

**UNIVERSITY OF SEVILLE**  
**FACULTY OF TOURISM AND FINANCE**



**DOCTORAL THESIS**

**BATTLEFIELD TOURISM:  
STRATEGIES AND TACTICS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND TOURISM  
PLANNING OF THE BATTLEFIELDS OF THE WAR OF  
INDEPENDENCE/PENINSULAR WAR IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL**

**MARCO ANTÓNIO DO CARMO GOMES NOIVO**

SEVILLE

2023



**UNIVERSITY OF SEVILLE**  
**FACULTY OF TOURISM AND FINANCE**

**INTERNATIONAL DOCTORATE SCHOOL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF SEVILLE**

**PhD IN TOURISM: TOURISM, DEVELOPMENT AND COOPERATION**

**DOCTORAL THESIS**

**BATTLEFIELD TOURISM:  
STRATEGIES AND TACTICS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND TOURISM  
PLANNING OF THE BATTLEFIELDS OF THE WAR OF  
INDEPENDENCE/PENINSULAR WAR IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL**

**MARCO ANTÓNIO DO CARMO GOMES NOIVO**

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Tourism, supervised by  
Professor José Luis Jiménez Caballero, of the Faculty of Tourism  
and Finance, University of Seville

Seville, december 2023



À Sílvia, minha Handa e meu amor,  
e às estrelinhas mais brilhantes do meu céu, Beatriz, Leonor e Maia.

“All the business of war, and indeed all the business of life,  
is to endeavour to find out what you don't know by what you do;  
that's what I called 'guess what was at the other side of the hill’.

Arhtur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington

“Respect the burden.”

Napoleon Bonaparte

## Dedication

This work is wholeheartedly dedicated to Sílvia, my Handa, my endless love, *mo anam cara*.

With relentless strength and sacrifice, Sílvia cleared my path from all challenges so I could maintain my aim and focus. I cannot thank enough for her wise words that always show me the good way in misty thoughts and blurred views. *Iliam Éllin*, I am deeply grateful for your courage and inspiration, for enlightening me, and for walking by my side each single step of this long *camino*.

To my sweet daughters, Beatriz, Leonor and Maia for all the smiles, encouragement and hugs on those hard moments when the hill seemed too high. This would have been an impossible achievement without your support as well, so, I hope to continue to inspire as I am inspired by your love.

A special feeling of gratitude to my parents António Filipe and Maria Antónia for all the heartening support and to my dearest father and mother-in-law, Miguel and Maria Dolores, for all the sacrifice, effort and the redefinition of unconditional love.

To my dear friend Didier Sarnago, always present, always inspiring. I believe that if you had the chance to read this work you would probably say in your French and flamboyant way, "*C'est pas de la m\*rde!*"

As you used to tell me: "*És mesmo um grande amigo!*" And so it will be... "*Pour la vie...*"

Muito obrigado!

## Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my thesis supervisor, Profesor Doctor José Luis Jiménez Caballero, for all the support since the first moment, trust in my perspective and all the knowledge shared. This endeavour would not have been possible without his orientation. It is an honour to have you as my mentor and to be a student at the Universidad de Sevilla.

I am deeply indebted to my dear colleague Professor Doutor Álvaro Lopes Dias, the first to present me this PhD opportunity, showing me the right way. All his experience and academic knowledge was a precious reference to understand and face the methodologies, the approach and the science design. Thank you my friend Álvaro.

I am extremely grateful for all the understanding and support given by my director at Universidade Lusófona, Professora Doutora Mafalda Patuleia, for allowing my concentration in this thesis and for the constant moral support to achieve this shared goal.

Words cannot express my gratitude to my dearest friend and professor Didier San Payo Sarnago, who, although no longer with us, continues to inspire me by his example, dedication, poetical joyful way to approach life and mission to always serve in the best interest of our students. *Allons-y, Marco!!* As he always said when supporting and encouraging me to advance forward with my thesis.

I could not have undertaken this journey without the contribution of Sílvia, my wife and love of my life. Sílvia's revisions, clear view, objectivity and theoretical discussions allowed me to advance through intense and dense work. I thank Sílvia also for her courageous and personal sacrifice that allowed me to dedicate so many days and hours to this common project. We walked the same battlefields, side by side, this is your thesis too, my love, *muito obrigado*.

Additionally, this work would not have been so academically sharpened without the help of my oldest daughter Beatriz. Her contribution on APA7 knowledge was precious to ensure high standards.

I am also grateful for the many advances and perspectives brought by professors Mario Ramírez Galán and Rafael Zurita Aldeguer, who opened up the Spanish academic approaches on our common subject of study. I hope to thank you both personally one day.

I am also thankful to all my family (António Filipe, Maria Antónia, Miguel, Maria Dolores, Beatriz, Leonor, Maia, André, Olívia, António, Emília e Luis) and friends (Eloy Piñero, Luis Pedro) that supported and encouraged me. Their belief has kept my spirits and motivation high during all this process.

I would like to acknowledge the important contribution of my tourism students of the tourism degree (2022-2025) of Universidade Lusófona, who helped me to use the surveys in the Forms program. I also thank all the other kind souls, students, colleagues, friends who supported me, inspired and with whom I've learned and continuously will be learning.

Lastly, I thank to Santiago and the Camiño, for the many solitary mind discussions while walking, as for the serenity, perseverance and superation that showed me the way. I am always inspired by and have present the words of the great poet born in Sevilla, Antonio Machado, "Caminante, no hay camino, se hace camino al andar".

Thank you!



## Publications

**Journal:** Journal of Heritage Tourism (eISSN: 1747-6631; pISSN: 1743-873X)

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

**Authors:** Noivo, Marco; Dias, Álvaro; Caballero, José

**Volume:** 17 – Issue 6, 648-668

**Pages:** 20

**Year:** 2022

**Status:** Published

**Publisher:** Taylor and Francis Ltd.

**DOI:** 10.1080/1743873X.2022.2116983

**Number of citations:** 2

**Indexing quality:** Scopus; Scimago Journal & Country Rank (SJR); Social Sciences Citation Index and Web of Science (Clarivate Analytics); According to Clarivate's JCR, the journals indexed in SCIE/SSCI have an impact factor.

**SCImago Journal Rank (SJR) 2002:** 0.84

**H-INDEX :** 42

**Impact factor SJR:** 3.29 (2022)

Journal metrics · 2.7 (2022) 5 year IF · 5.8 (2022) CiteScore (Scopus) · Q1 CiteScore Best Quartile · 1.694 (2022)

**Quartile:** Q1 (History); Q2 (Tourism, Leisure and Hospitality Management)

**Journal area:** Tourism, Leisure and Hospitality Management/History

Citation:

Marco António Noivo, Álvaro Lopes Dias & José Luis Jiménez-Caballero (2022) Connecting the dots between battlefield tourism and creative tourism: the case of the Peninsular War in Portugal, *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 17:6, 648-668, DOI: [10.1080/1743873X.2022.2116983](https://doi.org/10.1080/1743873X.2022.2116983)

## Abstract

This doctoral thesis falls within the scope of Cultural Tourism and Military Tourism, focusing specifically on Battlefield Tourism in the Iberian Peninsula, and is dedicated to the study of the touristic development of the battlefields of the period between 1808 and 1814, known in Portugal as the Peninsular War and in Spain as the War of Independence, part of the wider Napoleonic Wars. Our main objective is to contribute to fill an important gap in the awareness and knowledge of the potential of these tourist attractions in Portugal and Spain, presenting at the end of this thesis a model of Strategic Tourism Plan specific to the battlefields of the Napoleonic era.

The main research question was: how to successfully develop battlefield tourism in the Peninsular War battlefields?

Through research and findings, we studied these battlefields, valued the interpretation of tangible and intangible heritage, analysed its capabilities and potential, identified the elements that promote success or inhibit it, characterised the motivations and explored new types of tourism that catalyse Battlefield Tourism. The three elements to be studied and analysed were identified as the stakeholders/tourism agents, the visitors/participants in battlefield tourism events and finally the battlefields themselves from a visitors' experience perspective.

For this purpose, we undertook case studies using both qualitative and quantitative approaches to the battlefields of the Lines of Torres Vedras, Vimeiro, Almeida, Sabugal (Gravato) in Portugal, and Arapiles and Ciudad Rodrigo in Spain.

The application component of the thesis, structured in the academic research of Tourism of Napoleonic battlefields, allowed to better understand the state of the art of Battlefield Tourism in Portugal and Spain as well as the main theoretical advances and dynamic initiatives of this important cross-border cultural resource.

A first study-case was designed to provide insights into the intersection between battlefield tourism and creative tourism. For this purpose, in-depth interviews were carried out aimed at stakeholders, tourism agents, tour guides and tour operators, 15 participants in total, allowing the analysis and understanding of the perspectives of those who deal directly with the battlefield tourism customer. It provided new and valuable insights that explore the points of convergence with creative tourism within the scope of the Napoleonic Battlefields of Portugal and mainly in the Lines of Torres Vedras. This important contribution explored and understood the role of these key players somewhat aside from the literature about battlefield tourism. It gave origin to an article published in September 2022 in the Journal of Heritage Tourism. Findings reveal that those 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, and local identity and memory.

A second survey was designed to understand and explore the perspectives of the participants in re-enactment events. Using a quantitative methodology, a face-to-face questionnaire was answered by 120 visitors in the historical recreations of the Siege of Almeida and Battle of Vimeiro, analysing the visitors' experience and the inhibiting and enhancing factors in visiting these cultural spaces. With this purpose, the main objectives were defined to know the participants, understand the motivations, perceptions of authenticity and experience in these historical recreations and re-enactment events.

Findings expose the relevance of the participation, promoting and improving the value of the experience, engaging the visitor in an educational experience of historical significance. Re-enactment and living history events appear as a strong attraction for all family members, and the intention to repeat the experience and to suggest the event to others also points out the high perception of authenticity and entertainment value of historical re-enactments where living history activities are present.

A discussion was then based in literature and the previous findings with the objective of identifying strategies and tactics that enhance and value Napoleonic Battlefield Tourism in Spain and Portugal, exploring tourists' experience, dynamic types of tourism, battlefields visitation and interpretation. Re-enactment, Living History and Creative Tourism were identified as major boosters for battlefield tourism, and stakeholders and the community as essential pillars for its success. Interactive technological solutions in the interpretation of the battles showed up as a key element that enhance the visitors experience and interaction. To organize a pragmatic framework, a set of obstacles were recognized and enhancing factors were identified. The conclusion led to the identification of key strategies and tactics organized in a set of good practices to be implemented by tourism promoters.

Finally, field research was carried out on the battlefields of Sabugal (Gravato) in Portugal, Ciudad Rodrigo and Los Arapiles (Salamanca) in Spain, analysing through the visitors' experience perspective, the elements that facilitate or difficult the experience of visiting the respective battlefields. The field research consisted of a questionnaire with 16 items to be observed in the battlefields and the conclusions allowed us to identify the structures and elements needed to improve the tourist visitation and what solutions enhance a more dynamic and interactive experience. The battlefield of Arapiles (Salamanca) proved to be the best example of a successful visit experience. It shows how the combination of technology,

attractive promotional artwork and good touristic planning promote a much-desired multi-sensorial interaction with history, landscapes of war and a common memory. But the main awareness achieved is how to comprehend these Napoleonic battlefield factors and visitors' needs into a strategic tourism plan specific for these valuable touristic resources.

Each one of the conclusions from the three battlefields resumed into guidelines presented as a Proposal for Valorisation and Touristic Activation with the purpose of providing strategies that promote enriched, engaging, and accessible experiences for visitors from diverse backgrounds and preferences. The individual approach to each battlefield was organized in i) Strategy to empower stakeholders' dynamics, ii) Strategy for promotion and awareness, and iii) Strategy to implement visitor interpretation and experience.

This construct allowed the preparation of a new set of guidelines, now specifically dedicated to the most relevant factors identified in the previous conclusions, namely Interpretation and Experience.

The relevance given to these two key issues led us to elaborate this proposal of good practices as a resource to be considered and implemented by stakeholders. Therefore, this Proposal of Good Practices in enhancing battlefield's interpretations and tourist's experience, comprehend three pillars identified as paramount on the approach, namely, i) Factors that improve the interpretation, ii) Factors that enhance the operability of the visit, and finally, iii) Factors that empower the experience. The analysis on the three researched battlefields led to the identification and awareness that for successful battlefield tourism specific elements/actions must be considered.

Having made this construct, our contribution is, as final goal of this study, the proposal of a model of strategic tourism plan especially applicable to these same battlefields or others from the same period. The objective is to apply a model of best practices, strategies and tactics, which allow tourism development supported by communities, in the preservation and optimized dissemination of their historical, material and immaterial heritage, building a tourism product based on the dynamics and experiences of those who visit, who structures and manages, and who operates the touristic offer.

These best practices are intended to be disseminated to local authorities, tourism promoters and tourism regions, encouraging discussion and development of battlefield tourism and the sustainability of local communities.

Based on the results obtained through multiple methods, this research concludes that to reach a successful Napoleonic battlefield tourism in Iberian Peninsula the promoters need an overall cohesive approach, strategically grounded in the stakeholders' activation and engagement, visitors enhanced experience through creative tourism, edutainment and re-

enactment, and interpretation with interactive multisensory technology. Finally, empowerment of battlefields is achieved by historical significance and historical landscape awareness, supported by a strategic planification fostered by passionate research, driven by communities' and visitors' needs and motivations, and sustainable and responsible touristic approaches.

**Keywords:** Battlefield Tourism; Napoleonic Re-enactment; Living History; Spanish War of Independence/Peninsular War; Strategic Tourism Plan; Cultural Tourism

JEL: Z32; Q26; Q01; N43;



## Resumen

Esta tesis doctoral se encuadra en el ámbito del Turismo Cultural y Turismo Militar, centrándose específicamente en el Turismo de Campos de Batalla en la Península Ibérica, y está dedicada al estudio del desarrollo turístico de los campos de batalla del período comprendido entre 1808 y 1814, conocido en Portugal como Guerra Peninsular y en España como Guerra de la Independencia, parte de las más amplias Guerras Napoleónicas.

Nuestro principal objetivo es contribuir a llenar un importante vacío en la conciencia y el conocimiento del potencial de estos atractivos turísticos en Portugal y España, presentando al final de esta tesis un modelo de Plan Estratégico de Turismo específico para los campos de batalla de la época napoleónica.

La principal pregunta de investigación fue: ¿cómo desarrollar con éxito el turismo de los campos de batalla de la Guerra Peninsular?

A través de la investigación y los hallazgos, estudiamos estos campos de batalla, valoramos la interpretación del patrimonio tangible e intangible, analizamos sus capacidades y potencial, identificamos los elementos que promueven el éxito o lo inhiben, caracterizamos las motivaciones y exploramos nuevos tipos de turismo que catalizan el Turismo de Campos de Batalla. Los tres elementos que debían estudiarse y analizarse eran las partes interesadas/agentes turísticos, los visitantes/participantes en eventos de turismo de campos de batalla y, por último, los propios campos de batalla desde la perspectiva de la experiencia de los visitantes.

Para ello, se realizaron estudios de caso con enfoques cualitativos y cuantitativos en los campos de batalla de las Líneas de Torres Vedras, Vimeiro, Almeida, Sabugal (Gravato) en Portugal, y Arapiles y Ciudad Rodrigo en España.

El componente de aplicación de la tesis, estructurado en la investigación académica del Turismo de Campos de Batalla Napoleónicos, permitió comprender mejor el estado del arte del Turismo de Campos de Batalla en Portugal y España, así como los principales avances teóricos e iniciativas dinámicas de este importante recurso cultural transfronterizo.

Se diseñó un primer estudio-caso para proporcionar información sobre la intersección entre el turismo de campos de batalla y el turismo creativo. Para ello, se llevaron a cabo entrevistas en profundidad dirigidas a grupos de interés, agentes turísticos, guías y operadores turísticos, 15 participantes en total, que permitieron analizar y comprender las perspectivas de quienes tratan directamente con el cliente del turismo de campos de batalla. Proporcionó nuevas y valiosas perspectivas que exploran los puntos de convergencia con el turismo creativo en el ámbito de los Campos de Batalla Napoleónicos de Portugal y principalmente en

las Líneas de Torres Vedras. Esta importante contribución exploró y comprendió el papel de estos actores clave algo al margen de la literatura sobre el turismo de los campos de batalla. Dio origen a un artículo publicado en septiembre de 2022 en el *Journal of Heritage Tourism*. Los resultados revelan que las partes interesadas valoran las recreaciones y la "historia viva" como parte de la experiencia creativa, promoviendo un contacto interactivo, diverso y más enriquecedor con las culturas locales. El turismo creativo aparece como un motor clave del éxito del turismo en estos destinos, potenciando la participación de las comunidades locales, la cooperación en red, el desarrollo sostenible, y la identidad y memoria local.

Se diseñó una segunda encuesta para comprender y explorar las perspectivas de los participantes en eventos de recreación. Utilizando una metodología cuantitativa, 120 visitantes de las recreaciones históricas del Asedio de Almeida y la Batalla de Vimeiro respondieron a un cuestionario cara a cara, analizando la experiencia de los visitantes y los factores inhibidores y potenciadores de la visita a estos espacios culturales. Para ello, se definieron como objetivos principales conocer a los participantes, comprender las motivaciones, percepciones de autenticidad y experiencia en estas recreaciones históricas y eventos de recreación.

Los resultados exponen la importancia y la relevancia de la participación, promoviendo y mejorando el valor de la experiencia, involucrando al visitante en una experiencia educativa de significado histórico. Las recreaciones históricas y los acontecimientos de Living History parecen ser un fuerte atractivo para todos los miembros de la familia, y la intención de repetir la experiencia y de sugerir el acontecimiento a otras personas también señala la alta percepción de autenticidad y el valor de entretenimiento de las recreaciones históricas en las que hay actividades de historia viviente.

A continuación, se llevó a cabo un debate basado en la bibliografía y los resultados anteriores con el objetivo de identificar estrategias y tácticas que mejoren y valoren el turismo de los campos de batalla napoleónicos en España y Portugal, explorando la experiencia de los turistas, los tipos dinámicos de turismo, la visita a los campos de batalla y la interpretación. La recreación histórica, el Living History y el turismo creativo se identificaron como los principales impulsores del turismo de campos de batalla, y las partes interesadas y la comunidad como pilares esenciales para su éxito.

Las soluciones tecnológicas interactivas en la interpretación de las batallas se revelaron como un elemento clave que mejora la experiencia y la interacción de los visitantes. Para organizar un marco pragmático, se reconocieron una serie de obstáculos y se identificaron factores potenciadores. La conclusión condujo a la identificación de estrategias y

tácticas clave organizadas en un conjunto de buenas prácticas a aplicar por los promotores turísticos.

Por último, se realizó una investigación de campo en los campos de batalla de Sabugal (Gravato) em Portugal, Ciudad Rodrigo y de Los Arapiles (Salamanca) en España, analizando desde la perspectiva de la experiencia de los visitantes, los elementos que facilitan o dificultan la experiencia de visitar los respectivos campos de batalla. La investigación de campo consistió en un cuestionario con 16 ítems a observar en los campos de batalla y las conclusiones nos permitieron identificar las estructuras y elementos necesarios para mejorar la visita turística y qué soluciones potencian una experiencia más dinámica e interactiva. El campo de batalla de Arapiles (Salamanca) resultó ser el mejor ejemplo de una experiencia de visita satisfactoria. Muestra cómo la combinación de tecnología, un atractivo material gráfico promocional y una buena planificación turística promueven la tan deseada interacción multisensorial con la historia, los paisajes de guerra y la memoria común. Pero el principal conocimiento alcanzado es cómo comprender estos factores del campo de batalla napoleónico y las necesidades de los visitantes en un plan turístico estratégico específico para estos valiosos recursos turísticos.

Cada una de las conclusiones de los tres campos de batalla se resumió en directrices presentadas como Propuesta de Valorización y Activación Turística con el fin de proporcionar estrategias que promuevan experiencias enriquecedoras, atractivas y accesibles para visitantes de diversos orígenes y preferencias. El enfoque individual de cada campo de batalla se organizó en i) Estrategia para potenciar la dinámica de las partes interesadas, ii) Estrategia de promoción y sensibilización, y iii) Estrategia para implementar la interpretación y la experiencia de los visitantes.

Este constructo permitió elaborar un nuevo conjunto de directrices, ahora dedicadas específicamente a los factores más relevantes identificados en las conclusiones anteriores, a saber, la Interpretación y la Experiencia.

La relevancia otorgada a estos dos grandes temas nos llevó a elaborar esta propuesta de buenas prácticas como un recurso a tener en cuenta e implementar por parte de los interesados. Por lo tanto, esta Propuesta de Buenas Prácticas para mejorar la interpretación de los campos de batalla y la experiencia de los turistas, comprende tres pilares identificados como primordiales en el enfoque, a saber, i) Factores que mejoran la interpretación, ii) Factores que mejoran la operatividad de la visita y, por último, iii) Factores que potencian la experiencia. El análisis de los tres campos de batalla investigados llevó a la identificación y concienciación de que para que el turismo de campos de batalla tenga éxito deben tenerse en cuenta elementos/acciones específicas.

Hecha esta construcción, nuestro aporte es, como objetivo final de este estudio, la propuesta de un modelo de plan estratégico de turismo especialmente aplicable a estos mismos campos de batalla u otros de la misma época. El objetivo es aplicar un modelo de buenas prácticas, estrategias y tácticas, que permitan el desarrollo turístico apoyado por las comunidades, en la preservación y difusión optimizada de su patrimonio histórico, material e inmaterial, construyendo un producto turístico basado en las dinámicas y experiencias de quien visita, quien estructura y gestiona, y quien opera la oferta turística.

Estas buenas prácticas pretenden ser difundidas entre las autoridades locales, los promotores y las regiones turísticas, promoviendo el debate y el desarrollo del turismo de batalla y la sostenibilidad de las comunidades locales.

Basándose en los resultados obtenidos a través de múltiples métodos, esta investigación concluye que para lograr el éxito del turismo en los campos de batalla napoleónicos de la Península Ibérica, los promotores necesitan un enfoque global cohesionado, basado estratégicamente en la activación y el compromiso de las partes interesadas, la mejora de la experiencia de los visitantes a través del turismo creativo, el entretenimiento educativo (edutainment) y la recreación, y la interpretación con tecnología multisensorial interactiva. Por último, la potenciación de los campos de batalla se logra mediante la importancia histórica y la concienciación sobre el paisaje histórico, con el apoyo de una planificación estratégica fomentada por una investigación apasionada, impulsada por las necesidades y motivaciones de las comunidades y los visitantes, y enfoques turísticos sostenibles y responsables.

## PALABRAS-CLAVE

*Battlefield Tourism*; recreaciones napoleónicas; *Living History*; Guerra de la Independencia/Guerras Peninsulares; Planificación Turística; Turismo Cultural

JEL: Z32; Q26; Q01; N43;

## Resumo

A presente tese de doutoramento insere-se no âmbito do Turismo Cultural e do Turismo Militar, incidindo especificamente no Turismo de Campo de Batalha na Península Ibérica, e dedica-se ao estudo do desenvolvimento turístico dos campos de batalha do período compreendido entre 1808 e 1814, conhecido em Portugal como Guerra Peninsular e em Espanha como Guerra da Independência, parte integrante das Guerras Napoleónicas.

O nosso principal objetivo é contribuir para preencher uma importante lacuna na consciência e conhecimento do potencial destas atrações turísticas em Portugal e Espanha, apresentando no final desta tese um modelo de Plano Estratégico de Turismo específico para os campos de batalha da era napoleónica.

A principal questão de investigação foi: como desenvolver com sucesso o turismo de campos de batalha nos campos de batalha da Guerra Peninsular?

Através da investigação e das conclusões, estudámos estes campos de batalha, valorizámos a interpretação do património tangível e intangível, analisámos as suas capacidades e potencialidades, identificámos os elementos que promovem o sucesso ou o inibem, caracterizámos as motivações e explorámos novos tipos de turismo que catalisam o Turismo de Campos de Batalha. Os três elementos a serem estudados e analisados foram identificados como as partes interessadas/agentes turísticos, o visitante/participantes em eventos de turismo de campo de batalha e, finalmente, os próprios campos de batalha na perspetiva da experiência dos visitantes.

Para o efeito, foram realizados estudos de caso com abordagens qualitativas e quantitativas aos campos de batalha das Linhas de Torres Vedras, Vimeiro, Almeida, Sabugal (Gravato) em Portugal, e Arapiles e Ciudad Rodrigo em Espanha.

A componente de aplicação da tese, estruturada na investigação académica do Turismo de Campos de Batalha Napoleónicos, permitiu compreender melhor o estado da arte do Turismo de Campos de Batalha em Portugal e Espanha, bem como os principais avanços teóricos e iniciativas dinamizadoras deste importante recurso cultural transfronteiriço.

Um primeiro estudo de caso foi concebido com o objetivo de fornecer uma visão sobre a intersecção entre o turismo de campos de batalha e o turismo criativo. Para o efeito, foram realizadas entrevistas aprofundadas dirigidas às partes interessadas, agentes turísticos, guias e operadores turísticos, num total de 15 participantes, permitindo a análise e a compreensão das perspetivas daqueles que lidam diretamente com o cliente do turismo de campos de batalha. Proporcionou novos e valiosas perspetivas que exploram os pontos de convergência com o turismo criativo no âmbito dos Campos de Batalha Napoleónicos de Portugal e

principalmente nas Linhas de Torres Vedras. Esta importante contribuição explorou e compreendeu o papel destes actores-chave um pouco à margem da literatura sobre turismo de campo de batalha. Este estudo deu origem a um artigo publicado em setembro de 2022 no *Journal of Heritage Tourism*. Os resultados revelam que as partes interessadas valorizam as reconstituições e a "história viva/living history" como parte da experiência criativa, promovendo um contacto interativo, diversificado e mais enriquecedor com as culturas locais. O turismo criativo surge como um motor fundamental para o sucesso do turismo nestes destinos, potenciando a participação das comunidades locais, a cooperação em rede, o desenvolvimento sustentável, a identidade e a memória locais.

Um segundo inquérito foi concebido para compreender e explorar as perspectivas dos participantes em eventos de recriação histórica. Utilizando uma metodologia quantitativa, um questionário presencial foi respondido por 120 visitantes nas recriações históricas do Cerco de Almeida e da Batalha do Vimeiro, analisando a experiência dos visitantes e os factores inibidores e potenciadores da visita a estes espaços culturais. Para tal, foram definidos como objectivos principais conhecer os participantes, compreender as motivações, percepções de autenticidade e experiência nestas recriações históricas.

Os resultados expõem a importância e a relevância da participação, promovendo e melhorando o valor da experiência, envolvendo o visitante numa experiência educacional de significado histórico. As recriações históricas e os eventos de história viva (Living History) surgem como um forte atrativo para todos os membros da família, e a intenção de repetir a experiência e de sugerir o evento a outros aponta também para a elevada percepção de autenticidade e valor de entretenimento das recriações históricas onde estão presentes actividades de Living History.

Em seguida, foi feita uma discussão com base na literatura e nos resultados anteriores, com o objetivo de identificar estratégias e táticas que melhorem e valorizem o turismo nos campos de batalha napoleónicos em Espanha e Portugal, explorando a experiência dos turistas, os tipos de turismo, a visitação e a interpretação dos campos de batalha. O Re-enactment, a "História Viva/Living History" e o Turismo Criativo foram identificados como grandes impulsionadores do turismo de campos de batalha, e os stakeholders e a comunidade como pilares essenciais para o seu sucesso. As soluções tecnológicas interactivas na interpretação das batalhas surgiram como um elemento-chave para melhorar a experiência e a interação dos visitantes. De forma a organizar um enquadramento pragmático, foram identificados um conjunto de obstáculos e reconhecidos factores potenciadores. A conclusão levou à identificação de estratégias e táticas organizadas num conjunto de boas práticas a serem implementadas pelos promotores turísticos.

Por fim, realizou-se uma investigação de campo nos campos de batalha do Sabugal (Gravato) em Portugal, Ciudad Rodrigo e Batalha de Los Arapiles (Salamanca) em Espanha, analisando, através da perspectiva da experiência dos visitantes, os elementos que facilitam ou dificultam a experiência de visita aos respectivos campos de batalha. A pesquisa de campo consistiu num questionário com 16 itens a observar nos campos de batalha e as conclusões permitiram identificar as estruturas e elementos necessários para melhorar a visita turística e que soluções potenciam uma experiência mais dinâmica e interactiva. O campo de batalha de Arapiles (Salamanca) revelou-se o melhor exemplo de uma experiência de visita bem-sucedida. Mostra como a combinação de tecnologia, arte promocional atractiva e um bom planeamento turístico promovem uma interação multissensorial muito desejada, interagindo com a história, as paisagens de guerra e uma memória comum. Mas a principal consciência alcançada é a de como compreender estes factores do campo de batalha napoleónico e as necessidades dos visitantes num plano estratégico de turismo específico para estes valiosos recursos turísticos.

Cada uma das conclusões dos três campos de batalha resumiu-se em linhas orientadoras apresentadas como Proposta de Valorização e Ativação Turística, com o objetivo de proporcionar estratégias que promovam experiências enriquecedoras, envolventes e acessíveis a visitantes de diversas origens e preferências. A abordagem individual a cada campo de batalha foi organizada em i) Estratégia de potenciação das dinâmicas dos stakeholders, ii) Estratégia de promoção e sensibilização, e iii) Estratégia de implementação da interpretação e experiência do visitante.

