

Repositório ISCTE-IUL

Deposited in *Repositório ISCTE-IUL*:

2022-11-14

Deposited version:

Accepted Version

Peer-review status of attached file:

Peer-reviewed

Citation for published item:

Noivo, M. A., Dias, Á. & Jiménez-Caballero, J. L. (2022). Connecting the dots between battlefield tourism and creative tourism: the case of the Peninsular War in Portugal. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*. 17 (6), 648-668

Further information on publisher's website:

10.1080/1743873X.2022.2116983

Publisher's copyright statement:

This is the peer reviewed version of the following article: Noivo, M. A., Dias, Á. & Jiménez-Caballero, J. L. (2022). Connecting the dots between battlefield tourism and creative tourism: the case of the Peninsular War in Portugal. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*. 17 (6), 648-668, which has been published in final form at <https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1743873X.2022.2116983>. This article may be used for non-commercial purposes in accordance with the Publisher's Terms and Conditions for self-archiving.

Use policy

Creative Commons CC BY 4.0

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a link is made to the metadata record in the Repository
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Battlefield Tourism and Creative Tourism: Connecting the dots

Abstract

This exploratory research provides insights into the intersection between battlefield tourism and creative tourism in Portugal. Battlefield tourism focused on the Peninsular Wars has drawn the attention of the local stakeholders, although being an under-researched academic theme. Furthermore, limited research has been found about the dynamics within battlefield tourism and creative tourism despite its impact on communities, touristic experiences and themed events. As such, this study aims (i) to identify factors that contribute to enhancing heritage through Battlefield Tourism and if in heritage-themed tourism events like re-enactment and historical recreations play an important role in the touristic activation of a community; (ii) to clarify the role of stakeholders, creative tourism experiences and tourist perceptions as part of battlefield tourism development. By leading in-depth interviews with stakeholders (tourism agents, guides and tour operators), findings reveal that stakeholders value Re-enactment and Living History as part of the creative experience, promoting interactive, diverse, and more enriching contact with local culture. Creative Tourism appeared as a key driver in the success of tourism in these destinations, enhancing local communities' participation, network cooperation, sustained development, local identity, and ethnographic memory. Finally, theoretical contributions and new lines of investigation are discussed.

Keywords: Battlefield Tourism; Creative Tourism; Napoleonic Military Tourism

Introduction |

Battlegrounds are a fertile field to be discovered and battlefield tourism is capturing a growing touristic and academic attention as can be followed in the most referenced journals and researchers (cf. Dunkley et al., 2011; Seaton, 2000, 2004; Hertzog, 2012; Miles, 2012, 2013, 2014; Hartman, 2014; Ryan, 2007, 2014; Melstroom, 2014; Iles, 2006, 2008; Baldwin and Sharpley, 2009; Prideaux, 2014;). However, few researchers have devoted themselves to the study of battlefield tourism concerning the Napoleonic period (cf. Seaton, 1999) and the Peninsular Wars in particular.

In the last seven years, since 2015, battlefield tourism attention has deepened lines of investigation and focused on other places of conflict and memory (cf. Melstroom, 2020; Chylińska, 2020; Eade and Katic, 2017; Ivanova and Light, 2018; Çakar, 2020; Chen, and Tsai, 2019; Proos, and Hattingh, 2020). The interest related to the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the Peninsular Wars (1810-2010) gave rise to growing research on this topic originating studies such as those by Galán (2017), Mogollón et. al. (2017, 2019), Zurita-Aldeguer and Rico (2018, 2020), and Perez-Ruiz (2020), though, mainly in Iberian Peninsula Journals. Nevertheless, to our best knowledge, there is no literature dedicated to an updated view on these tourist destinations exploring the link between creative tourism and battlefield tourism and identifying the factors that enhance the tourist experience.

Peninsular Wars gathered an increased interest in the communities, stakeholders, and local and central government alike, despite the lack of academic research on the theme. This lack of research represents an obstacle not only to the development of battlefield tourism but also to the contribution that creative tourism may bring as a driving force for tourism as well as for a community's touristic activation.

Furthermore, battlefield tourism has been studied with a greater focus within the medieval period and First and Second World Wars, addressing Military Tourism in Europe from an Anglo-Saxon perspective but not in the Iberian Peninsula (c.f. Miles, 2012, 2014; Ryan, 2007; Dunkley et Al. 2011; Lloyd, 1998; Seaton, 2000; Piekarz, 2007).

This paper focuses on the historical period of the Peninsular Wars that took place between 1807 and 1814. The terrain under scope comprehends the most relevant Portuguese battlefields of the set of battles, sieges, combats, emblematic places, and fortifications directly linked to the war against the Napoleonic armies. Specifically, the main following heritage sites of the battlefields of Bussaco, Vimeiro, Roliça, Almeida, Linhas de Torres and re-enactment events on these heritage sites.

The Peninsular Wars as a topic of battlefield tourism encompasses a remarkable set of tourism and cultural resources, spaces of historical memory of the people and cultural landscapes with an impact on tourism and heritage. However, while historiography, museology and archaeology research and publish on this theme, in the field of tourism, the literature is still incipient despite the undeniable value of the Peninsular Wars.

The Peninsular Wars have been emerging as a theme with great potential for tourism and tourism research. The UNESCO Cultural Routes included the Napoleonic theme and both the Portuguese and Spanish governments have been promoting Napoleonic Routes since 2020 (cf. Perez-Ruiz, 2020; Mogollón et al., 2019).

Compared to battlefield tourism's extensive research devoted to the 20th century, the Peninsular Wars seem under-researched, even though it is in the Iberian Peninsula that we find the greatest concentration of battlefields of this era (see figure 1) and where Wellington built fame and Napoleon began his decline.

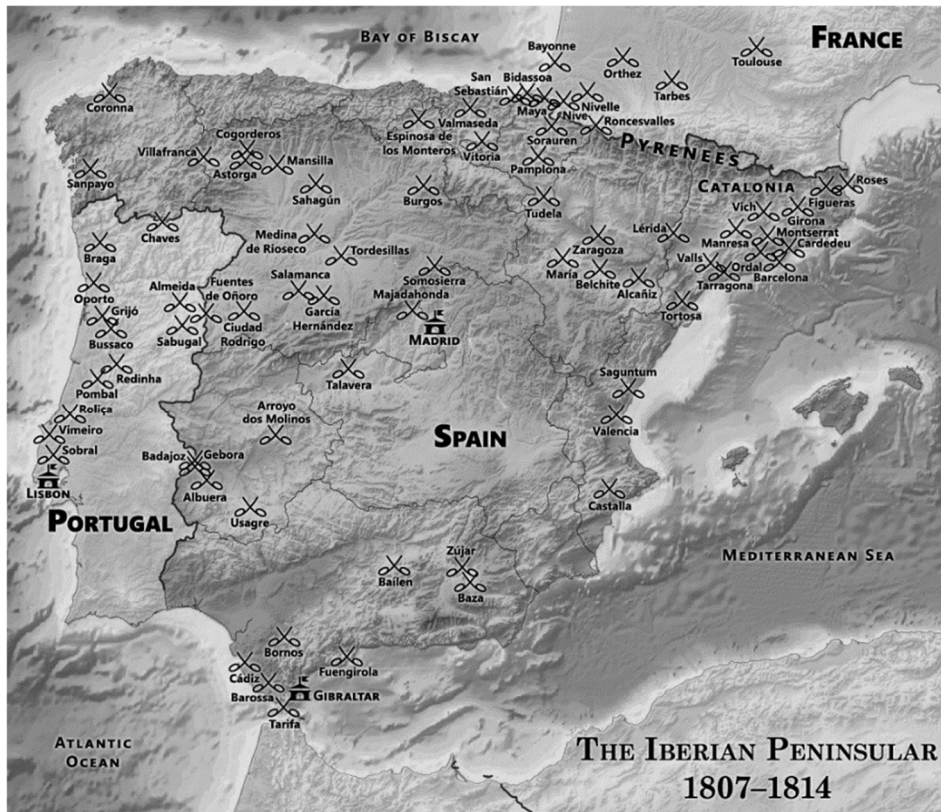


Figure 1. Battlefields of the Peninsular Wars.

Retrieved February 21, 2022 from

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Peninsular_War_map_1807%E2%80%931814.png

This file is licensed under the [Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/) license.

Author: MarcusBritish

Battlefield tourism experiences emerge as complex, deeply meaningful and in some cases life-changing (Dunkley, Morgan & Westwood, 2011), suggesting socio-cultural experiences (Çakar, 2020) involving cultural, historical, and creative motivations which are key elements of creative tourism (Richards & Wilson, 2006). Furthermore, due to the involvement of communities, touristic experiences, and themed events, battlefield tourism can benefit from creative and immersive experiences. By exploring how tourist experiences can be enhanced by the experiences created on the battlefields, we also address Tan et. al. (2013) challenge, specifically the need for further research on creative experiences in on-site activities. Furthermore, this article contributes to the response to Richards (2020) issue regarding the activation of local assets that directly benefit local people.

This exploratory research provides insights into the intersection between battlefield tourism and creative tourism. The importance and originality of this study are also related to exploring the intersection of these areas which constitutes an underdeveloped topic in the literature, especially in the Iberian Peninsula context and towards new post-pandemic opportunities. More specifically, this study aims to identify the factors that contribute to enhancing the touristic experience through battlefield tourism and creative tourism applied to selected heritage sites in Portugal during the Peninsular Wars (1807-1814) period.

To reach the objective we conducted a qualitative study using in-depth interviews to provide insights into the perceptions, considerations, and dynamics that stakeholders

identify when creative tourism and battlefield tourism develop touristic attractions like the battlefields of Bussaco, Vimeiro, Roliça, Almeida, Linhas de Torres and re-enactment events on this heritage sites. The authors also intend to contribute to the theoretical discussion that aims to clarify the role of stakeholders, creative tourism experiences and tourist perceptions as part of the development and touristic activation of battlefield tourism.

The contribution of this study is twofold. First, to our best knowledge there is no previous research linking battlefield tourism and creative tourism. Establishing this link is particularly important since “creative experience is particularly suitable for on-site experiences; it can be applied in other tourism sites where the industry practitioners wish to provide creative experiences for tourists.” Tan et al. 2013, p. 171. Second, concerning the gap in battlefield tourism, the dominant view and understanding of the battlefield tourist, their motivations, and interpretations, does not sufficiently explore those who visit the battlefields in the Iberian Peninsula related to the Peninsular Wars.

