

# WAR HORSE OR NOT? A STUDY OF THE DARTMOOR VISITOR

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**ABSTRACT:** Rural tourism still defies definition. Due to the nature of rurality and the process of tourist imagination, rural locations are viewed and consumed through multiple social representations. When a rural location has been well represented through fiction for many years, it is then questioned if the type of visitor to the site alters when a Hollywood movie is filmed on location, as the celluloid portrayal is believed to reach a wider audience (Busby & Klug, 2001). Consequently, when the representations of a location diversify, it is questioned if these representations influence the tourist imagination and decision-making process. Through a case study of Dartmoor National Park, an onsite quantitative survey was undertaken to explore the type of visitor found in Dartmoor after the release of the 2012 blockbuster film, *War Horse*. The findings revealed that visitor motivations to Dartmoor have changed over the past 20 years, the socio-demographic characteristics of the visitor have shifted and the film representation of the moor had been consumed by the majority of respondents, more than the fictional novel. However, due to the low response rates associated to this investigation, it is questioned if these shifts are a consequence of film representations of the moor, or fashion. **Keywords:** Dartmoor, Rural, Motivation, *War Horse*, Tourism.

## INTRODUCTION

Dartmoor National Park is situated in the Southwest of England and was awarded National Park status in 1951 (Harvey & St Leger-Gordon, 1974), meaning that the area is protected due to the nature of the countryside, wildlife, and cultural heritage (National Parks 2014). Dartmoor itself is one of 15 National Parks in the UK (1 of 10 in England) and comprises 365 square miles (Hayward, 1991). Due to the appeal of the natural environment and the range of activities available for visitors, tourism has become a key challenge for National Parks to manage. But to manage tourism effectively, it is important to understand who visits the moor, what influences them to visit (including the nature of their tourist imagination) and the type of activities they un-

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dertake whilst on site. This understanding then enables the National Park Authority to capture, market towards, and manage the tourist imagination in the most effective manner.

The Dartmoor landscape is synonymous with wilderness (Ferrington, 2009) and whilst there is a range of landscape forms to be consumed, it is argued that when most visitors think of the moor, they think of the high moorland and what Heyes and Heyes (1999:126) refer to as ‘the world famous tors’. These tors include Haytor, the most popular and renowned tor of all (see Image 1). However, since 1999, there has been a plethora of new visual representations of the moor to be consumed in the media, including the role of Dartmoor as the third character in *War Horse*, the movie (Culzac, 2012). Therefore, this paper questions if tourist imaginations associated with a specific place are changing as a consequence of new representations and, with it, the type of visitors who descend upon Dartmoor. With approximately ten million visits being made to Dartmoor each year (DNPA 2014a), it is important to determine the long-term impacts of such representations and image formation. Therefore, the motivations of visitors to Dartmoor *post*-production (of the *War Horse* film) were investigated to comprehend the nature of rural tourism which takes place, as rural tourism can be better understood from the exploration of tourists’ motivations (Farmaki, 2012).



**Image 1: Haytor, Dartmoor National Park**

To determine visitors’ motivation for travelling to Dartmoor, the paper will discuss a range of issues associated with imagination and motivation. To set the context of the paper and to determine how rural Dartmoor is as a location, the general themes of rurality and the rural visitor will be considered. Secondly, rural tourism and visitor motivations will be considered, to determine the reason for travel, and activities undertaken whilst on site. Finally, the role of cultural constructs and tourist imagination will be investigated, to determine if the overarching interdependence between tourism and the media (Crouch *et al.*

2005) is evident on Dartmoor to reflect the consumption of different forms of media, including films and books.

### *Rurality and the rural visitor*

Just how rural is the Dartmoor National Park? The ‘principal motivation for visiting the countryside is to experience rurality’ (Sharpley and Roberts 2004:120); therefore, it is not surprising that the search for definitions of rurality is now a well-trodden path. From Lane’s (1994) interpretation of rurality, which was defined against three main criteria (population densities and settlement size; land-use and economy; and traditional social structures), Sharpley and Roberts (2004) believe that the combination of these functional elements are no longer useful. Instead, and in agreement with Muilu & Rusanen (2004:1501), Sharpley and Roberts (2004:121) point out the concept of a rural area as frequently defined as a social or cultural construct; ‘that reflect people’s learned perceptions of that which represents rurality and which are, therefore, culturally bound’. That is, rural areas are not merely physical landscapes; they are shaped by discourses and one example would be “figments of the imagination”. Socially constructed meanings can be influenced by popular media; a classic example of this are representations of Dartmoor via literature, television, and film. Agatha Christie’s *The Sittaford Mystery* is set on the moor and was published in 1931, before being made into a TV series in 2006 – indeed, there is a Sittaford Tor. The novel itself contains several references to the Hound of the Baskervilles, ‘with escaped convicts, naturalists and even a reference to Conan Doyle himself’ embedded in the novel (Agatha Christie, 2014).