Este construto permitiu a elaboração de um novo conjunto de orientações na forma de guidelines, agora especificamente dedicadas aos factores mais relevantes identificados nas conclusões anteriores, nomeadamente, a Interpretação e a Experiência.

A relevância dada a estes dois importantes factores levou-nos a elaborar esta proposta de boas práticas como um recurso a ser considerado e implementado pelas partes interessadas. Assim, esta Proposta de Boas Práticas para melhorar a interpretação dos campos de batalha e a experiência do turista, compreende três pilares identificados como fundamentais na abordagem, nomeadamente, i) Factores que melhoram a interpretação, ii) Factores que melhoram a operacionalidade da visita e, finalmente, iii) Factores que potenciam a experiência. A análise dos três campos de batalha investigados levou à identificação e consciencialização de que, para um turismo de campo de batalha bem-sucedido, devem ser considerados elementos/acções específicos.

Este constructo permitiu a elaboração de um novo conjunto de orientações, agora especificamente dedicadas aos factores mais relevantes identificados nas conclusões anteriores, nomeadamente a Interpretação e a Experiência.

Consequentemente, o nosso contributo é, como objetivo final deste estudo, a proposta de um modelo de plano estratégico turístico especialmente aplicável a estes mesmos campos de batalha ou a outros da mesma época. O objetivo é aplicar um modelo de boas práticas, estratégias e táticas, que permitam o desenvolvimento turístico apoiado pelas comunidades, na preservação e divulgação otimizada do seu património histórico, material e imaterial, construindo um produto turístico baseado nas dinâmicas e experiências de quem visita, de quem estrutura e gere, e de quem opera a oferta turística.

Com base nos resultados obtidos através de múltiplos métodos, esta investigação conclui que, para alcançar um turismo bem-sucedido nos campos de batalha napoleónicos na Península Ibérica, os promotores necessitam de uma abordagem global coesa, estrategicamente fundamentada na ativação e no envolvimento das partes interessadas, na experiência melhorada dos visitantes através do turismo criativo, do edutainment e da recreação histórica, e na interpretação com tecnologia multissensorial interactiva. Por último, a capacitação dos campos de batalha é conseguida através da importância histórica e da sensibilização para a paisagem histórica, apoiada por uma planificação estratégica fomentada por uma investigação apaixonada, orientada pelas necessidades e motivações das comunidades e dos visitantes, e por abordagens turísticas sustentáveis e responsáveis.

#### PALAVRAS-CHAVE

*Battlefield Tourism*; Recriações Napoleónicas; *Living History*; Guerra de la Independencia/Guerras Peninsulares; Planeamento Turístico; Turismo Cultural

JEL: Z32; Q26; Q01; N43;

## Table of contents

|   |       |
|---|-------|
| Acknowledgements.....   | VIII  |
| Abstract.....   | XI    |
| Resumen .....   | XVI   |
| Resumo .....  | XX    |
| List of Figures.....  | XXVII |
| List of Tables.....   | XXIX  |
| Introduction.....   | 33    |
| I.    Framework .....   | 33    |
| II.   Research Gap - Peninsular War's Battlefield Tourism in the Iberian Peninsula - reasons for a study and its relevance .....              | 37    |
| III.  Research aims and objectives .....  | 41    |
| IV.   Thesis structure and chapters' tactical approach .....  | 45    |
| 1.    Chapter I – Historical Background.....  | 51    |
| 1.1.  Historical Background .....   | 51    |
| 1.1.1.  Resume of the major Battles, Sieges and Combats .....   | 53    |
| 1.2.   Overview of the Portuguese and Spanish Peninsular War Tourism .....  | 68    |
| 2.    Chapter II – Theoretical Framework .....  | 76    |
| 2.1.  Analysis to the literature review on Battlefield Tourism: Reconnaissance of the battlefield.....  | 76    |
| 2.1.1.  Objectives of the analysis.....   | 76    |
| 2.1.2.  Research design.....  | 77    |
| 2.1.3.  Results and discussion.....   | 79    |
| 2.1.4.  Conclusions and strategic future research.....  | 83    |
| 2.2.  Battlefield Tourism: Lines of investigation.....  | 85    |
| 2.3.  A literature review on the Napoleonic battlefield tourism in Iberian Peninsula: gaps, lines of investigation and research reasons ..... | 105   |
| 3.    Chapter III – Methodological approaches .....   | 118   |
| 3.1.  1 <sup>st</sup> study-case: Qualitative in-depth interviews to stakeholders and experts in battlefield tourism.....                     | 121   |
| 3.2.  2 <sup>nd</sup> study-case: Quantitative/qualitative face-to-face questionnaire survey.....   | 122   |
| 3.3.  3 <sup>rd</sup> study-case: Field research in the Battlefields of Sabugal (Portugal) and Ciudad Rodrigo and Arapiles (Spain) .....      | 123   |
| 4.    Chapter IV – Battlefield Tourism and Creative Tourism: a Portugal study case .....  | 127   |
| 4.1.  Introduction of the chapter research.....   | 127   |
| 4.2.  Objectives of the research .....  | 129   |
| 4.3.  Methodology .....   | 130   |

|        |  |            |
|--------|--|------------|
| 4.4.   | Results and discussion.....  | 132        |
| 4.4.1. | Motivations and Characteristics of the battlefield tourists .....  | 132        |
| 4.4.2. | Tourism offer.....   | 135        |
| 4.4.3. | Experiences .....  | 136        |
| 4.4.4. | Community interaction .....  | 139        |
| 4.4.5. | Creative tourism and the community .....   | 140        |
| 4.5.   | Conclusion .....   | 143        |
| 5.     | Chapter V – Visitors' experiences at the historical recreations of the Battle of Vimeiro and the Battle of Almeida.....  | <b>148</b> |
| 5.1.   | Research objectives.....   | 151        |
| 5.2.   | Methodology .....  | 153        |
| 5.3.   | Findings .....   | 155        |
| 5.4.   | Discussion of the results.....   | 179        |
| 5.5.   | Conclusions .....  | 191        |
| 6.     | Chapter VI - Factors that boost or inhibit Battlefield Tourism.....  | <b>197</b> |
| 6.1.   | Identification and characterization of new forms of tourism to boost Battlefield Tourism (Storytelling, Active Tourism, Creative Tourism, Historical Recreation /Re-enactment, and Living History) ..... | 198        |
| 6.2.   | Factors that inhibit the success of Battlefield Tourism.....   | 215        |
| 6.3.   | A set of Strategies and Tactics to sustain battlefield tourism dynamics.....   | 218        |
| 7.     | Chapter VII – Field Research: The battlefield of the Peninsular War/War of Independence - analysis of tourist interpretation, characterisation of the space and proposal of good practices               | <b>223</b> |
| 7.1.   | Case study: Battlefield of Gravato, Sabugal .....  | 228        |
| 7.1.1. | Findings .....   | 228        |
| 7.1.2. | Conclusions of the results .....   | 231        |
| 7.1.3. | Proposal for valorisation and tourist activation.....  | 233        |
| 7.2.   | Case study: Battle and siege of Ciudad Rodrigo.....  | 236        |
| 7.2.1. | Findings .....   | 236        |
| 7.2.2. | Conclusions of the results .....   | 240        |
| 7.2.3. | Proposal for valorisation and tourist activation.....  | 243        |
| 7.3.   | Case study: Battlefield of Arapiles (Salamanca).....   | 246        |
| 7.3.1. | Findings .....   | 246        |
| 7.3.2. | Conclusion of the results.....   | 257        |
| 7.3.3. | Proposal for valorisation and touristic activation .....   | 261        |
| 7.4.   | Proposal of good practices in enhancing battlefield's interpretation and tourist's experience.....   | 264        |

|        |   |            |
|--------|---|------------|
| 7.4.1. | Factors that improve the Interpretation of a battlefield .....  | 265        |
| 7.4.2. | Factors that enhance the operationality of the visit.....   | 267        |
| 7.4.3. | Factors that empower the Experience .....   | 267        |
| 8.     | Chapter VIII - Proposal of a model of Strategic Tourism Plan applied to the Napoleonic Battlefields ..... | <b>272</b> |
| 8.1.   | Proposal of a model of Strategic Tourism Plan applied to the Napoleonic Battlefields<br>279               |            |
| 8.2.   | Management Key areas: a short path.....   | 286        |
| 8.3.   | Visitor Management of battlefields .....  | 286        |
| 8.4.   | An approach to sustainable tourism in battlefields .....  | 289        |
| 8.5.   | Conservation Management plan.....   | 290        |
| 8.6.   | Guidelines of a Conservation Management Plan for Napoleonic Battlefields.....                             | 297        |
| 9.     | Conclusions .....   | <b>302</b> |
| 9.1.   | Research findings .....   | 302        |
| 9.2.   | Theoretical implications .....  | 318        |
| 9.3.   | Practical implications .....  | 320        |
| 9.4.   | Limitations and future research lines.....  | 325        |
|        | References.....   | <b>329</b> |
|        | Appendices.....   | <b>345</b> |

## List of Figures

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Figure 1 The Defensive Lines of Torres Vedras .....  | 51  |
| Figure 2 The battle of Bussaco. ....   | 52  |
| Figure 3 Plan of the Forte Grande do Alqueidão .....   | 53  |
| Figure 4 Battlefields of the Peninsular War .....  | 58  |
| Figure 6 Mind Map on Battlefield Tourism. Own production .....   | 78  |
| Figure 7 Identified lines of Investigation.....  | 79  |
| Figure 8 Identified scope of battlefield tourism analyses. ....  | 80  |
| Figure 9 Identified war periods. ....  | 81  |
| Figure 10 Identified methodological approaches. ....   | 81  |
| Figure 5 Model of the Research methodology design .....  | 120 |
| Figure 11 Nationality of the participant.....  | 155 |
| Figure 12 Gender of the participants .....   | 155 |
| Figure 13 Age of the participants.....   | 156 |
| Figure 14 Participants came with.....  | 156 |
| Figure 15 Duration of the participation .....  | 157 |
| Figure 16 Type of participant .....  | 157 |
| Figure 17 How often do you participate in historical re-enactments? .....  | 158 |
| Figure 18 Have you participated in this event before?.....   | 159 |
| Figure 19 Have you visited the Interpretation Centre/Museum?.....  | 159 |
| Figure 20 What other similar events do you know of? .....  | 160 |
| Figure 21 Motivations for participation: interest in gastronomy .....  | 161 |
| Figure 22 Motivations for participation: interest in the fair/shopping.....  | 161 |
| Figure 23 Motivations for participation: Recreational interest in animation/fun .....  | 162 |
| Figure 24 Motivations for participation: interest in the re-enactment of the battle .....  | 163 |
| Figure 25 Motivations for participation: interest in learning, historical-cultural .....   | 164 |
| Figure 26 Motivations for participation: touristic interest in general .....   | 164 |
| Figure 27 Motivation for participation: patriotic celebration.....   | 165 |
| Figure 28 Motivation for participation: interaction with historical re-enactors.....   | 166 |
| Figure 29 Motivation for participation: learning to do something historical/traditional with the re-enactors .....                                   | 167 |
| Figure 30 Opinion on the quality of the historical recreation of the event: are historical accuracy and authenticity important in these events?..... | 167 |
| Figure 31 Opinion on the quality of the historical recreation of the event: are theatrics and entertainment important in these events?.....          | 168 |
| Figure 32 How do you characterize and evaluate your experience: Fun? .....   | 169 |
| Figure 33 How do you characterize and evaluate your experience: cultural?.....   | 170 |
| Figure 34 How do you characterize and evaluate your experience: Educational? .....   | 171 |
| Figure 35 How do you characterize and evaluate your experience? Have you participated in any activities? .....                                       | 171 |
| Figure 36 What would you like to have done? .....  | 172 |
| Figure 37 Is this experience interactive?.....   | 173 |
| Figure 38 Is the experience satisfactory?.....   | 174 |
| Figure 39 What did you like most about this event? .....   | 175 |
| Figure 40 Would you repeat the experience?.....  | 177 |
| Figure 41 Would you recommend the experience?.....   | 178 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Figure 42 Interpretation Centre in Los Arapiles .....                                   | 206 |
| Figure 43 Coplas de La Batalla de Los Arapiles .....                                    | 247 |
| Figure 44 Mural in the Municipal Pavilion of Sports.....                                | 248 |
| Figure 45 Information panel at the Interpretation Centre of Los Arapiles .....          | 249 |
| Figure 46 Promotional Panel.....  | 252 |
| Figure 47 The starting point of the Historical Route.....                               | 252 |
| Figure 48 Historical Routes from Destination Napoleon .....                             | 253 |
| Figure 49 Panel that identifies an important historical spot. ....                      | 254 |
| Figure 50 Interpretative Panel nº 4, facing Teso de San Miguel.....                     | 255 |
| Figure 51 Original panel nº 4.....  | 255 |
| Figure 52 Interpretative panel nº 2.....  | 256 |
| Figure 53 Proposal of a model of Strategic Touristic Plan applied to battlefields. .... | 283 |

## List of Tables

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Table 1 Key concepts for battlefield Tourism .....   | 101 |
| Table 2 Emergent themes to be researched for the future of battlefield tourism.....                | 104 |
| Table 3 List of relevant research papers from Iberian authors.....                                 | 114 |
| Table 4 Strategies and Tactics to be implemented .....   | 218 |
| Table 5 Diversity of Tourism Planning.....   | 276 |
| Table 6 Classification categories of articles by management key areas, themes, and sub-themes..... | 286 |



# INTRODUCTION

---



# Introduction

## I. Framework

The subject to be researched is the battlefield tourism applied to the battlefields of Portugal and Spain, which refer to the period between 1808 and 1814, known in Portugal as the Peninsular War and in Spain as the War of Independence, part of the wider Napoleonic Wars.

Thus, the title of this doctoral thesis is “Battlefield Tourism: Strategies and tactics for the development and tourism planning of the battlefields of the War of Independence/Peninsular War in Spain and Portugal.”

Our scope is to study the specific area of Battlefield Tourism, a variant of cultural tourism whose tourism potential combines the cross-cutting studies of Cultural Heritage and Landscape, Military History, and best practices for tourism planning in Napoleonic battlefields.

The geographical limitation of the study is Portugal and Spain, and the historical period frame is 1808-1814 considering the events of the Peninsular War and its battlefields as a resource for battlefield tourism.

Our intention was not to study battlefield tourism from the conceptual framework around Thanatourism and Dark Tourism discussions, but to explore the cultural tourism perspective from a pragmatic approach that could more directly understand the dynamics of the battlefield interpretation and its tools, contributions of re-enactment<sup>1</sup>, living history and creative tourism along with the tourist experience in these landscapes of war.

From an overall perspective, we intend to contribute to fill an important gap in the awareness and knowledge of the potential of these tourist attractions in Portugal and Spain, presenting at the end of this thesis a model of Strategic Tourism Plan specific to the battlefields of the Napoleonic era. For this reason, our main research question was: how to successfully develop battlefield tourism in the Peninsular War battlefields?

In a short and sharp perspective, the many reasons for choosing this theme basis on: the touristic and cultural relevance of these historical landscapes of war, recognised by UNESCO, governments and stakeholders alike; the academic pertinence and interest in developing updated research on a theme not yet sufficiently researched on the mainstream literature, despite the importance of the Peninsular War and battlefield heritage for tourism researchers and developers; the state of the battlefields, some are untouched need protection

---

<sup>1</sup> Reenactment or re-enactment, stand for the same concept ad meaning throughout our study. The difference is the use in American English of reenactment as in Agnew (2007), or the use of re-enactment in British English as in Miles (2012).

and others in peril due to the lack of legal protection, preservation politics and landscape humanization; the necessity of preserving the battlefields and provide awareness of its importance on a local, regional, national and international levels; the singular status of unchanged battlefields in Iberian Peninsula allow an extraordinary experience for the reading and interpretation of the battle, serving the immersive experiences that engage tourists and stand out these battlefields as, perhaps, the most well preserved of the Napoleonic Wars; the lack of a common or structured cross-border tourism planning dedicated to battlefield tourism and at the same time, good-practices of touristic development, easy to follow and to apply by local stakeholders. These reasons are fully addressed in the Theoretical Framework chapter.

The author maintains a special connection to the Napoleonic battlefields. Since 1997, he has served as an official Portuguese tour guide, and since 2000, he has consistently guided and researched these historic battlegrounds. Continuing his academic journey beyond obtaining a degree in Tourism, he focused his master's research thesis in 2010 entirely on Cultural Tourism within The Lines of Torres Vedras, encompassing battlefields and all associated heritage from that era.

Through research and findings, we studied these battlefields, valued the interpretation of tangible and intangible heritage, analysed its capabilities and potential, identified the elements that promote success or inhibit it, characterised the motivations and explored new types of tourism that catalyse Battlefield Tourism. The three elements, denominated as pillars to be studied and analysed were identified as the stakeholders/tourism agents, the visitor/participants in battlefield tourism events and finally the battlefields themselves from a visitors' experience perspective.

For this purpose, we undertook case studies using mix methodologies of both qualitative and quantitative approaches to the battlefields of the Lines of Torres Vedras, Vimeiro, Almeida, Sabugal (Gravato) in Portugal, and Arapiles and Ciudad Rodrigo in Spain.

A first study-case was designed to provide insights into the intersection between battlefield tourism and creative tourism. For this purpose, in-depth interviews were carried out aimed at stakeholders, tourism agents, tour guides and tour operators, 15 participants in total, allowing the analysis and understanding of the perspectives of those who deal directly with the battlefield tourism customer. It provided new and valuable insights that explore the points of convergence with creative tourism within the scope of the Napoleonic Battlefields of Portugal and mainly in the Lines of Torres Vedras. This important contribution explored and understood the role of these key players somewhat aside from the literature about battlefield tourism.

A second survey was designed to understand and explore the perspectives of the participants in re-enactment events. Using a quantitative methodology, a face-to-face questionnaire was answered by 120 visitors in the historical recreations of the Siege of Almeida and Battle of Vimeiro, analysing the visitors' experience and the inhibiting and enhancing factors in visiting these cultural spaces. With this purpose, the main objectives were defined to know the participants, understand the motivations, perceptions of authenticity and experience in these historical recreations and re-enactment events.

A discussion was then based in literature and the previous findings with the objective of identifying strategies and tactics that enhance and value Napoleonic Battlefield Tourism in Spain and Portugal, exploring tourists' experience, dynamic types of tourism, battlefields visitation and interpretation. Re-enactment, Living History and Creative Tourism were identified as major boosters for battlefield tourism, and stakeholders and the community as essential pillars for its success.

Finally, field research was carried out on the battlefields of Sabugal (Gravato) in Portugal, Ciudad Rodrigo and Los Arapiles (Salamanca) in Spain, analysing through the visitors' experience perspective, the elements that facilitate or difficult the experience of visiting the respective battlefields. The field research consisted of a questionnaire with 16 items to be observed in the battlefields and the conclusions allowed us to identify the structures and elements needed to improve the tourist visitation and what solutions enhance a more dynamic and interactive experience.

The objective is to apply a model of good practices, strategies and tactics, which allow tourism development supported by communities, in the preservation and optimized dissemination of their historical, material and immaterial heritage, building a tourism product based on the dynamics and experiences of those who visit, who structures and manages, and who operates the touristic offer.

These good practices are intended to be disseminated to local authorities, tourism promoters and tourism regions, promoting discussion and development of battlefield tourism and the sustainability of local communities.

All the considered insights were oriented to the production of a Proposal for Valorisation and Touristic Activation (chapter 7.4) with the purpose of providing strategies that promote enriched, engaging, and accessible experiences for visitors from diverse backgrounds and preferences.

The approach was organized in i) Strategy to empower stakeholders' dynamics, ii) Strategy for promotion and awareness, and iii) Strategy to implement visitor interpretation and experience.

The methodology of this study was based in literature review and analysis of the findings and conclusions of the surveys responses, complemented by observation in the field-research, resulting in the identification of strategies to implement and improve visitors' interpretation and experience when at the battlefields. In particular, the relevance given to Interpretation and Experience led us to elaborate this proposal of good practices as a resource to be considered and implemented by stakeholders. Therefore, three pillars were identified as paramount on the approach, namely, i) Factors that improve the interpretation, ii) Factors that enhance the operability of the visit, and finally, iii) Factors that empower the experience. The analysis on the three researched battlefields led to the identification and awareness that for successful battlefield tourism specific elements/actions must be considered. These elements were then organized in three pillars presented as the enhancing actions for valorisation and touristic activation.

Chapter VIII presents a proposal of a model of strategic Tourism Plan for the Battlefields of the Peninsular War/War of independence, aligned with the findings, conclusions and recommendations gathered in the previous chapters. Those approaches were essential to understand the pragmatic and objective aim of the model that was complemented with the specific literature on planning, management plans, sustainable strategies and touristic development plans, along with guidelines produced by UNESCO Sustainable Tourism Tool Kits, World Tourism Organization (2023), ICOMOS (2020), the conservation principles and Guidance for Historic England,

Aware of the importance of conservation and management, despite not being our study's main goal, we believed essential for the stakeholders some short paths to understand important elements when addressing the touristic activation of a battlefield. Therefore, for the organization, we identified specific management key areas, strategies and tactics for visitor management in battlefields, approaches to sustainable tourism concerns, and finally, Guidelines for a Conservation Management Plan applied to Napoleonic battlefields.

The objective is to apply a model of good practices, strategies and tactics, which allow tourism development supported by communities, in the preservation and optimized dissemination of their historical, material and immaterial heritage, building a tourism product based on the dynamics and experiences of those who visit, who structures and manages, and who operates the touristic offer.

## **II. Research Gap - Peninsular War's Battlefield Tourism in the Iberian Peninsula - reasons for a study and its relevance**

We are not alone in wondering why this heritage is not safeguarded, disseminated and protected in a coherent manner in the Iberian Peninsula when in the Anglo-Saxon world there are national registers of battlefields, specific strategies for safeguarding and protection, interest, promotion and dissemination of their scientific knowledge, leading to a comprehensive recognition of this tangible and intangible heritage that everyone knows, visits and admires (Galán, 2017; Mogollón et al. 2019; Zurita-Aldeguer & Rico, 2018, 2020). Here, battlefields are absent from common tourist circuits, military tourism is incipient and rarely promoted, except in annual celebrations. The memory of war is not well loved, as if we were afraid of our history.

Therefore, heritage of the battlefields seems generally endangered, unknown, unpreserved and absent from the mainstream tourist attractions. The aim is to enhance the heritage by raising awareness of its importance and its tourism impact. However, it all starts with the incipient spreading scale of the gathered scientific knowledge about battlefields in the Iberian Peninsula.

These are ideas that we have seen assumed as commonplace. Apparently, a dynamic and positive change, supported by academic research, is being encouraged regionally in Valencia and disseminated among universities. Therefore, a thorough analysis had to be done on our study. The results achieved in this first stage of the research were structural and based on the literature review, allowing the identification of the main authors from Q1 to Q4 SCOPUS Journals and SJR, as well as the referenced publications.

The main referenced authors of Battlefield Tourism such as Ryan, C. (2007), Dunkley, R., Morgan, N., & Westwood, S. (2011), Iles (2008), Miles (2012, 2013, 2014, 2017) were analysed, and no studies on the Battlefields of the Iberian Peninsula as a tourism product were found, only in the field of musealisation and Heritage with (Galán (2014), Mogollón (2017, 2019), Zurita-Aldeguer and Rico (2018).

Literature shows that Battlefield Tourism and Military Tourism have been studied with increasing frequency (Mogollón et al., 2019; García-Madurga & Grilló-Méndez, 2023) but not at the level of tourism in the Iberian Peninsula and much less with the particular focus of battlefield tourism activation. Cultural routes, historical re-enactment events, battlefield interpretation centres and small museums do exist, but they are the result of initiatives by local or regional entities and lack an integrated structuring. These are tactics that aim to increase tourism but not the articulation strategies that Military Tourism and in particular Battlefield Tourism can achieve. The problem that moves us is this discrepancy of efforts, not

sufficiently structured in a network and not yet cohesive in an Iberian plan, a strategy that could boost battlefield tourism and define it as a shared Iberian touristic asset.

The aim is to be able to contribute to the creation of an awareness of the historical and touristic importance of this heritage, but also to identify the potential of communities and actors willing to invest in tourism in a sustainable way. To this end, we have suggested the approach through the importance of stakeholders, the participants and the battlefields, as essential pillars of touristic development success, and we propose best practice guides aimed at structuring these cultural sites of exceptional capacity in a cohesive and common manner, as part of an international strategy.

We want to show that these places are much more than places of memory and can be for local communities an opportunity for relevant tourism development.

This suggests the opportunity that military tourism promotes, and we see the Battlefield Tourism of the Napoleonic period as an impactful and promising attraction factor for Spain and Portugal, as they share this unique heritage. However, it is the battlefields and Battlefield Tourism that are our main asset.

In summary, we identify the following opportunities and research questions to which we intend to contribute with this thesis:

Battlefield Tourism is mainly studied in relation to the 1st and 2nd World Wars with a special focus on the motivations of tourists. A specific analysis of the case of the battlefields of this war on the Iberian Peninsula is missing. Who are these tourists, what characterises and motivates them to visit these battlefields on the Iberian Peninsula?

It is suggested by visitors and tour operators that the best-preserved battlefields of the Napoleonic era are in Portugal and Spain. We want to analyse this suggestion through the methodology as it demonstrates the impact of this heritage. However, is there insufficient recognition by the community and tourism promotion entities? What values, threats and opportunities are brought by Battlefield Tourism?

The battlefields only function as places of celebration of the historical date and not as an annual tourism product. What dynamics and actions promoted by tourism can extend the interest and attraction for these historical sites throughout the year?

What other forms of tourism can we identify that enhance community tourism and its dynamization?

Given that no similar published thesis have been identified with this specific focus on tourism applied to the battlefields of the period between 1808 and 1814, known in Portugal as the Peninsular War and in Spain as the War of Independence, we believe that the opportunity

presented to us is of real importance for research and academic knowledge on this topic and of particular relevance for the structuring of this type of tourism and the dynamics of the promoters, participants and communities.

Tourism has an impacting role here and has already been studied over the last 30 years with the focus on medieval battlefields, but most essentially those of the 1st and 2nd World Wars. The case of the battles of the Napoleonic period has its paradigm almost always at Waterloo (Miles, 2012). Therefore, more studies are needed regarding the reality of the Iberian Peninsula.

However, in Spain and Portugal only in the last 10 years has this topic received the attention of cultural tourism because the demand has started to gain visibility, especially because of historical re-enactments and commemorative celebrations of these battles (Mogollón, 2017).

Military Tourism has gained international consensus on its relevance in the field of Cultural Tourism and has been recognised by national tourism authorities in Portugal and Spain. They have thus joined other entities that have sought to promote a tangible and intangible heritage of great historical potential and tourist attraction that we find in the Iberian Peninsula under exceptional conditions.

The potential of military tourism is recognised by both countries and growing internationally. The example is the Napoleon Route and the cross-border project NAPOCTEC. These will be addressed in detail in the sub-chapter 1.2 named Overview of the Portuguese and Spanish Peninsular War tourism, where a state of the art is explored.

Our aim is also to continue the academic research originated in the Iberian Peninsula and in response to the interest of international researchers and journals, provide inputs from Tourism to those already existing in the fields of Military History, Musealisation and Battlefield Archaeology.

The growing relevance of academic research on military tourism was highlighted in the literature review related to Portugal and Spain (Mogollón, 2019), arguing the opportunity to study Battlefields in a strategic vision to promote military tourism but also the needed revitalisation of communities and historical spaces as Zurita-Aldeguer & Rico defended (2018, 2020) unfortunately only published in national journals and rarely referenced in SCOPUS and SJR journals. Even though, University researchers in Spain are taking the lead on these studies, as the literature review exposes the creation of networks of public History related to the War of Independence.

If all battlefields, in a network, are structured in the same way in the field of tourism activation, a more effective tourism strategy will be promoted and the tourist will have a multi-sensory, authentic experience, immersed in the experience of history and time identity, integrated with local values and their potentialities. Those who visit a battlefield want to read and be able to interpret the landscape, to be in the spaces where history was built, to know the stories of those who fought and to feel like spectators or participants in these historical recreations. Methodologically, we want to assess whether these are the main motivations or whether there are others that we have not yet identified and characterised.

Battlefield Tourism emerges, nurtured by a tourist driven by factors that we propose to analyse and characterise given the suggestion that their interests and motivations are different from others in Battlefield Tourism in the Anglo-Saxon world (Ryan, 2007, Dunkley et al. 2011).

The studies that characterise these tourists (or participants) are still not very deep and open space for our contribution that will also be extended to local entities and promoters of this type of tourism. Questionnaires, interviews and direct observation in the field will allow us to better characterise and define the actors of these Battlefield Tourism and Historical Recreation events. Our contribution presents an opportunity to better characterise the reality of the Peninsula and understand the community perspective.

Thus, in addition to historical recreation and Living History, there are other forms of tourism that are important to identify and characterise, and our contribution product in the present and in the future.

As far as Napoleonic battlefields are concerned, Iberian Peninsula has a common heritage of shared historical memory, with tourism potential not sufficiently organised in a common, cohesive and sustainable way. Increasing tourist attraction to these sites has led to an emerging demand for historical battlefield reenactment but not for their tourism sustainability or specific strategic tourism planning for battlefields.

Considering the added value of a Tourism Development and Sustainability Plan for the structuring of a tourism attraction, we intend to bring our conceptual study for a specific analysis of the battlefields, contributing with an innovative approach that can provide a strategic vision for the tourism development of battlefields not just as tourist attractions, but also as places of memory and identity.