This paper has been divided into five sections. The first part gives a brief introductory overview of the theme and the research. A second section presents the literature review with the theoretical background, research gaps and lines of investigation on which this research is based. The third section concerns the methodology used for this study. The fourth section analyses the results of interviews and focus group discussions undertaken during the research, presenting the discussion focused on the dominant themes which emerged from all the interviews as well as the considerations and co-relations. Finally, the paper concludes by proposing theoretical contributions, implications, limitations, and further research opportunities.

Historical background and location

The Peninsular Wars were part of the Napoleonic Wars and took place between 1807 and 1814, with Portugal and Spain as the theatre of operations. After the invasion of Spain and then Portugal by the Napoleonic armies, England sent an army commanded by General Arthur Wellesley, future Duke of Wellington. The English reorganised what remained of the Portuguese army and Wellesley formed and commanded an allied army which only later would integrate Spanish allied forces focusing on the objective of expelling Napoleon's armies from the Iberian Peninsula and impeding French domination of Portugal and Spain, consequently menacing England's balance (cf. Oman,1908; Esdaile, 2003). Portugal was invaded by the French three times and battles, combats and sieges occurred, these being considered for this paper.

During the first invasion (1807-1808) commanded by Gen. Jean-Andoche Junot, two major battles took place, in Roliça (17 August 1808) and Vimeiro (21 August 1808) where the Anglo-Portuguese army led by Wellesley was victorious. The second invasion under Marshal Soult (1809) was limited to the north of Portugal and only the Battle of Porto (29 March 1809), the Battle of Grijó (10-11 May 1809) and the combat of Amarante (18 April – 2 May 1809) are significant and forced the French retreat. Meanwhile, Wellesley is determined to protect the Lisbon Peninsula and orders the construction of the Defensive Lines of Torres Vedras (October 1809 - October 1810) transforming in one year the landscape into a citadel stretching from the river Tagus to the Atlantic (see Figure 2).

Completed in 1812, the five defensive lines (three to the north and two to the south of Lisbon) defended the capital with a total of 178 forts and redoubts and close to 70,000 men. (cf. Oman, 1908, 1911, 1914)

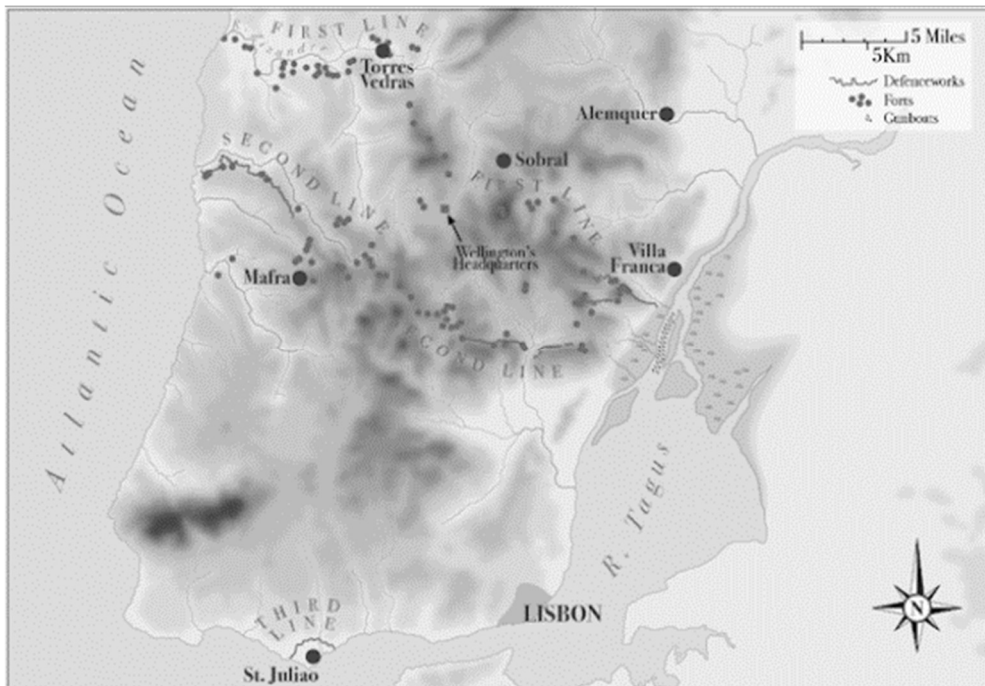


Figure 2. The 1st Line stretched for 46 km and the 2nd Line for 39 km. The 3rd Line protected the Fort of São Julião da Barra where the British army should embark if the Lines collapsed. Retrieved February 21, 2022, from <https://www.military-history.org/feature/map-of-the-wellingtons-lines-of-torres-vedras-from-september-1880.htm>

With Portugal secured, Wellesley advances into Spain starting the Talavera campaign supported by the Spanish army and the Spanish people.

A third invasion (1810-1811) is commanded by Marshal André Massena and the first action is the Battle of Côa (24 July 1810), followed by the 1st Almeida Siege (15-28 August 1810) and the explosion of the fortress. The city of Almeida, a star-shaped Vauban style fortification is captured by the French. Wellington and the allied army reposition strategically in the mountains of Bussaco and wait for the French. The Battle of Bussaco (27 September 1810) is the most important of all the battles fought in Portugal during the three invasions (See figure 3).

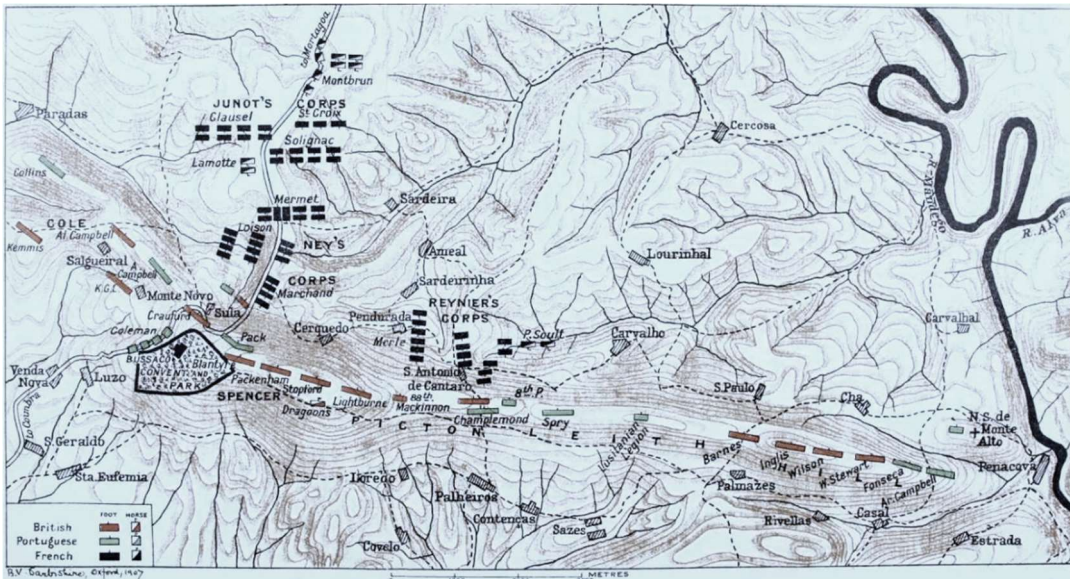


Figure 3. The Anglo-Portuguese army with 52,000 men against the French army with 65,000 men took part in the Battle of Bussaco. Retrieved February 22, 2022, from <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/55231/55231-h/images/xpnd.jpg>

After the defeat in the Battle of Bussaco, the French army managed to escape, flanking the allied position and marched in direction of Coimbra, heading south towards Lisbon not knowing that the defensive lines were constructed around 50 km north of the capital, blocking their advance.

On the arrival of Massena in Sobral de Monte Agraço, in October 1810, the 1st, the 2nd and the 3rd Lines of Torres are defended by 126 forts and redoubts and all the allied army takes positions between the 1st and the 2nd Line. In Sobral, Massena is just in front of Wellington who commands the army from the Forte Grande do Alqueidão (see Figure 4), one of the two major fortifications, being the other the Fort of São Vicente in Torres Vedras. Several combats occur (Sobral, Outeiro, Dois Portos, etc.) but the French never attack the forts directly. (cf. Oman, 1911, 1914)

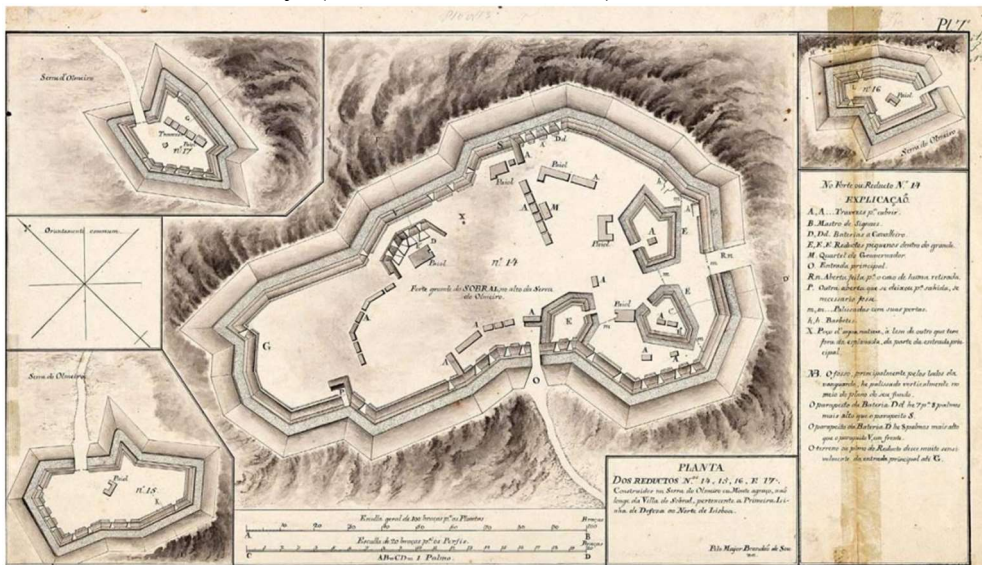


Figure 4. Plan of the Forte Grande do Alqueidão- no. 14 (Sobral) and its three supporting forts (no. 16, no. 17 and no. 15) which are similar in size to most of the forts in the Lines of Torres Vedras. Source: Cota 4742-3-34-47- GEAEM/DIE (Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar/Direção de Infraestruturas do Exército, Lisboa)

While occupying Sobral, Marshal Massena stands in front of the Lines until his retreat on the 14th of November. Wellington rushes in pursuit while Massena heads for the frontier close to Almeida. Several battles and combats like Pombal, Redinha, Condeixa, Casal Novo, Foz de Arouce, Sabugal, and finally, while Almeida French garrison was besieged (7 April – 10 May 1811) by the Anglo-Portuguese army, a decisive battle was about to be fought in the frontier, the Battle of Fuentes de Oñoro (3-5 May 1811), ending the 3rd invasion of Portugal (cf. Oman 1911, 1914; Napier, 1831). The allies' war against Napoleon would continue in Spain with major battles and sieges and it would only end in France with the Battle of Toulouse on the 12 April 1814 (see Figure 1).

