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Connecting the dots between battlefield tourism and creative tourism: the case of the Peninsular War in Portugal

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ABSTRACT
This exploratory research provides insights into the intersection between battlefield tourism and creative tourism in Portugal. Battlefield tourism focused on the Peninsular Wars (1807-1814) has drawn the attention of local stakeholders, although it is an under-researched academic theme. Furthermore, limited research has been undertaken about the links between 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 how heritage-themed tourism events like re-enactments and historical recreations play an important role in the touristic activation of a community and (ii) to clarify the role of stakeholders, creative tourism experiences and tourist perceptions as part of battlefield tourism development. Through in-depth qualitative interviews with stakeholders (tourism agents, guides and tour operators), findings reveal that stakeholders value re-enactments and ‘living history’ as part of the creative experience, promoting interactive, diverse and more enriching contact with local cultures. Creative tourism appears as a key driver in the success of tourism in these destinations, enhancing the participation of local communities, network cooperation, sustainable development, local identity and memory. Finally, theoretical contributions and new lines of investigation are discussed.

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Battlefield tourism; creative tourism; Napoleonic military tourism; historical re-enactments; Peninsular Wars

Introduction

Battlefield tourism is capturing growing touristic and academic attention (see Baldwin & Sharpley, 2009; Dunkley et al., 2011; Hartmann, 2014; Iles, 2006, 2008; Miles, 2012, 2014; Ryan, 2007; Seaton, 1999, 2009). However, few researchers have devoted themselves to the study of battlefield tourism concerning the Napoleonic period (see Seaton, 1999) and the Peninsular Wars (1807-1814) in particular.

In recent years, battlefield tourism has focussed more on issues of conflict and memory (see Çakar, 2020; Chen & Tsai, 2019; Chylńska, 2020; Eade & Katić, 2018; Ivanova & Light, 2018; Maitland, 2010; Proos & Hattingh, 2020). The interest related to the commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the Peninsular Wars (staged in 2010) gave rise to growing research on this topic, with studies such as those by Galán (2017), Mogollón et al. (2017, 2019), Zurita-Aldeguer and Rico (2018, 2020), and Perez-Ruiz (2020). Nevertheless, to our best knowledge, there is no literature for these Iberian destinations exploring the link between creative tourism and battlefield tourism and identifying the factors that enhance the tourist experience. Instead, battlefield tourism has tended to be studied with a primary focus on the First and Second World Wars, addressing dark
and military tourism in Europe from an Anglo-Saxon perspective (see Dunkley et al., 2011; Lloyd, 1998; Miles, 2012, 2014; Reeves et al., 2016; Ryan, 2007; Seaton, 2009).

This paper focuses on the historical period of the Peninsular Wars that took place between 1807 and 1814. The terrain considered covers the most relevant Portuguese battlefields, including battles, sieges, combats, emblematic places, and fortifications directly linked to the war against the Napoleonic armies. Specifically, the main heritage tourism and re-enactment event sites are the battlefields of Bussaco, Vimeiro, Rolça, Almeida and Linhas de Torres. Battlefield tourism regarding the Peninsular Wars encompasses a remarkable set of tourism and cultural resources, spaces of historical memory of the people and cultural landscapes. 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. Mogollón et al., 2019; Perez-Ruiz, 2020). Compared to battlefield tourism’s extensive research focus on to the twentieth 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 Lord Wellington built his fame and Napoleon Bonaparte 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 license. Author: MarcusBritish
Battlefield tourism experiences emerge as complex, deeply meaningful and in some cases life-changing (Dunkley et al., 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 the challenge by Tan et al. (2013), specifically the need for further research on creative experiences in on-site activities. Furthermore, this article explores issues regarding the activation of local assets that directly benefit local people (Richards, 2011).

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 at tourist attractions like the battlefields of Bussaco, Vimeiro, Rolica, Almeida, Linhas de Torres and associated re- enactment events. 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 of the Peninsular Wars.

This paper is divided into six sections. The first section gives a brief introductory overview of the historical background and the second section covers the current tourism situation. A third section presents the literature review, with the theoretical background, research gaps and lines of investigation on which this research is based. The fourth section concerns the methodology used for this study. The fifth 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**

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 French, England sent an army commanded by General Arthur Wellesley (the future Duke of Wellington). The English reorganised what remained of the Portuguese army and Wellesley formed and commanded an allied army which later would integrate Spanish allied forces focusing on the objective of expelling Napoleon’s armies from the Iberian Peninsula (Esaile, 2003). Portugal was invaded by the French three times, leading to the battles and sieges considered here.