### III. Research aims and objectives

This thesis focuses on the touristic development of battlefields from the Peninsular War period (1808-1814), known as the Peninsular War in Portugal and the War of Independence in Spain, within the broader context of the Napoleonic Wars. The primary goal is to address the existing knowledge gap regarding the tourism potential of these historical sites in both Portugal and Spain. At the conclusion of this thesis, a specific Strategic Tourism Plan tailored to Napoleonic-era battlefields will be presented.

The central research question explored how to effectively promote battlefield tourism at Peninsular War battlefields. Three critical elements were identified as key contributors to battlefield tourism and were subjected to in-depth study and analysis: the stakeholders and tourism entities involved, the visitors and participants in battlefield tourism activities, and the battlefield sites themselves, focusing on the visitor experience.

To achieve this objective, a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods was employed, with case studies conducted at various Peninsular War battlefield locations. These included the Lines of Torres Vedras, Vimeiro, Almeida, Sabugal (Gravato) in Portugal, and Arapiles and Ciudad Rodrigo in Spain.

The following six general objectives are justified by the aim of contributing to knowledge across both theory and practice on how to successfully develop Battlefield Tourism on Napoleonic battlefields of the Iberian Peninsula.

1. Contribute to the valorisation and promotion of historical memory and Iberian cultural tourism through military tourism and the battlefields of the Peninsular War/War of Independence (1808-1814).
2. Explore the intersection between Battlefield Tourism and Creative Tourism: identifying the elements and understand their role in contributing to the development of Battlefield Tourism of the Peninsular War
3. Understand and explore the perspectives of the visitors in re-enactment events: the cases of the Battles of Vimeiro and the re-enactment of the Siege of Almeida
4. Identify strategies and tactics that enhance and value Napoleonic Battlefield Tourism in Spain and Portugal: tourists' experience, dynamic types of tourism, battlefields visitation and interpretation.
5. Analysis of the battlefields through the visitor's experience perspective: the elements that facilitate and difficult the experience of visiting a Napoleonic battlefield: field-research on the cases of the Battlefields of Arapiles, Ciudad Rodrigo and Sabugal (Gravato).

6. Propose a model of strategic tourism plan specifically applied to the battlefields of the Peninsular War and War of Independence, or others from the same period.

The following specific objectives were outlined because of the main objectives and presented according to each respective chapter:

Chapter I and II – Objective 1 - Contribute to the valorisation and promotion of historical memory and Iberian cultural tourism through military tourism and the battlefields of the Peninsular War/War of Independence (1808-1814).

- - To develop the updated theoretical framework of Battlefield Tourism applied to the Iberian Peninsula, characterising it, distinguishing its singularities and identifying the current lines of investigation.
- - Identify the research gaps and research reasons

Chapter III – To present the methodological approaches.

Chapter IV – Objective 2 - Explore the intersection between Battlefield Tourism and Creative Tourism: identifying the elements and understand their role in contributing to the development of Battlefield Tourism of the Peninsular War:

- IV.I 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.
- IV.II To identify factors that contribute to enhancing heritage through battlefield tourism and how heritage-themed tourism events like re-enactments and historical recreations play a significant role in the touristic activation of a community.
- IV.III To clarify the role of stakeholders, creative tourism experiences and tourist perceptions as part of battlefield tourism development.

Chapter V – Objective 3 - Understand and explore the perspectives of the visitors in re-enactment events: the cases of the Battles of Vimeiro and the re-enactment of the Siege of Almeida

- V.I Through the surveys to 120 visitors, analyse the visitors' experience and identify the inhibiting and enhancing factors in visiting the historical recreations of the Siege of Almeida and Battle of Vimeiro,

V.II With this purpose, the main objectives were defined to characterize the participants, understand the motivations, perceptions of authenticity and experience in these historical recreations and re-enactment events.

Chapter VI – Objective 4 - Identify strategies and tactics that enhance and value Napoleonic Battlefield Tourism in Spain and Portugal: tourists' experience, dynamic types of tourism, battlefields visitation and interpretation.

VI.I Identify and characterise new forms of tourism that enhance Battlefield Tourism (Storytelling, Active Tourism, Creative Tourism, Historical Recreation, Living History) exploring the dynamics of their adaptation to Battlefield Tourism.

VI.II To analyse, discuss and propose a set of good practices for the successful development of the battlefield tourism in Napoleonic battlefields of the Iberian Peninsula.

Chapter VII – Objective 5 - Analysis of the battlefields through the visitor's experience perspective: the elements that facilitate and difficult the experience of visiting a Napoleonic battlefield: field-research on the cases of the Battlefields of Arapiles, Ciudad Rodrigo and Sabugal (Gravato).

VII.I Identify the elements that enhance and inhibit the experience of visiting a Napoleonic battlefield.

- Identify the existence or the absence of stakeholders and entities active in the touristic development and its planning.
- Identify the existence or the absence of an integrated plan of tourism development (cultural routes, itineraries, guides, marketing).
- Identify the existence or the absence of natural and cultural resources to be structured as essential elements for the interpretation and visitation of the battlefield. (Preservation status, unchanged landscape, local and historical geographical references accessibilities)
- Identify the existence or the absence of structural elements for the visitation and the interpretation of the battlefield (museums, informative panels, identification of historical key-spots, interactivity, signage and route signs)
- Identify the factors that facilitate or difficult the experience of visitation of the battlefield (historical significance, accessibility, interpretation, authenticity, events and activities, natural and scenic beauty)

VII.II Proposal of good practices in enhancing battlefields interpretation and tourists' experience.

Chapter VIII – Objective 6 - Propose a model of strategic tourism plan specifically applied to the battlefields of the Peninsular War and War of Independence, or others from the same period.

VIII.I The objective is to propose a model of Strategic Tourism Plan identifying strategies and tactics, which allow battlefield tourism development supported by communities, in the preservation and optimized dissemination of their historical, material and immaterial heritage, building a tourism product based on the dynamics and experiences of those who visit, who structures and manages, and who operates the touristic offer.

#### **IV. Thesis structure and chapters' tactical approach**

This thesis is organised into nine chapters referring to the main research themes, which are divided into sub-chapters focusing on sub-themes.

As previously referred, the main intention is to study the Napoleonic battlefields in Iberian Peninsula, exploring their elements and dynamics that promote tourism, intending to present a model of a Strategic Tourism Plan at the end of this research. The structure follows this path and after the introduction, it is organized into two major elements, the first theoretical and the second empirical: the theoretical part includes the historical background, the state-of-the-art, the literature review and the methodological approaches, consisting on the first, second and third chapters; the empirical part, including several qualitative and quantitative case-studies, is addressed on the fourth, fifth, sixth, and ends with the seventh chapter, being the eighth chapter, the proposal of the model. The final chapter refers to the conclusions of the study.

The chapters with the following designations serve the purposes described below:

Chapter I – Historical Background

Chapter II – Theoretical Framework

Chapter III – Methodological Approaches

Chapter IV – Battlefield Tourism and Creative Tourism: A Portugal study-case

Chapter V – Visitors' experiences of the historical recreations of the Battle of Vimeiro and the Battle of Almeida

Chapter VI – Factors that boost or inhibit Battlefield Tourism

Chapter VII - Field Research on the battlefields of Arapiles, Ciudad Rodrigo and Sabugal: analysis of the battlefields through the visitor's experience perspective

Chapter VIII - Proposal of a model of Strategic Tourism Plan applied to the Napoleonic Battlefields

Chapter IX - Conclusions

The Introduction is composed by the investigation theme, the framework of the topic and the research gap with the reasons for the study and its relevance, the research aim and objectives, and finally, the thesis structure with the chapters' tactical approach.

The first chapter introduces a historical background of the Peninsular War in Portugal and the Independence War in Spain, aiming to explore the state-of-the-art overview of the Portuguese and Spanish peninsular war battlefield tourism.

The second chapter concerns the literature review on the Napoleonic battlefield tourism in the Iberian Peninsula and focuses in updating the concerned lines of investigation and identifies the gaps in literature that lead to our research lines.

The third chapter focuses on the methodological approaches that structured all the studies and the pursued investigation.

The fourth chapter presents a first study-case designed to provide insights into the intersection between battlefield tourism and creative tourism. For this purpose, in-depth interviews were carried out aimed at stakeholders, tourism agents, tour guides and tour operators, 15 participants in total, allowing the analysis and understanding of the perspectives of those who deal directly with the battlefield tourism customer. It provided new and valuable insights that explore the points of convergence with creative tourism within the scope of the Napoleonic Battlefields of Portugal and mainly in the Lines of Torres Vedras. This important contribution explored and understood the role of these key players somewhat aside from the literature about battlefield tourism. It gave origin to an article published in September 2022 in the Journal of Heritage Tourism. Findings reveal those 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.

The fifth chapter presents a second survey designed to understand and explore the perspectives of the participants in re-enactment events. Using a quantitative methodology, a face-to-face questionnaire was answered by 120 visitors in the historical recreations of the Siege of Almeida and Battle of Vimeiro, analysing the visitors' experience and the inhibiting and enhancing factors in visiting these cultural spaces. With this purpose, the main objectives were defined to know the participants, understand their motivations, perceptions of authenticity and experience in these historical recreations and re-enactment events. Findings expose the importance and the relevance of the participation, promoting and improving the value of the experience, engaging the visitor in an educational experience of historical significance. Re-enactment and living history events appear as a strong attraction for all family members, and the intention to repeat the experience and to suggest the event to others also points out the high perception of authenticity and entertainment value of historical re-enactments where living history activities are present.

The sixth chapter elaborates a discussion based in literature and previous findings with the objective of identifying strategies and tactics that enhance and value Napoleonic Battlefield Tourism in Spain and Portugal, exploring tourists' experience, dynamic types of

tourism, battlefields visitation and interpretation. Re-enactment, Living History and Creative Tourism were identified as major boosters for battlefield tourism, and stakeholders and the community as essential pillars for its success. Interactive technological solutions in the interpretation of the battles showed up as a key element that enhance the visitors experience and interaction. To organize a pragmatic framework, a set of obstacles were recognized and enhancing factors were identified. The conclusion led to the identification of key strategies and tactics organized in a set of good practices to be implemented by tourism promoters.

Finally, the seventh chapter presents a field research carried out on the battlefields of Los Arapiles (Salamanca), Ciudad Rodrigo and the Battle of Sabugal (Gravato), analysing through the visitors' experience perspective, the elements that facilitate or difficult the experience of visiting the respective battlefields. The field research consisted of a questionnaire with 16 items to be observed in the battlefields and the conclusions allowed us to identify the structures and elements needed to improve the tourist visitation and what solutions enhance a more dynamic and interactive experience. The battlefield of Arapiles (Salamanca) proved to be the best example of a successful visit experience. It shows how the combination of technology, attractive promotional artwork and good touristic planning promote a much-desired multi-sensorial interaction with history, landscapes of war and a common memory. But the main awareness achieved is how to comprehend these Napoleonic battlefield factors and visitors' needs into a strategic tourism plan specific for these valuable touristic resources.

In this final section of the seventh chapter, we synthesize insights from in-depth interviews, survey responses, literature review, and field research to compile Good Practices for stakeholders dealing with battlefield interpretation and tourists' experiences. These practices, categorized into three factors (improving interpretation, enhancing visit operationality, and empowering experience), serve as valuable guidelines.

Having made this construct, our contribution is, in the eight chapter, the proposal of a model of strategic tourism plan especially applicable to these same battlefields or others from the same period. Aligned with previous chapters, the proposal incorporates essential findings, conclusions, and recommendations. This model is informed by literature on planning, management, sustainable strategies, touristic development, and guidelines from UNESCO World Heritage Sustainable Tourism Tool Kit, World Tourism Organization (2014, 2023), ICOMOS (2020) and guidelines from British institutions that work directly with battlefields management.

Recognizing the significance of conservation and management, though not our primary focus, we provide stakeholders with concise insights. Management Key areas, visitor

management strategies, sustainable tourism considerations, and Guidelines for a Conservation Management Plan for Napoleonic battlefields are identified for organizational benefit.

This study concludes in the ninth chapter, introducing a summary of main contributions, exposing limitations and suggestions for the future research.

# CHAPTER I

---

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND



## 1. Chapter I – Historical Background

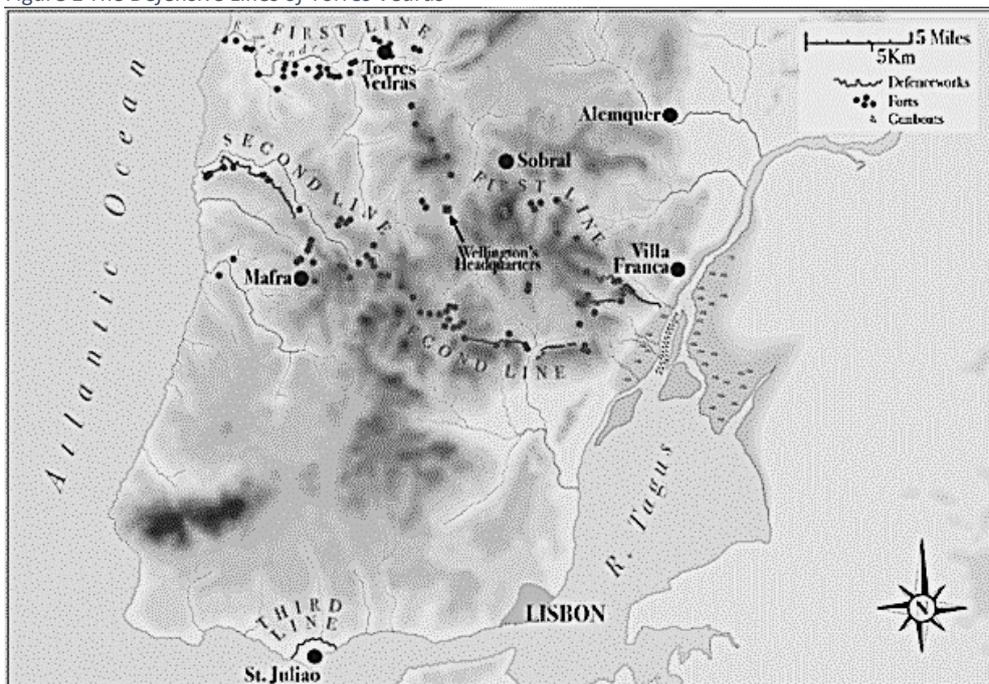
### 1.1. Historical Background

The Peninsular War was 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 (Esdaile, 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 Roliça (17 August 1808) and Vimeiro (21 August 1808) where the Anglo-Portuguese army led by Wellesley was victorious.

The second invasion under Marshal Soult (1809) was limited to the north of Portugal and only the Battle of Porto (29 March 1809), the Battle of Grijó (10-11 May 1809) and the combat of Amarante (18 April – 2 May 1809) are significant. 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 1).

Figure 1 *The Defensive Lines of Torres Vedras*



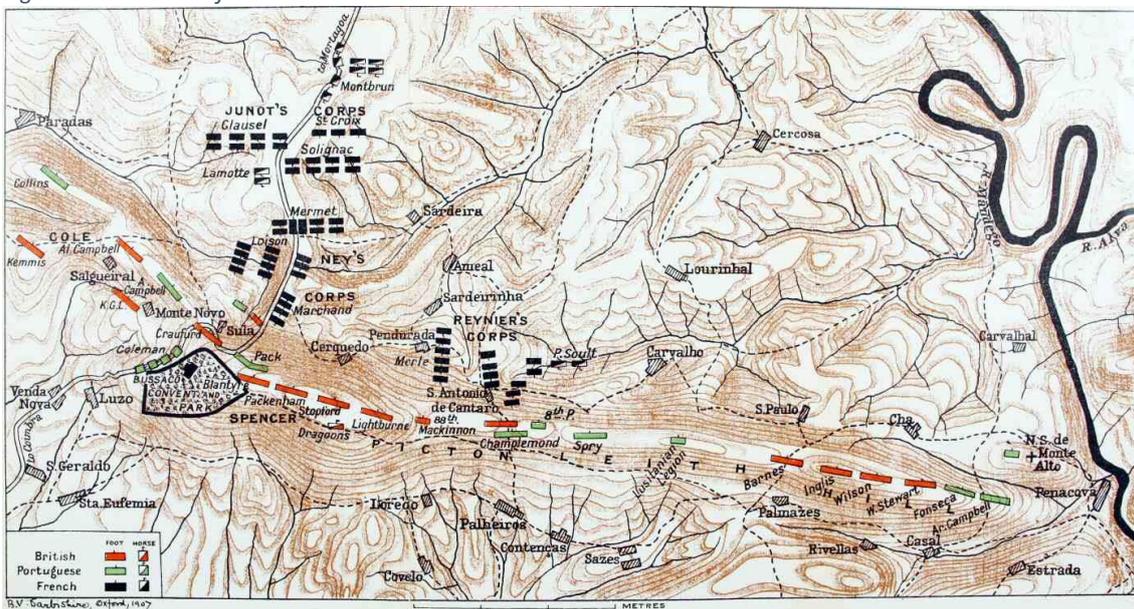
The 1st Line stretched for 46 km and the 2nd Line for 39 km. The 3rd Line protected the Fort of São Julião da Barra where the British army should embark if the Lines collapsed. Retrieved February 21, 2022, from <https://www.military-history.org/feature/map-of-the-wellingtons-lines-of-torres-vedras-from-september-1880.htm>

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 2).

Figure 2 The battle of Bussaco.



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

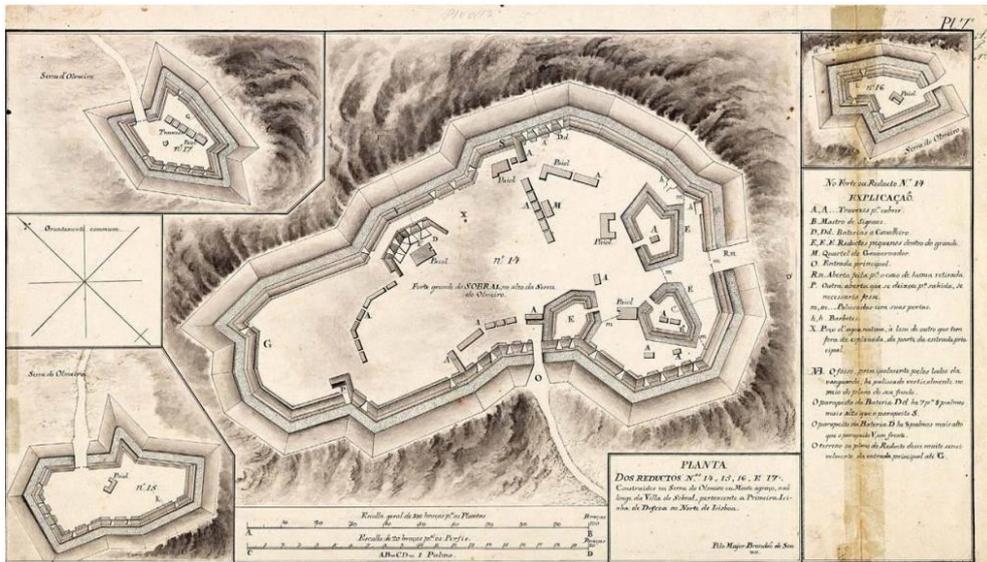
Battle of Bussaco: Fought on September 27, 1810, on the slopes of the Bussaco Mountains, this battle was a significant victory for the Anglo-Portuguese army under Wellington against the French army led by Marshal André Masséna.

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 3), 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.

Figure 3 Plan of the Forte Grande do Alqueidão



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)

The French retreated on the 14th of November. Several battles occurred at Pombal, Redinha, Condeixa, Casal Novo, Foz de Arouce (15 March 1811), Sabugal (known as Gravato battle, 3 April 1811), 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 4).

### 1.1.1. Resume of the major Battles, Sieges and Combats

As battlefield tourism does not refer only to battlefields but also monuments, museums, fortifications and many other military or civil cultural resources, we could identify an always growing number of touristic attractions. Nevertheless, we pretend to focus on battlefields, and we can reach a number in Portugal and in Spain of these fields with historical relevance, touristic viability, and attractiveness.

This list of historical places and events, organised chronologically by country, pretends to be an important reference for the application of the objectives of our study where a quick identification and introductory summary serves the consequent promotion and dynamization of battlefield tourism.

The summarised presentation of these battles, combats and sieges has the purpose of identifying them in a succinct manner, applying the following methodology with these selection criterion: these battlefields are relevant due to the feasibility of visiting and identifying the places where the actions took place; they are relevant in the context of the Peninsular War taking into account the number of combatants or the historical importance of the military action; finally, their tourist attractiveness was also a selection criterion. Overall, we have compared and followed the Peninsular War Atlas (Revised) by Lipscombe, N. (2014), using is one methodology to select the relevant events.

Important bibliographical references were used, namely José Gomes de Arceche's Atlas of the War of Independence (1868), John T. Jones, Ian Robertson's Atlas of the Peninsular War (2010), among other important historians of the Peninsular War and War of independence like Oman (1914), Napier (1910), Esdaile (2002), Paget (1996), Myatt (1995), Weller (1962), Fletcher (1994).

Follows a list of the most relevant battlefields in Portugal (including sieges, combats, and battles), followed by the same approach in identifying the ones in Spain's War of Independence.

**Battle of Roliça (August 17, 1808):** The first battle of the Peninsular War in Portugal. French forces under General Delaborde clashed with British and Portuguese troops led by General Sir Arthur Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington). The battle ended with a British victory, although the French were able to retreat.

**Battle of Vimeiro:** Fought on August 21, 1808, near the village of Vimeiro, this was the first major battle of the Peninsular War. British and Portuguese forces under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley defeated a French army under General Jean-Andoche Junot.

**Battle of Braga:** fought on March 17 - 20, 1809, also Known as Battle of Póvoa do Lanhoso or Battle of Carvalho d'Este, was fought between the militia and regular 25000 strong Portuguese forces of the Baron of Eben, against 16500 under Marechal Soult's command. It occurred during the 2nd French invasion, resulting in the defeat of the Portuguese.

**1st Battle of Porto:** Fought on March 28, 1809, was the first battle of Porto, resulting on a French victory leading to the occupation of the city by Marshal Soult who commanded the second invasion of Portugal. Marshal Soult defeated the Portuguese under Generals Lima

Barreto and Parreiras outside the city of Porto. After winning the battle, Soult stormed the city. In addition to 8,000 military casualties, large numbers of civilians died.

Battle of the Bridge of Amarante: fought between the April 18 and May 2, 1809, also known as the Defence of Amarante. The Portuguese troops were able to hold Loison, with 9000 French troops for two weeks preventing the crossing of Amarante bridge until the daring French attack that granted them the victory.

Battle of Grijó: fought on May 10 and 11, 1809, a French force of 7000 commanded by General Mermet defended the forested ridge, south of Grijó. the Anglo-allied forces, 18000 strong under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley attacked them from the south, using a double flanking manoeuvre to threaten and drive them back, resulting in a victory for the allied forces.

2nd Battle of Porto fought on May 12, 1809, the Second Battle of Porto, also known as the Battle of the Douro or the Crossing of the Douro, was a battle in which General Arthur Wellesley's Anglo-Portuguese 27000 strong Army defeated Marshal Soult's 13000 French troops and took back the city of Porto. A daring surprise crossing of the Douro River outflanked the French and successful combats for the domination of the city's strategic points forced a disorderly retreat. This Battle ended the Second French invasion of Portugal commanded by General Jean-de-Dieu Soult. Wellesley pursued the French army, but Soult's army escaped annihilation by fleeing north through the mountains.

Battle of Côa: fought on July 24, 1810, started the 3rd Invasion, 75000 strong, now led by Marshal André Masséna. Brigadier-General Robert Craufurd, commanding the Light Division, with 4200 infantry, 800 cavalry, and six guns, was surprised by the sight of 20000 troops under Marshal Michel Ney. Craufurd engaged and realising that the French were threatening his only escape (the bridge crossing the river Côa, south to the fortress of Almeida), ordered a withdrawal across the river Côa, Ney attempted attacking across the bridge several times always suffering heavy losses long remembered by all regiments involved. The bridge, intact, and the surroundings, constitute an outstanding battlefield. The British Light Division finally retreated at midnight leaving the ground for the French but remembers to this day their daring and dangerous action.

First Siege of Almeida: siege that lasted from the 25 July until the 27 August, 1810. The star-shaped fortified town of Almeida defended the border and the main route to Lisboa. A strong siege was laid with a great demonstration of artillery power. After a successful defence, the major gunpowder magazine at the castle blew up. The ensuing explosion killed 600 defenders and wounded 300 more. Brigadier General William Cox's and the Portuguese garrison were forced to capitulate the following day.

Battle of Buçaco: Fought on September 27, 1810, on the slopes of the Buçaco Mountains, this battle was a significant victory for the Anglo-Portuguese army under Wellington against the French army led by Marshal André Masséna. Having occupied the heights of Bussaco, a 10-mile (16 km) long ridge with 25,000 British and the same number of Portuguese, Wellington was attacked five times successively by 65,000 French under Marshal André Masséna.

This Battle is considered the major battle fought in Portugal in the Peninsular War and an excellent example of the strategies applied by Wellington, the offensive strategies of the French and the tactic use of the terrain. After much fierce fighting the french failed to dislodge the allied forces and were driven off after having lost 4500 men against 1250 Anglo-Portuguese casualties. However, Wellington was ultimately forced to withdraw to the Lines of Torres Vedras after his positions were outflanked by Massena's troops.

Battle of Sobral de Monte Agraço: also known as the Battle of Sobral, it consists of several combats and skirmishes occurred from 10 until 14 October 1810. On 11 October, Massena with 61,000 men found Wellington behind an almost impenetrable defensive position, the Lines of Torres Vedras consisting of forts and other military defences built in absolute secrecy to defend the only path to Lisbon from the north. Sobral de Monte Agraço was the town facing the first defensive line and the Forte Grande do Alqueidão. This was the probing ground for the advancing forces under Junot's command and Massena's following army. Several combats occur, namely Alenquer (10th), Caixarias (12th), Portela (13th), Dois Portos (13th and 14th), Seramena and Santo Quintino (14th), and Alhandra (14th).

Lines of Torres Vedras: From October 20, 1809, until October 8, 1810, 61000 men manned a system of 3 defensive lines with 126 forts were built to the north of the city of Lisboa defending its approach and blocking the French army. Until 1812, the defensive system will sum up to 5 defensive lines, 3 to the north of Lisboa and 2 to the south with a total of 178 forts and redoubts, manned by 34000 men and 534 cannons. The French army only saw the 1st defensive line, stretching for 46 km from the Tagus River to the Atlantic and, based in Sobral de Monte Agraço, they were not able to pierce the first line. After one month in front of the major fort of the 1st line, Forte Grande do Alqueidão, Masséna was forced to retreat northwards, starting on the night of 14/15 November 1810 and immediately pursued by Wellington's allied army.

Battle of Pombal March 11, 1811: The first encounter between Wellington's forces and Ney's troops took place at the village of Pombal. Initially, Ney chose not to engage and allowed the Allied columns to advance unopposed on the morning of March 11. However, as the British entered the village, Ney swiftly changed tactics and launched a surprise counterattack with

three battalions. This sudden assault caught the British off guard, causing confusion and disorder among their ranks. Some soldiers were even forced into the nearby river, resulting in casualties by drowning.

Battle of Redinha, March 12, 1811: The Battle of Redinha, the second and most notable rearguard action fought during Massena's retreat from the Lines of Torres Vedras in the spring of 1811, proved to be a significant success for Ney and his troops. Despite facing overwhelming odds, Ney courageously led his small force of 7,000 troops against an Allied army numbering 25,000 men. Engaging in a classic rearguard action, Ney skilfully prolonged the Allied advance, effectively stalling them for an entire day. This strategic move allowed the main body of the French army to safely withdraw from the region, securing their retreat.

Combat of Casal Novo, March 14, 1811. The Allies pursued the French to Miranda do Corvo, where the British Light Division attacked Casal Novo advancing through fog that concealed the presence of the French. Ney strategically deployed his troops, with General Ferrey in Casal Novo and Marchand's division in a strong position at Chão de Lamas and subjected the Anglo-Portuguese forces for several hours. At Casal Novo, the recklessness of Sir William Erskine resulted in costly losses in the Light Division.

Battle of Foz de Arouce: fought on March 15, 1811. This engagement is part of Massena's retreat in direction of the border with Spain, having Marshal Ney protecting the army's rear-guard against the pursue of Wellington. An immediate attack of the Light Division caught the French in inadequate defensive positions in front of the bridge to Foz de Arouce while a side movement flanked the French and urged them to cross the bridge preventing to be cut off. Confusion installed under the pressure of the 8000 allied army and only Ney's action allowed the 7000 French to escape.

Battle of Sabugal, also known as battle of Gravato: fought on April 3, 1811, it was the last of many skirmishes between Massena's 12000 retreating forces and Wellington's 10000 men. The battlefield is untouched, and the battle took proportions memorable from both sides. Namely, Wellington later referred to the Light Division's action in the battle as "one of the most glorious that British troops were ever engaged in".

The Peninsular War overlaps with what the Spanish-speaking world calls the Guerra de la Independencia Española (Spanish War of Independence), which began with the Dos de Mayo Uprising on 2 May 1808 and ended on 17 April 1814. Although Spain had been in upheaval since at least the Mutiny of Aranjuez (March 1808), May 1808 marks the start of the Spanish War of Independence.

As already mentioned, following the identification of the battlefields, sieges, combats, and skirmishes in Portuguese territory, it is our aim to present those referring to Spain in a



**Battle of Bailén:** The Battle of Bailén was fought on July 19-22, 1808, between the Spanish Army, commanded by General Castaños, and the French Army, commanded by General Dupont. This was the first major battle of the Peninsular War and resulted in the first significant defeat of the French forces. The battlefield is located in the town of Bailén, in the province of Jaén.