Therefore, despite such social constructs (to some extent), the view of Dartmoor has changed over time, with people no longer viewing the moors as ‘dreary in the extreme...presenting nothing of consequence...’ as cited in *Picturesque Excursions in Devon and Cornwall* literature (Williams, T. H. 1804, cited in Internet Archive, 2014), nor as a place where ‘there was nothing picturesque nor, though wild and rugged, was there anything romantic’ about Dartmoor (Rev J Swete, cited in Townsend 2004). Instead, tourists now frequent the moors as a popular pastime, ever since the 1920s, when the initial hotels and guest houses were built (Townsend, 2004). Since then, tourism has become an important part in the life of National Parks (especially Dartmoor), as visitors help the rural economy and maintain (some) services and local traditions for local communities.

To manage tourism effectively, and maintain the purpose of the moor, it is important to understand the nature of tourism activity which takes place on the moor, the type of tourists who visit, and appreciate the motivations behind their visit.

*Rural tourism and motivation*

Stating a simple definition of rural tourism, that may be applied to all rural areas in all countries, is extremely difficult to formulate. Therefore, context is required. Lane (1994:7) states that rural tourism is 'a discrete activity with distinct characteristics which may vary in intensity and by area'. Applying this to Dartmoor would determine that rural tourism is a tourism activity, isolated to the moor. However, rural tourism is a complex, multifaceted activity. It can range from the very informal to the greatly organised product, which can be represented by constructing a spectrum of rural tourism activity and experience (Bramwell & Lane, 1994). Hence, rural tourism can encompass a range of different activities which are undertaken on the moor, by a range of visitors.

A seminal source, in terms of understanding rural tourism, is Bramwell and Lane's (1994) account of what activities or interests can be considered to feature rural tourism; these include adventure, health, education, heritage, and farm-based stays. The aspect of heritage permits the cultural dimension to be incorporated in the form of traditions, folklore, and customs (Pedford, 1996), as these represent intangible cultural heritage (ICH). MacDonald and Jolliffe (2003) have examined the place of culture in rural tourism development with regard to eastern Canada, concluding that partnerships are a key component. In terms of partnerships on the moor, the long-established Dartmoor Tourist Association 'joined forces with West Devon Borough Council, Dartmoor National Park Authority and The Duchy of Cornwall to form the Dartmoor Partnership' in 2008 (Dartmoor Partnership, 2014) and there are sector-specific partnerships such as Farm Stay UK (Hill & Busby, 2002).

Sensibly, Park and Yoon (2009) segment the rural tourism market by motivation rather than an activity or interest base; their findings concur with earlier studies emphasising the importance of 'relaxation' as the single most important motivation for rural visitors (Countryside Commission, 1995; Roberts & Hall, 2001; Sharpley & Sharpley, 1997; Song, 2005). However, 'learning', 'excitement', and 'family togetherness' were also said to be important (Park & Yoon, 2009).

Regarding people who visit the UK National Parks (in general), '58% of visitors come to enjoy the scenery and landscape, which makes this the main reason for visiting' (National Park, 2014), approx. 68% of visitors are families, and unlike the suggestions above, walking (40%) is the most popular activity, not relaxation (12%); relaxation even falls behind driving around and sightseeing by car (19%) (National Parks, 2014). For Dartmoor, similar statistics were reported, with walking (52%), driving around and sightseeing (13%), and relaxing (11%) be-

ing the top three activities undertaken on site (Townsend, 2004). The disparity here only raises additional questions about the rural visitor, and in particular the Dartmoor visitor.