During the first invasion (1807-1808) commanded by Gen. Jean-Andoche Junot, two major battles took place, in Rolica (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. Meanwhile, Wellesley was determined to protect the Lisbon Peninsula and ordered 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.

With Portugal secured, Wellesley advanced into Spain starting the Talavera campaign supported by the Spanish army and the Spanish people. A third French invasion (1810-1811) was commanded by Marshal André Massena and the Battle of Côa (24 July 1810) was 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 was captured by the French. Wellington and the allied army repositioned strategically in the mountains of Bussaco and waited for the French. The Battle of Bussaco (27 September 1810) was the most important of all the battles fought in Portugal during the three invasions (see Figure 3).

After the defeat in the Battle of Bussaco, the French army managed to escape, flanking the allied position and marched in the direction of Coimbra, heading south towards Lisbon and not knowing that the defensive lines were constructed around 50 km north of the capital, blocking their advance. The 1st, the 2nd and the 3rd Lines of Torres were defended by 126 forts and redoubts and all the allied army took positions between the 1st and the 2nd Line. Wellington commanded the army from the Forte Grande do Alqueidão (see Figure 4), one of the two major fortifications, the other being the Fort of São Vicente in Torres Vedras. Several combats occurred (Sobral, Outeiro, Dois Portos, etc.) but the French never assaulted the forts directly.

The French retreated on the 14th of November. Several battles occurred at Pombal, Redinha, Condeixa, Casal Novo, Foz de Arouce, Sabugal, and finally, while the Almeida French garrison was besieged (7 April – 10 May 1811) by the Anglo-Portuguese army, a decisive battle was fought at Fuentes de Oñoro (3-5 May 1811), ending the 3rd invasion of Portugal. 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 12 April 1814 (see Figure 1).

Battlefield tourism regarding the Peninsular Wars explores a historical period beyond our living memory, suggesting different perspectives from studies of twentieth century wars. Nonetheless, this opens an opportunity for local communities regarding the Napoleonic period, where local history and community memories from 200 years ago are an important part of the sites’ historical interpretation.
Figure 3. The Anglo-Portuguese army with 52,000 men against the French army with 65,000 men took part in the Battle of Busaco. Retrieved February 22, 2022, from https://www.gutenberg.org/files/55231/55231-h/images/xpnd.jpg

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)

Overview of the Portuguese Peninsular Wars tourism

The results presented below were collected from the national tourism promotion entity (Turismo de Portugal) and the Associação do Turismo Militar Português (ATMPT), though there is no
specific data on the total number of visitors to battlefields. Portuguese tourism in the context of the Peninsular wars has the following main elements: tourist attractions, cultural routes, tour operators, and thematic events that include historical re-enactments.

The tourist attractions 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 these 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 - and the Peninsular Wars Route created by the Portuguese Military Tourism Association (ATMPT).

We were able to identify seven Portuguese companies with tours dedicated to the Peninsular Wars and five British companies that organise 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 Rolica; 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; and the Northern region with Porto, Grijó, and Chaves. 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 common type of group. Larger groups (20-35 people) are common in organised 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 Rolica. 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 suggests that tourism operators do not take sufficient advantage of these historical recreation events. Tours occur throughout the year but a greater focus on the commemoration of battle events suggests that 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. Richards & Wilson, 2006). The discussion involves various topics such as creative tourists (Ali et al., 2016; Tan et al., 2013; Tan et al., 2016), the atmosphere (Maitland, 2010; Santagata & Bertacchini,
2011), creative entrepreneurs (Komppula, 2014; Motti, 2007; Richards, 2011b), destination marketing (Dias-sardinha et al., 2018), the role of public entities (Clare, 2011) or the creative product itself (Binkhorst & Den Dekker, 2009; Drake, 2003).

Creative tourism is related to a shared ‘learning-by-doing’ experiences embracing a range of experiential learning activities (De Bruin & Jelincic, 2016). Furthermore, this interactive engagement in creative tourism (Dias et al., 2021a) involves the promotion of local culture and authentic experiences, ‘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’ (Remoaldo & Cadima-Ribeiro, 2019, p. 87).

Despite this vast research dedicated to creative tourism, it seems opportune to explore the links with battlefield tourism that are not well covered in the literature and thus contribute to a better understanding of the role of stakeholders. We can certainly ask how creative tourism connects with battlefield tourism and if heritage-themed tourism events, like re-enactments, play an important role in the touristic enhancement of the community. Our focus is on the concept of battlefield tourism, which 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 by some (Seaton, 2018). An important issue for Seaton (2018) is 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 focuses 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:

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, the perspectives of stakeholders are suggested as being important contributions.