Peninsular Wars' battlefield tourism explores a historical period beyond our living memory, suggesting different perspectives from the main studies which are focused on the 20th century wars. Being these the main literature references, an alignment with terms of recent or living memory is suggested. This opens an opportunity for the local communities regarding the Napoleonic period in the Iberian Peninsula where local history and community memories from 200 years ago are pointed out in this study as an important part of the sites' historical interpretation.

Overview of the Portuguese Peninsular Wars tourism offer

The results presented below were collected from the national tourism promotion entity (Turismo de Portugal), the Associação do Turismo Militar Português (ATMPT), and researched in Google search engines. None of the entities has specific data on the total number of visitors dedicated to Battlefield Tourism.

The Portuguese tourism offer in the context of the Peninsular wars can be presented through the following main elements: tourist attractions, Cultural Routes, tour operators, types of Tours and thematic events that include historical re-enactments.

The tourist attractions that are part of the Peninsular wars are mainly distributed in the region of Lisbon, in the Centre, and in the North of Portugal as this was the territory where the three French invasions took place. We can identify thirty-nine sites in Portugal that are tourist attractions specifically dedicated to the Peninsular Wars and that include cities, military structures, battlefields, military museums, and interpretation centres. If we consider the forts of the Lines of Torres on an individual basis, we will have to add another 178 sites.

To promote battlefield tourism and attract visitors, several public entities that promote tourism have developed Cultural Routes dedicated to the Peninsular Wars. The most visible ones are the Historical Route of the Lines of Torres, the Routes of the French Invasions in the Centre of the country, the Napoleonic Routes through Spain, and Portugal (NAPOCTEP) - an Interreg European project led by the Centre region - Coimbra, and the Peninsular Wars Route created by the Portuguese Military Tourism Association (ATMPT). In the private sector that develops tourism products for this theme, we were able to identify seven Portuguese companies with tours dedicated to the Peninsular Wars and five British companies that organize circuits with guided tours including Battlefields in Portugal and Spain.

Our focus is only on companies operating in Portugal, although it is common to have guided tours on the battlefields just across the border in Spain, namely Badajoz, Fuentes de Oñoro, La Albuera and Salamanca (Los Arapiles).

The various tours focus on each of the regions where there is a concentration of attractions, namely: the Lisbon region with the Lines of Torres; the Oeste region with the battlefields of Vimeiro and Roliça; the Coimbra region with the battlefield of Bussaco and Penacova and Mortágua; the Centre border region of Almeida with the battles of Sabugal, Almeida and Côa; the Northern region with Porto, Grijó, and Chaves. These represent the key attractions of the Peninsular Wars in Portugal.

The most common type of tour is the one-day guided tour which may include an overview of the Lines of Torres, a visit to the two most important forts (Forte Grande do Alqueidão in Sobral de Monte Agraço and Fort of São Vicente in Torres Vedras) and other two more common forts along the Lines, and a visit to one of the Interpretation Centres of the Lines. The two-day visit allows the addition of a second region. Multiple-day trips are not so common for small groups of tourists (2-4 people) which is the most referred type of group. Guided circuits (20-35 people) are common in organized tours by British tour operators that visit battlefields in Spain and Portugal.

Regarding commemorative events that include a historical recreation, there was a great deal of interest and events before the pandemic and the post-pandemic expectation is very favourable for a large growth of these initiatives in response to stakeholders' interest, community participation and touristic interest. We can thus identify the main historical battle recreations in order of importance by the number of participants: Almeida, Vimeiro, Bussaco, Porto, Sobral de Monte Agraço, and Roliça. The historical recreation groups dedicated to the Napoleonic period have grown in number and participants. Currently, there are eleven organised groups, the most important being the Portuguese Napoleonic Association (Associação Napoleónica Portuguesa).

We note the growth in opportunities and resources for the promotion of battlefield tourism, but our study and analysis suggest that tourism operators do not create sufficient tourism offer that takes advantage of these historical recreation events. The creation of tours and guided circuits occurs throughout the year but a greater focus on the commemoration of battle events suggests this is an opportunity to be explored, improving creative experiences and more interactive initiatives between tourists and the communities.

Literature Review |

The theme of creative tourism has been the subject of wide research over the past two decades (e.g., Bruin & Jelincic, 2016; Richards & Wilson, 2006). The discussion involves various topics such as creative tourists (Ali, Ryu & Hussain, 2016; Tan, Kung & Luh, 2013; Tan, Tan & Luh, 2016), the atmosphere (Maitland, 2010; Santagata & Bertacchini, 2011), creative entrepreneurs (Komppula, 2014; Mottiar, 2007; Richards, 2011b), destination marketing (Dias-sardinha, Ross, & Gomes, 2018), the role of public entities (Clare, 2012) or the creative product itself (Binkhorst & Den Dekker, 2009; Drake, 2003). Creative tourism is related to a shared learning-by-doing experience embracing a range of experiential learning activities (De Bruin & Jelincic, 2016). Furthermore, this interactive engagement in creative tourism (Dias et al., 2020a) involves the promotion of local culture and authentic experiences (Remoaldo & Cadima-Ribeiro, 2019) “only attainable if the ‘lecturers’ in charge of conducting the creative activities are local people

and are able to perform creative activities embedded in the local/regional culture and heritage” (p. 87).

Despite all this vast research dedicated to creative tourism, it seems opportune to find the links with battlefield tourism that we have not identified in the literature and thus contribute to a better understanding of the role of stakeholders.

We can certainly ask if creative tourism has correlations with battlefield tourism and if heritage-themed tourism events, like re-enactment and historical recreations, it plays an important role in the touristic enhancement of the community.

Our focus is on the concept of battlefield tourism, a particular type of thanatourism (Seaton, 1996), considered part of warfare tourism. It covers visits to war memorials, war museums, battle re-enactments, battlefield tourism experiences and battlefield tours (Dunkley, 2010). Seaton (2018) discusses the use of the term ‘dark tourism’ as both suppliers and tourists appear to reject it as a pejorative and unwelcome label. Therefore, the term ‘thanatourism’ was preferred as well by some writers (Seaton, 2018). An important issue for Seaton (2018) is also the importance of remembrance, with dark tourism being an encounter with the remembrance of death rather than the death itself. It comes from the recognition of the EOR model, Engineered and Orchestrated Remembrance, which focused not on death but on the nature of remembrance, the forms it may take, and the effects it may produce. In the present study, this EOR model may be used as Seaton purposes, to the better positioning of the products by the tourism practitioners.

It may be particularly relevant for destination agencies seeking narratives through which to promote their regions. Identifying thanatourism opportunities in a place depends upon systematically inventorying historical resources that may lend themselves to engineering and orchestration as dark tourism narratives. (Seaton, 2018, p.24)

Following this perspective, the narrative produced by the stakeholders and the awareness of the touristic resources available, stimulate these encounters with remembrance as it takes many different forms and affects people differently at different times and in different contexts (Seaton, 2018). In consequence, to enhance the touristic experience, perspectives of stakeholders suggest being important contributions.

The stakeholder involvement has been also pointed out by Bird, et al. (2018) and showed its relevance as part of the *heritage force field* (Seaton, 2009), acknowledging individual perspectives, interests and actions towards implementation and maintenance of a balanced force field in heritage or dark tourism setting. What Bird et al. (2018) argues is that visitors are also important as stakeholders and that, as in Normandy (and France in general), the sensitivities of war memory evolved and shaped the *tourisme de mémoire/remembrance* tourism branding. (Bird et al. 2018, p.655)

Another interesting connection that can be explored in this remembrance tourism (Bird et al., 2019) is a more embodied and more sensorial (Bird calls it sensual) experience on these battlefields. Though with far more historical distance and diluted vestiges in the field, the peninsular wars can relate to Bird's D-Day research. The embodiment of remembrance experienced by the visitor connects death, the body and tourism through the senses and the mind, body, and landscape work together to connect the person to place and past ((bird et al. 2019). The concept of embodiment is understood as a way of

understanding culture and the self-concerning practices of movement, thinking and sensing (Palmer and Andrews, 2019).

This sensorial and embodied lived experience suggests a connection with the notion or sense of place that Jepson and Sharpley (2015) explored in an engagement with the landscape where deep and emotional experiences induce spiritual or emotional responses. Visitors to battlefields and meaningful historical sites seem to relate to this emotional experience. It can even be more complex and closer to Smith's (2015) concept of sense of place (or *terroir* of a place) in the case of place-based cultural tourism, including history, local traditions and cultures, religion, industry, the natural environment, cuisine, and arts, as well as attractions and events (Smith, 2015).

Farrel (2011) argues that battlefields are landscapes where the knowledge of how weather, terrain, soil, geology, vegetation, and waterways were at work during the battle also aids in the interpretation of the battlefield. Geographical information provides tactical opportunities and challenges for the commanders and all the components and features contribute to the landscape's historic character (Farrel, 2011). These fields of conflict imbed the complex notion of the battlefield, or as Chylinska (2020) points out, a "battlefield landscape is often a literary silent witness to history, telling us nothing of the past", showing the need to make it more legible to make the past present in today's landscape. While being a resource for tourism, historical battlefield sites are essentially defined as a physical site on the land where opposing forces clashed.

In tourism practice, the battlefields and the memory reserved for them are part of the tourism offer and their activation is a determining factor for their knowledge and safeguard. Tourism activation is associated with the identification, classification, presentation/interpretation, and transformation of endogenous resources into valuable tourist attractions for cultural-tourism market-oriented fruition (Coelho, 2011; Figueira, 2013).

The attraction for the battlefields in the form of tourism had the first evidence in Waterloo (1815). Existing studies concluded that the first organized visits to battlefields of the past took place in the nineteenth century and included active conflict areas (Miles, 2012; Lloyd, 1998; Seaton, 1999) with Waterloo, the South African battlefields of the Boer War and Gettysburg standing out with 3 million visitors recorded in 1863 (Miles, 2012).

