-this-time-theyre-coming-straight-to-netflix-20210507>, Accessed June 2021.

[594] K. Meethan, *Tourism, Consumption and Representation: Narratives of Place and Self*, p 6.

[595] D. Juśkelyté, "Film Induced Tourism: Destination Image Formation and Development", pp. 62 – 63.

This type of primary research data might also yield further insight into different "Audience Attributes" such as emotional involvement, memory, special interest, identification with characters and demographic responses to particular films. This can then be developed to entice,[596] for example, people from the African or Indian diaspora to visit South Africa and Johannesburg, as has also been considered in places like Scotland and representations of Scottish heritage and Scottish heritage sites in popular filmic media.[597]

6.3. Conceptual

With the development of national brand stories through the evolution of the film industry nationally, this can highlight more of South Africa's "Exports", "People" and "Histories", in not just the films we produce or co-produce, but possible further multipliers such as the intertextuality of film as a medium. This is already evident in throwaway lines that use South African stories to communicate complex narratives, such as the following lines from *Community*:

> Annie: …. Oh, wait. Where's Pierce?
> Jeff: Oh, sensitivity training with Gilbert. Apparently watching *Invictus* didn't do the trick.[598]

By referencing the film *Invictus*, South Africa, by virtue of the "Iconic" figure of Nelson Mandela is held up as an example of racial tolerance in the "Plot" of this episode of *Community*.

Another example, is through attributing and mapping South African innovations to its cities through the production of its own fictional filmic representation or even supplementary documentary content. An example is the medical "History" of Cape Town that is unattributed in this line from *Grey's Anatomy* (2008):

> Dr Bailey: …I'm here to perform a heart transplant today. I do hearts.

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[596] D. Juškelyté, "Film Induced Tourism: Destination Image Formation and Development", pp. 54 – 67; R.P. Basanez, "Film-Induced Tourism: The Imaginary of Place and the Place of the Imaginary", pp. 86 – 89; A. Hall, "Reading Realism: Audiences' Evaluations of the Reality of Media Texts", p. 638.

[597] D. Martin-Jones, "Film tourism as heritage tourism: Scotland, diaspora and the Da Vinci Code*", New Review of Film and Television Studies*, 12(2), 2006, pp. 156 – 177.

[598] T. Shapeero (Dir.), *Intro to Knots*, [Television Series: Season 4 Episode 10], 2013.

A procedure invented by Christiaan Barnard in 1967. I do hearts…[599]

South Africa is again featured in a throwaway line through the world's first heart transplant carried out at Groote Schuur in Cape Town. Arguably, this is a less prominent history, and more needs to be done to map this innovation to the South African landscape.

6.4. Practical

Hudson and Ritchie divide "destination marketing activities" into two phases, namely: "before release" and "after release", in reference to specific practical suggestions for DMOs as regards marketing destinations through filmic media. These activities are specifically designed with feature-length films in cinemas in mind, but can arguably be effectively adapted, applied and be more enduring with the revolution of viewing practices presented by the rise of streaming platforms. These may include: "Additional Media", "Co-promotion and Copyright Agreements" or even "Movie Maps/Tours".

More conscious efforts can be made through "Official Media" to map the "Cultural Capital" of Johannesburg to the city. For example, juxtaposing fictional landscapes from films with a real location in the city as was done by New Zealand Tourism and "Mount Doom" (aka Mount Nguaruhoe). To put this in a Johannesburg and *Black Panther* context, a marketing campaign with the tagline "Step Down to Maboneng Market" and then juxtaposing the image from the film with images of the bustling market in downtown Johannesburg.

This is, of course, subject to negotiations with production companies as regards copyright, co-promotion agreements and possible concessions. Although this is already present in the example from the City of Cape Town "film permit guide" that indicates a "criteria for the reduction of film location permit fees for tourism and investment promotion" [600] and the *CreamerMedia* interview that includes *Disney*, Joburg Tourism and the Gauteng Film Commission.[601] The effectiveness of the practical implication of this can be questioned. Why was Johannesburg just another

[599] E. Stoltz (Dir), *Grey's Anatomy: These Ties That Bind*, [Television Series: Season 5 Episode 8], The Mark Gordon Company, 2008.
[600] City of Cape Town, "Location Filming in Cape Town: a film permit guide", p. 36.
[601] *Creamer Media*, "Downtown Joburg showcased in big-budget Hollywood movie".