Another interesting connection in this remembrance tourism (Bird et al., 2018) is a more embodied and more sensorial (or sensual) experience on these battlefields. Though with far more historical distance, the Peninsular Wars can be related to Bird et al.’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., 2018). The concept of embodiment is understood as a way of understanding culture and the self-concerning practices of movement, thinking and sensing (Palmer & Andrews, 2019).

This sensorial and embodied lived experience suggests a connection with the notion or sense of place that Jeepson 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 these features contribute to the landscape’s
historic character (Farrel, 2011). However, 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.

In tourism practice, the battlefields and the memory reserved for them are part of the tourism offer. Their 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 of tourists to battlefields was first instanced after Waterloo (1815). The first organised visits to battlefields took place in the nineteenth century, with Gettysburg standing out with 3 million visitors recorded in 1863 (Miles, 2012). After the First and Second World Wars, battlefield tourism developed as visitors sought to perpetuate the memory of their fallen family members. In addition, tourists were attracted by the sensations of being present in battle grounds where history has changed, or even the educational, historical, and cultural value concentrated in those spaces of collective memory. 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; Ryan, 2007).

The American Civil War stimulates extensive studies regarding re-enactment and 'Living History', namely Hunt (2004) who found that male-dominated 'living history' societies and groups were not primarily an educational exercise. Rather, they were profoundly 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 has shifted 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 (Hall, 2016).

Local development has been an opportunity when festivals and cultural events alike attract visitors. Several studies recognise the contribution to empowering rural communities and improving small-town life quality (Cai et al., 2008, Giaccone & 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 (Giaccone & Galvano, 2021). 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. Possible 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 (Dias et al., 2020b; Gössling et al., 2021, Linderová et al., 2021).

Furthermore, as argued by Dias et al., (2021a), tourists, the atmosphere, entrepreneurs, and the destination management organization are key ingredients of a creative tourism destination. Research by Irimiás (2014) showed that tourists’ experiences might be significantly enhanced through the interaction with the heritage site and through their personal involvement. She pointed
out that co-creation of the tourism experience at war heritage sites might drive 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 et al. (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 with the Battle of Albuera. Zurita-Aldeguer and Rico (2018, p. 2020) highlighted the ‘remarkable potential for didactics and tourism’ recognising in the battlefields a complexity that combines cultural heritage – material and immaterial – and natural heritage. They also advocated the enhancement of digital technology for providing interpretation to visitors. Perez-Ruiz (2020) identified and analysed different heritage values associated with the presence of Bonaparte’s forces in the Douro Valley, including developing a cultural route for tourism. These studies conducted in Portugal and Spain focused on battlefields and only Mogollón et al. (2017, 2019) analysed participants in a specific historical recreation, that of the battle of Albuera, to characterise the participants in the event and understand their motivations. The above-mentioned literature suggests the need to deepen research on the specific context of Portugal’s battlefield tourism. 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. We also intend to focus on tourists. Who are these tourists, and what characterizes and motivates them to visit such unique heritage? It is also our aim to understand the views of tour operators on the tourists’ vision of the battlefields, the tourist experience, the existing immersive dynamics, and the future opportunities for the interpretation. All these questions seek, in a comprehensive way, to explore the factors that enhance the tourist experience, through better knowledge and awareness about this type of offer by those who create 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 factors that promote better battlefield tourism experiences, particularly those in which creative tourism initiatives are a great enabler.

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. (2011) highlighted, to capture in-depth understandings and to gain meaningful insights into the interviewees’ experiences, a ‘softer’ interpretative approach (Harris et al., 2007) was chosen to explore perceptions and knowledge using open-ended questions to allow a more reflexive and interactive analysis.

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

1. To clarify the role of stakeholders, creative tourism experiences and tourist perceptions as part of the development of battlefield tourism.
2. Provide insights into the perceptions, considerations, and dynamics that stakeholders identify regarding creative tourism, battlefield tourism and the development of tourist attractions and re-enactment events on these heritage sites.
3. To consider whether heritage-themed tourism events, like re-enactment and historical recreations, play an important role in the touristic sustainability of a community.
4. To characterise the tourist motivations and experiences for battlefield tourism in Portugal.
The study took place between January 2020 and March 2021 and collected data through qualitative 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. With regard to the validity and reliability of this approach, we partly followed the methodology of Miles (2012). We 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).

**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 analysis. Each interview lasted an average of 75 minutes. The first ten interviews were conducted in person and the last five were performed online due to the Covid pandemic.