From the 1994 National Parks Visitor Survey, 'the first co-ordinated survey of visitors to each of the English and Welsh National Parks' (Townsend, 2004:8), it is possible to deduce further detail about the type of visitor who would have once visited Dartmoor. During 1994, 45% of visitors travelled in groups of 2 people or more, which mainly consisted of families. The main purpose for visiting was the scenery and landscape (65%), followed by peace and quiet (34%), and repeat visitation (34%), and in total 3.8 million visitor days were recorded. In terms of planning visits, 55% of day trippers used information to plan their trip, and 77% of holiday makers used information to plan the trip (Townsend, 2004). The majority of visitors were from the South East (39%) and the South West (15%). The question is whether today's visitors are similar to those interviewed in 1994, in terms of both structure and intent. Since the visitor survey, numerous new (and modified) cultural constructions and social representations of the moors have been publicised. The 2012 release of the blockbuster movie *War Horse* (in particular) may have provoked the tourist imagination, as may have the 2006 airing of Agatha Christies TV episodes noted before. Both celluloid portrayals of novels are believed to have an ability to reach a wider audience (Busby & Klug, 2001) and therefore it is questioned if such representations influence imagination, visitation, and motivation to travel for reasons other than the generic rural tourist listed above.

### *Tourism imagination / Social representations*

Imagination is a key component in much of the tourist experience. By its nature, it suggests a diversity of world views and, yet, it is reliant, to a remarkable extent, on places and people. When thinking of Dartmoor, many images come to mind, including: 'swirling mists, granite tors, wide open spaces, attractive towns and villages, deep bogs, ponies...[and] Sherlock Holmes' (Townsend, 2004:1) (see Image 2). Tourist imagination, the overarching interdependence between tourism and the media (Crouch *et al.*, 2005), can be created and modified through the consumption of social representations, including film, book, television, newspaper, and photography. 'Equally, holding images can feed back into the imaginative activity of the media' (Crouch *et al.*, 2005:1). It is therefore important to consider the cultural constructs associated with Dartmoor in more detail.



**Image 2: A view from Haytor, Dartmoor National Park**

Cultural constructs of the moor arise through literary representations; the best-known example of this would probably be Sherlock Holmes' adventures in Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's *Hound of the Baskervilles*. Weller (2001) notes that a number of authors used Dartmoor in their fiction, such as Baring-Gould and Eden Phillpotts; yet, it was Conan Doyle's ability to mix the Victorian interest in the Gothic with growing fascination in scientific knowledge that ignited such interest in this particular Sherlock Holmes case.

Of course, it is almost certainly the celluloid portrayal that accounts for representations of Dartmoor to a greater extent than fiction because it reaches a wider audience (Busby & Klug, 2001). Indeed, Weller (2001) details film versions from the first in either Denmark (1909 without the same title) or Germany (1914) through England (firstly, in 1921), Japan, USA, Italy, USSR, Australia, and Canada. There appears to have been nineteen screen versions to date.

More recently, Dartmoor has also provided the locations for the filming of *War Horse*, a Spielberg blockbuster (DNPA, 2012), that generated an estimated gross income of £18.63 million (according to the BFI, 2014). Described by Steven Spielberg as the third character in the film (Culzac, 2012), the destination played a major role in the film itself. The natural rural environment may, therefore, also provoke imagination and actual travel to a specific destination, as through movies people are induced to visit what they have seen (Riley & Van Doren, 1992; Riley *et al.*, 1998). Now, Dartmoor is classed as a 'must-see', thanks to the release of *War Horse* (Visit South Devon, 2014) on Friday 13th January, 2012, in the UK. However, this was never said when the original children's novel *War Horse* was released by Michael Morpurgo in 1982, perhaps because the author used Id-desleigh in (North) Devon as part of the novel's setting (Groskop, 2012), not Dartmoor.

Films induce viewers to visit what they have seen on the screen (Busby *et al.*, 2013; Riley *et al.*, 1998) and the phenomenon of film tourism has occurred on a significant scale at some destinations; for example, New Zealand and *The Lord of the Rings* (Buchmann, 2006). Indeed O'Connor *et al.*, (2006) suggest that a fifth of inbound UK tourists plan to explore film locations, a figure expected to grow over forthcoming years, due to increasing time dedicated to watching television, greater cinematic interest, and continuous technological developments (Belch and Belch, 2004; Shani, Wang, Hudson and Gil, 2009; Soliman, 2011).

This, then, is the territory of destination image creation: “organic images are formed through informal sources of information, knowledge that is accumulated from media and the individual’s educational background. Formal and external sources (movies, television programmes... advertising and brochures) create the induced image” (Huang, Busby & Bosdou, 2009:250). However, it is argued that organic image creation actively involves the imagination.