Miles (2012) also mentions that after the First and Second World Wars, battlefield tourism responded to motivations that lead visitors to perpetuate the memory of their fallen family members when visiting places of conflict, the sensations of being present in battlegrounds where history has changed, or even the educational, historical, and cultural value concentrated in those spaces of collective memory.

Battlefield tourism has emerged as an important form of tourist activity that has expanded beyond the parameters of former battlefields and museums, to include new experiences such as re-enactments, alternative histories, and the addition of sites that have an association with military activity (Ryan, 2007). This expanded dimension demonstrates the complexity of the battlefields as a cultural and heritage resource by adding material and immaterial heritage to the natural and cultural landscape.

In the last few decades, historical recreation has emerged as an outstanding means of disseminating history and cultural heritage that can be included in cultural and event tourism, increasing visitor numbers and enhancing the dissemination and conservation of

local heritage, promoted mainly by local inhabitants and tourism stakeholders, (Mogollón et al., 2017).

The American Civil War gathers extensive studies regarding Re-enactment and Living History, namely Hunt (2004) whose approach to American Civil War Society provided important insights arguing that re-enacted events, certainly in the case of a male-dominated 'living history' society, are not primarily an educational exercise. Rather, they are meaningful for the individuals involved, sustaining, and enhancing their lifestyle interests and a 'serious' hobby through camaraderie, collective involvement, and a subjective understanding of authenticity (Hunt, 2004).

The participation of community and re-enactor groups in these themed events suggests a sharing of motivations and tourist and educational experiences that seem common between the Peninsular Wars and the American Civil War. The prevalence of the involvement of locals in these events, being popular in the USA, may be a reference for future studies.

Alongside the recent cultural tourism trends of edutainment, active participation, learning, and the interest in the 'unique'; the desire of tourists to get involved in the creative process has been steadily gaining popularity. The final aim of this desire for involvement is not necessarily the creation of an artwork, but rather the process of experiencing (Jusztin, 2012). It has also been pointed out how creative tourism can bring sustainable and profitable development to small communities in low-density areas (Ohridska-Olson, 2010). Richards (2011a) argues that in this field, the emphasis shift from tangible to intangible culture and the basic experience consists of an exchange of knowledge and skills between host and guest. This produces a more locally driven, equitable and arguably more 'authentic' form of cultural tourism. It is presumed that this concern for historical accuracy, authenticity and identity is highly promoted by Military Re-enactment events that battlefield tourism dynamizes, establishing creative attractions for national and international tourists like was argued by Hall (2016) when addressing authenticity in living history and re-enactment events in groups of Civil War reenactors. Local development has been an opportunity when festivals and cultural events alike attract visitors. This and several other studies recognise the contribution to empowering rural communities and improving small-town life quality (Cai et al, 2008, Giaccone and Galvano, 2021). Other important factors are the social value created in the host community and the added value of including creative tourism activities which promote social connections between the visitors and the local host (Galvano & Giaccone, 2019).

Tourism has changed in the context of the pandemic and post-pandemic, and a more sustainable and inclusive approach for the local community is an opportunity (hall et al., 2020). Fisher and Wilder-Smith (2020) pointed out that most destinations do not present a different approach to dealing with the crisis generated by the pandemic. Other authors advocate long-term strategies towards more sustainable tourism through integrated solutions with contributions from all stakeholders, promotion of creativity, idiosyncratic cultural experiences, a better distribution of value and a local community where entrepreneurship, place identity and self-awareness are part of the tourism development (Gössling et al., 2020, Linderová et al., 2021, Dias et al., 2020b). Furthermore, as argued by Dias, González-Rodríguez and Patuleia (2021), tourists, the atmosphere, entrepreneurs, and the destination management organization are key ingredients of a creative tourism destination. Irimiás (2014) research showed that tourists' experiences might be significantly enhanced through the interaction with the heritage site and through

their personal involvement. The author pointed out that co-creation of the tourism experience at war heritage sites might drive to a better understanding of historical events when the co-creation experience offers the possibility to state tourists' views, express their sorrow, and especially, feel more involved in history even with virtual participation. Studies such as those by Coelho, Figueira, and Costa (2004) have focused on Portugal's military heritage, defining a strategy for the promotion and valorisation of military tourism. Galán (2017) explored the valorisation of battlefields through musealisation and the importance of their registration. Mogollón et. al. (2017, 2019) addressed the battlefields for their importance as a tourism resource widely valued by celebrations and historical recreations, specifically in the Battle of Albuera. Zurita-Aldeguer and Rico (2018, 2020) gave relevance to the "remarkable potential for didactics and tourism" recognizing in the battlefields a very own complexity that combines cultural heritage - material and immaterial - and natural heritage. They also advocate the enhancement of digital technology for the interpretation of the memory and fruition of these spaces today. Perez-Ruiz (2020) identified and analysed different heritage values associated with the presence of Napoleon Bonaparte in the Douro Valley, developing a cultural route that enhances the touristic value of the War of Independence.

These studies conducted in Portugal and Spain always focused on battlefields and only Mogollón et. al. (2017, 2019) analysed participants in a specific historical recreation, that of the battle of Albuera (Mogollón et al. 2017), to characterise the participants in the event and understand their motivations. Our contribution fills the existing gap in the literature on the Portuguese territory and updates data as, to our best knowledge, none has focused their work on stakeholders and their dynamics.

The above-mentioned literature suggests the need to deepen research on the specific context of Portugal's battlefield tourism. The authors also intend to characterize the tourists who visited until March 2020 the Battlefields of the Napoleonic period existing in Portugal and thus contribute to a better understanding of the perception that is made by the Tourism Agents who guide visitors on the battlefields. Who are these tourists, and what characterizes and motivates them to visit such unique heritage? It is also our aim to understand the opinion shared by operators on the tourists' vision of the battlefields, the tourist experience, the existing immersive dynamics, and the future opportunities for the interpretation of these so singular and complex spaces as Galán (2017) characterises. All these questions seek, in a comprehensive way, to indicate factors that enhance the tourist experience, through better knowledge and awareness about this type of offer by those who build and design battlefield tourism.

Thus, with this study, we intend to contribute to the debate on this connection between battlefield tourism and creative tourism, highlighting the perspectives that agents in the field point out. Our practical contribution is to provide stakeholders with the impacting factors that promote better battlefield tourism experiences in which creative tourism initiatives are a great enabler.

Most of the existing theory is based on the historical periods of the First and Second World Wars and its analyses served as a basis for our approach to the Peninsular Wars. However, we assume that a better approach may exist, focusing only on the theory specific to this theme, although for the moment this is insufficient and hence, we have used the studies of these closest periods as a reference. We intend to improve, deepen and adapt the analysis in forthcoming research.

In this way, other countries, other destinations, and other battlefields may have more data to compare results about the impact between local communities and tourism agents.

Methodology |

This research adopts an interpretivist approach to identify the factors that contribute to enhancing the touristic experience within the intersection between battlefield tourism and creative tourism, considering the role of stakeholders, the community, and the tourists.

We adopted a qualitative approach because this is the methodology that allows us to explore the topics under discussion in depth. As Dunkley et al. (2017) highlighted, to capture in-depth understandings and to gain meaningful insights into the interviewees' experiences, a "softer" interpretative approach (Harris, Wilson, & Ateljevic, 2007) was chosen to explore perceptions and knowledge using a vast number of questions to allow a more reflexive and interactive analysis.

To achieve this main objective, a series of specific objectives are proposed:

RQ1 - To clarify the role of stakeholders, creative tourism experiences and tourist perceptions as part of the development of battlefield tourism.

RQ2 - To provide insights into the perceptions, considerations, and dynamics that stakeholders identify when creative tourism and battlefield tourism develops touristic attractions and re-enactment events on these heritage sites.

RQ3 - Do heritage-themed tourism events, like re-enactment and historical recreations play an important role in the touristic sustainability of a community?

RQ4 - To characterize the tourist motivations and experiences about battlefield tourism in Portugal, based on existing literature, today's tourist's portrait, and stakeholders' perceptions.

The study took place between January 2020 and March 2021. Regarding its methods, to characterize stakeholders' perceptions and awareness of tourist motivations and experiences about battlefield tourism and the connection with creative tourism, this work is based on existing literature and collected data through qualitative research using in-depth individual interviews with main stakeholders (associations, cultural tourism promoters, tourism agents, guides, and tour operators).

Although the demand-side perspective is important, our study focused on the supply side. The pandemic raised some difficulties, which were overcome by conducting the interviews online, designed to deepen perceptions and considerations based on field experience of stakeholders and professionals who deal with tourists in the Portuguese battlefield tourism dedicated to the Peninsular Wars.

With regard to the validity and reliability of the approach, we followed the methodology of Miles (2012) partially. This author interviewed stakeholders and experts connected with battlefield management as well as those representing the community of battlefield enthusiasts, to obtain perceptions focusing on the study objectives. As Miles did, it was important to record the text as close to the *ipsissima verba* as possible to give the results credibility and to guard against researcher bias (Miles, 2012).

This research developed in a 1st phase, with an exploratory descriptive analysis on literature review and a 2nd phase, with a qualitative analysis based on primary sources collected by in-depth interviews. These were addressed to five Portuguese tourism companies regarding Napoleonic period military tourism products operating in Portugal. Secondary sources collected from Web of Science (W.O.S) and Scopus referenced journals were used, focusing on searches for the following keywords: battlefield tourism in Portugal, battlefield tourism in the Iberian Peninsula, Napoleonic Battlefields, Napoleonic battlefield tourism, immersive experiences in battlefield tourism, creative tourism in battlefield tourism, re-enactment, military tourism, Peninsular Wars, War of Independence, Route of the French Invasions, and a combination of these, in English, Portuguese and Spanish.

- Instruments and data collection

Our data was collected using a qualitative approach. As such, we conducted fifteen individual in-depth interviews using one script model with twenty-two questions. The interviews were conducted by two of the researchers, in person and later remotely, and the interview was recorded and transcribed for content analysis. Each interview lasted an average of 1h15 minutes. The first ten interviews were conducted in person and the last five were performed online due to the pandemic context.

The questions were designed to allow various types of answers: direct, developmental, reflective, and control, to test knowledge of the concepts covered. A first model of questions was tested on two interviewees and the questions were then refined, resulting in the present questionnaire that establishes a direct relationship between the objectives and the questions posed.