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 Appendix) 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 interviews, nevertheless, it resulted in very interactive and productive data. Through analysis, the following themes were identified: 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.

**Participants**

In-depth individual interviews were conducted with the main stakeholders including cultural associations, cultural tourism promoters, tourism agents, guides, tour operators and re-enactors from the local community. Five tourism firms participated in the study. Following the qualitative conventions proposed by Saunders et al. (2018), there was no specific number of predefined interviews. The interviewees developed or participated 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.

**Results and discussion**

**Motivations and characteristics of the battlefield tourists**

As far as the motivations of tourists are concerned, they are linked to a strong interest in military history, the curiosity for places referred to in books and historical television series, and the discovery of places related to family memories. This connection between family history and the Peninsular Wars is an important factor for those visiting the battlefields in Portugal. Several quotes from the interviewees demonstrated this importance as a motive or as part of the desired visitor 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 (Baldwin & Sharpley, 2009) or identity (Çakar, 2020), were not always found but were pointed out by the stakeholders. This finding aligns with previous research (e.g. Pickarz, 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’ (p. 136). The tourist visits to the Napoleonic fields of conflict were described by participants as encompassing a range of experiences:

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. (Silvia, Tour Guide)

Some connection to the remembrance motivations analysed by Seaton (2018) and the EOR model 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).

Most importantly, these battlefield tourists relate these landscapes of war to television series and Peninsular Wars literature. This sets a challenge for skilled cultural interpreters and tourist guides, in that the role of the media – particularly fiction, history books and television series – must be enhanced, not just as a motivation for the visit but also as popular references and sources of knowledge regarding 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 in Portugal and Spain when fighting against the French army. It is remarkable how this popular hero became a reference for tourists, especially because of the highly successful television series (1993–2008), which ran for fourteen movie-length episodes in which the actor Sean Bean played Richard Sharpe. Beginning in 1981, Cornwell published several novels where Sharpe fought in Portugal or the battles close to the frontier with Spain. These included the following: Sharpe’s Eagle: Richard Sharpe and the Talavera Campaign, July 1809 (1981); Sharpe’s Gold: Richard Sharpe and the Destruction of Almeida, August 1810 (1981); Sharpe’s Escape: Richard Sharpe and the Battle of Bussaco, September 1810 (2004); Sharpe’s Battle: Richard Sharpe and the Battle of Fuentes de Oñoro, May 1811 (1995); Sharpe’s Company: Richard Sharpe and the Siege of Badajoz, January to April 1812 (1982) and Sharpe’s Enemy: Richard Sharpe and the Defence of Portugal, Christmas 1812 (1984). As one of our interviewees related:
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. (Silvia, Tour Guide)

Bernard Cornwell has commented on the appeal of historical novels, stating that, ‘One of the joys of historical fiction is that it leads people to read the ‘real’ history – the non-fiction books’. Other renowned Peninsular War historians are part of the tourist narrative as well, including: William Napier, Charles Oman, Charles Esdaille, John Grehan, Arthur Bryant and Ian Robertson.

We could assume that a large majority of visitors to the battlefields are experienced battlefield tourists, history buffs or enthusiasts. The analysis of the results however 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, while history buffs are reported at these tourist attraction sites, they seemingly only occasionally go on organised tours. In this sense, the difficulty in finding companies specialising in battlefield tourism present in the Portuguese market was often referred to. The origin of the tourists was from England, Scotland, Portugal, Ireland, the United States of America, and Australia (in decreasing order of frequency).

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 in and creating experiences and the appreciation of the factors that enhance the tourism offer and the experience itself. 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 it is the Spanish battlefields that are most widely known by visitors to Portugal. This recognition may originate, as mentioned above, from the importance and size of the battles, and references in books and TV series. Spanish sites at Fuentes de Oñoro, Talavera, Badajoz and Salamanca particularly stand out.

Based on the interviews, 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 tourist 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, reference was made to the creation of interpretation centres linked to military heritage and where technology is employed to promote immersive experiences for visitors. Stakeholders recognise the value of these modernised spaces and report efforts towards their greater use in the post-covid period. This highlights 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. 2019, 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. Those interviewed reported on:
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. (Silvia, tour guide)