**Battle of Burgos or de Gamonal, November 10, 1808:** A French army under Soult overwhelmed the outnumbered Spanish troops under General Belvedere. Arrayed at Gamonal on the open plain, the Army of Extremadura's two divisions were broken by a massive cavalry charge, causing panic, allowing the invaders to sack Burgos.

**Battle of Espinosa de Los Monteros, November 10-11, 1808,** fought close to the village of Espinosa de los Monteros in the Cantabrian Mountains, resulted in a French Victory against the Spanish army of Lieutenant General Joaquín Blake. General Victor's 21000 confronted the 23000 Spaniards in a two-day battle with massive attacks and down-hill charges. The defeated Army suffered over five thousand casualties.

**Battle of Tudela, November 23, 1808:** Marshal Jean Lannes 35000 attack a 45000 Spanish army under General Castaños. The battle resulted in the complete victory of the Imperial forces over their adversaries. The combat occurred near Tudela in Navarre.

**Battle of Somosierra:** This battle, which took place on November 30, 1808, is remembered for the Polish light cavalry's spectacular uphill charge in columns of four against Spanish artillery positions. Under the direct command of Napoleon Bonaparte, the Grande Armée advanced on Madrid despite the Spanish force of conscripts and artillery being vastly outnumbered, and Napoleon seized the Spanish capital on December 4th, one month after first arriving in the country.

**Battle of Sahagún:** fought on 21 December 1808, this was a cavalry engagement at Sahagún, Spain, in which the British 15th Light Dragoons (Hussars), in the snow, defeated two French cavalry regiments during the Corunna Campaign of the Peninsular War. The losses suffered by one of the French regiments were so heavy that it was subsequently disbanded. The action marked the final phase of the British army's advance into the interior of Spain before it began its agonising retreat to the coast and its final evacuation by sea in Corunna.

**Battle of Corunna:** On January 16, 1809, the British Army, under the command of General Moore, and the French Army, under the direction of Marshal Soult, engaged in battle at Corunna (also known as A Coruña, La Corunna, La Corogne, or in Spain, Battle of Elviña). Because the British Army encountered the French for the first time during the Peninsular War, this engagement is notable. The battleground is situated in the province of the same name, close to the city of A Coruña.

Battle of Uclés: On January 13, 1809, a Spanish force of around 11300 commanded by Francisco Javier Venegas was attacked by an Imperial French corps led by Marshal Claude Perrin Victor commanding 15500. More than half of the Spanish troops was captured as the French quickly routed their outnumbered adversaries.

Battle of Valls, February 25, 1809: a French force led by Laurent Gouvion Saint-Cyr and a Spanish force led by Theodor von Reding engaged close to the town of Valls in Catalonia. During a cavalry attack against French cavalry, General Reding suffered a mortal wound. This action resulted in a French victory.

Battle of Medellín: March 28, 1809, the French forces led by Marshal Victor defeated the Spanish forces led by General Don Gregorio Garcia de la Cuesta in this battle. The victory in the battle of Ocaña later in the year largely cemented the French's occupation of Southern Spain, which had begun with this battle of Medellín.

Battle of Alcañiz, Mayo 23, 1809: It is considered to be the second major Spanish battlefield victory of the peninsular war. Only two of Major-General Louis Gabriel Suchet's three available divisions were with him, giving the French a strength of 8,138 men on the morning of the battle. General Joaquín Blake y Joyes slightly outnumbered the French, with just under 9,000 men, and was in a strong defensive position, based around three hills outside the town of Alcañiz. The Spanish victory at Alcañiz would be followed by defeat at Maria, and by an embarrassing rout at Belchite.

Battle of Maria, June 15, 1809. María de Huerva is located 17 kilometres (10.6 mi) southwest of Zaragoza. General Joaquín Blake y Joyes commanded a force of 20000 against 11300 men of Major-General Louis Gabriel Suchet. Suchet's cavalry made a decisive charge that resulted in a French victory. Blake's army managed to escape in quite good shape despite the crushing of the Spanish right wing after giving up most of its artillery.

Battle of Talavera, June 27-28, 1809. Talavera was the first of Sir Arthur Wellesley's great victories in Spain. The French Army, led by Marshal Victor, and the Anglo-Spanish Army, led by General Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington), engaged in combat on July 27 and 28, 1809, at Talavera. The Anglo-Spanish forces achieved a tactical success in one of the Peninsular War's biggest battles where 55,000 French troops faced 20,600 British and 35,000 Spanish troops. In the province of Toledo, the battleground is close to Talavera de la Reina.

Battle of Almonacid, August 11, 1809: Sébastiani's IV Corps of the French Peninsular Army, which King Joseph of Spain had withdrawn from the Battle of Talavera to protect Madrid, and the Spanish Army of La Mancha under General Venegas engaged in the Battle of Almonacid on August 11, 1809, ended the Talavera campaign. After the crucial charges of the Polish uhlans, France, costly, won the battle.

Battle of Arzobispo, August 8, 1809: fought between two Imperial French corps commanded by Marshal Jean-de-Dieu Soult and a Spanish force under José María de la Cueva, 14th Duke of Albuquerque. The French launched an assault crossing of the Tagus River against the Spanish force. Albuquerque's troops rapidly retreated after suffering disproportionate losses, including 30 artillery pieces. The battle took place at El Puente del Arzobispo, which is located 36 kilometres southwest of Talavera de la Reina. The French were victorious in this battle.

Battle of Tamames, October 18, 1809: The Battle of Tamames was lost by part of Marshal Michel Ney's French army under General of Division Jean Marchand. The French, advancing out of Salamanca, were met and defeated in battle by a Spanish army whose cohesion was forced by General del Parque disciplinary actions.

Battle of Ocaña, November 19, 1809: a battle between French troops led by Marshal Soult and King Joseph Bonaparte and the Spanish army under General Aréizaga that took place in Ocaña, close to Aranjuez, and which saw Spain suffer its worst single defeat in the Peninsular War. Aréizaga's 51,000-man Spanish army suffered a loss of roughly 19,000 soldiers, largely as a result of the French using their cavalry, including dead, wounded, captives, and deserters. The fight was the worst defeat a Spanish army has ever experienced on home territory due to a Cannae-like encirclement of the Spanish army.

Battle of Alba de Tormes: In the Battle of Alba de Tormes on 28 November 1809, an Imperial French corps commanded by François Étienne de Kellermann attacked a Spanish army led by Diego de Cañas y Portocarrero, Duke del Parque. Alba de Tormes is located 21 kilometres southeast of Salamanca. When Kellermann saw the Spanish army in the middle of crossing the Tormes River, he did not wait for his infantry under Jean Gabriel Marchand to arrive; instead, he ordered the French cavalry to charge the Spanish soldiers on the near bank, routing them with significant casualties. Del Parque's army was forced to take refuge in the mountains that winter.

Siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, 26 April - 10 June 1810: The French siege of Ciudad Rodrigo from 5 June-10 July 1810 was a precursor to Marshal Massena's invasion of Portugal (the 3rd to occur). The fortified town was built on top of a low hill overlooking the river. It was surrounded by a thick medieval wall, which was itself protected by a more modern line but low-lying line of fortifications. Ciudad Rodrigo was defended by a garrison of 5,500 men under the command of General Andrés Herrasti. Ney's brigades arrived on 26th April and Junot's corps soon followed, giving the French a total of nearly 50,000 men. Bombardment began on the 25th of June and breaches in the outer walls and inner walls forced Herrasti to capitulate on the 9th of July immediately before the French assault.

**Siege of Cádiz:** The Siege of Cádiz was a prolonged siege that took place from February 5, 1810, to August 24, 1812, in the city of Cádiz, located in the province of Cádiz. The siege was a critical moment in the Peninsular War as it allowed the Spanish to maintain control of their last major port city and prevented the French from gaining control of the Strait of Gibraltar.

**Battle of Barrosa:** The Battle of Barrosa (Chiclana, 5 March 1811, also known as the Battle of Chiclana or Battle of Cerro del Puerco) was part of an unsuccessful manoeuvre by an Anglo-Iberian force to break the French siege of Cádiz during the Peninsular War. During the battle, a single British division defeated two French divisions and captured a regimental eagle. Marshal Victor's French forces redeployed after learning of the Allied movement to set up a trap. Victor deployed one division to block the Allies' line of advance on the route to Cadiz, while his two remaining divisions attacked Sir Thomas Graham's sole Anglo-Portuguese rearguard division. The British were able to defeat the French forces that were attacking after a furious struggle on two fronts. Absolute triumph was thwarted by the bigger Spanish contingent's lack of assistance, and the French were able to regroup and retake their siege positions.

**Battle of Fuentes de Oñoro, May 3-5, 1811:** The 38000 strong British-Portuguese Army, led by Wellington, clashed with the 48000 strong French Army of Portugal, commanded by Marshal André Masséna, at the Battle of Fuentes de Oñoro. The battle occurred on the border between Spain and Portugal, to the west of Ciudad Rodrigo. The French were attempting to lift the siege of Almeida but were stopped by the British-Portuguese forces. The outcome was a bloody stalemate and an Anglo-Portuguese victory, leading to Masséna being replaced by Marshal Marmont. Wellington successfully defended against Napoleon's Army of Portugal, inflicting heavy casualties and maintaining the blockade of Almeida. The battlefield is untouched and easy to understand the movements and locations of the main actions.

**Battle of Albuera, May 16, 1811:** The Battle of Albuera was fought between the Anglo-Spanish Army, commanded by General Beresford, and the French Army, commanded by Marshal Soult. This was a particularly bloody battle, with both sides suffering heavy casualties. The battlefield is located near the town of Albuera, about 20 kilometres south of the frontier fortress-town of Badajoz. The French had 24,260 troops while the British, Spanish, and Portuguese had 35,284 troops.

**Sieges of Badajoz, 1st French siege 26 January – 10 March 1811:** It was the main achievement of Marshal Soult's invasion of Estremadura of 1811. The siege consisted in several phases from January until March, being important when in the beginning the Spanish relief army of Mendizabal came to help Menacho's defence of Badajoz. Being this army defeated in the Battle of Gébora (19 February 1811), the French blockage was reinstated, and

bombardments reinforced, causing a large breach in the walls. On the 10th of March, commander Imaz responsible for defending Badajoz capitulated and close to 8000 Spanish troops marched into captivity.

The first and second British siege of Badajoz (22 April – 12 May and 18 May – 10 June 1811) saw an Anglo-Portuguese Army, first led by William Carr Beresford and later commanded by Arthur Wellesley, the Viscount Wellington, besiege a French garrison under Armand Philippon at Badajoz, Spain. To oppose the French, Beresford had 10500 British and 10200 Portuguese troops available. San Cristobal, Picurina, and Pardeleras forts saw much of the actions. After several assaults and failing to force a surrender, Wellington withdrew his army when the French mounted a successful relief effort by combining the armies of Marshals Nicolas Soult and Auguste Marmont.

Battle of El Bodón: On September 25, 1811, elements of the Anglo-Portuguese army successfully fought a rearguard action against waves of French cavalry, supported by a division of infantry. Wellington praised the action of the regiments who participated in the action and successfully crossed the river Águeda.

Battle of Saguntum, October 25th, 1811: Fought between the Imperial army - commanded by Maréchal Louis Gabriel Suchet, and the Spanish army under control of the General Captain from Valencia Joaquín Blake y Joyes. The Spanish attempt to raise the siege of the Sagunto Castle failed when the French, Italians, and Poles drove their troops off the battlefield in rout.

Battle of Arroyo dos Molinos, October 28, 1811: An allied force under General Rowland Hill trapped and defeated a French force under General Jean-Baptiste Girard, forcing the latter's dismissal by the emperor Napoleon. A whole French infantry division and a brigade of cavalry were destroyed as viable fighting formations, and all enemy's artillery, baggage and magazines were captured. From a military perspective, the Battle of Arroyo dos Molinos was a significant victory for the Allied forces.

Siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, January 7-20, 1812: The Viscount Wellington's 40000 Anglo-Portuguese Army besieged the city's 2000 French garrison under General of Brigade Jean Léonard Barrié. On the evening of January 19, 1812, the castle was successfully besieged when British heavy cannon burst two breaches in the walls. After entering the city, British troops went on the rampage for a while before law and order was established. Two generals were slain, and there were perhaps 1,700 other casualties for Wellington's army. Strategically, the fortress's destruction allowed a northern entrance from British-held Portugal into French-ruled Spain. Ciudad Rodrigo had previously been under siege until the French took it from the Spanish in 1810.

3rd British siege of Badajoz, 16 March – 6 April 1812: The Siege of Badajoz was a prolonged siege commanded by Wellington himself at the head of 27000 British and Portuguese soldiers. This siege was characterized by extensive siege earthworks, strong bombardments with the use of heavy artillery, assaults and surprise counterattacks, culminating on the final assault at 22:00 on the 6 April. A furious assault saw a determined defence of the French being ultimately defeated. This siege was known for its brutality as a result of the rampage and sacking of the city by the allied forces. The storming of the city resulting in a high number of casualties on both sides.

Battle of Salamanca, July 22, 1812: Also known as the Battle of Arapiles, for the name of the nearby village, Arapiles, which in turn takes its name from the two low, flat-topped hills, Arapil Chico (Lesser Arapile) and Arapil Grande (Greater Arapile), over and around which part of the battle took place. The Battle of Salamanca was fought between the Anglo-Portuguese Army, commanded by General Wellington, and the French Army, commanded by Marshal Marmont. It was a large-scale battle of movement where Wellington took the offensive, consisting in assaults to high ground (The Arapile Grande), massive cavalry charges, bayonet charges, resulting in a major defeat of the French. This was a major battle in this conflict and a decisive victory for the Anglo-Portuguese forces, marking a turning point in the Peninsular War. This undisturbed battlefield is located near the city of Salamanca, in the province of the same name.

Battle of García Hernández, July 23, 1812: In this battle, two brigades of Anglo-German cavalry led by Major-General Eberhardt Otto George von Bock defeated 4,000 French infantry led by Major-General Maximilien Foy. In what would otherwise have been an unremarkable Peninsular War skirmish, the German heavy dragoons achieved the unusual feat of breaking three French squares, those of the 6th, 69th and 76th Line, routing the entire French force with heavy losses.

Battle of Majadahonda, August 11, 1812: An Imperial French cavalry division led by Anne-François-Charles Trelliard attacks two brigades of cavalry under Benjamin d'Urban which formed the advance guard of Arthur Wellesley, Earl of Wellington's army. Trelliard's leading unit defeated three British cannons as well as d'Urban's Portuguese troops. The Imperial French soldiers were stopped by the King's German Legion (KGL) cavalry under the command of Eberhardt Otto George von Bock, but they were ultimately forced to retreat when Trelliard committed his second and third brigades to the battle. When more British cavalry and infantry arrived, the Imperial French cavalry retreated because they were unable to handle a KGL infantry regiment defending the village. This Peninsular War action was fought near Majadahonda, which is located 16 kilometres (9.9 mi) northwest of Madrid.

Siege of Burgos, 19 September – 21 October 1812: In this siege, the Anglo-Portuguese Army, commanded by General Wellington, tried to capture the castle of Burgos defended by the General of Brigade Jean-Louis Dubreton. Dubreton led a masterful defence, thwarting Wellington's assaults time after time. The British commander's hopes were lost when his unsuccessful attempts to contain the two French armies were closer and threatened his position and with the problems arising from the shortage of artillery and ammunition, Wellington prepared to retreat on 21 October. This battle was significant because it was the first time that Wellington was forced to retreat in the Peninsular War.

Battle of Castalla: April 13, 1813: Marshal Louis Gabriel Suchet's French Army of Valencia and Aragon was opposed by an Anglo-Spanish-Sicilian force under the command of Lieutenant General Sir John Murray. A succession of French assaults on Murray's army's hilltop position were successfully resisted, forcing Suchet to flee. Castalla is located 35 kilometres north-northwest of Alicante, Spain.

Battle of Vitoria, June 21, 1813: This important battle took place near the city of Vitoria-Gasteiz in the Basque Country. Wellington commanded a force of 90000 against 60000. Wellington's British, Portuguese and Spanish army defeated the troops commanded by Joseph Bonaparte and Marshal Jourdan, comprising the French Armies of the Centre (of Spain), the South (of Spain) and of Portugal. The French retreated towards the border between Spain and France in the Pyrenees Mountains followed by Wellington's army, leaving garrisons in San Sebastian and Pamplona. It was a significant victory for the Anglo-Spanish army against the French and marked the end of French control over most of Spain. By order of Napoleon, Marshal Soult substituted Marshal Jourdan and took over command, being ordered to save Pamplona and San Sebastian and re-establish French control of Spain.

Battle of Tolosa, June 26, 1813: In this battle, a British-Portuguese-Spanish column led by Thomas Graham attempt to cut off a retreating Franco-Italian force under Maximilien Sébastien Foy. Assisted by Maucune's division, which fortuitously appeared, the French parried Graham's initial attacks then slipped away when threatened with envelopment. The main highway to France runs to the northeast through Tolosa. The town lies in the Oria River valley and is surrounded by high hills.

Siege of Pamplona, 26 June – 31 October 1813: The French garrison occupying Pamplona and commanded by General Louis Cassan, totalling 38000 men, faced a siege of 4 months against a combined army of Portuguese and British but the Spanish forces under General Carlos de España stayed the longest time. Cassan capitulated under severe starvation of his troops.

Siege of San Sebastián, 7 July- 8 September 1813: The city was under siege, but Arthur Wellesley, Marquess of Wellington's allied forces were unable to take it. However, during a second siege, Thomas Graham's Allied forces took San Sebastián from a French garrison led by Louis Emmanuel Rey. The British and Portuguese soldiers ravaged through the town and razed it during the last assault.

Battle of the Pyrenees, 25 July 1813 – 2 August 1813: The Battle of the Pyrenees was large-scale offensive in the western Pyrenees Mountains, involving several battles, launched by Marshal Soult to relieve the French garrisons under siege at Pamplona and San Sebastián. A combined force led by Wellington summoned 50000 British, Portuguese and Spanish against 70000 French troops under Marshal Soult. Following his defeat at Battle of Sorauren at the end of the month, Soult ordered the retreat towards France, having decided it would be impossible to relieve Pamplona.

Battle of Roncesvalles, July 25, 1813: These fights happened in rough mountainous terrain and under almost desperate conditions for the common soldier. The objective was to control the passes and main roads that crossed the Pyrenees. The passes of Maya (north of Pamplona) and Roncesvaux (northeast of Pamplona) were both weakly held by the allies spread over a 50-mile front from Pamplona to the sea. Soult's plan was that Clausel and Reille be in command of the passes by the evening of 25th July 1813. Neither achieved this aim in full, but they had forced back Wellington's forward units in the Baigorri Valley that night in the face of overwhelming French numerical superiority, 11000 allied forces against 40000.

Battle of Maya, July 25, 1813: A force of 21000 french led by Drouet, Comte d'Erlon advanced at the Maya pass, surprising the 6000 allies led by William Stewart. Memorable for the Epic musketry duels, skirmishers' combats and the highlander's resistance, this full day action resulted in many losses and the French ultimately occupied the Maya Pass while the Allied retreated to a position nearby, south from the Pass and still in the way of the French.

Battle of Sorauren, 27 July – 1 August 1813: This Battle was the major encounter that ended the Battle of Pyrenees with the presence in the field of 24000 Allied forces led directly by Wellington against 30000 under Soult's command. The first movements towards Sorauren and the way to Pamplona occurred on the 26th of July but only on the 27th the heavily outnumbered British forces there were drawn up on the Oricain Ridge where Wellington occupied the high ground in favourable positions forcing the French to advance up-hill. Meanwhile, Soult paused the advance and unaware allowed more allied reinforcements to join. On the 28th the fighting at the top of the ridge was bitter and bloody, but the defenders held the French off. A second day of the Battle of Sorauren, on the 29th Soult, realized the great number of losses and was bound to retreat and give up relieving the French garrison in

San Sebastian. Meanwhile around Sorauren, on the ridges and the valleys of the rivers Ulzana and Arga, troops engaged strongly while the French tried to retreat in the direction of France, many in confusion and under pursuit. The 1st August saw combats in Yanci with Soult's retreating formations being no more as disciplined bodies of the army. On the 2nd, Soult tried an attempt at Echalar positioning along high ground. The allied divisions marched forward and the French divisions, began to give away. During the afternoon, Soult's army fell back from the crest of the mountain line that marked the border with Spain and withdrew back into France. Both sides substantially resumed the positions they occupied before Soult's incursion to relieve Pamplona two weeks before.

Battle of San Marcial, 31 August 1813: One of the last battles fought on Spanish soil during the Peninsular War was the Battle of San Marcial. The Spanish Army of Galicia, under the command of General Freire, repulsed Marshal Soult's final significant offensive against the army of British General Wellington at San Marcial, just outside of Irún and close to the French border. The combat of Vera was a daring defence of a bridge where the 95th rifles once again proved their value with blood.

The summarised presentation of these battles, combats and sieges served the purpose of identifying them in a succinct manner, respecting the selection criteria defined in the methodology presented at the beginning: these battlefields are relevant due to the feasibility of visiting and identifying the places where the actions took place; they are relevant in the context of the Peninsular War taking into account the number of combatants or the historical importance of the military action; finally, their tourist attractiveness was also a selection criterion. Overall, we have compared and followed the Peninsular War Atlas (Revised) by Lipscombe, N. (2014), using the same methodology to select the relevant events.

This list of historical places and events, organised chronologically by country, is also a main reference for the application of the objectives of our study where a quick identification and introductory summary serves the consequent promotion and dynamization of battlefield tourism.

The fact that we have only listed the military actions that took place in Portugal and Spain, follows our purpose of studying this theme only in these territories, knowing, however, that on the border with France and until the victory of Toulouse (1814), the Peninsular War continued, defining each day the defeat of Napoleon.

Rico and Zurita-Aldeguer (2020) identify a total of 16 Battles, Combats, and Sieges in the Valencian Community, fulfilling the objectives of their study to focus strictly on that region. Some of these are not included in our list as they do not fulfil the criteria we have defined.

Galán (2017) also identifies the main battlefields in his study; however, by not applying these criteria, we can provide more in-depth and objectively applicable knowledge with our list.

## 1.2. Overview of the Portuguese and Spanish Peninsular War Tourism

The aim of this sub-chapter is to present a perspective on battlefield tourism in Portugal and Spain. In this way, we can identify the players and organisers of this type of tourism, as well as their actions. Information was collected from official national tourism organisations as well as companies that offer battlefield tourism. Various google searches were used to compare and update the data (until July 2023) and to identify other entities that were not contacted directly but are relevant to characterising the market and the state of the art of battlefield tourism dedicated to the Peninsular War and the War of Independence (1808-1814).

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 war has the following main elements: tourist attractions, tour operators, cultural routes, 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 39 sites in Portugal that are tourist attractions specifically dedicated to the Peninsular War 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 (Noivo, M.A. (2010).

We were able to identify 7 Portuguese tour operators in 2019-20, but only 3 remain active in 2023 (British Historical Society of Portugal, Our Land Tours, Portugal Green Travel) with tours dedicated to the Peninsular War and 6 British tour operators (Leger Battlefields, Cultural Experience, Classic Battlefield Tours, Kirker Holidays, Martin Randall and Graeme Cooper) that organise circuits with guided tours including battlefields in Portugal and Spain. In Spain only two major tour operators stand out (Wellington Society of Madrid and El Primer Édecan). We have not considered private Battlefield Guides nor occasional tours. Evidence demonstrate that few local operators organize battlefield tours despite the present demand.

Peninsular War tours that start in Portugal may include guided tours on the battlefields just across the border in Spain, namely Badajoz, Fuentes de Oñoro, La Albuera and Salamanca (Los Arapiles). This means that the historical connection between the battlefields is relevant, and it's promoted as Wellington's Campaigns or hidden by proximity.

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

According to a survey elaborated by the British Historical Society of Portugal (2019), the most preferred battlefield tours are in the following order: 1 – Lines of Torres Vedras, Roliça and Vimeiro; 2 – Bussaco; 3 – Almeida and Côa; 5 – Fuentes de Oñoro, Ciudad Rodrigo and Salamanca; 6 – Elvas, Badajoz and La Albuera; 7 – Massena's retreat (Pombal, Redinha, Foz de Arouce and Sabugal); 8 - Almaraz and Alcântara Bridge; 9 – Cadiz and Barossa.

The same organization also identified (2019) the most frequent nationalities and here they are presented by order: 1 – British; 2 – Australians and New-Zealanders; 3 – Canadians; 4 – Americans; 5 – Portuguese.

There were not found updated present numbers from the national tourism board, but a prevalence of the Americans has been pointed out by the stakeholders along the surveys that were conducted on our studies. This might be future research to be conducted also in Spain, allowing for a better and updated characterization of battlefield tourism in both countries.

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.

To promote battlefield tourism and attract visitors, several public entities that promote tourism have developed Cultural Routes dedicated to the Peninsular War in Portugal. 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 War Route created by the Portuguese Military Tourism Association (ATMPT).

Historical Route of the Lines of Torres (RHLT - Rota Histórica das Linhas de Torres) is available by web site (<http://www.rhlt.pt>) and with an Application for smartphone, promotes the heritage of the Lines of Torres Vedras, it's history and tourism offer. It has created the GR30 – Grande Rota das Linhas de Torres (to engage visitors in big walking trails), 6 thematic itineraries through the defensive lines, developed a network of interpretation centres (Loures, Sobral de Monte Agraço, Mafra, Bucelas, Vila Franca de Xira) coordinating the historical narrative with the Military Museums dedicated to the Peninsular War. The RHLT also aggregates 6 municipalities where the 1st and 2nd Defensive Lines are found and coordinate musealization, preservation, events, festivals, and re-enactment events.

In 2018 it integrated the European Cultural Itinerary, Destination Napoleon ([www.destination-napoleon.eu](http://www.destination-napoleon.eu)) and European Federation of the Napoleonic Cities (including 50 cities from 10 countries) and in 2019 the RHLT was included in the Napoleonic Routes in Portugal and Spain, the project NAPOCTEP ([https://napoctep.eu/pt/home\\_por-2](https://napoctep.eu/pt/home_por-2)).

The objective of the NAPOCTEP project is to enhance the cultural heritage of the Napoleonic era through the creation of Napoleonic routes in an area that includes the central region of Portugal (the inter-municipal communities of Coimbra Region and Beiras and Serra da Estrela, along with the Historic Route of the Lines of Torres) and the western Castilian-Leonese provinces (Salamanca, Zamora, Valladolid, León and Ávila), the Junta de Castilla y León, the Santa Maria La Real Foundation, Finnova, Segittur, the City Council of Ciudad Rodrigo, the Spanish Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, ADECOCIR, among other entities that developed joint work, generating an innovative and attractive tourist product that generates economic activity and employment.

The project had a planned duration of two years (2019-2022), with investments co-financed by the European Commission within the INTERREG POCTEP program Spain-Portugal.

The result of this NAPOCTEP project was a wide range of promotional initiatives and the structuring of the tourist offer, which are identified and described below, the Napoleonic Routes between Spain and Portugal. This project developed a total of 7 thematic itineraries:

Route Wellington: Including, Pero Negro (Qta Dos Freixos) / Sobral de Monte Agraço, Torres Vedras, Vimeiro, Roliça, Óbidos, Leiria, Figueira da Foz / Costa de Lavos / Foz do Mondego, Condeixa-a-Nova, Coimbra, Penacova, Mata do Bussaco, Mealhada / Luso, Mortágua, Viseu, Sabugal, Fuentes de Oñoro, Almeida, Ciudad Rodrigo, Fuenteguinaldo, Centro de interpretación Batalla de los Arapiles, Alba de Tormes, Garcihernández, Salamanca, Zamora, Toro, Boecillo, Valladolid.

Route of the Sieges and Great Battles Route: Including, Almeida, Forte de la Concepción y Reducto de San José, Fuentes de Oñoro, Ciudad Rodrigo, Tamames, Arapiles, Alba de Tormes Garcihernández, Salamanca, Carpio, Zamora, Cabezón de Pisuerga, Monclín / Medina de Rioseco, Benavente, Astorga, Cogorderos, Cacabelos, Puebla de Sanabria.

Route of Napoleon and the Englishman's Run: Including, Almeida, Ciudad Rodrigo, Salamanca, Alaejos, Toro, Zamora, Tordesillas, Valladolid, Medina de Rioseco, Mayorga, Valderas, Castrogonzalo, Benavente, Sahagún, Mansilla de las Mulas, Astorga, Turienzo de los Caballeros, Bembibre, Ponferrada, Cacabelos, Villafranca del Bierzo.

Guerrilla Route (Guerrilleros Julián Sánchez El Charro y el Empecinado): Including, Roa, Cuevas de Provanco, Castrillo de Duero, Olmos de Peñafiel, Peñafiel, Pesquera de Duero, Valladolid, Cigales, Cabezón de Pisuerga, Arroyo de la Encomienda, Simancas, Hornillos de Eresma, Pozaldez, Villalar de los Comuneros, Tordesillas, Alaejos, Toro, Zamora, San Pedro de Latarce, Medina de Rioseco, Almeida de Sayago, Ledesma, Salamanca, Alba de Tormes, Arapiles, Tamames, Muñoz, Fuentes de Oñoro, El Bodón, Ciudad Rodrigo.