African city in *Avengers: Age of Ultron*? Large sections of downtown Johannesburg were closed down for about ten days to shoot the scene from the film, much to the chagrin of local communities and businesses due to the interruption to their lives and work caused by traffic and other problems.[602] Surely, this deserved a more prominent feature for the city. Or was there perhaps other parts of the negotiations that would have had the Johannesburg feature as Wakanda in *Black Panther*, which never materialised but was initially speculated by fans?[603]

A movie tour of the exterior and interior of the Ponte City Centre in Johannesburg is also perhaps not that far out of reach since there is probably enough filmic representation to create this product. Similar to the re-enactment at Alnwick Castle and Film destination sites, re-enactments from scenes in *Resident Evil: Final Chapter*, *Chappie* and *Avengers: Age of Ultron* could potentially be arranged with the correct copyright permissions and community approval.

By following Roesch's "Film tourism marketing guidelines",[604] negotiating with *Disney* to include extra content about the cultural significance of the Zulu women's hat worn by the Queen of Wakanda, played by Angela Bassett (Figure 22) in *Black Panther*, on the DVD (or on the Disney or Marvel websites),[605] thus enticing viewers to experience such rich "Culture" in real life. Or the Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency can run a competition to win a trip to the cultural heartland of the Wakandan language, where the winner can experience the "Culture" and perhaps even learn *isiXhosa*.[606] As foregrounded by both Roesch and Beeton, the consultation and participation of "Communities" in such endeavours is also critical to avoid "over-commercialisation"

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[602] *Drum*, "Joburgers upset over Avenger's filming".

[603] B. Gallagher, "Avenger: Age of Ultron: Is South Africa Not Doubling for Wakanda?", *Movieweb*, 10 February 2014, <https://movieweb.com/avengers-age-of-ultron-is-south-africa-not-doubling-for-wakanda/#:~:text=There%20has%20been%20much%20speculation,ten%20minutes%20of%20the%20sequel.>, Accessed December 2021.

[604] S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, pp. 37 – 38.

[605] S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, pp. 37 – 38; R. Coogler (dir.), *Black Panther*; *IMDB*, "*Black Panther*", n.d., <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1825683/fullcredits/?ref_=tt_ov_st_sm>, Accessed July 2018.

[606] S. Mkhabela, "How IsiXhosa Become The Official Language of Wakanda on '*Black Panther*", *OkayAfrica*, 19 February 2018, <http://www.okayafrica.com/black-panther-isixhosa-language/>, Accessed August 2018.

and ensure preparedness and willingness of the community to be part of the film tourism and filmic destination marketing process.[607]

Figure 22: Queen of Wakanda, Zulu Hat.[608]

[607] S. Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*, p. 234; S. Roesch, *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*, p. 56.
[608] R. Coogler (Dir.), *Black Panther*

Table 4: Practical suggestions in various phases of filmic destination marketing.[609]

Phase	Activity/ies	Stakeholders Involved
Phase 1 - Preparation: The development of an enabling environment for film, film tourism and filmic destination marketing.	Develop the local film industry Grow and nurture local talent and skills Develop a local culture of filmmaking and a strong national cinema Develop facilities for film production Develop local content for international markets Develop promotional partnerships with film companies that can combine promotion from DMO and production companies, potentially cutting costs for both.	Educational Institutions Departments of Tourism Departments of Arts and Culture Local Film Industry
	Promote the destination as Filming Location Promote local attractions and facilities Promote local stories Possibly merge film commission and DMO to streamline this process Consider whether a film is translatable to an international audience (reach, language and genre: what films provide the best opportunities) while still displaying unique cultural aspects of a place	DMOs / Film Commission
	Develop film friendly policies for both local and international filmmakers Cut down on red tape and permits Reduce cost by providing tax incentives Negotiate copyright agreements with film companies	Government Departments: Trade and Industry, Arts and Culture, Foreign Affairs Tourism & Film Commission/DMOs

[609] Adapted from: D. Juškelyté, "Film Induced Tourism: Destination Image Formation and Development", pp. 54 – 67.