The interview script (Table 1 in Annexes)) was composed of 22 questions, interspersed to avoid bias in the answers, and to promote a more reflexive approach. At first, it seemed more complex to conduct the interview, nevertheless, it resulted in a very interactive and productive way. Despite the sequence of the questions, they are organised according to the following themes: Tourists, Tourism Offer, Community and Stakeholders, Creative Tourism, Tourism Sustainability and Post-pandemic. For each theme sub-themes were structured directly related to the specific data to be obtained.

- Participants

In-depth individual interviews were conducted with main stakeholders including cultural associations, cultural tourism promoters, tourism agents, guides, tour operators and re-enactors from the local community. Five firms participated in the study and a total of fifteen interviews were conducted.

As proposed by Saunders et al. (2018), there was no specific number of predefined interviews. Thirteen interviews were conducted and no additional information was brought. In order to assure data saturation, it was decided to conduct two additional interviews that confirmed that no further details were obtained.

The interviewees develop or participate in tourism products in the scope of battlefield tourism concerning the Napoleonic period and operationalise it in the Portuguese market. These were selected for their active participation and field experience with tourists.

Interviews were designed to deepen perceptions and considerations based on field experience of stakeholders and professionals active in battlefield tourism who deal with tourists in Portugal.

Other tourism agents (from UK, USA, Spain, etc.) operate in Spain as well but this first approach opens lines of investigation to be expanded to that country.

Results and discussion

The analysis of the results corresponded to expectations and provided important insights into the content of the personal interviews and the willingness of the interviewees to share the reality experienced in the field.

Motivations and characteristics of the battlefield's tourists

As far as motivations are concerned, they are linked to a strong interest in military history, the curiosity for places referred to in books and historical series, for the discovery of places where family memories intersect with the Napoleonic era.

The connection of family history with the Peninsular wars is an important factor for those visiting the battlefields in Portugal. Several references from the interviewees demonstrated this importance as a motive or part of the desired visit experience:

Our company has already received several requests for us to identify the places where relatives of these tourists fought. In Elvas, a visit to the English cemetery is also very much linked to the officers who died and are buried there and to the history of the various English regiments that fought in the Peninsular Wars and especially in the attacks on Badajoz. (João M, Travel Agent)

A client who wanted to take a guided tour of the Lines of Torres wanted to find out about an ancestor of his, an English officer, who had fought here. He sent us a copy of the officer's journal and we were able to identify where he was and where he fought. We even managed to identify and take our client to the house where his relative stayed in Lisbon. It was a very moving moment. Several requests have come in this direction, to reconstruct the story of family members who fought here. (João R., CEO of a Battlefield Tourism Company)

This link between family history and the Peninsular Wars often encompasses the history of the regiments themselves. This specific interest shows a strong personal connection to the soldiers and ex-military men who seek out battlefields where their former regiments fought. It suggests a personal homage as was identified several times in the interviews.

Considering the most common studies on motivations of tourists in battlefield tourism linked to more recent wars, the motivation of pilgrimage (Katić, 2018, Baldwin & Sharpley, 2009) or identity (Çakar, 2020), were not always found but pointed out by the stakeholders. This finding aligns with previous research (e.g., Piekarz, 2017; Baldwin & Sharpley, 2009; Dunkley et al., 2011). Miles (2014) identified the same motivational approach in medieval sites in which “Tourists, however, adopt a variety of attitudes towards the sites and their experiences are not consistently those of the dark experience seekers as outlined in the literature.” The reality in the Napoleonic fields of conflict is better expressed by the participant's words:

The tourists I have guided travel to these battlefields to immerse themselves in historical time and cultural space. They are not looking for places of death [...] motivated by something morbid or macabre. Rather, they want to reconnect with history and historical figures. (Maria, Tour Guide)

As most tourists are English or connected to English culture, they look for the places they have always heard about and where their heroes fought. They end up discovering that there were many more nations in that war and that Portugal and Spain were the battlefields that decided the beginning of the end of Napoleon. They embark on an educational journey and come out battlefield tourists! (João R., CEO of a Battlefield Tourism Company)

[in my narrative] I can conjure up the drama of a battle, the atrocities in the siege or the deadliness of war, amongst the military and civilians, yet it is the history of these places that attract people. The narrative explores the emotions, but I don't see the macabre as the driving force behind the visit. (Sílvia, Tour Guide)

Some connection to the remembrance motivations analysed by Seaton (2018) and the EOR model, Engineered and Orchestrated Remembrance is suggested, focused on the nature of the remembrance, taking into consideration the dates of the battles that are commemorated and the re-enactment events that attract visitors and participants (Mogollón et al., 2017).

Amongst battlefield tourists these landscapes of war are complex and strongly related to television series and Peninsular Wars literature, thus highlighting the role of skilled cultural interpreters and tourist guides.

The role of Peninsular Wars literature, books and television series must be enhanced not just as a motivation for the visit but also as a popular reference to places and battles. Bernard Cornwell is the most referenced author amongst Peninsular Wars battlefield tourists' and Richard Sharpe is his most memorable fictional hero, many times placed where historical events occurred along with his adventures in Portugal and Spain when fighting the French army. It is remarkable how this popular hero became a reference, especially because of the notorious TV series (1993 – 2008) with fourteen episodes in which the actor Sean Bean became Richard Sharpe. Cornwell published several books where Sharpe fought in Portugal or the battles close to the frontier with Spain, being the following an important inspiration: *Sharpe's Eagle: Richard Sharpe and the Talavera Campaign*, July 1809; *Sharpe's Gold: Richard Sharpe and the Destruction of Almeida*, August 1810; *Sharpe's Escape: Richard Sharpe and the Battle of Bussaco*, September 1810; *Sharpe's Battle: Richard Sharpe and the Battle of Fuentes de Oñoro*, May 1811; *Sharpe's Company: Richard Sharpe and the Siege of Badajoz*, January to April 1812; *Sharpe's Enemy: Richard Sharpe and the Defence of Portugal*, Christmas 1812.

"Sharpe's Escape and Sharpe's Gold are always present in our tours because people want to see places like Bussaco, Almeida and the Lines of Torres Vedras, where Sharpe is almost part of history." (Sílvia, Tour Guide)

Richard Cornwell said, "One of the joys of historical fiction is that it leads people to read the 'real' history – the non-fiction books." Even those who never heard about Sharpe and

have a strong interest in the Napoleonic period will find in these historical landscapes far more than just battlefields.

Renowned Peninsular War historians are part of the narrative as well: William Napier, Charles Oman, Charles Esdaille, John Grehan, Arthur Bryant, Ian Robertson, just to name some of the common major references.

We could assume that a large majority of visitors to the battlefields are presumed to be experienced battlefield tourists, history buffs or enthusiasts. The analysis of the results suggests the opposite, with the effect that a large majority of the tourists are newcomers to the subject, suggesting an attraction to younger age groups and a growing interest in battlefield tourism. However, History Buffs are reported at these tourist attraction sites but only occasionally go on organised tours. In this sense, the difficulty in finding battlefield tourism companies present in the Portuguese market was referred to.

The origin of the tourists was as expected, with England, Scotland, Portugal, Ireland, the United States of America, and Australia, these being the most frequent and in decreasing order.

Tourism offer

In order to obtain insights that characterise the tourism offer, the questions were aimed at exploring in greater detail issues such as the most relevant places, the lived and desired experience, the interest in participating and creating and the appreciation of the factors that enhance the tourism offer and the experience itself.

Further analysis of the in-depth interviews also provided important insights regarding the following themes. The most relevant and sought-after tourist attractions identified were the Battle of Bussaco, the Linhas de Torres, the Battle of Vimeiro, and finally the fortified town of Almeida. This last one seems to be very popular among re-enactors due to the historical events and recreations that give it notable visibility.

Curiously, the analysis produced from the interviews suggests that other sites of great importance to the context of the Peninsular Wars are little known and much less visited. This is the case of the Battle of Côa, Amarante, Sabugal, Porto or even the Military Museums in Bussaco, Almeida, Porto, Elvas and Lisbon. Findings suggest it is important to mention that the fame of the Spanish battlefields is widely known by visitors to Portugal. This recognition may originate, as mentioned, from the importance and size of the battles, and references in books and TV series. Fuentes de Oñoro, Talavera, Badajoz and Salamanca stand out.

Based on the interviewees' references, tourists show insufficient knowledge about tourist attractions in Portugal beyond the main ones (Bussaco, Vimeiro, Linhas de Torres and Almeida) and especially about museums and interpretation centres. The analysis of the stakeholders and the assessment of the touristic offer of battlefield tourism suggest an insufficient promotion and visibility of these places or even little integration of museum spaces in the tourism offer. However, a reinforcement was made in the creation of interpretation centres linked to military heritage and where technology is employed to promote immersive experiences dedicated to the various visitor profiles. Stakeholders recognize the value of these modernized spaces and report efforts towards their use in the post-covid, highlighting technology as the differentiating effect. These results alerts to the importance of developing more creative experiences, not only to improve the participation of the tourist but also to enhance the important "capacity of creative

processes to probe and articulate aspects of place attachment and to spark memory making among both visitors and residents” (Duxbury et al. 2018, p. 299).

Experiences

Emotions are an important part of the experience and have an impact on the perception of the service and satisfaction of the visiting tourist, as the gathered opinions suggest.

The feeling of the presence of history! Being on the spot gives you goosebumps! It's a bundle of vivid emotions that they take with them. (António, Reenactor)

We have observed sensations of amazement! Surprise! Exceeding expectations! The expression often said is WOW! (Sandra, CEO of Battlefield Tours Company, and tour guide)

Enthusiasm! In many tourists, it is visible the overcoming of the idea they had about the battlefields and the historical impact they were unaware of. (Sílvia, tour guide)

Satisfaction factors were identified regarding the places of visit, with particular focus on the landscape and the perspective of the high points, the beauty of the cultural heritage, the preservation and the unchanged state of the Portuguese battlefields.

What most satisfies customers is the professional attitude of the tourism professionals, the quick response to requests for services (in less than 24 hours), the ability to communicate, friendliness, the quality of the information provided, the inclusion of local cuisine and regional products, the family atmosphere, small groups, the conviviality of the lunches.

General customer service is related to the experience and is referred to by interviewees as part of the creative experience. Furthermore, for the creative experience that battlefield tourism sustains, the inclusion of local cuisine is very relevant because there is a historical reason directly related to the presence of the English and the French. Specifically, in the case of the Chanfana in Coimbra (a goat stew in red wine as the water was poisoned), the Beef Wellington (the duke's own recipe!) or the Arinto Wine from Bucelas. These experiences with local cuisine have proven to be an integral part of the battlefield tourism experience.