The question is: in response to such a portrayal in film, has the rural visitor to Dartmoor changed? To determine this, primary research was undertaken on the moor, following the release of *War Horse*, the film and DVD (release date: Monday, 7th May, 2012). The aim of the research is to identify the type of visitor who now visits Dartmoor, and to determine their primary motivation, to determine if there is evidence of the influence of film-induced tourism (above and beyond the novel), as a result of the film, *War Horse*. Furthermore, the research aims to determine if the type of visitor has changed since the 1994 visitor survey.

## METHODOLOGY

The primary data collection occurred over 12 days in September and October 2012, at five locations on Dartmoor. In total, 20 site visits were completed, with 4 visits being made to each of the 5 locations: Haytor, Bonehill, Combestone Tor, Ditsworthy Warren, and Ringmoor Down. The rationale for site selection was based upon levels of accessibility and popularity. For example, Haytor has been recognised as a recreational location for many years, because road access is acceptable compared to other parts of the moor. Bonehill Rocks is also an easily accessible tor, as is Combestone tor and Ringmoor Down, all of which are some of Dartmoor National Park’s many attractions. Finally, Ditsworthy Warren was used as a key location in the movie *War Horse* (the location serves as the Narracott family’s farmhouse) and the researchers believed it would induce some level of visitation to Dartmoor.

The study adopted a quantitative approach towards data collection, in the form of an onsite, face-to-face (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 1996) structured questionnaire (Bryman & Bell, 2003; Veal, 2006) of Dartmoor visitors. The next-to-pass, random sampling method was applied at each location (Tourism and Recreation Research Unit, 1983), which has been successfully used in rural areas (Busby & Haines, 2013) (see Image 3). The structured interviews were completed by the two authors, who were appropriately trained and well versed in the schedule (Bryman & Bell, 2003). The responses were then coded for SPSS in accordance with Veal's (2006) suggestions, and a series of frequency, descriptive, and chi-square tests were performed to determine the key characteristics of visitors, and their motivation for visiting Dartmoor.



**Image 3: The next-to-pass sampling method at Haytor**

Despite the involvement of the authors over many hours [40 hours], the sample size was disappointing, with just 86 respondents; alternatively, this can be viewed as representative of the remote nature of much of the moor. Small sample sizes have been reported in the tourism literature; for example, Hosany *et al.*, (2006) and Busby and George (2004).

Due to the limited sample size, variables were collapsed and data were manipulated to guarantee validity in all tests. Furthermore, it is important to note that approx. 70% of those interviewed were situated at Haytor, one of Dartmoor's main trademarks. This was not intentional; it was unforeseen at the time of data collection, as each site was visited four times for the same duration. The high response rate at Haytor represented where the higher footfall of visitors could be found and counted for data collection. The rationale is that Haytor is easily accessible from the A38, that the visitor centre and toilet blocks are located at the lower car park on the main road and that the tor is infamous with the imagination associated with Dartmoor.





**Image 4: The Haytor  
Visitor Centre**



**Image 5: The Haytor  
Visitor Centre**

Overall, the objective was to develop a deeper understanding about the individuals who travel to Dartmoor. Therefore, the questionnaire was designed to uncover the socio-demographic profile of visitors, the main motivational factors that influenced the visitors to travel to Dartmoor (including film-induced travel), the range of sites consumed within their visit and the aspirations of visitors to consume other sites in the locality. The findings are noted below.

## FINDINGS: THE MODERN DARTMOOR VISITOR

The general characteristics of the Dartmoor visitor can be viewed in Table 1. In terms of visitor profile, the sample showed a gender difference, with males predominating (at just over 65%) and with average respondent age of 45. The majority of respondents were married. Just under 41% held a degree as the terminal qualification, which is possibly surprising, given the numbers attending university, in Britain, twenty-plus years ago. It is possible to make this assertion because only 6% of respondents were from overseas; the majority of visitors were from outside the county of Devon, but within the UK.

The trip profile showed an average party size of three and for just over 38% this was their first visit to Dartmoor. Previous research on Dartmoor states that the average group size in 1994 was two people (Townsend, 2004), and that 12% of visitors had never been to Dartmoor before (Townsend, 2004). This shows an increase in group size and an increase in first-time visits. Furthermore, shortly after the Foot and Mouth Disease, previous research observed that walkers were viewed as a homogeneous group, principally differentiated by age (Rodway-Dyer & Shaw, 2005); however, there is no doubt that walkers possess multiple motivations; they may visit the moor not only because of the release of a film featuring specific locations.