Route 1st Invasion of Portugal: Including Salamanca, Ciudad Rodrigo, Almeida, Guarda, Alpedrinha, Idanha-a-Nova, Alcántara, Castelo Branco, Abrantes, Golegã, Santarém, Cartaxo, Porto Novo, Vimeiro, Azambujeira dos Carros, Columbeira, Roliça, Óbidos, Leiria, Figueira da Foz /Praia da Costa de Lavos, Montemor-o-Velho, Coimbra, Porto.

2nd Invasion of Portugal Route: Including, Pero Negro (Qta Dos Freixos) / Sobral de Monte Agraço, Torres Vedras, Vimeiro, Roliça, Óbidos, Leiria, Figueira da Foz / Costa de Lavos / Foz do Mondego, Condeixa-a-Nova, Coimbra, Penacova, Mata do Bussaco, Mealhada / Luso, Mortágua, Coimbra, Viseu, Sabuga, Fuentes de Oñoro, Almeida, Ciudad Rodrigo, Fuenteguinaldo, Centro de interpretación Batalla de los Arapiles, Alba de Tormes, Garcihernández, Salamanca, Zamora, Toro, Boecillo, Valladolid.

3rd Invasion of Portugal Route: including, Salamanca, Arapiles, Ciudad Rodrigo, Fuentes de Oñoro, Forte de la Concepción y Reducto de San José, Rio Côa, Almeida, Pinhel, Celorico da Beira, Fornos de Algodres, Mangualde, Nelas, Carregal do Sal, Tondela, Santa Comba Dão, Bussaco, Mortágua, Penacova, Mata do Bussaco, Mealhada – Luso, Coimbra, Leiria, Torres Vedras, Sobral de Monte Agraço, Mafra, Loures – Lousa, Arruda dos Vinhos, Vila Franca de Xira, Torres Vedras, Rio Maior, Tomar, Pombal, Redinha, Condeixa - Casal Novo, Foz de Arouce – Lousã, Ponte de Mucela, Vila Nova de Poiares, Arganil, Guarda, Sabugal.

Turismo de Portugal, in conjunction with the Regional Tourism Entities and other public and private partners, has been supporting the tourist and cultural promotion of the vast and monumental material and immaterial heritage associated with the country's military

history, throughout the country, in compliance with the actions aimed at structuring the military tourism product included in the 2027 Tourism Strategy.

The National Tourism board of Portugal – Turismo de Portugal, created in 2022 and 2023 the Napoleonic Itineraries Agenda, promoting various activities that aim to reveal and promote the tangible and intangible cultural heritage associated with the history of the Napoleonic invasions in Portugal. It crosses multiple territories, conferring them their own identity, which can be shared and apprehended by communities and visitors. The touristic valorisation of the historical-military heritage associated with the Napoleonic invasions is the motto for these events, which encourage the promotion of cultural tourism in Portugal and, also, the development of a differentiating touristic product.

In result was created the "Thematic Network of the French Invasions in Portugal" giving origin to webinars and the development of cultural itineraries.

In Spain, more specifically in València, as a result of the research of the project Guerra e Historia Pública (<https://www.guerra-historia-publica.es/rutas>), 6 itineraries (Rutas) were created: El Calvari 1812, Alicante 1812, La Foia de Castalla 1812, Sax durante la Guerra de la Independencia, Casains (el guerrillero de Catral), batalla del Raboser. Just as in Portugal, Applications for smartphones were conceived to explore the itineraries in an autonomous way.

The project PADGUE (<https://www.patrimonio-paisaje-guerra.es/rutas/ver-rutas>) also developed cultural itineraries (Rutas), as follows: Campo de batalla de Castalla, Campo de Batalla de Sagunto, Entrada del Mariscal Suchet, La batalla de Bailén, La batalla de Chiclana, La batalla de La Albuera, Los sitios de Badajoz, Ruta del héroe Romeu, Tarragona 1811, Valencia napoleónica, and Vitoria napoleónica.

One difference that should be emphasised in relation to other battlefield itineraries (Arapiles with Salamanca Napoleónica) is that these routes specifically involve local public history (sites and monuments) and not so much the battle itself, the location and evolution of the forces present, an evolution of events in a reading of the strategy or tactics applied, nor a referencing of the battle itself. However, the importance of this project for the dynamization of local history and the development of portable technology that allows autonomous visits to places of interest is highlighted.

Regarding commemorative events that include a historical recreation, there was a great deal of interest and events before the pandemic and the post-pandemic is very favourable for a large growth of these initiatives in response to stakeholders' interest, community participation and touristic interest. We can thus identify in Portugal the main historical battle recreations in order of importance by the number of participants: Almeida, Vimeiro, Bussaco, Porto, Sobral de Monte Agraço, and Roliça. The historical recreation groups

dedicated to the Napoleonic period have grown in number and participants. Currently, there are 11 organised groups in Portugal, the most important being the Portuguese Napoleonic Association (Associação Napoleónica Portuguesa). In Spain the number of Re-enactment associations mount to 35 and the Asociación Napoleónica Española is the major reference (<https://www.asocne.com/>).

Considering their agenda for 2023, from a total of 16 events, here follows the most referred re-enactment events in Spain: Badajoz, La Albuera, Vitoria, Cádiz, Bailén, Zaragoza, Boecillo, Batalla de Puente de Cruzul (Becerra). In conjunction with these initiatives, the year 2021 has been defined as the Year of Napoleon by the Napoleon Foundation ([www.fondationnapoleon.org](http://www.fondationnapoleon.org)) to commemorate the bicentenary of Napoleon's death.

The Red Salamantina de Patrimonio Napoleónico ([www.salamancanapoleonica.com](http://www.salamancanapoleonica.com)) was created by the municipalities of Alba de Tormes, Arapiles, Ciudad Rodrigo, Fuentes de Oñoro and Tamames and endorsed by the Diputación de Salamanca. Its aim is to organise the promotion of historical sites related to the War of Independence. Routes and websites have been developed, such as <http://sitiohistoricolosarapiles.com/sitiohistorico.php>, where all the information has been gathered, as well as the historical route that applies to the battlefield of Los Arapiles.

In conclusion, 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.

Considering the collected data from international, national and local entities, it is suggested a strong presence of battlefield tourism related to re-enactment events and annual commemorations which suggest being an important promotor of battlefield tours and Napoleonic cultural itineraries. The importance of trans-border projects proves to be essential for a wider visibility of this cultural heritage and awareness of landscapes of war value as a tourism asset and historical landmark alike. Local entities show great activity and determination in developing events, spread research in websites and commit stakeholders to a cohesive network of actions. Even so, the numbers of battlefield tourists seem to appear only when historical re-enactments occur, leaving space for the opportunity to create a network of suppliers of touristic offer specially dedicated to the daily touristic operation on these battlefields, if promoted in the original markets where interest and motivation are to be found.

# CHAPTER II

---

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK



## **2. Chapter II – Theoretical Framework**

### **2.1. Analysis to the literature review on Battlefield Tourism: Reconnaissance of the battlefield**

The aim of this chapter is to provide a theoretical framework for battlefield tourism, starting in sub-chapter 2.1 with a general approach to this topic through an analysis of the content of the literature review that allows us to recognise the terrain. Data collection refers to May 2021.

Subchapter 2.2 then presents an updated theoretical conceptualisation of Battlefield Tourism and the lines of research that form the theoretical framework of our thesis.

Finally, in sub-chapter 2.3, we analyse the updated research literature dedicated to Napoleonic Battlefield Tourism, specifically the Peninsular War in Portugal or the War of Independence in Spain, exploring in detail the current lines of research, the existing gaps and the reasons for the study we are presenting.

#### **2.1.1. Objectives of the analysis**

Battlefield Tourism (BT) has attracted academic interest over the past twenty years, mainly in Anglo-Saxon circles but reaching all continents. United Kingdom is suggested to be the leading producer of studies on subjects covering BT in the medieval period and the First and Second World War.

However, it appears adequate to question if previous research on BT has covered the numerous implications that it seems to present to tourists, suppliers, and host communities alike. Moreover, it may also be the case that studies on BT tend to analyse a scarce number or diversity of destinations, thus bypassing territorial, socioeconomic and historical contexts that, if studied, could bring valuable and original insights to the body of research in this field.

Hence, this study intends to contribute to identify possible research gaps in the existing body of research on this topic, while seeking to answer the following research questions: (1) Which are the main Lines of Investigation on Battlefield Tourism published on WOS and SCOPUS (SJR Q1 to Q3)? (2) Which are the BT topics discussed in tourism and other related areas of knowledge? (3) Which tourist destinations are more relevant in BT related research? (4) Which War periods and fields of conflict are the most relevant?

The intention is to, based on this research, identify new approaches to battlefield Tourism, valid strategies in methodology research and new tactics to develop tourism and its awareness.

### **2.1.2. Research design**

Regarding its methods, by conducting an analysis to the content of the literature review, we seek to establish a preliminary theoretical framework to previous studies on BT.

The paper worldwide selection included scientific papers, books and relevant Doctoral Thesis, resulting in an updated theoretical framework on battlefield tourism.

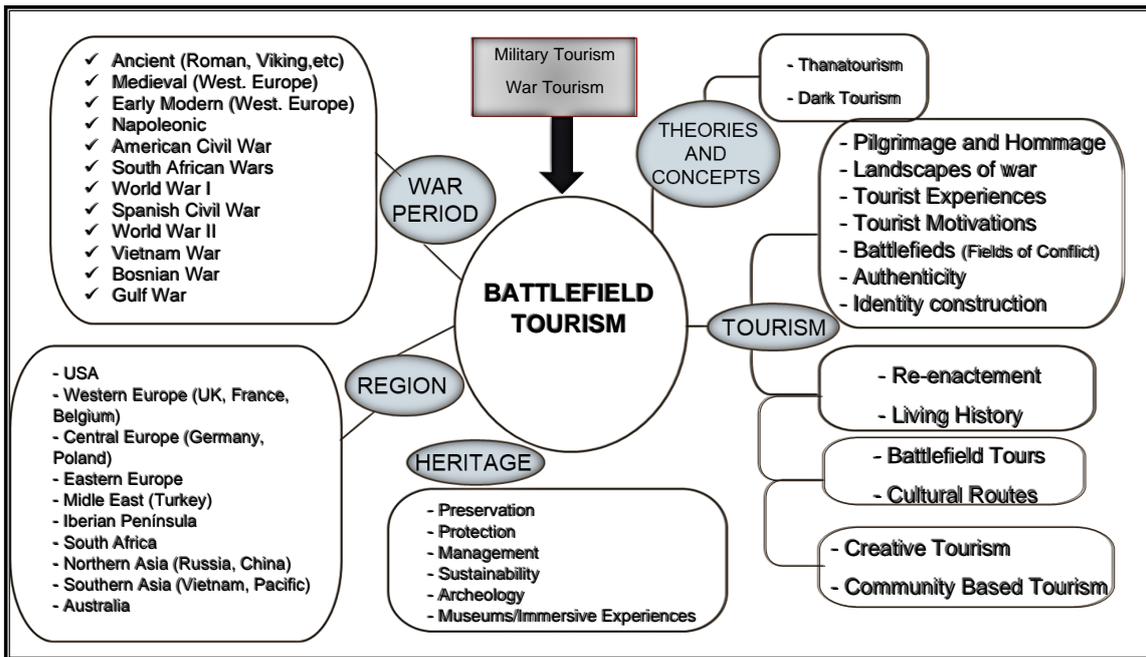
The analysed papers were identified by searching in some of the largest and most relevant online scientific databases in the field of study under analysis (Science Direct, Scopus and Web of Science) being selected specifically Q1 to Q3 Journals, except if of notorious relevance or reference. In order to consider Impact, over 10 citations were also considered as a criterion in the selection. This data refers to May 2021.

Searches were conducted by using the following Keywords: Battlefield Tourism, War Tourism, Re-enactment, military Tourism and Battlefields. The objective of this selection aimed to (i) identify conceptual works on BT and other related types of tourism (e.g., military tourism), as well as to (ii) relate these concepts with each of the topics addressed in each of the above-mentioned research questions.

From the 150 pre-selected, a total of 56 scientific items were systematic analysed in a grid based in Excell. The paper timeline stretches from 1985 until April 2021. The table of this Literature Review is presented as appendix I.

We were then capable of drawing a Mind Map (Figure 6) on Battlefield Tourism showing the main subjects related to Battlefield Tourism.

Figure 5 Mind Map on Battlefield Tourism. Own production



### 2.1.3. Results and discussion

Considering the 56 research papers analysed, a total of 4 tables (figures 7- 10) were created allowing to demonstrate relevance and frequency through percentages of the researched themes found in the listed literature.

Figure 6 Identified lines of Investigation

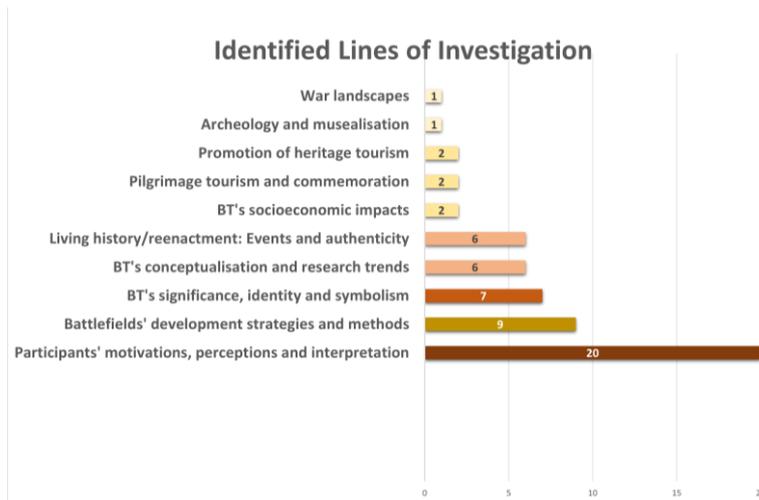
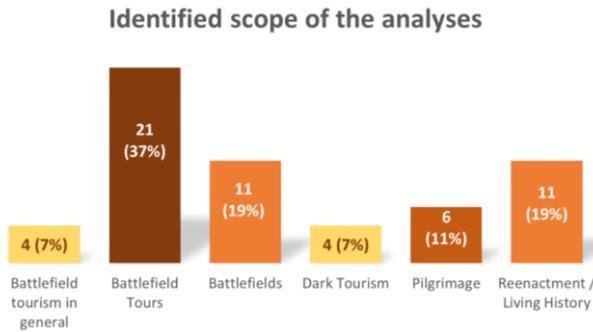


Figure 7 provides an overview of the most common and relevant lines of investigation, being the Participants' Motivations, Perception and Interpretation, with 20 research papers, the most referred. What stands out in the table is the predominance of motivations and consumer behaviour of battlefield tourists, suggesting a preference of the sociological studies in characterizing the battlefield tourists and the importance of their perceptions towards the experience on the battlefield visits. Battlefields' Development, Strategies and Methods, is the second most referred theme with 9 research papers suggesting an interest for the tourism planning regarding the touristic activation in landscapes of war like USA, UK, and a strong presence of the Southeast Asia Countries. The following theme is battlefield tourism Significance, Identity and Symbolism with 7 research papers, demonstrating a strong relation with the importance of national identity and its significance in countries like Australia (with Gallipoli - Turkey) and the USA and UK historical background. Of interest here is the significance of the theme of Living History, Re-enactment, events and authenticity concepts relate to the recreation of the Battlefields. Re-enactment is quite relevant in USA where a recreational perspective in battlefield tourism is correlated with authenticity.

Figure 7 Identified scope of battlefield tourism analyses.

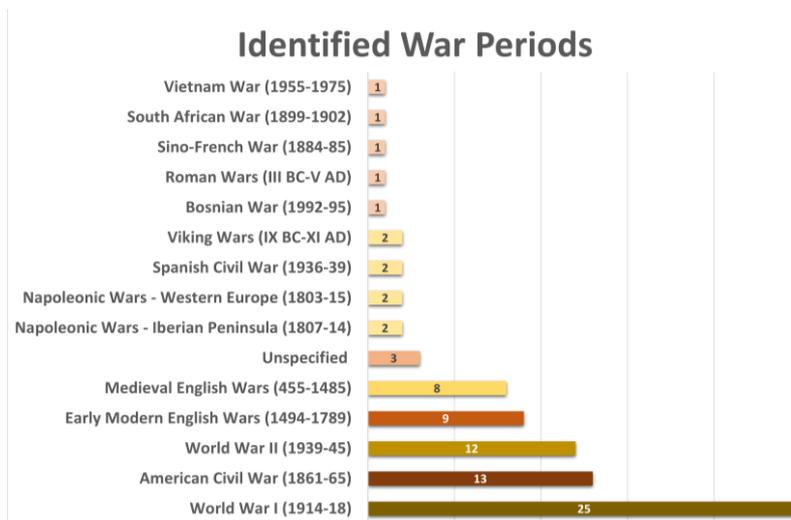


As shown in Figure 8, Battlefield Tours is the most discussed topic, representing 21 of the 56 research papers, meaning a 37% percentage. It suggests that research mainly dedicated itself to Tours what is consistent with Appendix I findings and points out the relevance of tours as a provider of significant data but also interest in understanding this type of tourism. Re-enactment and Living History follows, along with the Battlefields, with 19% of the research focus. It may highlight a change in the scope of the last ten years where a more pragmatic approach to battlefield tourism became more predominant over the Dark Tourism sociological perspectives, what can be perceived on the lowest percentage of the figure.

From a geographical point of view, the most studied Battlefield Tourism Destinations in this Literature are in Western Europe, especially in the United Kingdom, with 20 research papers, which is consistent with the most referenced origin of the research papers and research Journals, namely the United Kingdom. The 2nd most referred is Western Europe but specifically France and Belgium, a closer analysis demonstrates how this data is related with the I and II World War. The analysis showed United States of America as the 3rd position with 15 research papers, demonstrating the importance of the American Civil War (1861-1865) and correlation with the re-enactment themes. Only 4 research papers address Iberian Peninsula though only Spain, especially the Civil War, but not Portugal.

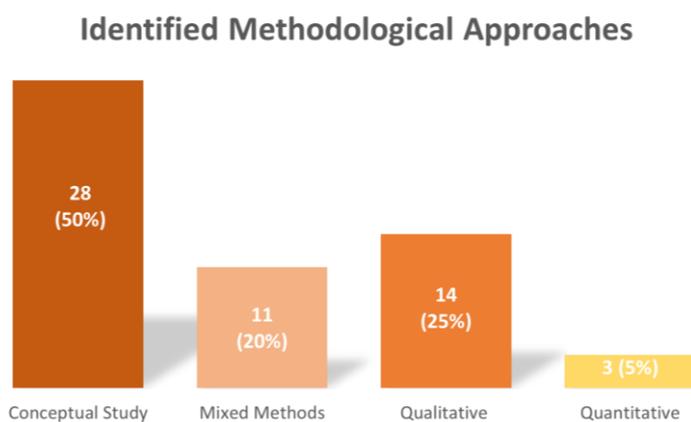
Australia, Central Europe (Germany and Poland), Southeast Asia, Turkey (Gallipoli), come with 2 mentions and showing the concentration and focus on Europe. Finally, China, Eastern Europe, Japan, Russia, South Africa come up with 1 research paper, focusing on this battlefield Destinations.

Figure 8 Identified war periods.



To determine the Wars according to the historical period, the analysis on the results shown in the figure 9 above, present the First World War as the most focused war with 25 research papers, followed by the American Civil War with 13 and immediately followed by the 12 papers on the Second World War. It seems appropriate to consider these War periods as the most important for Battlefield Tourism research and, comparing to the Peninsular War, with 2 references, we may point out the relevance of improving research on this subject, thus considering the knowledge gap and interest that we intend to underline.

Figure 9 Identified methodological approaches.



Turning now to the most relevant methodologic research found amongst the listed research papers, the results on figure 10 show that Conceptual studies are more frequent, 28 constituting 50% of the total papers analysed. These studies contribute to the theoretical foundation of battlefield tourism by delving into abstract ideas, concepts, theories, and

models. Their focus on understanding underlying principles, relationships, and implications enriches our comprehension of the multifaceted nature of battlefield tourism.

Furthermore, from the 56 research papers, 25%, a subtotal of 14, present qualitative research. This methodology, characterized by in-depth exploration and interpretation of non-numerical data, has been instrumental in uncovering the intricate motivations, attitudes, behaviours, and social dynamics that shape the battlefield tourism experience. By providing a nuanced understanding of the human aspect within this context, qualitative research enriches the field's qualitative dimensions and sheds light on the lived experiences of individuals engaging with battlefield tourism.

Mixed methods research, accounting for 20% of the papers (11), represents an integrative approach that combines both qualitative and quantitative elements. This methodological choice acknowledges the multifaceted nature of battlefield tourism and allows researchers to triangulate data from diverse sources, yielding a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon. (Creswell et al., 2017)

The synthesis of qualitative insights with quantitative data enhances the robustness of findings and offers a more holistic perspective on the complex interplay of factors influencing battlefield tourism.

Lastly, quantitative studies make up a smaller proportion of the research landscape, with only 5% of the papers (3) employing this approach. These studies rely on numerical data, statistical analysis, and empirical measurements to draw statistically significant conclusions. While less prevalent in the literature, quantitative research plays a crucial role in providing empirical evidence, quantifying trends, and contributing to evidence-based decision-making in the realm of battlefield tourism.

The dominant methods for data collection identified across the analysed papers include surveys, questionnaires, and in-depth interviews. These methods facilitate both qualitative and quantitative analyses, enabling researchers to derive meaningful insights, draw connections, and establish evidence-based foundations for empirical knowledge in the field of battlefield tourism (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009).

In summary, the methodological diversity observed in the research papers reflects the multifaceted nature of battlefield tourism. Conceptual studies, qualitative research, mixed methods, and quantitative approaches collectively contribute to a rich and comprehensive understanding of this intricate domain, shedding light on its theoretical underpinnings, human dimensions, and empirical insights.

#### **2.1.4. Conclusions and strategic future research**

The purpose of the current study was to find answers to our research questions by analysing the content of the selected 56 research papers related to battlefield tourism that could be found in WOS and SCOPUS Journals, covering published studies from 1985 until May of 2021. A further study to be developed is to compare and confront this preliminary analysis with the research paper of García-Madurga & Grilló-Méndez, 2023, whose systematic review updated the literature and analysed the content, explored the phenomenon of battlefield tourism in detail, including its economic and educational impacts as well as the challenges and opportunities associated with managing tourism at these historic sites.

Our findings indicate that the most common and relevant line of investigation is the Participants' Motivations, Perception and Interpretation, within the scope of motivations and consumer behaviour of battlefield tourists. As theoretical implications, the authors suggest that the following research gaps may open new directions on battlefield tourism related research regarding its scope and goals. Lines of investigation gaps to be explored are: Sustainable Management of Battlefields; ICT's (Information and Communication Technologies) applied to battlefield tourism; Economic and social impacts on local communities.

Other conclusions suggest that most studies on battlefield tourism focus on the demand, either by analysing its profile or by exploring the conditions to allure and satisfy visitors. However, it seems little attention has been given by previous research to the inclusion of residents on battlefield tourism products' development or to the actual or potential benefits of this type of tourism to communities.

Battlefield Tours is the most discussed topic, pointing out the relevance of tours as a provider of significant data but also interest in understanding this type of tourism. Re-enactment and Living History follows as a significant theme of interest to be researched. Following the previous paragraph, we present the theoretical implications concerning topics on battlefield tourism to explore: Sustainable Management of battlefields as a Touristic attraction in Iberian Peninsula; Economic and Social impacts of Battlefield Tourism; Preservation and Protection of Battlefields; Applied Museology; Augmented Reality and Virtual Reality applied to battlefield tours.

The most studied Battlefield Tourism Destination is Western Europe, especially in the United Kingdom, which is consistent with the most referenced origin (UK) of the research papers and research Journals. The 2nd most referred is Western Europe, in particular France and Belgium, a natural correlation with the First and Second World Wars battlefields. A special

mention should point out the American Civil War with the connection to re-enactment and the few studies dedicated to Iberian Peninsula. Therefore, new battlefield tourism Tourist Destinations to develop may be Locations of films and series related to battlefield Tourism; Indian Battlefields (Rajasthan); People's Republic of China fields of conflict; South Asia (Thailand, Camboja – Dark Tourism); Indian Wars (USA); WW II Pacific Islands. In addition, results also indicate that most studies address Anglo-Saxon tourism destinations, namely the United States, United Kingdom and Western Europe. Hence, it seems necessary to expand battlefield tourism research to other territories, whose distinct patterns and levels of tourism and socioeconomic development may provide new insights to the study and awareness of battlefield tourism.

First World War come as the most focused war period in the analysed research, as well as modern conflicts. Nevertheless, touristic and academic research interest can explore with success other war periods, as they cover knowledge gaps, namely Napoleonic period in Iberian Peninsula, and medieval period re-enactment.

The wide scope of battlefield tourism within cultural tourism suggests other relevant types of tourism to develop as well as good practices to be implemented in the development of the Battlefield Tours, Educational Tours, Living History and Re-enactment. The same principle and need of improvement can be applied to Creative and Community based tourism as important sustainable objectives are to be set in heritage sites and sustainable tourism to be widely implemented.

Therefore, as final implications, the authors suggest future research that can widen the scope of Creative Tourism applied to Living History and Re-enactment, and Community Based Tourism applied to Battlefield Tourism. Considering Battlefield Tourism value creation opportunities, sustainability, tourism dynamics and community cultural and economic impact, an emergent study stands out due to little attention given to Portugal and Spain. Specifically, the cultural heritage resources and historical significance of the XIX century battlefields from the Peninsular Wars or the War of Independence, as they are known in Portugal and Spain respectively.

Since tourism is a determining factor in national identity and collective memory, local communities are the first to raise the flag and take the lead. It is up to researchers to deploy a less conceptual and more pragmatic approach to tourism to ensure that the battle for sustainable tourism development is won across the board.

## 2.2. Battlefield Tourism: Lines of investigation

In this Literature review our aim is not to focus the popular battlefield concepts around dark tourism, but to explore objectively the reality in Iberian Peninsula Napoleonic battlefield tourism. Themes related to Dark Tourism have already vast discussions in common literature of battlefield tourism and stand mainly on sociological approaches that analyse the phenomenon. Our intention is to directly explore the Napoleonic historical period and its heritage in Portugal and Spain.

### **Characterizing battlefield tourism: Origins, definitions, and key concepts**

The attraction for the Battlefields in the form of tourism had the first evidence in Waterloo (1815). Existing studies identified in the nineteenth century the first organized visits to battlefields of the past including active conflict areas (Miles, 2012; Lloyd, 2014; Seaton, 1999), like Waterloo, the South African Battlefields of the Boer War and Gettysburg standing out, with 3 million visitors recorded in 1863 (Miles, 2012).

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

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

The definition of the concept of Battlefield Tourism has been grounded in the studies of the last 30 years where Miles (2014), Ryan (2007), Prideaux (2007) stand out. Dunkley et al. (2011) defines Battlefield Tourism as the act of visiting battlefields, participating in battle re-enactments, "war experiences", visits to military museums and war memorials. It identifies it as a specific type of thanatourism, Warfare Tourism.

The concept of battlefield tourism has evolved over the years, from a primarily educational experience to a more commercialized form of tourism. Today, it is a significant

niche market within the tourism industry, with many countries promoting battlefield tourism as a way to attract visitors interested in military history.

Military history occupies an important place in the heritage of many nations and is celebrated in many ways including memorials, ceremonies, monuments, museums, re-enactments and by preservation of battlefields. Within this broad field of military heritage, battlefields occupy an important place and arouse within visitors a range of emotions (Prideaux, 2007).

War-related tourism has expanded dramatically, to the extent that 'the memorabilia of warfare and allied products, such as battlefields, cemeteries, monuments, museums, armaments and historical re-enactments, probably constitutes the largest single category of tourist attractions in the world' (Smith, 1996).

Such attractions include not only battlefields and associated on-site memorials and graveyards, but also innumerable memorials, museums and other structures and places that commemorate wars, battles and associated events or atrocities. Nevertheless, not only are battlefields, as a sub-category of the totality of warfare attractions, 'a quintessential example of that form of attraction which has been called "dark tourism" . . . or "thanatourism" (Seaton, 1999).

Battlefield tourism is a popular activity for history enthusiasts and travellers who want to learn more about the military campaigns, tactics, and strategies used in these wars. One must not set aside a certain charisma around Napoleon, Wellington or many other major personalities that fought in this war. Tourists are attracted by specific places with a strong relation to a particular moment of this historical figures. Tourists wish to be on the site where Wellington commanded the Battle of Salamanca, the place where he stayed the night, or a key site where many fought. There is always some kind of emotion related to these locations. A special "aura" is sometimes felt and referred by visitors as a "especially significant place" (Noivo et al. 2022). It is close to the concept of Sense of place that enlarges the Battlefield tourism concept which is often more than just visiting a historical site. It is also about experiencing the sense of place that is created by the landscape, the artifacts, and the stories of the battle. This sense of place can be very powerful and can help tourists to connect with the past in a personal way. Raivo (2015), Smith (2015) and Miles (2013) explore the importance and the interpretations of this sense of place in battlefields.

In resume, Napoleonic Battlefield Tourism is a form of cultural tourism that focuses on visiting historical sites associated with significant battles or military campaigns. In the Iberian Peninsula, it involves visiting sites where battles occurred, monuments, museums,

fortifications, and memorials related to the military history of the Peninsular War (1808-1814), as known in Portugal and Britain, or the Guerra de La Independencia, as known in Spain.