Satisfaction factors were identified regarding the places of visit, with particular focus on the landscape and the perspective of vantage points, the beauty of the cultural heritage, and the unchanged state of the Portuguese battlefields. What most satisfies customers is the 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 and 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 sometimes there are historical stories directly related to the presence of the English and the French forces. Specifically, these include the cases of the Chanfana in Coimbra (a goat stew in red wine as the water was poisoned), Beef Wellington (the Duke’s own recipe!) or 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 socialisation 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 has been passed down by elders 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 usually only the winners and the elite write 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 [a British musket] 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 factors having an impact on the relationship between the tourist and the stakeholders include: 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 access is limited to the timing of when events are conducted. An opportunity is suggested here, as there is constant reference in the interviews to the tourist’s desire to experience and participate actively in recreations. This is an important aspect of creative tourism allowing interpretations of the battlefield by emphasising a participatory process of making sense of the past (Ross et al., 2017). Accordingly, creative tourism and 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 findings 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. As argued by the interviewees, battlefield tourism, in the context of creative tourism experiences, cannot be dissociated from the community. However, interaction with the local community exists, but more to provide services than as part of the management or creation of the tourism offer.

The interviewees argued that there is insufficient cooperation between the various stakeholders in the act of building the tourism product or even amongst 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., 2021b). 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 the economic impact of tourism 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 place little value on the methodology, the benchmarking, and the application of good tourism sustainability practices. They argue that the impact is not great because the number of actions and activities is small. However, historical recreation events are moments of great concentration of resource use. Accordingly, the impact of the absence of good practice is high and we suggest that methodical planning 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 the opportunities that cross borders and is underpinned by networking between enthusiasts of themed events. With the promotion of events, this 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 that there is an opportunity for 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 reinforces 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 led to 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! António, reenactor.

This evidence is mentioned by several other participants as an important factor in the experiences provided and the relationship 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. 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 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 Jelinic (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 creative 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 contributes to the theoretical background both in battlefield tourism and creative tourism. Regarding battlefield tourism, it allowed the obtaining of 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) split 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, and 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 era battlefields. A correlation between these battlefields in Portugal and Spain and television series is strongly suggested, namely the Sharpe 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 Rolhaça, Côa, Amarante, Sabugal, Elvas fortified City, just to name the most relevant sites.

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References


## Appendix

**Table 1. The script: interview questions/topics and objectives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question/Topic</th>
<th>Objectives</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Within the scope of Military Tourism, what are the most common</td>
<td>Identify tourist motivations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motivations of your clients?</td>
<td>Tourist Characterization</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. What is the proportion of battlefield tourists taken on who request your</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>services?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>a) The Totality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) More than half</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Half</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Less than half</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sequentially, which battlefields have the highest demand?</td>
<td>Quantifying demand for tourist attractions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3- high demand, 2- some demand, 1- low demand)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Indicate the degree of your tourists' experience in battlefield</td>
<td>Tourist characterization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tourism environments: (3 - a lot, 2 - some, 1 - none)</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. What do the clients tell you about their satisfaction?</td>
<td>Evaluation of the offer and experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Regarding the places where they visit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Regarding the service provided</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Regarding the experience lived during the visit</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6. In your perspective, what differentiates the Napoleonic battlefield</td>
<td>Perception of the relevance of the historic</td>
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<td>from other battlefields?</td>
<td>landscape</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. What emotions experienced by the customers are transmitted to you?</td>
<td>Characterization of the tourists’ experience</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. What do you perceive those customers want to experience?</td>
<td>Characterization of the desired experience</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Do customers seek participation in historical re-enactments?</td>
<td>a) Characterization of the battlefield tourists</td>
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<td></td>
<td>b) Demand for creative tourism. Factors that</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>enhance the tourist experience</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. What do you consider to be a memorable experience?</td>
<td>Identify immersive/creative experiences in the</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Does your company arrange for customers to participate in Living History</td>
<td>tourism offer</td>
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<tr>
<td>events or re-enactments?</td>
<td>Identify participation in the community</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. Does your organisation co-operate in/carry out any activities with the</td>
<td>Identify impact in the community</td>
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<tr>
<td>local community?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>14. Does your organisation co-operate in/carry out activities with the local</td>
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<td>community frequently?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>15. Where are your customers from?</td>
<td></td>
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<td>16. Does your entity build the tourism product in an isolated way, or does it</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>bring together partners from the community?</td>
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<td>17. What Creative Tourism activities do you know of?</td>
<td></td>
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<td>18. Do you incorporate Creative Tourism activities in your tourism offer?</td>
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<td>19. How important is creative tourism to battlefield tourism?</td>
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<td>20. What values do you identify in creative tourism that promote battlefield</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tourism?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>21. What tourism sustainability actions do you apply in your tourism offer?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>22. What changes to the tourism offer will you apply in the post-pandemic</td>
<td>Post-pandemic actions in the tourism offer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scenario?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Own elaboration*