**Table 1: Respondent profile**

Personal characteristic	Frequency	Percentage
Gender		
Male	56	65.1
Female	30	34.9
Age		
35 and under	25	29.1
36-45	20	23.3
46-55	20	23.2
56 and over	21	24.4
Marital status		
Single	28	32.6
Married	48	55.8
Divorced	2	2.3
Widow	8	9.3
Terminal qualification		
No qualifications	7	8.1
O Levels / CSEs / GCSEs	25	29.1
A Levels	4	4.7
BTEC	6	7.0
Degree	35	40.7
Higher Degree	9	10.5
Occupation		
A	6	7
B	14	16.3
C1	14	16.3
C2	21	24.4
D	5	5.8
E	26	30.2
Permanent residence		
Exeter	2	2.3
Plymouth	2	2.3
Teignbridge	14	16.3
Torbay	5	5.8
West Devon	6	7.0
Rest of Devon	27	31.4
Outside of Devon	30	34.9

For the first-time visitor, Dartmoor was perceived as a ‘must-see’ sight; there was an association significant at the 99.9% level between number of visits and reason for visit – ‘must see’ being one choice (Pearson Chi-Square=23.120, df=3). Furthermore, significant at the 98% level was an association between first-time visit and whether the respondent had viewed *War Horse* the film (Pearson Chi-Square=5.865, df=1). Indeed, Connell (2012:1010) referred to the 2011 filming of *War Horse* attracting ‘much media speculation about secret locations and induced visits in the hope of catching a glimpse of Steven Spielberg’. The Dartmoor Partnership, referred to earlier, has produced a self-guided walk (Dart-

moor, 2014) and the Dartmoor National Park Authority provide guided walks (DNPA, 2014b). Private sector websites also provide details; for example, *Legendary Dartmoor* (2012) and the national DMO Visit Britain provides a site (Visit Britain Super Blog, 2014). There is no shortage of information, in other words (see Images 6 & 7).



**Image 6: The sale of *War Horse*, the novel, at the DNPA Princetown Visitor Centre**



**Image 7: The sale of *War Horse*, a walking guide at the DNPA Princetown Visitor Centre**

With regards to the celluloid portrayal of Dartmoor, it was found that those who have watched the film, *War Horse*, were also more likely to be undertaking sightseeing / historical buildings when on the moor (at the 95% level; Pearson Chi-Square=6.648, df=2). Therefore, the portrayal of Dartmoor on film may influence the decision-making process of tourists who are not otherwise familiar with the local area. However, due to the small sample size, it is not known if *War Horse* in particular motivated specific types of visitors to venture onto specific parts of the moors. For this, additional research would need to be undertaken. Instead, what was evident was the level of consumption of these cultural constructs, as shown in Table 2. It was clear that the film had reached a wider audience than the novel and that some respondents were influenced by the various sources to travel to Dartmoor. However, no significance could be drawn from the data

surrounding this variable. Further insignificance was drawn from a series of other valid tests (see Table 3), which were not affected by the low response rates.

**Table 2: The War Horse connection**

War Horse variables	Frequency	Percentage
Read the War Horse Book	26	30.2
Seen the War Horse Play	0	0
Watched the War Horse Film	54	62.8
Influenced by the social representations of War Horse to visit Dartmoor	4	4.7
Consumed the DNPA material on War Horse	32	37.2

**Table 3: Valid chi-squared test, with no association**

Independent variable	Dependent variable	Asymp. Sig.
Read the War Horse book	Respondents first visit to Dartmoor	0.991
	The reason for visiting	0.751
	Used information to plan the visit	0.965
	Who the respondent travelled with	0.682
	Gender	0.973
	Respondent staying overnight	0.524
	Regrouped age (from cardinal data)	0.228
Watched the War Horse film	The reason for visiting	0.107
	Used information to plan the visit	0.693
	Who the respondent travelled with	0.067
	Gender	0.939
	Respondent staying overnight	0.754
	Regrouped age (from cardinal data)	0.189

In terms of occupation, the majority of respondents were drawn from C2 and E groups. This is different to previous studies, as usually visitors fall within the top 2 social classes (Tourism Company, 2013). However, the findings are similar to Tubb (2003). Of course the E group includes retired individuals as well as those unemployed and state-dependant, and the Dartmoor visitors in this group were principally retired.