### **Thanatourism**

The concept of thanatourism was introduced by Tony Seaton in the mid-1990s. In his 1996 article he recognized the deep fascination some visitors to battlefields and cemeteries have with death and dying, often identifying with those who are buried and remembered at these sites. (Hartmann, R., 2014). From this initial interest in tourists' fascination with death and dying emerged a much wider, albeit more nebulous, concept – dark tourism. Lennon and Foley (2000), the initiators of this term, identified it as a distinct type of tourism but did not clearly define it. Dark-tourism studies spread to other universities in England, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. According to scholars A. V. Seaton, John Lennon, and Malcolm Foley, thanatourism (also known as dark tourism) increased in popularity in the twentieth century, and it continues to attract numerous devotees to this day. For Seaton, people's fascination with death and their desire to travel to places associated with death have always existed in all parts of the world.

This would then interpret thanatourism by a description of these sites themselves as with the 'darkest' to 'lightest' spectrum devised by Stone (2006). This is based upon product characteristics and a clear difference between sites of death and suffering (darkest) and those associated with death and suffering (lightest). (Miles, 2014)

### **Dark tourism**

As Siddique (2020) summarized, in tourism literature, the word dark tourism or thanatourism was first coined by Foley and Lennon in 1996, where the authors explained the phenomenon as presentation or consumption of dark sites or sites associated with death (Foley & Lennon, 1996). Later, Seaton (1996) furthered the concept by introducing the concept of symbolic interaction and fascination of visitors with death (Seaton, 1996). Though the historical evidence suggests the visitation of places related to death as an act of paying respect to dead from family and friend, Foley and Lennon (1996) while explaining the phenomenon in tourism context excluded family and friends, rather focusing on the conscious or unconscious factor of curiosity attached to certain places (Foley & Lennon, 1996). However, Rojek (1993) used the word "black spots" to explain the same phenomenon of visitation of places related to

death and misery (Rojek, 1993). However, some authors disagreed with the term “dark” and referred different concepts such as heritage tourism (Dann & Seaton, 2001).

Miles (2014) argues that Dark tourism is, according to Philip Stone, founder of the Dark Tourism Forum, “the act of travel and visitation to sites, attractions and exhibitions which have real or recreated death, suffering or the seemingly macabre as a main theme” (Stone, 2005). Within the literature battlefield tourism is commonly seen as a form of dark tourism (Dunkley, Morgan, & Westwood, 2010; Ryan, 2007) although this has been challenged by those who identify aspects of visitation which do not fit into a thanatouristic definition (Baldwin & Sharpley, 2009).

Seaton’s (2009) case studies in England highlighted the nature of thanatourism, explaining how tourists’ fascination with death and dying differs from the partially overlapping and parallel view of dark tourism. Newcomers to the subject have contributed substantial knowledge about thanatourism with studies from Bosnia (Johnston, 2011) and North Korea (Lee, Bendle, Yoon, & Kim, 2012). Most recently, Johnston (2011) introduced the term ‘thanagaze’ in reference to Urry’s (1990) tourist gaze and in differentiating Stone’s ‘mortal gaze’ (Hartmann, 2014).

### **Heritage attractions and heritage tourism**

Hartman (2014) explored the connection between heritage attractions and his definition frames battlefield tourism as part of cultural tourism. The traditional (and limited) understanding of cultural attractions in tourism was substantially widened using the much broader term ‘heritage’, which includes tangible and intangible elements of the past that are used for some purpose – here for tourist visits – in the present (Graham et al., 2000; Timothy, 2011; Timothy & Boyd, 2003). The academic attention on heritage led to the establishment of two scientific journals in the field: the *International Journal of Heritage Studies* (established 1995) and the *Journal of Heritage Tourism* (established 2006). These have also become outlets for studies that have introduced dissonant heritage, thanatourism, and dark tourism into the vocabulary and research approaches of heritage tourism (Hartmann, 2014).

Tourism landscapes and monuments associated with war, military conflict, and peace continue to attract large numbers of visitors. In her examination of the relationships between war and tourism, Smith (1998, p. 202) argued that ‘war-related tourism attractions are the largest single category known’. Most recently, Butler and Suntikul (2012) reiterated that war-related heritage has become a highly valued tourism commodity. There is a strong interest in

the landscapes left by both world wars in twentieth-century Europe. An example of how the war sites and memorial landscapes have gradually and consistently changed with the introduction of memorial events and the provision of tourism services are the World War I battlefield sites in Flanders, Belgium. Jansen-Verbeke and George (2012) distinguish several distinct stages that have occurred over the past century: from war landscapes to memoryscapes, from memoryscapes to heritage landscapes, and from heritage landscapes to tourism landscapes (Hartmann, 2014).

Battlefield Tourism is a sub-category of Heritage Tourism and conceptualized within Thanatourism. Battlefield Tourism considers a wide range of tangible and intangible warfare assets far beyond the simple battlefield, exploring touristic experiences like Battlefield Tours, Re-enactment Events, Living History Events and Tourist Pilgrimages.

### **Tourist–pilgrim**

The tourist's motivations seemed to vary though the tourist -pilgrim was more referred in places related to special war sites of great historical or national significance, being Gallipoli a good example. Pilgrimage is defined as travel to and visitation of battlefield memorials for remembrance, the focus being on the spiritual value of visiting a grave. The purpose of a battlefield tour, conversely, is to understand what happened and why. This too can be an act of remembrance, but through understanding what the people did and why they did it. Thus, the distinction between battlefield pilgrimage and tours is blurred in practice, although it is of course possible, on the one hand, for some pilgrims to have no interest in the history or, on the other, to visit a battlefield without any element of pilgrimage or homage to the dead (Baldwin, F., & Sharpley, R., 2009).

### **Battlefield tourism and experiences**

The constant search by the tourism industry for new attractions, allied with the interest in visiting battlefields has created a new, a somewhat minor tourism phenomenon centred around battlefield tourism. Nested within the larger grouping of touristic experiences described by the term Dark Tourism (Lennon & Foley, 2000), battlefield tourism has emerged as an important form of tourist activity that has expanded beyond the parameters of former battlefields and museums to include new experiences such as re-enactments, alternative

histories, and the addition of sites that have an association with military activity according to Prideaux (2014).

García-Madurga & Grilló-Mendez (2023) argue that the tourism industry's craving for new locations has prompted a re-evaluation of the battlefield concept, embracing both 'real' and 'play' aspects. The 'real' refers to the actual site of battle, while the 'play' includes reenactments of historical battles and alternative history scenarios, a perspective also explored by Prideaux (2007).

### **Historical re-enactment**

In its precise definition, 'historical re-enactment' suggests re-constructing specific historical events, perhaps battles or cameos of celebrated historical incidences or those which depict everyday life in the past. It entails a negotiated site that is temporarily given over to portraying historical scenarios by organizations that might best be designated as re-enactment societies (Hunt, 2004).

Re-enactment / Re-enactment is in its precise definition, 'historical re-enactment' suggesting re-constructing specific historical events, perhaps battles or cameos of celebrated historical incidences or those which depict everyday life in the past. It entails a negotiated site that is temporarily given over to portraying historical scenarios by organizations that might best be designated as re-enactment societies (Hunt, 2004).

### **Historical recreation**

A historical recreation can be treated as a cultural event based on in the representation of a historical event, which transports and engages the public of a unique era (Asensio, 2013). Historical recreations are driven mainly by local historians and residents involved in preserving the history of their territory (Agnew, 2007).

Since a reenactment is an acknowledged reproduction, authenticity in the sense of originality, as the postmodernists use the word, is actually an irrelevance. Authenticity, as the participants themselves use it, more often denotes an approximation of the original (Hart, 2007).

Historical Recreation emphasizes the recreation aspect of the event, highlighting the efforts made to accurately represent historical moments. It generates images of the past, often combined with the use of emerging digital technologies (CGI, computer-generated

imagery), to optimize audiovisual narratives that present images and contexts of the past and its heritage (Hernández-Cardona et al. 2022).

On the other hand, Historical Re-enactment is an educational or entertainment activity where mainly amateur hobbyists and history enthusiasts dress in historic uniforms or costumes and follow a plan to recreate aspects of a historical event or period. This can be as narrow as a specific moment from a battle, or as broad as an entire period.

In summary, while both involve the representation of historical events, historical recreation focuses more on the visual representation of the past, while re-enactment emphasizes the role-play and experiential aspect of reliving a historical event or period.

### **Living history**

‘Living history’ has been described as ‘an extraordinary experience in virtuality’, moving beyond merely recreational and simulational aspects of historical depiction (Snow, 1993). Where it involves the layperson as an interpreter, the activity has been further accounted for by way of ‘a combination of discourse, demonstration, and interaction within a historical or simulated environment’ (Roth, 1998; Hunt, 2004).

Authenticity is also understood by participants in terms of excitement, exhilaration, and ‘experience’ which, above all, are given expression on the battlefield (Hunt, 2004).

Living history suggests a form of “serious leisure” which is linked to life-style preferences (Hart, 2007).

Now it is more readily discussed in sociological literature with reference to a search for individuality, self-expression and stylistic self-consciousness, and includes leisure preferences and the re-making of self through a reconstruction of the body, fashion, and adornment (Anderson, 1982; Hunt, 2004; Hart, 2007).

‘Living history’ would seem to readily lend itself to these physical aspects of identity reconstruction alongside an expressive experience of a historical period and the development of a historical character (Gordon, 2016).

Hart (2007) argues that ‘Living History’ performances require an interpretive apparatus that takes genuine history as its authority, while remaining external to both participants and tourists, who may well be unaware of how closely their own involvement approximates genuine historical events.

## **Lines of investigation around and from battlefield tourism**

Has already pointed out, battlefield tourism gained importance within cultural tourism when in the 1990s early researchers explored the concepts of Dark Tourism and Thanatourism (Seaton 1996, Foley & Lenon 1996). Others started to analyse tourist trips to battlefields as pilgrimages (Walter 1984,1993,) adding reasons and motivations that lead tourists to these spaces of collective memory (Smith 1996, Dann 1995, Foley 1997, Loyd 1998). Nonetheless, a geographic prevalence is easily perceived.

In the last 20 years studies have mainly focused on theatres of war in Europe: England and medieval battles (Miles 2012, Piekarz 2007), France, Belgium and World War I and II (Ryan 2007 and 2008, Illes 2008, Seaton 2000, Dunkley et al. 2011, Miles 2014, Baldwin 2009) Turkey with Gallipoli (Lloyd 2014, Hall 2011). It has also extended to South Africa (David, 2014) and in North America the War of Secession has been the subject of diverse studies ranging from the impact of re-enactment to authenticity, from the management of Battlefield Tourism to visitor motivations. The latter has been the most studied theme, helping to characterize a type of tourist that is very diverse and with personal motivations and not so much grouped as found.

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).

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.

Alongside the recent cultural tourism trends of edutainment, active participation, learning, and the interest in the 'unique'; the desire of tourists to get involved in the creative process has been steadily gaining popularity. The final aim of this desire for involvement is not necessarily the creation of an artwork, but rather the process of experiencing (Jusztin, 2012).

It has also been pointed out how creative tourism can bring sustainable and profitable development to small communities in low density areas (Ohridska-Olson, 2010).

Richards (2011a) argues that in this field, the emphasis shift from tangible to intangible culture and the basic experience consists of an exchange of knowledge and skills between host and guest. This produces a more locally driven, equitable and arguably more 'authentic' form of cultural tourism. It is presumed that this concern on historical accuracy, authenticity and

identity is highly promoted by Military Re-enactment events that Battlefield Tourism dynamizes, establishing creative attractions for national and international tourists (Hall, 2016).

Du Cros & McKercher (2020) pointed out that tourists want authentic experience, but do not necessarily want to experience reality. This point is driven home in Salazar's (2005) observation about the glocalization of tourism, discussed earlier. Authenticity is a social construct that is determined in part by the individual's own knowledge and frame of reference. The authors argue that many tourists are interested in cultural heritage, but most have minimal knowledge about the past. As such, they may be travelling to have their stereotypical or romantic images of a destination reinforced or possibly challenged, depending on their political leaning.

Given this centrality of nostalgia as a motivation for tourism, it is hypothesized that satisfaction with a heritage event depends not on its authenticity in the literal sense of whether it is an accurate re-creation of some past condition, but rather on its perceived authenticity (consistency with nostalgia for some real or imagined past). Heritage is thus created and re-created from surviving memories, artifacts, and sites of the past to serve contemporary demand (Chhabra et al., 2003).

Authenticity, however, is also understood by participants in terms of excitement, exhilaration, and 'experience' which, above all, are given expression on the battlefield (Hunt, 2004).

### **Creative tourism, battlefield tourism and tourist experience**

The theme of creative tourism has been the subject of wide research over the past two decades (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; Mottiar, 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 War 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 Jepson and Sharpley (2015) explored in an engagement with the landscape, where deep and emotional experiences induce spiritual or emotional responses. Visitors to

battlefields and meaningful historical sites seem to relate to this emotional experience. It can even be more complex and closer to Smith's (2015) concept of sense of place (or terroir of a place) in the case of place based cultural tourism, including history, local traditions and cultures, religion, industry, the natural environment, cuisine, and arts, as well as attractions and events (Smith, 2015).

Farrel (2011) argues that battlefields are landscapes where the knowledge of how weather, terrain, soil, geology, vegetation, and waterways were at work during the battle also aids in the interpretation of the battlefield. Geographical information provides tactical opportunities and challenges for the commanders and all the components, and 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 is also a matter of research and 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 battlegrounds 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). One can even argue if the major attraction for tourists is the battlefield or the events around it, like re-enactment.

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 War 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.

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.

### **Classic motivations**

Battlefield Tourists seem motivated by multifaceted factors and offer valuable insights into human psychology, historical interest, and the desire for experiential learning. This includes visiting war memorials and war museums, 'war experiences', battle re-enactments and – the particular area of interest here – battlefield tours.

One of the foremost motivations is historical curiosity and tourists seek to immerse themselves in the historical narrative of the battle sites and the history of the individuals involved. Enthusiasts are attracted in deepening their understanding of past events.

Chen & Tsai (2019) examined the tourist motivations at battlefield sites on Kinmen and found that personal, spiritual, experience, physical, and emotional perspectives are five major sources of motivations, which can be incorporated into marketing strategies.

Çakar et al. (2020) studied the diverse travel motivations and experiences that Australian visitors to Gallipoli battlefield lived and identified push and pull factors, and psychological and sociocultural categories, demonstrating the potential for battlefield sites to offer memorable tourism and socio-cultural experiences.

As Clarke & Eastgate (2011) examined the Australian tourists in the Western Front, findings revealed that battlefield tours have strong religious overtones covering remembrance and sacrifice that features non-spiritual philosophies built on emotional and cultural capital.

One can argue that commemoration and remembrance are important motivations in battlefield tourism. It englobes the desire to pay tribute to the sacrifices made by soldiers in the past but also it was perceived to be a pilgrimage enabling the achievement of long-held personal goals, creating the tourist's own memories and heritage to complement their family history (Clarke & Eastgate, 2011). For such visitors, walking in the footsteps of their forebears is a deeply emotional and meaningful experience.

Visitors to the Great War town of Ieper, in Belgium, were studied by Winter (2010) and motivations for education, holiday and remembrance, were measured. It led to the conclusion that the theory of thanatourism provides a framework through which the motivations and experiences of battlefield tourists for remembrance and education as well as leisure can be better understood. It followed the literature mainstream where Foley and Lennon (1997) suggest that thanatourists are motivated by three main purposes – education, remembrance and entertainment, whilst Tarlow (2005) contends that thanatourists are attracted by a desire to pay their respects, out of curiosity or because it is 'the thing to do'.

Battlefield tourism is inherently educational (Pennell, 2018), attracting travellers who seek to expand their knowledge and perspective. Visitors view these sites as outdoor classrooms, where they can gain insights into military strategy, geopolitics, and the broader historical context in which these battles unfolded.

By examining the terrain, studying battlefield maps, and listening to guided tours, classical battlefield tourists engage in experiential learning.

## Active motivations

Active motivations refer to the factors that drive individuals to engage in specific activities or behaviours. These motivations can be intrinsic or extrinsic and play a significant role in shaping an individual's choices and actions. Lee et al. (2012) argues that intrinsic motivation is related to an engagement that we find rewarding, fun, exciting, fascinating, coming from within the individual. We can draw a connecting point as these can be identified in battlefield tourism experiences. Participating actively in immersive experiences seem to promote these positive and constructive sensations even when in a Thanatopic ambient like a battlefield as we can understand from Miles (2014) studies.

In the context of tourism, active motivations refer to the specific reasons or desires that drive someone to participate in tourism experiences. Active motivations can include a deep feeling of accomplishment, the desire for cultural experiences, the pursuit of physical challenges, adventure and exploration, education and learning, and the enjoyment of being fully engaged and absorbed in an activity. These motivations can contribute to a sense of flow, where time becomes conflated, and individuals experience a state of pure happiness. The rewards associated with these active motivations can also serve as motivators for future experiences and contribute to an individual's "Tourist Career" (Miles, 2012).

As Bec et al. (2019) demonstrate, integrating history with cutting-edge technology in immersive environments has the potential to not only preserve and manage heritage but to enrich the visitor experience and subsequent engagement with history. Considering the immersive experience as part of the active motivations one may point out to Wagler & Hanus (2018) study who found that 360-degree video tourism using VR headsets and physically going to a location had no significant differences, indicating that 360-degree video tourism can be a realistic alternative to real-world experiences.

Interpretation tools in battlefields are exploring with great success the reconstruction of historical landscapes, empowering the narrative of the battles and promoting a multi-sensorial reading and interpretation. A good study-case to see these interactions taking place is the Battle of Salamanca (or Arapiles) from the Peninsular War.

An active and collaborative involvement of tourists in creating and enhancing their own experiences, refer to co-creation experiences in visiting battlefields. This concept renders tourists an active participation, engaging with the site, its history, and its interpretation. For this purpose, tourists co-design and co-produce their unique and meaningful encounters with

the battlefield while stakeholders serve as intermediaries, involving heritage managers, educators, and local communities (Richards & Hall, 2003).

Interpretive storytelling is being advocated as a co-creation tool that facilitates more pleasurable experiences for tourists. According to Doyle et al. (2018), in these interactive encounters' co-creation takes place through the guide's actions of interpretation and performance and the tourist's integration of their own resources to produce physical, sensorial, cognitive and emotional reactions. Therefore, the guide acts as an enabler and the tourist as responder. This interaction with the guide is parallel with an interaction with a reenactor or someone performing Living History during a battle historical recreation. Living history seeks to reenact past lives by practicing everyday activities, using first-person interaction with visitors, living history is a self-conscious attempt to represent past lives as they were actually lived (Agnew, et al., 2019).

Specifically dedicated to battlefield tourism in the Portuguese case, the study of Noivo et al. (2022) gathered findings revealing that stakeholders value re-enactments and 'living history' as part of the creative experience, promoting interactive, diverse and more enriching contact with local cultures.

Re-enactment appears in the literature as an important promoter of participation and interaction. 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).

## **Experience**

Upton et al. (2017) suggest that tourists can have a deeply reflective experience at sites of past warfare, which includes cognitive dissonance to the war narrative.

Willard et al. (2022) found on their study to Culloden battlefield visitors' that 'battlefield' experiences came from the psychological and emotional environment created by the dark tourism site which generated feelings of enjoyment rather than entertainment. Thus, Willard et al. (2022) reflects the importance of edutainment rather than entertainment at the site.

The components of experience on which people base their evaluation, consists of hedonic aspects such as satisfaction, sensation, emotion, and imagery (Holbrook and Hirschman, 1982).

The sensory, emotional, cognitive, behavioural, and relational outcomes of tourism experiences, as well as their interactive "quality," contribute to the creation of meaning, consumption, and loyalty, suggesting a reciprocal dimension in which both the service provider and the customer contribute to the experiential outcome (Moscardo, 2009).

According to Antón, Camarero, and Garrido (2018), co-creation can be fostered and even guided in order to improve experiential results rather than occurring by accident or chance. Therefore, contrary to openly constructed spectacles (and/or performances), tourism experiences are emergent constructs, as supported by Pine and Gilmore's (1999) theory.

Personal engagement (or connection) by visitors is generally agreed to be at the heart of all experiential encounters (Pine and Gilmore, 1998). Getz (2012) concludes that when consumers become part of the interplay as a co-performer the experience becomes individualised.

Douglas, Ellis, and Lacanienta (2018, p.32) believe that engagement, defined 'as a motivational state of focused involvement in learning', can bring about numerous benefits including active participation, enthusiasm, enjoyment, increased attention as well as a lack of anxiety.

Bornarel et al.'s (2020) recent study on the Verdun battlefield tourist experience highlights the necessity for stakeholders to have a greater awareness and understanding of the visitor experience in order to achieve desired experiential results.

As Willard et al (2022) stated, when applying the EEM (Experience Economy Model), With educational experiences, visitors absorb the events unfolding before them, whilst actively engaging through mind and body. Typically, visitors increase their skills and knowledge either generally or specifically through an educative format.

Culloden study by Willard et al (2022) recognised that designing site interpretation should aim at maximising visitor engagement, thereby allowing people's imagination to creatively (and intelligently) follow the narrative. It stands for the need to create, plan and develop experiential programmes in terms of personalised interaction, sensory engagement, and provision of further educational opportunities.

Best practices for battlefield tourism include employing knowledgeable tour guides, using storytelling to engage visitors, and promoting interactive and immersive experiences such as re-enactments (Noivo et al. 2022; García-Madurga & Grilló-Méndez, 2023).

We may, then, resume some of the key concepts (Table 1) associated with battlefield tourism that include the following suggested pillars:

- **Authenticity:** Visitors seek an authentic experience that connects them with the history and culture of the place they are visiting (Ram et al. 2016). They want to see the actual battlefields, artifacts, and monuments associated with the conflict (Noivo et al., 2022).
- **Interpretation:** Battlefield tourism is not just about visiting historical sites, but also about interpreting the events that occurred there. Interpretation can take many forms, including guided tours, audio guides, multimedia presentations, and interactive exhibits (Glenn, L., 2021; Raj et al., 2013).
- **Commemoration:** Battlefield tourism is often linked to the act of commemoration, whether it is through visiting war cemeteries, laying wreaths, or participating in memorial ceremonies (Foulk, 2016; Miles, 2012).
- **Education:** Battlefield tourism is an educational experience that can teach visitors about the history of a particular region, the strategies and tactics used in wars, and the impact of wars on societies and cultures (García-Madurga, & Grilló-Méndez, 2023; Miles, S. 2014).
- **Ethical considerations:** There are ethical considerations associated with battlefield tourism, particularly around the treatment of war memorials, gravesites, and artifacts. Visitors are encouraged to be respectful and mindful of the cultural and historical significance of these sites (Leopold, T. 2007; Miles, 2014).

*Table 1 Key concepts for battlefield Tourism*

| <b>Key concepts</b> | <b>Scope</b>  |
|---------------------|---|
| Authenticity        | Visitors seek authentic experiences; Connection and interaction with place and history; Re-enactment  |
| Interpretation      | Interpretation through guided tours, audio guides, multimedia presentations, and interactive exhibits; maximising visitor engagement; use of interpretation tools; interpretative storytelling. |
| Commemoration       | Act of commemoration through visiting war cemeteries, laying wreaths, or participating in memorial ceremonies.  |
| Education           | Educational experience connects history with the place; emotional and interactive   |

|                        | engagement; Edutainment.   |
|------------------------|--|
| Ethical considerations | Respectability of the historical significance related war memorials, gravesites and artifacts. |

*Source: Own production*

In accordance with the previous pillars of battlefield tourism, here are important themes/concepts for the present and future in developing awareness about Napoleonic battlefield tourism (table 2):

Visiting these battlefields can give tourists a sense of the scale and intensity of these conflicts and can help them to understand the events that shaped the modern world.

- Historical significance of the battles: This theme would provide a foundation for understanding the reasons why people are interested in visiting these sites. It would discuss the importance of the Napoleonic Wars, the major battles that were fought during this period, and the impact that these battles had on the course of history (Miles, 2012; Hertzog, 2012; Ryan, 2007).
- Preservation of the battlefields: This theme would discuss the challenges of preserving these sites, as well as the importance of doing so. It would discuss the factors that threaten the preservation of Napoleonic battlefields, such as development, erosion, and vandalism. It would also discuss the efforts that have been made to preserve these sites, such as the creation of protected areas and the development of educational programs. Many of the battlefields are still in existence today, and it is important to preserve them for future generations. Tourists can play a role in this by following the guidelines set by the battlefield authorities, and by respecting the historical significance of these sites. For example, in the case of the Battle of Waterloo, tourists are asked to stay on the marked paths, not to remove any artifacts, and to be respectful of the surrounding area (Sellars, 2005; Galán, 2017; Banks & Pollard, 2011).
- Cultural heritage of the Napoleonic Wars: This theme would explore the ways in which these wars have shaped the cultures of the countries that were involved. It would discuss the different cultures that were involved in the Napoleonic Wars, the impact that these wars had on these cultures, and the ways in which the cultural heritage of these wars is still visible today (Rössler, M., 2014; Mitchel, et al. 2009).
- Educational value of Napoleonic battlefield tourism: Visiting Napoleonic battlefields can be a great way to learn about history. Tourists can learn about the tactics and strategies that were used in these battles, and they can also learn about the lives of the soldiers who fought in them. This theme would discuss how visiting these sites can

help people to learn about history. It would discuss the different ways in which people can learn about history at Napoleonic battlefields, such as through guided tours, museums, and historical reenactments. It would also discuss the benefits of learning about history at these sites, such as developing a better understanding of the past and gaining a sense of civic responsibility (Miles, 2019; Seaton, T. 2018, Zurita-Aldeguer & Rico, 2018).

- Future of Napoleonic battlefield tourism: This theme would discuss the challenges and opportunities that lie ahead for this type of tourism. It would discuss the factors that are likely to affect the future of Napoleonic battlefield tourism, such as the changing demographics of tourists, the development of new technologies, and the increasing popularity of other types of historical tourism (Zurita-Aldeguer & Rico, 2018; (Agnew, 2007; García-Madurga & Grilló-Méndez, 2023; Hernández-Mogollón et al., n.d.; Lemelin et al., n.d.; Noivo et al., 2022).

Table 2 resumes these themes to be addressed in the future of Napoleonic battlefield tourism as they represent concerns gathered in literature. Understanding that this list can be enlarged continuously, one may now refer to these emergent issues and explore the scope of the needed attention to ensure the successful development of battlefield tourism.

Table 2 Emergent themes to be researched for the future of battlefield tourism

| Themes/concepts for the future of battlefield tourism | Scope to be researched and valued   |
|---|---|
| Historical significance of the battles                | Understand the historical significance to improve touristic relevance and cultural awareness  |
| Preservation of the battlefields                      | Identify the challenges in preserving; identify the threats and define approach strategy; creation of preserved areas through legislation or local action; educational programs to engage tourists and community into preservation.                                       |
| Cultural heritage of the Napoleonic Wars              | Cross-border historical impact and awareness and study of the visible related heritage  |
| Educational value of Napoleonic battlefield tourism   | Deep learning on military strategy, soldiers lives, civilians lives, rediscovering local memory, enhancing re-enactment and Living History; benefits of learning history.   |
| Future of Napoleonic battlefield tourism              | Identify the challenges and opportunities in researching and developing Napoleonic battlefield tourism; identify impactful factors like demographics of tourists, use of new technologies, competition with other touristic destinies and historical tourism attractions. |

Source: Own production

### **2.3. A literature review on the Napoleonic battlefield tourism in Iberian Peninsula: gaps, lines of investigation and research reasons**

With this subchapter we intend to identify and analyse the scientific production and the published articles that focus on the battlefield tourism of the Napoleonic period in Portugal and Spain.

The articles were first searched in SCOPUS Journals Q1 to Q4 and then we looked for those published in other journals, justifying the choice by the relevance of the approach or research carried out. In the time window, we focused on the period of the last 15 years including 2023, thus obtaining a broad and updated perspective on the subject under study.

It is our aim to demonstrate with this analysis the existing themes and lines of research and those where knowledge or perspective can be improved and deepened. Equally important, it is to identify the open knowledge spaces, which are the reasons why this study aims to contribute, namely, published research about Napoleonic battlefield tourism in Iberian Peninsula, characterization of the participants in battlefield tourism and re-enactment events, good practices and strategic touristic plans applied in battlefields.

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, in SCOPUS Journals, few researchers have devoted themselves to the study of battlefield tourism concerning the Napoleonic period (see Seaton, 1999) and the Peninsular War (1807-1814) in particular.

Exploring the richness and diversity of the theme, it seems appropriate to contribute to research and promote its dissemination among reference journals.

Battlefield Tourism has been studied with greater incidence in the context of the medieval period and World War I and II, addressing Military Tourism in Europe in an Anglo-Saxon perspective but not in the Iberian Peninsula (c.f. Miles 2012, 2014; Ryan 2007; Dunkley et Al. 2011; Lloyd 2014; Seaton 2000; Piekarz 2007, Reeves et al., 2016; Ryan, 2007; Seaton, 2009). Thus, the dominant view and understanding of the battlefield tourist, their motivations, and interpretations, does not sufficiently explore those who visit the battlefields of the Iberian Peninsula that belong to the period of the Peninsular War, as they are called in Portugal, or War of Independence, as it is called in Spain.

This knowledge gap presents itself as an opportunity to explore even a Practical-knowledge Gap that, going beyond the needed research findings, seeks to clarify and understand the operationality in these battlefields of this era. Thus, we intend to further research on professional behaviours or practices that deviate from the research findings or

that are not covered by the research. In this sense, we saw the importance of studying the perspectives of tourism professionals on the visitor profile, the impact of the experience, the valorisation of military history and cultural territory, as well as the dynamics with stakeholders. This line of investigation gave origin to chapter 4 where we have also explored the intersection between battlefield tourism and creative tourism.