The tourist experience is remarkable and memorable when tourists explore their senses and identify elements such as the knowledge acquired above expectations, the desire to repeat it, a new interpretation of the space that surrounds them, the impact of the tourism professional who guided them and the opportunity to experience the spirit of adventure. Widely valued is the contact and socialization with local communities and their values such as gastronomy which is always highlighted.

All our tours include wine tasting and local gastronomy. We work with local wine producers of Arinto Bucelas Wine which was Wellington's favourite. [...] a restaurant in Sobral de Monte Agraço was able to reproduce the Beef Wellington's old recipe. We knew it would make the difference and today it's a must amongst our touristic offer and tourists' preference. (Sandra, CEO of Battlefield Tours Company, and tour guide)

There are local products with a history linked to the Peninsular Wars, which we have successfully included in our tours as tastings. The Arinto from Bucelas and beef Wellington, the Chanfana in the Beira region and even the pera rocha in the west region, a native Portuguese variety of pear, which has now given rise to a Perry Spirit inspired by the Duke of Wellington and is called "Old Nosey". (Sara, Travel designer in a Battlefield Tours Company)

Most of the villages where the armies passed through have stories of violence related to the presence of the French soldiers. These events were kept in family history and local memory, and many are not found in history books, especially the ones written by foreigners. Military anecdotes are still invoked in many villages by locals. (João P., representative of a local cultural association who creates recreational events and Battlefield Tours)

This local memory that is passed from elders has been passed down to them from generation to generation and is a fascinating part of the community's history. The rediscovery of this local history has been made by historians and researchers to recover the narrative of the people in an established history where only the winners and the elite writes memories.

This collection of local history was very well used in enhancing museum narratives at Interpretation Centres and local museums dedicated to the Peninsular Wars (c.f. Vimeiro, Bussaco, Almeida, Mafra, Loures, Mortágua, Torres Vedras, etc.).

From the point of view of the interviewees, the perception of the best experience desired by tourists is strongly based on experimentation and the extensive use of all the senses. The most desired experience is an immersive, unique, and memorable one to share with friends and family.

Putting in the tourist's hand a replica of a Brown Bess is even for us a fantastic experience! (Lúcio, Re-enactor and local host)

Learning, doing, and experiencing with the community! That's the key! (Maria, Tour guide)

"Visitors with no experience in historical recreation get dazzled the first time they seat beside the reenactors and play along! At the end of the day, people learn, laugh and enjoy great moments in a family ambience." (Lúcio, Re-enactor and local host)

Other values emerge as having impact on the relationship between the tourist and the stakeholders: recreating the era and "travelling back in time", embodying and being able to learn how to do something creative or simply participating and feeling part of a group and an identity.

However, battlefield tourism companies are unable to muster the necessary resources to enable the touch experience with replicas. Only historical recreation groups have this capability, and this is limited to the timing of events. An opportunity is suggested here as there is constant reference to the tourist's desire to experience and participate actively on them. This is an important aspect of creative tourism allowing to interpret the battlefield by emphasizing a participatory process of making sense of the past, as argued by Ross et al. (2017).

According to the experience of creative tourism, the immersiveness of experiences requires a hands-on factor as advocated by Richards and Wilson (2006). Not only is it important that the tourists are engaging their creativity in the experiences they consume, but the requirement to use the creative resources of a particular location also places an onus on the destination to stimulate creative processes and creative production.

One of the major problems that places face in a competitive global environment is how to maintain, develop and utilise their distinctiveness. The development of distinctiveness, which used to be part of a 'natural' process of spatial differentiation, is now often a process that is managed to produce distinctive experiences for consumers.

When the tourists themselves participate in the creative activities being undertaken, skill development and/or creative challenge can form the basis of active tourist experiences (i.e., consumption of creative experiences).

Community interaction

As argued in creative tourism literature, this interaction is part of the creative tourist experience. Our results show that crafts, gastronomy, wine tourism and spaces with historical memory are the recurrent resources but there is an insufficient inclusion of creative tourism activities where the community has an active role. The exception is the re-enactment events. Battlefield tourism, in the context of creative tourism experiences, cannot be dissociated from the community as suggested by the interviewees. Interaction with the local community exists, but more to provide services than as part of the management or creation of the tourism offer.

However, the importance of the local community in the tourism offers and the value attributed to it by visitors are widely recognised by the interviewees. It is suggested that there is insufficient cooperation between the various stakeholders in the act of building the tourism product or even of companies applying more diverse, participative, and longer-lasting creative tourism actions. As argued in the creative tourism literature, due to the complexity of players contributing to an immersive experience, the cooperation between stakeholders represents an important practice (Dias et al., 2021).

The interaction activities between visitors and the community tend to last only in the short time allocated to the tourist service. The result is a reduced perception of value without the economic impact that would justify a more recurrent commitment on the part of the community. In this case, the good practices of tourism sustainability and tourism-based community should be promoted by the stakeholders in the sense of greater interaction, creation, and diversity of supply products in the field of creative tourism and cultural tourism. As stated by Richards and Wilson (2006) "creative tourism involves not just spectating, nor just 'being there', but reflexive interaction on the part of tourists" (p. 1218).

Contrary to what was expected, the stakeholders interviewed do not have planned activities that follow the good practices of sustainable tourism in an objective way, but often do so for empirical reasons and out of awareness of the needs of the community. As a result, little value is placed on the methodology, the benchmarking, and the application of good tourism sustainability practices. The impact is not greater because the number of actions and activities is small. However, historical recreation events are moments of great

concentration of resource use and the impact of the absence of good practice under methodical planning suggests that this is necessary for the resilient structuring of a network of services and stakeholders.

Creative tourism and the community

Relationships between communities and stakeholders emerge as determinants in a dynamic of opportunities that crosses borders and is underpinned by networking between enthusiasts of themed events.

The promotion of the events is mainly done among local communities, stakeholders, and regional institutional partners, reaching only enthusiasts linked to the re-enactment from other countries and is notably limited in outbound tourism markets. Enthusiast networks turn out to be a privileged way of promoting thematic events. It is suggested here the opportunity of promotion at the national and international level to reach other tourists and other markets interested in cultural tourism.

Relevant experiences are highly valued as well as local community participation where in-depth cultural interaction is promoted. Thus, historical recreation has emerged as an outstanding means of disseminating history and cultural heritage.

“During the visit to a battlefield, the guide connects landscape, imagination, knowledge and history. And everything gets a new dimension when the visitor does something with the local community. “Said João P., representative of a local cultural association that creates recreational events and battlefield tours.

This interviewee’s perspective clearly highlights the purpose and importance of creative tourism within the battlefield tourism context. Putting in another words, this resembles the distinction made by Richards and Wilson (2006) where the “major difference between creative spectacles, creative spaces and creative tourism is that creative tourism depends far more on the active involvement of tourists” (p. 1218).

It was commonly pointed out in the interviews that experiences with the local community and participation in the re-enactment event played a memorable experience for everyone. This development of battlefield tourism in a more active and participatory sense goes beyond the traditional role of the visitor as a mere observer and even fosters a creative dynamic, strengthening ties with creative tourism.

“This is not just for History Buffs! Families and kids learn how to make cheese, bread or even how to sew a button in the uniform! They won’t get that at home!”
Stated António, reenactor.

This evidence is mentioned by several other participants as an important factor in the experiences provided and a co-relation between battlefield tourism and creative tourism. Tour agents and tourism promoters have referred to the impact of “living history by learning these crafts”. It suggests a valuable guideline for the construction of future tourism offers.

Richards and Wilson (2006) argue that the major difference between creative spectacles, creative spaces, and creative tourism is that creative tourism depends far more on the active involvement of tourists. Creative tourism involves not just spectating, nor just

"being there", but reflexive interaction on the part of tourists. This is an important difference between creative tourism.

In creative tourism, the onus is on the tourists themselves to actively learn about their surroundings and apply that knowledge to develop their skills.

If, as the nominated studies demonstrate, the participation of local communities and the promotion of cooperation networks facilitate the structured and sustained development of a battlefield tourism attraction, can we suggest that the promotion of creative tourism is a key driver in the tourism success of these destinations?

We can then question whether the "experience" that the tourist desires so much is the engine of this success or whether we are in the presence of a more complex model where the local community plays the predominant role. This suggests an aggregating effect that produces not only a cyclic event of celebration but a set of knowledge and capacities leading to the recovery of historical and ethnographic memory that renew their sense of identity and historical belonging as Mogollón (2017) highlighted in the study of the battle of Albuera. In the same vein, Ross et al. (2017) argue that the importance of the approach to archaeological heritage by creative tourism is significant when tourism providers apply and develop creative skills that through storytelling tend to recover and interpret intangible heritage, adding value to cultural and archaeological heritage. Furthermore, these experiences are a central feature of "participatory experience tourism", as termed by De Bruin and Jelincic (2016) due to its implications in the tourist's learning experience. The link between creative experiences and the destinations offering holds resonance with previous definitions of 'educational tourism', as experiences 'in which participants travel to a location as a group with the primary purpose of engaging in a learning experience directly related to that location' (Bodger, 1998, p. 28, quoted in Ankomah & Larson, 2000). Furthermore, the specified need to produce and consume the creative tourist experience in a characteristic location necessarily implies that creative tourism is best developed from endogenous and not exogenous creative capital, a key ingredient for creatives destination competitiveness as suggested by Richards (2011b).

Although our study is based on the position of stakeholders who work directly with creative tourism and battlefield tourism, it is important to recognise that the frontiers between the production and consumption of creative experiences are blurred. Therefore, the opinions gathered are not those of an intermediary, but rather unbiased information as a result of their field experience. However, it will be important in future studies to complement our analysis with data collected from tourists.

Finally, considering the contributions of the interviewees and their perspectives, it is suggested to us that the experience of creative tourism within battlefield tourism in the Peninsular wars can go beyond the personal emotional experience. There is indeed a deep cultural and historical contextualisation that extends beyond personal, family, national-related motivations, or even the dimension of the historical site itself. It suggests a strong dynamic between communities and visitors who come together and participate in these events and tourism experiences. It is thus revealed as an aggregative will of a humanitarian nature that rescues the past, creates bonds in the participants, and provides contexts of tolerance, reunion, and closure between nations.