The main activity undertaken whilst on Dartmoor was walking (62.8%), followed by sightseeing/historic buildings (16.3%) and other activities (15.1%) which exclude visiting towns and villages (4.7%) and relaxation (1.2%). The main activity confirms the 1994 Visitor Survey data (DNPA, 2004), which states that 60.9% of respondents were walking; however, in past research, higher levels of sightseeing/historic buildings (47.4%) were evident, alongside other activities (21.5%).

A broader range of activities was also noted, as in 1994 arts/crafts (7.2%), letterboxing (5.0%), golf (1.6%), and fishing (1.1%) were also recorded as examples of what visitors do on Dartmoor. None of these was recorded in this study. This may be due to previous research being undertaken on peak days in the months of May, August, and November (DNPA 2004), not just September and October. It may also reflect the climate at the time of research, as five days of rain may have affected the number of visitors and consequently affected the validity of the results, and the range of activities that were being undertaken. However, it may represent the change in fashion, with a decline of unfashionable activities and an increase of others.

The three main motivations for visiting Dartmoor were taking part in an outdoor activity (33.7%), followed by scenery and landscape (29.1%) and viewing a specific attraction (14%). Being motivated by a specific attraction was of significance at the 99% level with first-time visitors (Pearson Chi-Square=22.028, df=3).

In terms of cultural constructs, it would be assumed that an information search would be undertaken by individuals, *before* their visitation. This assumption is made due to the rurality of the location (bringing uncertainty of the unknown) and the creation process behind destination image formation (through the formal and external sources). However, from those interviewed, only 46% of respondents conducted research to help plan their visit. From those who had access to information prior to their visit, only 47.5% engaged with formal sources (e.g., the DNPA website). This is surprising, given the nature of the image formation process. Unsurprisingly, those who were visiting for the first time were significant to the 99% level (Pearson Chi-Square=11.570, df=1).

New visitors were, therefore, more inclined to search for information *prior* to their visit. The information search was also of significance to the main reason for the visit and the main activity undertaken when on site (at the 99% level; Pearson Chi-Square=20.833, df=3 and Pearson Chi-Square=14.347, df=4, respectively). Those who used information to help plan their experience were more likely to be travelling because Dartmoor was a 'must-see' sight and to consume / sightsee historic buildings.

## CONCLUSION

The aims of this paper were to identify the type of visitors who visited Dartmoor during 2012 and to determine their primary motivation for visiting, to see if there is evidence of a changing imagination of the moor, as a result of the film *War Horse*. Furthermore, the research

aimed to determine if the type of visitor had distinctively changed since the 1994 visitor survey.

The findings gave insight into what can be termed the modern Dartmoor visitor, which represents a shift from visitors in 1994. This new type of individual is more likely to be well-educated and of a lower occupational status than before. The visitor travels in a larger group, and is more likely to be a first-time visitor to the moor, which is surprising given that data was collected out-of-season. For these visitors, Dartmoor is perceived as a 'must-see' sight, despite their limited information search *prior* to their visit. Still, the modern visitor still participates in the same activities as the 1994 visitor; however, the range of activities is limited, nowadays. This reduction may be explained by a change in fashion (in relation to types of popular activities), but this would require further research.

Evidently, there were multiple motivations for visits. However, it was clear that the imagination of tourists may have been influenced by the consumption of film, over literary sources, as first-time visitors had watched *War Horse* the film and not read the book, thus implying that the motion picture had reached a wider audience. Fittingly, the consumption of this representation may have also influenced the decision-making process of the visitor, who was not otherwise familiar with the local area. This is suggested as there was (and still is) no shortage of information on the *War Horse* connection. However, if this is as a result of film-induced travel, the authors cannot say, due to the small sample of visitors who were consulted (despite the lengthy period of data collection). Resultantly, the evidence cannot make generalisation, but the link is noted. Reflection can instead be made over the consumption of cultural constructs and the influence of a tourist's imagination influencing perceptions of place, and the decision to travel. Further research is required, and if undertaken, the high cost of acquiring respondents, particularly in the very rural parts of the national park, should be considered. This is imperative to acquire larger samples more effectively.

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