A review of SCOPUS Journal articles suggests the insufficient literature on this topic of cultural tourism referring to this era and countries, notwithstanding the remarkable historical, heritage and tourism relevance (c.f. Galán, 2017, Mogollón et al. 2019), as well as the academic interest in the topic and the relevance of its research as attested by Mogollón, Costa and Di-Clemente in their article in 2019. Although there are studies on Historical Re-enactment, Living History and commemorative events of battles in Spain (Mogollón, et al., 2017, Zurita-Aldeguer and Mira Rico, 2018, 2020, 2022; Domínguez, 2020), the analysis of immersive experiences and their application in tourist satisfaction of the Battlefields of the Iberian Peninsula is not sufficiently studied.

The main narrative does not explore the Napoleonic period with the same scope and geographical diversity as other eras and regions where Battlefield Tourism proliferates. It is therefore suggested that in the Iberian Peninsula the battlefields of the War of Independence (for Spain) and the Peninsular War (for Portugal), require more in-depth studies and greater knowledge of those involved in tourism demand and supply. Added to this is the existence of a material and immaterial heritage of great historical and touristic value, not yet sufficiently studied by the reference literature (Mogollón et al., 2019). Companies promoting this type of tourism face a common need with the more conventional ones suggesting a greater pressure for the creation of more immersive tourist activities and experiences.

In recent years, battlefield tourism has focussed more on issues of conflict and memory (see Çakar, 2020; Chen & Tsai, 2019; Chylińska, 2020; Eade & Katić, 2018; Ivanova & Light, 2018; Maitland, 2010; Proos & Hattingh, 2020).

It represents a good opportunity to explore and develop academic research and to bring tourism perspectives and dynamics into the discussion.

The interest related to the commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the Peninsular War (staged in 2010) gave rise to growing research on this topic, especially due to the historical and touristic importance of this heritage. Besides the rarity of published research in Q1 to Q4, journals of reference published relevant studies such as those by Galán (2017), Mogollón et al. (2017, 2019), Zurita-Aldeguer and Rico (2018, 2020, 2022), Perez-Ruiz (2020), Noivo et al. (2022), García-Madurga, M. Á., & Grilló-Méndez, A. J. (2023).

In the same sense, to our best knowledge, evidence suggest that there is not enough literature for these Iberian destinations exploring the link between creative tourism and battlefield tourism and identifying the factors that enhance the tourist experience. At the same time, battlefield tourism from the Peninsular war grows in importance as a touristic resource but is somewhat absent from the most relevant international research journals.

In the context of Napoleonic battlefield tourism, celebration activities play a crucial role in the protection and presentation of these historical sites. These celebrations serve to raise awareness about the importance of preserving these sites and their associated history. They also provide opportunities for local communities to showcase their cultural heritage and generate economic benefits through tourism. Furthermore, the evaluation and preservation of battlefields and other related sites have been significant in transforming them into tourism products and attractions (Çakar, 2020).

Galán (2016, 2017) explored the valorisation of battlefields through 'musealisation' and the importance of their registration and Zurita-Aldeguer & Mira-Rico (2018, 2020) also expresses their concerns on the lack of battlefield preservation and registration, pointing out the need of specific legislation in Spain. They also defend the role of the Ayuntamientos as cultural agents that should promote and create strategies to develop cultural tourism and local communities' participation. Being this an important pillar of the sustainable touristic management not found in a model commonly applied in Portugal and Spain, we see an opportunity to present a suggestion of good practices to be applied in the studied battlefields and ultimately, a strategic tourism plan specifically dedicated to Napoleonic battlefields. Our approach is based on the perspectives of those who create and operationalize the touristic offer, the tourism professionals. It also considers the surveyed characteristics of our battlefields, the interaction with visitors, efficient interpretation and valued experience. It led us to present a model that can be applied by these or other cultural agents in order to achieve a more efficient dynamization of battlefield tourism.

Touristic Development Plans are a common matter in literature but in fact, strategic tourism plans that manage battlefields and battlefield tourism from this specific historical period are, to our present knowledge, yet to be found. United States of America and United Kingdom developed different approaches to their Battlefields from a more participatory and private (and local) management in USA Civil War Battlefields, to a more statal participation in the medieval battlefields in Britain. (Pagán, Jiménez, 2020; Rico, & Aldeguer, 2019; Sibila et al. 2019).

With the growing interest in the military history of the Peninsula and in particular the Napoleonic period, the governments of Portugal and Spain have initiated cross-border projects

for tourism capacity building of these attractions (NAPOCTEP project integrated in the European Regional Development Fund - Interreg Spain-Portugal).

In the same sense, the potential of Military Tourism has been considered and valued by the Council of Europe, giving rise since 2015 to the creation of the Cultural Routes of The Council of Europe (C.R.C.E.). Currently, nine of the thirty-eight routes declared as Cultural Routes by the Council of Europe, follow the theme of Military Tourism (Moreno-Lobato, 2020). It adds the relevance of some destinations in England, Portugal, and Spain, making them very relevant tourism resources when structured in Military Tourism and especially in the search for the battlefields (Pinto et al.,2014).

Prideaux (2007) argues that Battlefield Tourism is "a growing subsector of the tourism industry" and Foulk (2016) demonstrates the impact that Battlefield Tourism has on the French economy and on local communities in particular, the investment of stakeholders and the increase in supply and demand of this niche market that becomes even more evident on anniversaries linked to the great wars.

It is thus opportune to bring more knowledge about the strategies and tactics that tourism intends to apply on the battlefields and at the same time move away from the theoretical conceptualizations already carried out. Creating the opportunity to deepen the study and analysis of the physical spaces, who visits them and who structures the tourism product. In this way, we intend to contribute to the knowledge and awareness of the Napoleonic battlefield tourism in Spain and Portugal.

Military Tourism is a theme that, framed within Cultural Tourism, aims to combine the rediscovery of heritage values of the memory of a people and an era, enhancing the identity and awareness of its history. 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. Since 2009, Battlefield Tourism in Portugal has gained visibility as a result of the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the Peninsular War and has resulted in the tourist activation of the battlefields, fortifications and defensive systems, etc. gathering the attention of academics, the public and tourism. The awareness of these heritage resources as integrated products in the tourism offer gained a greater dimension with the academic works dedicated to Military Tourism (Coelho, J., 2014, Costa, C., 2014) and the interest shared by Turismo de Portugal and the Ministry of National Defence of Portugal that led to the drafting of the National Charter of Military Tourism. Iberian Cooperation has resulted in shared Research Projects between the University of Extremadura and the University of Aveiro in 2018, attesting to the pertinence and academic interest of reference journals in military tourism themes (Mogollón, Costa, Di-Clemente, 2019) although the study analysed re-enactment and not

Battlefield Tourism. This academic interest accompanies the NAPOCTEC cross-border project and the establishment of the Ruta Napoleon.

In the field of Military Tourism, the Battlefields are the most impactful sites, and the annual commemorations are the basis for the phenomenon of Napoleonic era re-enactment which has only had expression in Portugal since 2008 with the recreation of the Battle of Roliça, Vimeiro, Bussaco or the recreation of the Battle and Siege of Almeida. Other battles followed and despite the lesser historical importance, received the interest of tourists, participants, visitors, reenactors and stakeholders alike. We can point out Mortágua, Porto, Amarante, Chaves, Foz de Arouce, where re-enactments were part of the annual celebration but only Almeida and Vimeiro gathered the conditions for re-enactments and battlefield viability to recreate and explore the event in all the touristic dimensions. The Lines of Torres Vedras represent a great opportunity in this sense despite the absence of these events in bigger scale.

In Spain, the annual celebrations of the most important battles like Arapiles (Salamanca), Albuera, Uclés, Ciudad Rodrigo, La Coruña, have had the greatest impact especially because these are the most renowned by the British and the community of reenactors. Other battle sites gained prominence due to the annual celebration promoted by the local and regional authorities. Valencia took the lead in this matter and along with pioneer intertwining of historical research and battlefield tourism awareness, Zurita- Aldeguer and Mira Rico (2018, 2020) and Moya (2020), pointed out the importance of the battlefields of Valencia community and the historical significance of the La Guerra de La Independencia and Landscapes of War.

From November 2019 until 2020, the research project Guerra e Historia pública (Generalitat Valenciana. AICO2017-011) lead by Rafael Zurita-Aldeguer in Valencia and coordinated from the Universidad de Alicante played an important role in gathering knowledge on the Valencia region being centred in the creation of a digital platform. Along with the Project Patrimonio Paisaje de Guerra (PAdGUE) (<https://www.guerra-historia-publica.es/>), it allowed new perspectives (Rico, J. A. M., & Aldeguer, R. Z., 2019; Mira Rico, J. A., y Zurita-Aldeguer, R., 2020; Moya, J. A., 2020; Alba Pagán, E., & Requena Jiménez, M., 2020; Bellido, R., 2020).

The PAdGUE project is a transfer of knowledge initiative about history that includes a communication model for social dissemination based on the use of different computer platforms and social networks (Alba et al, 2019-2020). The central axis is a semantic website where resources of Spanish War of Independence are collected, organized and given meaning. (Moya, 2020).

The result of this research allowed the gathering of media, videos, cultural itineraries and investigation dedicated to the following battles in Spain: Badajoz, Bailén, Cádiz-Chiclana (Barrosa), Castalla, Girona, La Albuera, Los Arapiles (Salamanca), Sagunto, Somosierra, Tarragona, Uclés, València, Vitoria and Zaragoza.

The debate spread to other cities and universities (Barcelona, Granada, Zaragoza, etc), originating a special edition (ZURITA, Rafael & ABBOU, Adam, 2020) with the title *Historia pública de la Guerra de 1808-1814*, and published articles in several journals like, *Heritage & Museography* (2021), *Hispania Nova* (nº 1, 2020), *Quiroga* (2018) and *Postguerres/Aftermaths of War* (2020).

Despite not included in SCOPUS, Spanish journals were publishing research papers, sharing important advances in the awareness, management, touristic interest and public memory related to the Guerra de la Independencia.

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, 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.

A systematic SCOPUS literature review on Battlefield Tourism was provided by García-Madurga, Grilló-Méndez (2023) and 31 papers were identified, from these, only Noivo et al. (2022) was dedicated to the Peninsular War in Iberian Peninsula, showing that research can be largely extended.

Along with the literature review, Madurga & Grilló-Méndez argue that battlefield tourism generates significant economic benefits through tourist spending and job creation, but also poses challenges in preserving cultural heritage and managing visitor expectations. The authors also point out that best practices for battlefield tourism include employing knowledgeable tour guides, using storytelling to engage visitors, and promoting interactive and immersive experiences such as re-enactments. By implementing these best practices, industry professionals can better manage battlefield tourism and promote a more nuanced understanding of this form of travel. (Madurga, Grilló-Méndez, 2023)

Also important for our study is the conclusion of Madurga and Grilló-Méndez who state that meeting visitor expectations can be achieved by providing accurate information and interpretation, creating emotional connections to the site, and offering tailored experiences to different visitor groups. This opened the opportunity for us to research on findings over these insights as in Portugal and Spain they are not to be found in literature. The evidence reviewed here seems to suggest pertinent research in continuing to explore innovative ways to improve visitor experiences and promote sustainable management practices in this growing tourism sector.

Taken together, these studies support the notion that the theme of the war of independence was gaining visibility locally despite being absent from the mainstream Anglo-Saxon literature of battlefield tourism.

Important contributions have been brought to reinforce the concept and meaning of historical recreation in the light of the war of Independence. At the same time, emphasis was placed on battlefield museology, management plans, heritage and preservation concerns, importance of stakeholders, participants, historical recreationists and local cultural dynamization. Likewise, projects of rediscovering memory and enhancing the didactics of battlefield tourism where locally applied (Valencia is an example) but not spread as good practices to be generally undertaken in a cohesive approach to developing battlefield tourism. Nor the opportunity to use the same models in all Iberian Peninsula.

Domínguez (2020) presents the idea of the importance of historical recreation and its educational value, exploring the events linked to the sieges of Zaragoza. Domínguez clarifies what defines quality historical recreation according to the definition of Guillermo Cózar (2013), considering three indispensable points: research -following the historical method-, reliable reconstruction and historical dissemination (Cózar, 2013). It should be added that not only rigour in material culture but also in historiographical discourse is key, the author states. The aim is not only to dress in the costume of an era, but to reconstruct its material culture as faithfully as possible, to know the historical context (political, socio-economic, cultural), the events and the characters. All of this is done in order to popularise history (Domínguez, 2020).

The musealisation of these battlefields has also become a topic addressed in view of the need to identify, preserve, create a museological structure and disseminate this unique heritage.

In the Spanish context, until now, Arapiles (1813) and Somosierra (1808) are the only battlefields protected as cultural assets, with the category of historical site, included in the Register of Protected Immovable Cultural Assets of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport (Zurita and Mira, 2018).

In Portugal, only 4 battlefields from the Peninsular War are classified as Site of Public Interest, including a delimited protection zone and the acknowledgment of the historical importance of the site. The legal base is the Decreto-Lei n. º 309/2009, de 23 de outubro, and this classification includes the Battlefield of Buçaco, the Battlefield of Vimeiro and the Battlefield of Roliça.

The set of fortifications of the Lines of Torres Vedras was declared a National Heritage Site by the Directorate-General for Cultural Heritage (DGPC) on March 1, 2018, representing the highest protection classification.

None of the other battlefields in Portugal that are relevant and referred in our study are classified or legally protected.

From the Classified, only the battlefield of Vimeiro, and Almeida have an Interpretation Centre and a strategy of musealization that includes interpretation routes and the identification of the main historical spots with interest for the narrative.

Bussaco Battlefield has a Military Museum that displays well preserved weapons, uniforms and equipment's used in the battle. It is the local reference as a military museum though it needs an update in musealization design following the close by Interpretation Centre of Mortágua ("Centro de Interpretação: Mortágua na batalha do Bussaco") also dedicated to the Battle of Bussaco. A plan of touristic development coordinated by the regional touristic entity is meant to be applied to this battlefield and for the moment only cultural routes are defined.

The battlefield of Roliça has informative panels on the observation post of the French position and a modern device in Coronel Lake's tomb that allows a narrative to be listened that contextualizes the monument.

The recovery and valorisation of the heritage resulting from the construction of the Lines of Torres Vedras, which in 2010 culminated in the creation of the Historical Route of the Lines of Torres Vedras (RHLT), is currently the biggest national reference in the field of Portugal's Military Tourism.

It includes a route with 6 visit routes, pedestrian sections, a series of "museum" forts, supported by a network of interpretation centres and visit routes. Actions to safeguard, restore and enhance this heritage have been recognised with awards from Turismo de Portugal (2012), Europa Nostra (2014) and the establishment of National Lines of Torres Vedras Day (2014). The 6 interpretation centres (CILT – Centro de Interpretação das Linhas de Torres) are Sobral de Monte Agraço, Bucelas, Torres Vedras, Mafra, Arruda dos Vinhos, and Forte da Casa.

Considering the importance of this historical heritage and its tourist relevance, we can suggest the need to classify these sites, thus guaranteeing their preservation, study and structuring as a tourist resource. In this sense, our contribution can focus on strategic planning, concerted and shared between the various local, regional or national entities, which consider the implementation of a sustainable tourism product where the development of battlefield tourism is the driving force behind all the synergies.

Ramirez Galán and Sanz explored in 2013 a primary approach to musealisation and the spaces and functions of infrastructures. Galán's study evolved and in Alarcos battlefield (Galán, 2016) and in his thesis (Galán, 2017b) he suggests musealisation models applied not only to medieval battlefields but also to modern ones, the methodology being based on archaeology. The approach was considerably improved in the study on the battlefield of Uclés where Galán (2017a) identifies a model of heritage management, elaborates on the museographic discourse and highlights the use of technology in interpretation and the addition to the experience through devices equipped with Augmented Reality, Virtual Reality, QR codes, and interactive panels. The musealisation of these war landscapes is based on three key elements (Galán, 2017a,b):

- Delimitation of the area to be musealised.
- Establishment of cultural routes.
- Placement of observation points.

Riquelme-Quiñonero, Ramírez Galán, & Martín-Serrano Rodríguez (2021) advances presented the Battle of Bailén as a case study of the viability of cartography as a basic tool for musealisation and its conjunction with other aspects of the project, such as the geolocation of existing resources. This museographic proposal is completed with the application of various state-of-the-art museological tools, giving it an innovative character in comparison with similar cases.

The study has resulted in the location of the old battlefield and the heritage and reference elements that can still be identified. In accordance with the objectives of the PAdGUE project, they have focused on the dissemination of three contents through cartography: the presentation of the disposition of the troops at the initial moment of the battle, both in two and three dimensions; the elaboration of a catalogue of the elements of historical memory referring to the battle in its spatial disposition; and the situation and conditions of the battlefield at the present time (Riquelme-Quiñonero et al. 2021).

The development of these technological tools is proving to be essential for the survey of physical resources now and at the time of the battle. It allows for the identification and

subsequent documentation and preservation of spaces and enables the creation of tourist routes and forms of interpretation supported by technology, as Galán, Rico and Zurita and Quiñones have well demonstrated. However, the principles for building a successful tourist experience on the battlefields remain to be explored. Technology is an illustrative and complementary tool, but the human factor is a pillar of historical interpretation for which we must structure interactive and sensory approaches and not only those developed by beacons, QR codes and smartphone applications. In the same sense, we must structure visitation through a sustainable strategy that considers equipment and human and tourist operability. These criteria are not present in the literature in depth, and it is our purpose to contribute to this practice.

Rico & Zurita Aldeguer (2020) deepen the problem of Heritage Management with the study on the battlefields of Castalla and Mutxamel, defending a public, simple and centralised management model where the role of the Ayuntamientos are essential cultural agents to reverse the state of absence of heritage protection and active in creating strategies of cultural, economic and social dynamization. Thus, benefiting the 16 battlefields of the Valencia region, where only Valencia, Sagunto, Carcaixent, Utiel and Castalla, develop historical recreations despite the great historical, heritage and tourist potential.

Overall, there seems to be some evidence to indicate that, in Portugal and Spain, a more operational approach within the scope of strategic tourism planning is needed, which makes room for our proposal of good practices in the construction of a strategic plan specifically dedicated to these battlefields and their tourist operation.

To better identify and gain awareness of the researched subjects of the most relevant articles concerning battlefield tourism in Portugal and Spain, we have resumed them in the next table.

*Table 3 List of relevant research papers from Iberian authors*

| <b>IBERIAN AUTHORS</b>                       | <b>RESEARCHED SUBJECT</b>   |
|--|---|
| GALÁN, M., SANZ, P. (2013)                   | Musealization of battlefields   |
| COELHO, J., FIGUEIRA, L., & COSTA, C. (2014) | Military tourism and touristic activation                                 |
| GALÁN ( 2016)                                | Musealisation of Alarcos Battlefield                                      |
| GALÁN (2016b)                                | Spanish Legislation and legal protection of the battlefields              |
| MOGOLLÓN ET AL. (2017)                       | Re-enactment in the Battle of La Albuera                                  |
| GALÁN (2017a)                                | Musealisation of Uclés battlefield  |
| GALÁN (2017b)                                | Thesis on the musealization and registration of the battlefields in Spain |
| ZURITA-ALDEGUER AND MIRA RICO (2018)         | Battlefields management perspectives and importance of digital history    |
| MOGOLLÓN ET AL. (2019)                       | Military tourism research themes and                                      |

|  |  |
|--|--|
| RICO, J. A. M., & ALDEGUER, R. Z., (2019)                            | investigation (literature identification)<br>Los campos de batalla de la Guerra de la Independencia en la Comunidad Valenciana (España). Propuesta de gestión para los escenarios bélicos de Castalla y Mutxamel.          |
| DOMÍNGUEZ (2020)   | historical recreation and its educational value: siege of Zaragoza   |
| MORENO-LOBATO, COSTA & MOGOLLÓN (2020)                               | Cultural Routes and Military tourism products  |
| RICO, M., Y ZURITA-ALDEGUER, R., (2020)                              | Cultural heritage management and the situation of the Spanish battlefields (Project Paysages de Guerra applied to the Battlefield of Castalla)   |
| ZURITA-ALDEGUER, R. (2020)   | Analysis of the museums in Spain regarding the <i>Guerra de la Independencia</i>   |
| MOYA (2020)  | Battlefields of Valencia   |
| PEREZ-RUIZ (2020)  | Napoleonic heritages in Douro Valley into a cultural route   |
| RIQUELME-QUIÑONERO, RAMÍREZ GALÁN, & MARTÍN-SERRANO RODRÍGUEZ (2021) | Musealisation of the Battle of Bailén through cartography and digitalization   |
| ZURITA-ALDEGUER, R. (2022).  | Analysis of the web semantics in two projects regarding Public History: the first project, War and Public History, focuses on the Valencian Community, while the second, Landscapes of War, focuses more broadly on Spain. |
| NOIVO ET AL. (2022)  | Intersection between Creative Tourism and battlefield tourism and analysis on stakeholders' perception on battlefield tourism  |
| GARCÍA-MADURGA, M. Á., & GRILLÓ-MÉNDEZ, A. J. (2023).                | Literature review on Battlefield tourism   |

Source: Own production

# CHAPTER II

---

## METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES



### 3. Chapter III – Methodological approaches

After presenting the historical background and an overview on the research topic, this chapter has the purpose to summarize the research design and methodology that was applied in this research study. Each of the chapters have the methodological approach in a more extensive explanation.

The research topic of the Napoleonic battlefield tourism in Iberian Peninsula was studied with the main objective of contributing to fill an important gap in the awareness and knowledge of the potential of these tourist attractions in Portugal and Spain.

To gather that knowledge, the first stage was to present the Historical background (1.1) through a thorough study of the main historians of the Peninsular War, completed by the state of the Art of battlefield tourism in Portugal and Spain (1.2) based on reference entities (international, national, regional and local). It allowed to determine the historical framework significance of this heritage, the historical context and the identification of the battles and its individual importance, along with the scale and relevance of this shared cultural patrimony also decisive in Europe's history. The state-of-the-art provides an updated portrait of what is being done in Portugal and Spain about Napoleonic battlefield tourism. It reveals a practical framework on the dynamics and identifies the actions that are being applied. Ultimately, compared with the results obtained in the surveys and field-research, it demonstrates what is theory and what is seen in the field by tourists and operationals.

The second stage was to advance into a literature review conducted by the objective of identifying the main authors and concepts around battlefield tourism, firstly in a global approach, lastly under the scope of Portugal and Spain or with reference to the Peninsular War or the War of Independence. It was important for the construct, to establish the framework of the literature and to deepen the approach by the Cultural Tourism instead of the more common basis in literature that explores other geographies, history periods and sociological interpretations.

A general literature analyses of the content was the first step to gain awareness of the research study and conclusions were presented on 2.1.3. and 2.1.4. It led to a more complete study on the lines of investigation that are more common, prominent, or absent from the battlefield tourism, consisting of 2.2 sub-chapter. Finally, we have dedicated ourselves to the core of our research on 2.3, once the research explored academic papers not just published in SCOPUS journals. This "Peninsular" research was crucial to provide us with the lines of investigation and to identify the gaps that served our main research goal, how to successfully develop battlefield tourism in the Peninsular War battlefields. Now, a more complete

construct allowed us to determine a theory around the pillars that base the success of battlefield tourism development.

The three elements to be studied and analysed were identified as the stakeholders/tourism agents (i), the visitor/participants (ii) in battlefield tourism events and finally the battlefields (iii) themselves from a visitors' experience perspective.

Relevant literature argue that stakeholders and tourism agents (i) are crucial for the touristic activation (Coelho et al. 2004; Komppula, 2014; Duxbury et al., 2019; Santagata & Bertacchini, 2011; Remoaldo, & Cadima-Ribeiro, 2019) enlightening their role in the creation of touristic offer and promoters of the connection between tourists, tourism and the community.

Literature also argues for the importance of the visitor/participants (ii) (Willard et al., 2021; Dunkley et al., 2011; Iles, 2008; Çakar, 2020; Chen & Tsai, 2019; Miles, 2014) in battlefield tourism, their motivations, expectations and perceptions are varied in accordance with different battlefield scenarios and depths of involvement. It is suggested that visitors to the battlefields share the same motivations as the participants in historical re-enactments. Nevertheless, that perspective on the Peninsula is incipient and the historical period seem to attract more "edutainment" tourists than classical dark tourists. This proved interesting to be researched and its deeper understanding led to the election of this pillar as a fundamental in the search for the success of battlefield tourism.

Finally, the third pillar are the Battlefields (i) already profusely researched (Foard et al. 2003; Farrell, 2011; Miles, 2014; Chylińska, 2020; Irimás; Alabau-Montoya, & Ruiz-Molina, 2020; Irimiás, 2014; Galán, 2016, 2017; Banks, & Pollard, 2011; Zurita-Aldeguer & Rico, 2018; Sibilia et al., 2019; Sellars, 2005; Ramírez Galán & Jiménez Sanz, 2012; Mira Rico & Zurita-Aldeguer, 2020; Leopold, 2007; ). Even so, the battlefields in Portugal and Spain are not surveyed in depth, characterised and understood in a way that potential and significance are identified. Their awareness as a cultural asset or touristic resource is still to be studied, and their touristic activation and touristic development strategies prove to be paramount in the success and preservation of the battle sites.

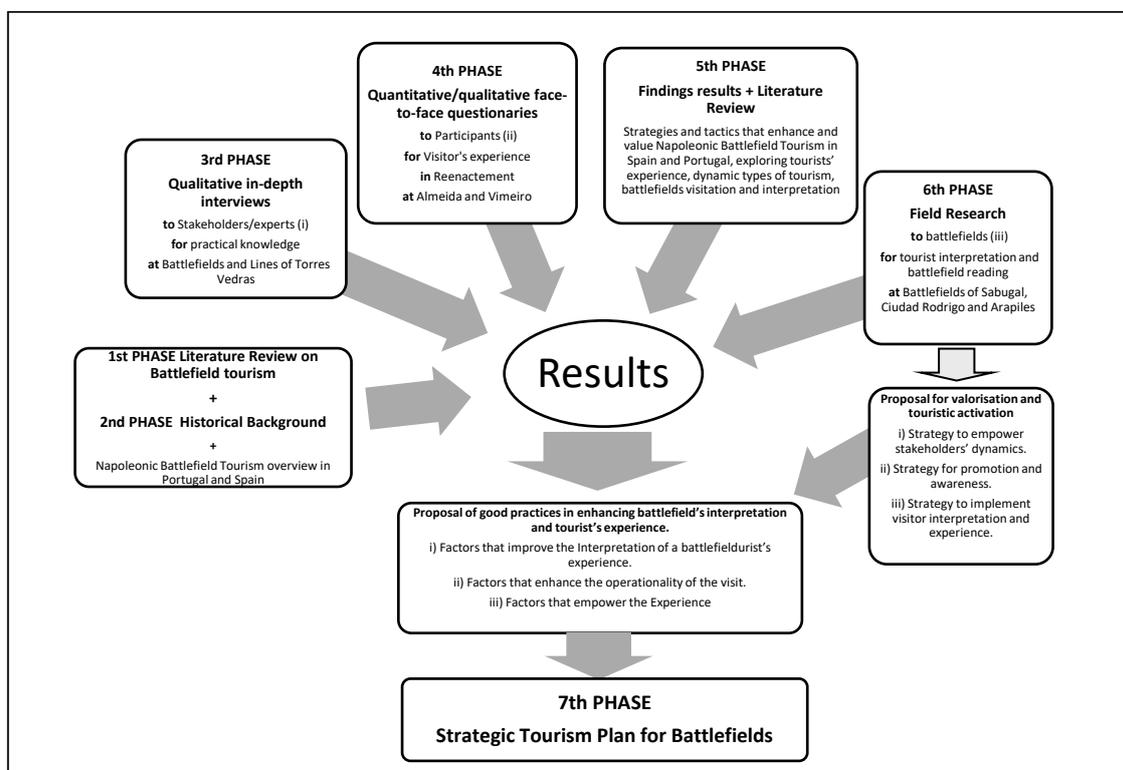
These three pillars combined suggest being the areas to be explored, understood, and structured in a cohesive and integral way. And as our thesis intends to show, seem to be essential to promote the success of developing battlefield tourism. It leads to our proposed outcome, to present at the end of this thesis a model of Strategic Tourism Plan specific to the battlefields of the Napoleonic era.

To achieve our objective, our research encompassed the comprehensive study of historical battlefields, emphasizing the interpretation of tangible and intangible heritage. We conducted an analytical assessment of their capabilities and constraints, identified key success

factors and barriers, explored visitor motivations, and examined innovative forms of tourism that could stimulate Battlefield Tourism.

Therefore, the methodology employed in the research of the three pillars, uses a mixture of quantitative and qualitative approaches in order to build up a detailed picture of experiences and attitudes and this mix is well acknowledged in the literature as an effective mode of practice (Ritchie et al., 2005). Field research was crucial to understand the elements that should be present on a battlefield in order to enhance the interpretation and the experience of the visitor.

Figure 10 Model of the Research methodology design



Gathered all the findings and analysed the contribution of each studied pillar, factors that support and obstacles that inhibit battlefield tourism were identified and analysed. Researched literature and the mentioned results identified and supported the forms of tourism that lead to success of this touristic attractions. Therefore, creative tourism, reenactment and living history, appear as strong promoters.