Conclusion

In conclusion, following in Richards' (2011a) footsteps, we see Re-enactment and Living History as part of the creative experience that promotes an interactive, diverse, and more enriching contact with the local culture, it allows for all the participants a cross-cultural experience where a deep understanding of the communities and a common cultural awareness is widely promoted.

This study contributed to the theoretical background both in battlefield tourism and creative tourism. Regarding battlefield tourism, it allowed obtaining an updated portrait of stakeholders' perceptions, strategies and needs, thus consolidating the knowledge related to this tourism segment and its future potential. By integrating the creative tourism approach, this study highlights a new area of application and focuses on the need for structured cooperation between the various participants, where creativity is a determining factor for the attractiveness of tourists, communities, and stakeholders thus we can benefit from a structured and sustainable tourism product. This is especially important when the stakeholder's perspective is considered as a relevant part of the equation, since they value re-enactment and living history as part of the creative experience, promoting interactive, diverse, and more enriching contact with local culture. Creative Tourism appeared as a key driver in the tourism success of these destinations, enhancing local communities' participation, network cooperation, sustained development, local identity, and ethnographic memory. The contribution to creative tourism literature results not only from the identification of a new field that can benefit from this sort of "second generation" experiences, following the designation of Binkhorst (2007) where the tourist designs their own unique experience, but also by adding a new layer to the creativity components. Tan et al. (2016) decompose creativity into four interactive components: persons, processes, products, and place. Our study reveals that creativity can be extended to a broader humanitarian context, providing emotional experiences beyond the heritage and site dimensions.

Finally, theoretical contributions and new lines of investigation are to be deepened in the future: economic impact of battlefield tourism on the community, the construction of new creative tourism products, the study of a tourism sustainability model that can be adapted to military tourism resources that are within the reach of communities and stakeholders. For those who work in battlefield tourism and those who visit these tourist destinations, the quality and interaction of the experience emerge as increasingly relevant. The participation of the local community, the integration of local products, and the sharing of their memories and ancestral knowledge value a common culture and promote a historical awareness without borders.

Concerning the factors contributing to enhancing heritage valorisation through battlefield tourism and creative tourism, the interviews allowed us to conclude that cultural and historical motives are prevalent, which suggests strong interest in the local culture and history of these war landscapes where the homage or tribute to the dead does not happen as strongly as in recent time battlefields. A correlation between these battlefields in Portugal and Spain and television series is strongly suggested, namely Sharpe's Series as well as Peninsular Wars literature. The allure elicited by Wellington, Napoleon and an era with romantic overtones is equally abundant. Furthermore, a general understanding of the complexity of these landscapes is suggested, and the role of skilled cultural interpreters is widely valued.

This study also reveals the most relevant and appreciated heritage sites in Portugal concerning the Peninsular Wars period. The battlefields of Bussaco (September 1810)

and Vimeiro (August 1808), Almeida Historical Recreation and the Defensive Lines of Torres Vedras are frequently pointed out, though we must add as great potential heritage sites the Battlefields of Roliça, Côa, Amarante, Sabugal, Elvas fortified City, just to name the most relevant sites.

Annexes

Table 1. The script: Interview questions/topics and objectives

Question/Topic	Objectives
1. Within the scope of Military Tourism, what are the most common motivations of your clients?	Identify tourist motivations
2. What is the proportion of battlefield tourists taken on who request your services? a) The Totality b) More than half c) Half d) Less than half e) None	Tourist Characterization
3. Sequentially, which battlefields have the highest demand? (3- high demand, 2-some demand, 1-low demand)	Quantifying demand for tourist attractions
4. Indicate the degree of your tourists' experience in battlefield tourism environments: (3 - a lot, 2 - some, 1 - none)	Tourist characterization
5. What do the clients tell you about their satisfaction: a. Regarding the places where they visit b. Regarding the service provided c. Regarding the experience lived during the visit	Evaluation of the offer and experience
6. In your perspective, what differentiates the Napoleonic battlefield from other battlefields?	Perception of the relevance of the historic landscape
7. What emotions experienced by the customers are transmitted to you?	Characterization of the tourists' experience
8. What do you perceive those customers want to experience?	Characterization of the desired experience
9. What limitations do you identify in the Napoleonic Battlefields?	Characterization of the battlefields

10. Do customers seek participation in historical re-enactments?	a) Characterization of the battlefield tourists and the desired experience. b) Demand for creative tourism.
11. What do you consider to be a memorable experience?	Factors that enhance the tourist experience
12. Does your company arrange for customers to participate in Living History events or re-enactments?	Identify immersive/creative experiences in the tourism offer
13. Does your organisation co-operate in/carry out any activities with the local community?	Identify participation in the community
14. Does your organisation co-operate in/carry out activities with the local community frequently?	Identify impact in the community
15. Where are your customers from?	Characterization of the battlefield tourists
16. Does your entity build the tourism product in an isolated way, or does it bring together partners from the community? Which ones?	Aggregating/promoting role of stakeholders. Identification of community partners.
17. What Creative Tourism activities do you know of?	Control and awareness
18. Do you incorporate Creative Tourism activities in your tourism offer? Which ones?	Application of Creative Tourism activities
19. How important is creative tourism to battlefield tourism?	Perception of the importance of battlefield tourism to creative tourism
20. What values do you identify in creative tourism that promote battlefield tourism?	Perception of the values that empower creative tourism in the promotion of battlefield tourism

21. What tourism sustainability actions do you apply in your tourism offer?	Application of good practices in sustainable tourism
22. What changes to the tourism offer will you apply in the post-pandemic scenario?	Post-pandemic actions in the tourism offer

Own elaboration

References

- Ali, F., Ryu, K., & Hussain, K. (2016). Influence of Experiences on Memories, Satisfaction and Behavioural Intentions: A Study of Creative Tourism. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 33(1), 85–100.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10548408.2015.1038418>
- Anna Irimiás (2014) The Great War heritage site management in Trentino, northern Italy, *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 9:4, 317-331,
Doi:10.1080/1743873X.2014.908886
- Baldwin, F., and R. Sharpley. (2009). “Battlefield Tourism: Bringing Organised Violence Back to Life.” In *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism*, edited by R. Sharpley, and P. R. Stone (pp. 186–206). Bristol: Channel View Publications.
- Binkhorst, E., & Den Dekker, T. (2009). Agenda for Co-Creation Tourism Experience Research. *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management*, 18(2–3), 311–327.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19368620802594193>
- Bird, G., Westcott, M., & Thiesen, N. (2018). Marketing dark heritage: Building brands, myth-making and social marketing. In *The Palgrave handbook of dark tourism studies* (pp. 645-665). Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Çakar, K. (2020). Investigation of the Motivations and Experiences of Tourists Visiting the Gallipoli Peninsula as a Dark Tourism Destination. *European Journal of Tourism Research*, 24, 2405. Retrieved from
<https://ejtr.vumk.eu/index.php/about/article/view/407>
- Cai, L., Liu, J., & Huang, Z. (2008). Identifying rural tourism markets: a practical tool. *Journal of Hospitality and Leisure Marketing*, 17(3-4), 418-434.
- Chen, C. M., and T. H. Tsai. 2019. “Tourist Motivations in Relation to A Battlefield: A Case Study of Kinmen.” *Tourism Geographies* 21 (1): 78–101.
doi:10.1080/14616688.2017.1385094.
- Chronis, A. 2005. "Coconstructing Heritage at the Gettysburg Storyscape." *Annals of Tourism Research* 32 (2): 386–406. Doi: 10.1016/j.annals.2004.07.009.

- Chronis, A. 2008. "Coconstructing the Narrative Experience: Staging and Consuming the American Civil War at Gettysburg." *Journal of Marketing Management* 24 (1–2): 5–27. doi:10.1362/026725708X273894.
- Clare, K. (2012). The essential role of place within the creative industries: Boundaries, networks, and play. *CITIES*, 34, 52–57. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2012.05.009>
- Chylińska, D. (2020). "Nameless landscapes"-what can be seen and understood on a battlefield? *Tourism Geographies*, 22(4-5), 787-812.
- Coelho, J. P., Figueira, L. M., & Costa, C. (2004). O turismo militar e a ativação turística do património: conceitos, perspectivas e tendências. *Revista Turismo & Desenvolvimento*, 1(21/22), 113-120. <https://doi.org/10.34624/rtd.v1i21/22.11089>
- De Bruin, A., & Jelincic, D. A. (2016). Toward extending creative tourism: participatory experience tourism. *Tourism Review*, 71(1), 57–66. <https://doi.org/10.1108/TR-05-2015-0018>
- Dias, Á., González-Rodríguez, M. R., and Patuleia, M. (2020a). Developing poor communities through creative tourism. *Tourism Cult. Change* 19, 509–529. Doi: 10.1080/14766825.2020.1775623
- Dias, Á., Silva, G. M., Patuleia, M., and González-Rodríguez, M.R. (2020b). Developing sustainable business models: local knowledge acquisition and tourism lifestyle entrepreneurship. *Sustain. Tourism*. Doi: 10.1080/09669582.2020.1835931. [Epub ahead of print].
- Dias, Á., González-Rodríguez, M. R., & Patuleia, M. (2021). Creative tourism destination competitiveness: An integrative model and agenda for future research. *Creative Industries Journal*, 1-24.
- Dias-sardinha, I., Ross, D., & Gomes, A. C. (2018). The clustering conditions for managing creative tourism destinations: the Alqueva region case, Portugal. 61(4), 635–655. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09640568.2017.1327846>
- Drake, G. (2003). "This place gives me space": place and creativity in the creative industries. 34(4), 511–524. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0016-7185\(03\)00029-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0016-7185(03)00029-0)

- Dunkley, R., Morgan, N., & Westwood, S. (2011). Visiting the trenches: Exploring meanings and motivations in battlefield tourism. *Tourism Management*, 32(4), 860-868.
- Duxbury, N., Silva, S., & Castro, T. V. D. (2018). Creative tourism development in small cities and rural areas in Portugal: insights from start-up activities. In D. A. Jelinčić and Y. Mansfeld (Eds.). *Creating and Managing Experiences in Cultural Tourism*. Singapore: World Scientific Pub. (pp. 291-304) https://doi.org/10.1142/9789813233683_0018
- Eade, John and Katić, M. (2018). *Military Pilgrimage and Battlefield Tourism. Commemorating the Dead*. London, New York: Routledge. ISBN: 9781472483621
- Esdaile, Charles J. (2003). *The Peninsular War: A New History*. Macmillan. ISBN 978-1-4039-6231-7.
- Fisher, D., and Wilder-Smith, A. (2020). The global community needs to swiftly ramp up the response to contain COVID-19. *Lancet* 395, 1109–1110. DOI: 10.1016/S0140-6736(20)30679-6
- Gössling, S., Scott, D., and Hall, C. M. (2020). Pandemics, tourism, and global change: a rapid assessment of COVID-19. *J. Sustainable Tourism* 29, 1–20. DOI: 10.1080/09669582.2020.1758708Ha
- Galán, M. R. (2017). *Los yacimientos olvidados: registro y musealización de campos de batalla*. *Archaeopress Publishing Limited*.
- Hall, G. (2016). Selective Authenticity: Civil War Reenactors and Credible Reenactments. *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 29(3), 413-436.
- Hartmann, R. 2014. “Dark Tourism, Thanatourism, and Dissonance in Heritage Tourism Management: New Directions in Contemporary Tourism Research.” *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 9 (2): 166–182. doi:10.1080/1743873X.2013.807266.
- Harris, C., Wilson, E., & Ateljevic, I. (2007). *Structural entanglements and the strategy of audiencing as a reflexive technique*. *The critical turn in tourism studies: Innovative research methodologies*, 41-56.