Phase 2 - The film production cycle Develop cooperation relations and support film production in terms of story, filming and film promotion activities	Promote narrative diversity Decision–making based on what brand stories to support by DMOs and film commissions should be guided by diversity. With more complex narratives countries can mitigate the impact of undesired or negative images. Promote factual information through fictional narratives, both within films and in accompanying media. Conceptually mapping a film to a landscape and vice versa through accompanying media, for example, through icons and celebrity social media	Film Companies, Media, Educational Institutions and Film Commission/DMOs
	Assist in Location Filming Assist filmmakers in research and development, for example, historical attire (props) Provide hospitality and accommodation services Promote tourism industry through film promotion	Film Companies and Tourism Industry
Phase 3: Post production capitalisation Maximize impact	Develop and distribute accompanying media Conceptually mapping a film to a landscape and vice versa through accompanying media, for example, movie maps for tourism or short documentaries about cultural expressions on YouTube Producing factual information about specific places or cultural expressions depicted in a film and linking them to the film in news article Distribute accompanying media via news and social media Develop film tour products where appropriate	Local Film Industry, Local Tourism Industry, Educational Institutions, Heritage and Cultural Organisations, Media DMOs/Film Commissions

6.5 Conclusion

The narratives and images of cities (places/destination attributes/supply) in popular filmic representations (stories/information/media/films-specific attributes) add to the lexicon of organic information sources to make various audiences (people/potential tourists/audience attributes/demand) aware of a destination, its people and cultures (destination image/narratives of place/cultural capital), or make "a place famous".[610] This can inspire specific audiences to connect with a destination through various "practical" and "conceptual" processes that map narratives and images to a location and potentially motivate travel. These processes are further facilitated through several "practical" activities and collaborative "infrastructural" arrangements by various stakeholders (government, NGO and industry collaboration) to make a destination viable (location-feasibility attributes) for film, film tourism and filmic destination marketing.

International examples in the sustained distribution of stories that have roots in a destination (for example, familiarising the globe New York City) or are superimposed over a destination (for example, New Zealand as middle-earth) have familiarised and identified places that create perceptions and expectations about what it is "like in such places", and the "Stories", "Histories", "Myths", "People", "Cultures", "Cityscapes", "Exports", "Scenery" and "Icons" that can be experienced when visiting these places. They have the potential to align with the push motivation of certain audiences (potential tourists) to pull them to travel to these locations.

In the context of South Africa and Johannesburg, unfortunately, these attributes are much less distributed, still remain one-dimensional and perhaps mostly act as deterrents from rather than travel to a destination. This is not a result of the narratives themselves, but the limited scope of experiences offered to the world through the fictional filmic media representation of the country and city. The perceived limited narratives of Africa as a place of violence, crime, racism and poverty does little to "pull" tourists, particularly to our cities. The potential of more popular genres like Sci-Fi, Action, Fantasy and Adventure offers multiple opportunities to rectify such limited distribution and one-dimensional narratives, as is the case with the *MCU* and works

[610] S. Anholt, "Definitions of place branding", p. 7.

by director Neill Blomkamp capitalising on these opportunities relies on further infrastructural arrangements exemplified by examples such as the filming incentives and corresponding criteria offered in Haryana, India.

Conscious efforts to implement these “conceptual” and “infrastructural” elements through the “practical” suggestions and best practice examples presented in this dissertation can make South Africa and Johannesburg more enabling environments for location filming, film tourism and filmic destination marketing. Ultimately, the distribution of more diverse narratives of place and tourist destination images that familiarise the city or country in popular consciousness can further stimulate inbound tourism to experience the real and the imaginary of a destination.

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