- Hunt, S. J. (2004). Acting the part: 'Living history's a serious leisure pursuit. *Leisure Studies*, 23(4), 387-403.
- Attractions: A Portrait of Visitors' Experiences at Storyeum." *Museum Management and Curatorship* 23 (2): 155–175. doi:10.1080/09647770802012227.
- Iles, J. (2006). "Recalling the Ghosts of War: Performing Tourism on the Battlefields of the Western Front." *Text and Performance Quarterly* 26 (2): 162–180. doi:10.1080/10462930500519374.
- Iles, J. (2008). "Encounters in the Fields: Tourism to the Battlefields of the Western Front." *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 6 (2): 138–154. doi:10.1080/14766820802376299.
- Iles, J. (2012). "Exploring Landscapes after Battle: Tourists at Home on the Old Front Lines." In *Writing the Dark Side of Travel*, edited by J. Skinner. (pp. 182–202) New York: Berghahn Books.
- Iles, J. (2011). "Going on Holiday to Imagine War: The Western Battlefields as Sites of Commemoration and Contestation." In *Great Expectation: Imagination and Anticipation in Tourism*, edited by J. Skinner, and D.Theodossopoulos (pp.155–173). New York: Berghahn Books.
- Iles, J. (2003). "Death, Leisure and Landscape: British Tourism to the Western Front." In *Deterritorialisations: Revisioning Landscape and Politics*, edited by M. Dorrian, and G. Rose (pp. 234–243). London: Black Dog.
- Ivanova, P., and D. Light. (2018). "'It's Not that We like Death or Anything': Exploring the Motivations and Experiences of Visitors to a Lighter Dark Tourism Attraction." *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 13 (4): 356–369. doi:10.1080/1743873X.2017.1371181
- Jusztin, M. (2012) 'Creativity in the Johari window: An alternative model for creating tourism programmes', *Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice*, 4(2), p. 12-24
- Giaccone, S.C. and Galvagno, M. (2021). Small-scale cultural festivals in Southern Europe: A motivation-based segmentation study. *European Journal of Tourism Research* 29, 2902

- Komppula, R. (2014). The role of individual entrepreneurs in the development of competitiveness for a rural tourism destination: A case study. *Tourism Management*, 40, 361–371. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2013.07.007>
- Lee, T. H., & Jan, F. H. (2019). Can community-based tourism contribute to sustainable development? Evidence from residents' perceptions of the sustainability. *Tourism Management*, 70, 368-380.
- Lloyd, D. W. (1998). *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia and Canada, 1919-1939*. Oxford [England]; New York: Berg.
- Maitland, R. (2010). Everyday life as a creative experience in cities. 4(3), 176–185. <https://doi.org/10.1108/17506181011067574>
- Meacci, L., and G. Liberatore. 2018. “A Senses-Based Model for the Experiential Tourism.” *Tourism and Management Studies* 14 (4): 7–14. doi:10.18089/tms.2018.14401.
- Miles, S. T. (2012). *Battlefield tourism: Meanings and interpretations* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Glasgow).
- Miles, S. (2014). Battlefield sites as dark tourism attractions: An analysis of experience. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 9(2), 134-147.
- Mogollón, J. M.; Folgado-Fernández, J. A., Campón-Cerro, A. M., (2017) Eventos basados en recreaciones históricas militares como estrategia dinamizadora del turismo local: El caso de la batalla de La Albuera (España). Source: *Revista Turismo & Desenvolvimento (RT&D) / Journal of Tourism & Development* . Issue 27/28, p1071-1082.
- Mogollón, J. M. H., Costa, C., & Di Clemente, E. (2019). Antecedents in the investigation on military tourism. *Journal of Tourism and Heritage Research: JTHR*, 2(3), 611-624.
- Mottiar, Z. (2007). Lifestyle entrepreneurs and spheres of inter-firm relations: The case of Westport, Co Mayo, Ireland. *The International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Innovation*, 8(1), 67-74.

- Napier, William (1831). *History of the War in the Peninsula*. Vol. I. Frederic Warne and Co.
- Ohridska-Olson, R. V., & Ivanov, S. H. (2010, September). Creative tourism business model and its application in Bulgaria. In *Proceedings of the Black Sea Tourism Forum "Cultural Tourism–The Future of Bulgaria"*.
- Oman, Sir Charles William Chadwick (1908). *A History of the Peninsular War: Sep. 1809 – Dec. 1810*. Vol. III. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Oman, Sir Charles William Chadwick (1911). *A History of the Peninsular War: Dec. 1810 – Dec. 1811*. Vol. IV. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Oman, Sir Charles William Chadwick (1914). *A History of the Peninsular War: Oct. 1811 – Aug. 31, 1812*. Vol. V. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Palmer, C., & Andrews, H. (2019). Tourism and embodiment: Animating the field. In *Tourism and embodiment* (pp. 1-8). Routledge.
- Perez-Ruiz, L. (2020). The heritage of the War of Independence: Napoleon's route along the Duero River. *Journal of Tourism and Heritage Research*, 3(4), 183-198. Retrieved from <http://www.jthr.es/index.php/journal/article/view/193>
- Proos, E., & Hattingh, J. (2020). Advancing heritage tourism in the central Karoo: The South African War battlefields route. *Development Southern Africa*, 37(4), 678-693.
- Remoaldo, P., & Cadima-Ribeiro, J. (2019). Creative Tourism as a New Challenge to the Development of Destinations: The Portuguese Case Study. In Peris-Ortiz, Marta & Cabrera-Flores, Mayer Rainiero (2019). *Cultural and Creative Industries*. Springer, Cham. (pp. 81–99).
- Richards, G. (2011a) Cultural tourism trends in Europe: a context for the development of Cultural Routes. In: Khovanova-Rubicondo, K. (ed.) *Impact of European Cultural Routes on SMEs' innovation and competitiveness*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, pp. 21-39.
- Richards, G. (2011b). The State of the Art. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38(4), 1225–1253. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2011.07.008>

- Richards, G., & Wilson, J. (2006). Developing creativity in tourist experiences: A solution to the serial reproduction of culture? 27, 1209–1223. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2005.06.002>
- Rojas-Rabareda, A. (2015). Herramientas y estrategias de difusión del Patrimonio Histórico: los eventos de recreación histórica en Cataluña. *Erph_ Revista electrónica De Patrimonio Histórico*, (9), 89-110. Retrieved from <https://revistaseug.ugr.es/index.php/erph/article/view/18298>
- Ross, D., Saxena, G., Correia, F., & Deutz, P. (2017). Archaeological tourism: A creative approach. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 67, 37-47.
- Ryan, C. (ed.) (2007) *Battlefield Tourism: History, Place and Interpretation*. Oxford, Elsevier.
- Santagata, W., & Bertacchini, E. (2011). Creative atmosphere: cultural industries and local development. Working Paper Università Torino, (4), 3–11.
- Seaton, A. V. (1999). War and thanatourism: Waterloo 1815–1914. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26(1), 130-158.
- Seaton, A. V. 2002. “‘Another Weekend Away Looking For Dead Bodies . . .’ - Battlefield tourism on the Somme and in Flanders." *Journal of Tourism and Recreation Research* 25 (3): 63–78. doi:10.1080/02508281.2000.11014926.
- Seaton, T. 2009. “Thanatourism and Its Discontents: An Appraisal of a Decade’s Work with Some Future Issues and Directions." In *The Sage Handbook in Tourism Studies*, edited by T. Jamal, and M. Robinson (pp. 521-542). London: Sage Publications.
- Seaton, T. (2018). *Encountering Engineered and Orchestrated Remembrance: A Situational Model of Dark Tourism and Its History*. *The Palgrave Handbook of Dark Tourism Studies*, 9–31. doi:10.1057/978-1-137-47566-4_1
- Smith, S. (2015) A sense of place: place, culture and tourism, *Tourism Recreation Research*, 40:2, 220-233, DOI: 10.1080/02508281.2015.1049814
- Stone, P., and R. Sharpley. 2008. “Consuming Dark Tourism: A Thanatological Perspective.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 35 (2): 574–595. doi:10.1016/j.annals.2008.02.003.

- Tan, S., Kung, S.-F., & Luh, D.-B. (2013). A model of 'creative experience' in creative tourism. *Annals Of Tourism Research*, 41, 153–174. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2012.12.002>
- Tan, S., Tan, S., & Luh, D. (2016). Understanding tourist perspectives in creative tourism. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 19(10), 981-987. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2015.1008427>
- Willard, P., Frew, E., Lade, C. (2021): Culloden Battlefield: the visitor experience in the context of the experience economy model, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, DOI: 10.1080/13527258.2021.1993311
- Zatori, A., M. K. Smith, and L. Puczko. 2018. "Experience-Involvement, Memorability, and Authenticity: The Service Provider's Effect on Tourist Experience." *Tourism Management* 67 (Aug): 111–126. doi:10.1016/j. tourman.2017.12.013.
- Zurita-Aldeguer, R., & Rico, J. A. M. (2018). Los campos de batalla: Patrimonio cultural e Historia digital. *Quiroga. Revista de patrimonio iberoamericano*, 44-54.
- Zurita-Aldeguer, R. "Historia y representación de la guerra en el espacio público valenciano", *Hispania Nova*, nº 1 Extraordinario (2020): 218-247. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20318/hn.2020.5371>