A set of good practices were then collected and, in a pragmatic way, presented with the objective of indicating strategies, tactics and actions that support a successful battlefield tourism. The next and last stage of this research process is a proposal of a strategic tourism plan that reflects all the gathered knowledge in the revised literature, findings and results in each pillar and chapter.

### 3.1. 1<sup>st</sup> study-case: Qualitative in-depth interviews to stakeholders and experts in battlefield tourism

A first study-case was designed to provide insights into the intersection between battlefield tourism and creative tourism within the scope of the Napoleonic Battlefields of Portugal and mainly in the Lines of Torres Vedras, identifying the elements and understand their role in contributing to the development of Battlefield Tourism. For this purpose, in-depth interviews were carried out aimed at stakeholders, tourism agents, tour guides and tour operators, 15 participants in total, allowing the analysis and understanding of the perspectives of those who deal directly with the battlefield tourism customer.

The research objectives were:

- i) 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.
- ii) To identify factors that contribute to enhancing heritage through battlefield tourism and how heritage-themed tourism events like re-enactments and historical recreations play a significant role in the touristic activation of a community.
- iii) To clarify the role of stakeholders, creative tourism experiences and tourist perceptions as part of battlefield tourism development.

This research adopts an interpretivist approach to identify the factors that contribute to enhancing the touristic experience focusing on the perspectives of stakeholders, the community, and tourism professionals. We adopted a qualitative approach because this is the methodology that allows us to explore the topics under discussion in depth.

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. Regarding 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. Instruments and data collection are deepened in the specific sub-chapter (4.3 Methodology) of the study-case.

### 3.2. 2<sup>nd</sup> study-case: Quantitative/qualitative face-to-face questionnaire survey

A second study-case used a quantitative methodology, applying a face-to-face questionnaire survey to the participants of the historical recreations of the Battle of Vimeiro and the Siege of Almeida. These two major re-enactment events that occur in Portugal attract a diversity of participants from national and international origin. We intended to analyse their perceptions from the perspective of the visitor's experience and to identify the inhibiting and enhancing factors in visiting and participating in these cultural events. The main objectives were set characterize the participants, understand their motivations, perceptions of authenticity and lived experience.

This study-case is properly addressed in Methodology (5.2), where Instruments and data collection, and Participants, have the methodological approach explained.

It seemed adequate to realize 60 questionnaires in each event, totalising 120 validated quizzes, collected for two days in each location. From 20 to 21 August of 2022, the survey was applied in the Historical Re-enactment of Vimeiro and on the 27 and 28 august of 2022, the same survey was presented in the Historical Reenactment of the Siege of Almeida.

The questionnaire (Appendix III in Appendices) was composed of 32 questions that participants were required to answer. With the purpose of collecting both quantitative data (numeric data that was statistically analysed) and qualitative data (textual responses providing insights and context), several format questions were selected. Commonly used to obtain the same in-puts in similar scenarios, multiple-choice questions, Likert scale (rating scale), ranking, and both closed-ended (with predefined response options) and open-ended (allowing participants to provide their own responses in their own words) questions provided a wide variety of information.

### 3.3. 3<sup>rd</sup> study-case: Field research in the Battlefields of Sabugal (Portugal) and Ciudad Rodrigo and Arapiles (Spain)

Field research was carried out on the battlefields of the Battle of Sabugal (Gravato), Ciudad Rodrigo and Los Arapiles (Salamanca), and analysed through the visitors' experience perspective, pretending to identify elements that facilitate or difficult the experience of visiting the respective battlefields. The aim was also to detect heritage site management and visitor interpretation tools.

Specifications about the methodology are shown in the 7th chapter under the title Chapter Research Design and deepens the instruments and data collection methodology.

The field research consisted of a questionnaire with 16 items (Appendix IV in the Appendices) to be observed in the battlefields and the conclusions allowed us to identify the structures and elements needed to improve the tourist visitation and what solutions enhance a more dynamic and interactive experience.

1st objective: Identifying the elements that enhance and inhibit the experience of visiting a Napoleonic battlefield.

- Identify the existence or the absence of stakeholders and entities active in the touristic development and its planning.
- Identify the existence or the absence of an integrated plan of tourism development or war sites management (cultural routes, itineraries, guides, marketing).
- Identify the existence or the absence of natural and cultural resources to be structured as essential elements for the interpretation and visitation of the battlefield. (Preservation status, unchanged landscape, local and historical geographical references accessibilities)
- Identify the existence or the absence of structural elements for the visitation and the interpretation of the battlefield (museums, informative panels, identification of historical key-spots, interactivity, signage and route signs)
- Identify the factors that facilitate or difficult the experience of visitation of the battlefield (historical significance, accessibility, interpretation, authenticity, events and activities, natural and scenic beauty)

2nd objective: Present a proposal of good practices in enhancing battlefields interpretation and tourists' experience.

The fieldwork carried out between 1 and 4 January 2023 focused on the battlefields of Sabugal, Ciudad Rodrigo and Arapiles (Salamanca). Visits of one full day were made to each of the fields, exploring the most relevant places in the context of the events of each battle, documenting the state of conservation and existing interpretation tools through photographs and identifying elements and evidence of the following:

- Destination Development actions – Thematic Routes, Urban Art/Artworks, etc.
- Heritage site Management Tools
- Site conservation (information on history, Heritage Recovery/conservation projects)
- Tourism Marketing (brochures, books, maps, etc.)
- Visitor interpretation Tools (static interpretation panels, interactive interpretation panels, QRcodes, on-site learning experience, Virtual Reality, Augmented Reality, other portable technologies – phone, audio-guides, etc.)
- Co-creation (interaction with the heritage site through personal involvement, Virtual participation, possibility of visitors stating their views and express sorrow)
- Community remembrance and celebration
- Stakeholders/institutions or associations with relevance for War Heritage Management and touristic development.

In order to obtain this data, a survey quiz form (table 6 in the Appendix) was created and applied to each of the battlefields, consisting of identifying evidence of the presence, functionality and application of the elements on the ground, which is visible and identifiable to any visitor, and which may correspond to good practice in the visitation and interpretation of these historic sites.

Data was then revised and confronted with the websites of the local entities to validate information.

## CHAPTER IV

---

### BATTLEFIELD TOURISM AND CREATIVE TOURISM: A PORTUGAL STUDY CASE



#### 4. Chapter IV – Battlefield Tourism and Creative Tourism: a Portugal study case

##### 4.1. Introduction of the chapter research

This exploratory research provides insights into the intersection between battlefield tourism and creative tourism in Portugal. Battlefield tourism focused on the Peninsular War (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.

This research focuses on the historical period of the Peninsular War 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, Roliça, Almeida and Linhas de Torres. Battlefield tourism regarding the Peninsular War 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 have published on this theme, in the field of tourism, the literature is still incipient despite the undeniable value of the Peninsular War.

The Peninsular War 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 War seem under-researched, even though it is in the Iberian Peninsula that we find the greatest concentration of battlefields of this era (see Figure 4) and where Lord Wellington built his fame and Napoleon Bonaparte began his decline.

Battlefield tourism experiences emerge as complex, deeply meaningful and in some cases lifechanging (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).

## 4.2. Objectives of the research

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.

In resume, according to the general goal of our study, the following objectives of this chapter research are presented as the objective 2:

Objective 2 - Explore the intersection between Battlefield Tourism and Creative Tourism: identifying the elements and understand their role in contributing to the development of Battlefield Tourism of the Peninsular War

- IV.I 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.
- IV.II To identify factors that contribute to enhancing heritage through battlefield tourism and how heritage-themed tourism events like re-enactments and historical recreations play a significant role in the touristic activation of a community.
- IV.III To clarify the role of stakeholders, creative tourism experiences and tourist perceptions as part of battlefield tourism development.

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.

### 4.3. Methodology

This research employs an interpretivist approach to identify factors enhancing the touristic experience at the juncture of battlefield and creative tourism. Stakeholders, community, and tourists are considered. The chosen qualitative method enables in-depth exploration. 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. It provided new and valuable insights that explore the points of convergence with creative tourism within the scope of the Napoleonic Battlefields of Portugal and mainly in the Lines of Torres Vedras.

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.

#### **Instruments and data collection**

The study occurred from Jan 2020 to Mar 2021, using in-depth interviews with key stakeholders (associations, tourism promoters, guides, etc.). It emphasized the supply side, not demand. We drew from Miles (2012) for validity and reliability. Interviews covered battlefield management, community, and enthusiasts' perspectives. 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).

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.

In order to validate the questionnaire, test the questions and scope of the answers a 2-step approach was used: 1st step was face validity, consisting on presenting the questionnaire to be evaluated by an expert, namely, our co-author Álvaro Lopes Dias, to assure validity of the questions and pretended scope for analysis; 2nd step was a pilot test to the survey by presenting this last already refined survey to be tested on two interviewees, resulting on the refinement of the survey and its questions. Validity was in this manner achieved and it resulted in the present questionnaire (interview script) that establishes a direct relationship between the objectives and the questions posed.

The interview script (Appendix II) 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. The record of this data was audio-recorded and video-recorded, allowing to complete the 1st hand-written approach. With the technological capabilities of today, we would merge all that data to word text, a limitation to be considered.

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**

We engaged in in-depth individual interviews with key stakeholders, like cultural associations, tourism promoters, and guides. The participants also included tour operators and community re-enactors. The study featured five tourism firms. We followed qualitative guidelines from Saunders et al. (2017), without a set number of interviews. Our interviewees were involved in battlefield tourism for the Napoleonic era, operationalized in the Portuguese market. They were chosen for hands-on experience and active involvement in developing and offering related tourism products.

#### 4.4. Results and discussion

##### 4.4.1. 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 War 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 War 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 War 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., Piekarz, 2017; Baldwin & Sharpley, 2009; Dunkley et al., 2011). Miles (2014) identified the same motivational approach in medieval sites in which 'tourists, however, adopt a variety of attitudes towards the sites and their experiences are not consistently those of the dark experience seekers as outlined in the literature' (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. (Sílvia, 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 War 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 War 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. (Sílvia, 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 Esdaile, 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).

#### 4.4.2. 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 War 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 touristic offer of battlefield tourism suggest an insufficient promotion and visibility of these places or even little integration of museum spaces in the tourism offer. However, 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).

#### 4.4.3. 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. (Sílvia, 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 War, 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 pear 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 War (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). And Richards and Wilson (2006) continue arguing that 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), (Richards and Wilson, 2006).

#### **4.4.4. 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.

#### 4.4.5. 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) argues that the importance of the approach to archaeological heritage by creative tourism is significant when tourism providers apply and develop creative skills that through storytelling tend to recover and interpret intangible heritage, adding value to cultural and archaeological heritage. Furthermore, these experiences are a central feature of 'participatory experience tourism', as termed by De Bruin and Jelincic (2016) due to its implications in the tourist's learning experience. The link between creative experiences and the destinations offering holds resonance with previous definitions of 'educational tourism', as experiences 'in which participants travel to a location as a group with the primary purpose of engaging in a learning experience directly related to that location' (Bodger, 1998, p. 28, quoted in Ankomah & Larson, 2000). Furthermore, the specified need to produce and consume the creative tourist experience in a characteristic location necessarily implies that creative tourism is best developed from endogenous and not exogenous creative capital, a key ingredient for 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 War 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.

#### 4.5. 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.

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 with family history, regiment's history and personal homage is relevant as a motive and part of the desired experience, especially among visitors who have served in the military. Considering the kind of visitors (from the point of view of interest in history or as history Buffs) 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. The origin of the tourists is shown in decreasing order of frequency: England, Scotland, Portugal, Ireland, the United States of America, and Australia.

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 War 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.

We must point out that satisfaction factors were identified regarding the places of visit, with particular focus on the landscape and the perspective of “impressive” viewpoints, the beauty of the cultural heritage, and the unchanged state of the Portuguese battlefields. A special reference to the local cuisine which has proven to be an integral part of the battlefield tourism experience, as some of those delicacies are also linked to Wellington and an important historical local reference.

This study also reveals the most relevant and appreciated heritage sites in Portugal concerning the Peninsular War period. The battlefields of Bussaco (September 1810) and Vimeiro (August 1808), Almeida Historical Recreation and the Defensive Lines of Torres Vedras are frequently pointed out, though we must add as great potential heritage sites the Battlefields of Roliça, Côa, Amarante, Sabugal, Elvas fortified City, just to name the most relevant sites. Other references may be pointed out, especially due to the proximity to the Spanish battlefields of Badajoz, Albuera, Ciudad Rodrigo, Fuentes de Oñoro or even

Salamanca. This connection across the border is seen by the interviewees as a major opportunity when developing touristic offer. It is also argued that these places, to the exception of Salamanca (or Arapiles), present an incipient status of touristic development. It is a concern shared by the companies and guides alike, where structures (museums and interpretation centres) along with interpretation tools are to be created or modernized to better achieve more immersive and participative experiences.

Our study can contribute at these matters, promoting strategic development plans and opening lines of guidance for the best practices to be applied and reinforce battlefield tourism dynamics.

## CHAPTER V

---

VISITORS' EXPERIENCES AT THE HISTORICAL  
RECREATIONS OF THE BATTLE OF VIMEIRO AND  
THE BATTLE OF ALMEIDA



## **5. Chapter V – Visitors' experiences at the historical recreations of the Battle of Vimeiro and the Battle of Almeida**

This chapter study was designed to collect and analyse the perspectives of 120 visitors/participants in two major Napoleonic re-enactment events that occur in Portugal. The historical re-enactment in Vimeiro took place for 2 days in 20th and 21st August 2022 and the historical re-enactment event of the Siege of Almeida occurred in 27th and 28th August 2022. The events are most relevant in Portugal taking in consideration the number of participants and the presence of national and international re-enactors that, for several days, join an event with the representation of national entities (government, Army, etc.) that celebrate and remember the historical date. Along with the commemoration, local population join the event participating with several local associations, all providing a historical recreation of traditional food, music, ambience, and decoration of the towns of Vimeiro and Almeida. In both events the agenda includes full day activities promoting the visitor's participation in military encampments where the re-enactors are present to teach, demonstrate and interact with visitors who learn by doing. This sharing of knowledge, commonly known as Living History, recreated here the daily life of the soldier and the local traditions and professions, like the forgery, the wool treatment, traditional games, and the local market. The historical recreation of the battles is presented along the day with army parades, fire and drill demonstration of muskets and artillery and small skirmishes in strategic points of the town where the regiments reenact the fight. These regiments include Portuguese line infantry, Caçadores, artillery, cavalry, and local guerrillas. The British regiments are mainly line infantry, artillery, and rifles and also some Spanish guerrillas are represented. The French are represented by cavalry, line infantry and artillery, though in smaller number. The origin of the re-enactment groups is mainly Portuguese, British, Spanish, French, German, and Irish, and it is common to see Portuguese or British re-enactors as French troops to enlarge and balance the forces present in the re-enactment.

The major event is the recreation of the battle at night, especially in Almeida, where the fortification is a perfect scenery for larger demonstration of field movements and maintain the safe distance from the crowd that observe from the top of the ramparts while the re-enactment take place in the wide moat area, the broad ditch between the ramparts and the outwork ravelins. Along the demonstration, a narrator explains the actions of the forces in the field, contextualizing the recreation of the battle. The use of the artillery and the fireworks are remarkable.

Even though Vimeiro presents the re-enactment in the true historical battlefield, Almeida has a much greater dimension and a stronger surrounding engagement due to the monumental fortification ramparts. This was also mentioned by re-enactors and participants alike.

The importance of these two events proved relevant to be selected for our survey and both provided important information to obtain the framework of this thesis. The objective was to get a deeper understanding of the participants in these events and at the same time to explore their experience, perspectives, and awareness of the event.

Literature also explores the importance of the visitor/participants (Willard et al., 2021; Dunkley et al., 2011; Iles, 2008; Çakar, 2020; Chen & Tsai, 2019; Miles, 2012, 2014) in battlefield tourism, their motivations, expectations, and perceptions are varied in accordance with different battlefield scenarios and depths of involvement. It is suggested that visitors to the battlefields share the same motivations as the participants in historical re-enactments. As far as motivations are concerned, we intended to understand if that perspective on the Peninsula is incipient as it seems, showing that the historical period seem to attract more “edutainment” tourists than classical dark tourists. This proved interesting to be researched and its deeper understanding led to the election of this “edutainment” as fundamental for the success of battlefield tourism.

Mogollón et al. (2017) applied a study to the Peninsular War, exploring the re-enactment events impact in the local touristic sector, by a survey to the organizers of the re-enactment in the Battle of Albuera (Badajoz, Spain). The historical re-enactment and setting in the town is the oldest in the region of Extremadura and one of the longest running in Spain. It has been held since 1965 in the format of a dramatized historical re-enactment. As the survey was not totally devoted to the participants, some data provided a short profile of the participants as being very heterogeneous, although historians predominate, military, couples, groups of friends, groups of historical recreationists, families with children and individuals that descended from combatants. It should be emphasised that a large part of these tourists' social relationships is to be found in the context of military re-enactments, sharing the events in which they participate on social networks (Mogollón et al., 2017).

This is an important gap in the knowledge as no more research was conducted to these re-enactment events in Portugal or Spain. Nor even in the literature, to our best knowledge, we were able to locate research studies to Napoleonic re-enactment visitors with the same objectives as the ones we present.

Being the experience of the visitor our main focus in this study, was important to address several studies in the literature review concerning the concepts around the tourist

experience. Personal engagement (or connection) by visitors is generally agreed to be at the heart of all experiential encounters (Pine and Gilmore 1998).

Pine and Gilmore (1998, p.31) define absorption as, 'occupying a person's attention by bringing the experience into the mind', and immersion as, 'becoming physically (or virtually) a part of the experience itself'. Willard et al. (2021), observes that, with educational experiences, visitors absorb the events unfolding before them, whilst actively engaging through mind and body. Typically, visitors increase their skills and knowledge either generally or specifically through an educative format. Furthermore, the visitor experience is multidimensional incorporating enjoyable/entertaining, educational, aesthetic, and escapist elements from which visitors can take their own personal meaning. As Willard argues, to improve an individual's knowledge and skills in a dark (and battlefield) tourism context, educational experiences must actively engage visitors intellectually. Pine and Gilmore (1999) when approaching the experience of visitors, also pointed out that what is essential is that managers as well as paid and volunteer staff, have the skill set to facilitate and support the dark (and battlefield) tourism offering in meeting people's experiential expectations.

Following the major goal of our thesis, to develop successful battlefield tourism, the relevance of the data collected in our survey and the conclusions, allow us to sustain the argument that stakeholders responsible for the creation of these events may better address strategies and tactics that answer the expectations of visitors and their valued perspectives.

### 5.1. Research objectives

The research objectives of this study are aligned with the already expressed objective 3, namely, to understand and explore the perspectives of the visitors in re-enactment events, focusing on the cases of the Battles of Vimeiro and the re-enactment of the Siege of Almeida. The survey of 120 respondents provided an analysis to the visitors' experience and identified the inhibiting and enhancing factors in visiting these historical re-enactments.

On a more general approach, the main objectives were defined to characterize the participants, understand the motivations, perceptions of authenticity and lived experience.

The survey collected both quantitative data (numeric data that was analysed statistically) and qualitative data (textual responses that provided insights and context).

The 32 questions (Appendix III in Appendices) were organized in blocks that would provide specific information for each one of the sets.

The first set of 3 questions had the purpose to characterise the participant about nationality, gender, and age.

The 4th and 5th questions meant to understand if it's a family or a one-person activity along with the permanence of the participant. It seemed important to understand if these are events that maintain the interest throughout the entire event or just partially.

From the 6th to the 10th question the aim was to understand the engagement of the visitor with this and other re-enactment events.

On the 11th question, ten individual sub-questions explored the motivations of the participant through a Likert Scale (rating scale from 1 to 5) exposing what drives the participants and if participation or a passive observation is part of the desired experience.

On the 12th question, two sub-questions provided insights about the quality of the historical re-enactment and if authenticity or entertainment are important for the participant and part of the perception of quality.

The 13th question presents ten sub-questions designed to obtain a clear overview on the experience, specifically to characterize it as an activity of fun (entertainment), cultural or educational "contours". It was also important to obtain the element of engagement and the whiling of the visitor to actively participate and his assessment on the interaction provided. It was important for the study to understand if these re-enactments are indeed interactive or if people prefer just to observe without interacting. Finally, the overall satisfaction in regard to the event, the top experience to be lived and if this experience was to be repeated and recommended. This information was relevant to obtain the level of loyalty achieved.

On a wider perspective, this data provides the identification of the inhibiting and the enhancing factors in the experience of participating in these re-enactments, as well as insights in what promotes a good, memorable experience. It also helps to deepen the relevance of authenticity or entertainment factors for the visitors. As these two factors seem, as far as literature is concerned, elements to be perceived differently amongst re-enactors and visitors.

## 5.2. Methodology

This second survey was designed to understand and explore the perspectives of the participants in re-enactment events. Using a quantitative methodology, a face-to-face questionnaire was answered by 120 visitors in the historical recreations of the Siege of Almeida and Battle of Vimeiro, analysing the visitors' experience and the inhibiting and enhancing factors in visiting these cultural spaces. With this purpose, the main objectives were defined to know the participants, understand the motivations, perceptions of authenticity and experience in these historical recreations and re-enactment events.

### Instruments and data collection

The questionnaire survey was the applied research method to gather information and data from the participants during 2 days of the re-enactment event of the Battle of Vimeiro on the 20 and 21 August 2022, and the second recollection of data occurred for another 2 days in the Recreation of the Battle and Siege of Almeida on the 27 and 28 August 2022.

In order to validate the questionnaire, test the questions and scope of the answers a 2-step approach was used: 1st step was face validity, consisting on presenting the questionnaire to be evaluated by an expert, namely, our co-author's 1st research paper, Álvaro Lopes Dias, to assure validity of the questions and pretended scope for analysis; 2nd step was a pilot test to the survey by presenting this last already refined survey to be tested on five interviewees, after which the questions were improved to create the current questionnaire. Validity was in this manner achieved and it resulted in this questionnaire that establishes a clear connection between the research objectives and the questions asked.

The face-to-face questionnaire was conducted by two researchers and was registered in paper-and-pen forms. These were written in Portuguese and translated when needed in the act of reading the questions to collect the answers. As already said, a set of questions was tested with five interviewees. The questionnaire (Appendix III in Appendices) was composed of 32 questions that participants were required to answer. The questions varied in terms of their format, such as multiple-choice, Likert scale (rating scale), ranking, and both closed-ended (with predefined response options) and open-ended (allowing participants to provide their own responses in their own words). It allowed to collect both quantitative data (numeric data that was analysed statistically) and qualitative data (textual responses that provided insights and context).

The questionnaires were then inserted one-by-one in the program Forms for the statistical analysis. This processing of data through the program Forms resulted in a spreadsheet and in a simpler approach transformed data into graphics for better illustration of the findings as can be seen next. This spreadsheet is being used to obtain more deeper results to explore the different impact of battlefield tourism events dimensions on the visitor behavioural intention. By drawing on the stimulus-organism-response (SOR) this study uses this survey data analysed through necessary condition analysis (NCA) and importance-performance matrix analysis (IPMA). This is the basis for a next research paper yet not sufficiently developed to be included in the present study.

### **Participants**

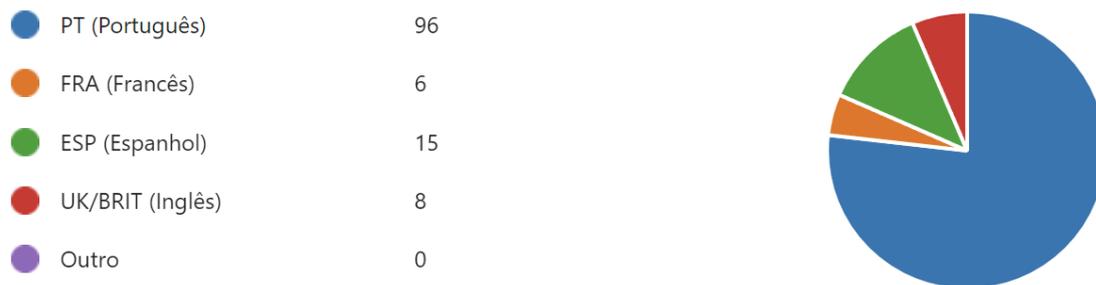
The sample of Participants were selected randomly on the way out of the event and attention was taken to present the question to adults and not family members. To promote standardization, ensuring that all participants respond to the same set of questions in the same way, facilitating comparison and analysis, a total of 30 questionnaires were presented in each day, resulting in 60 questionnaires per each event. It allowed a wider perspective as Vimeiro is more local driven and Almeida, closer to the border with Spain, attracts more participants and draws more international interest.

With the findings of the last surveys, results were used in the next chapter (the 6th) to join a discussion also based in literature, with the objective of identifying strategies and tactics that enhance and value Napoleonic Battlefield Tourism in Spain and Portugal, exploring tourists' experience, dynamic types of tourism, battlefields visitation and interpretation. Under a pragmatic framework, a set of obstacles were to be recognized and enhancing factors to be identified. The conclusion led to the identification of key strategies and tactics organized in a set of good practices to be implemented by tourism promoters.

### 5.3. Findings

Simple statistical analysis was used to obtain the findings that intended to reach the objectives and the two events appear merged as our intention was to characterize the visitors but not to compare the events. Probably, this could be part of a future study that can evaluate the evolution of the re-enactment events.

Figure 11 Nationality of the participant.



From the Figure 11 above, the nationality of the participants reveals a large majority of Portuguese, a total of 96 in 120 respondents, representing 77%. Spanish visitors come next, with 15 answered surveys, a percentage of 15%. Mostly, these were found in Almeida as the proximity to Spain presents a touristic attraction much known among our neighbours. It is not a surprise to realize that the visitors only reach British (6%) and French (5%) of the total.

Figure 12 Gender of the participants

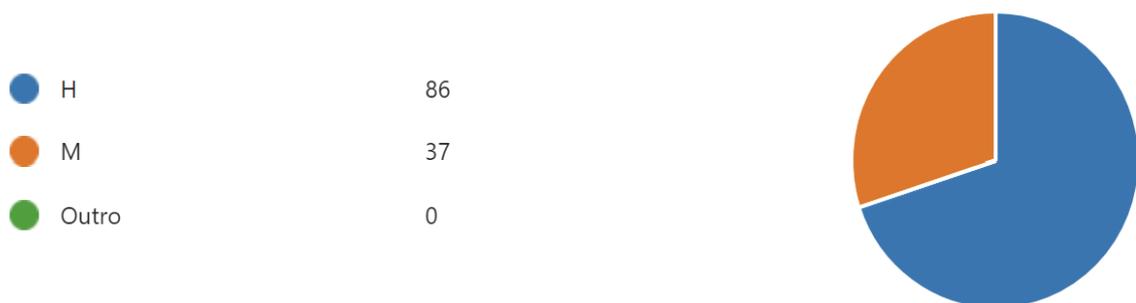
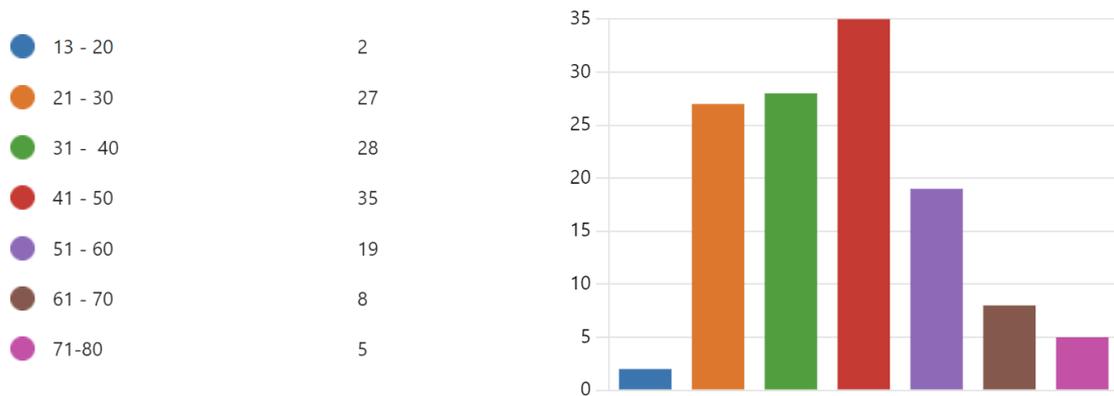


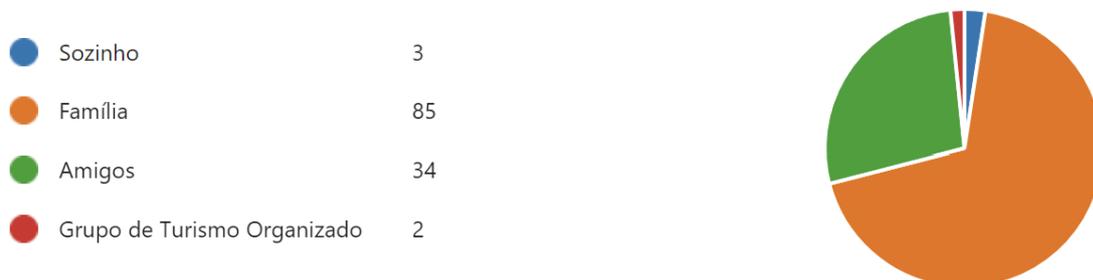
Figure 12 presents an interesting reading that can be co-related to the number of families that visit the historical events. Men, with 86 surveys reached 70% and women, with 37, represent 30%. It may also suggest that military tourism does not attract only men, or, that the main interest is not the military theme but the event, the scenario as an all.

Figure 13 Age of the participants.



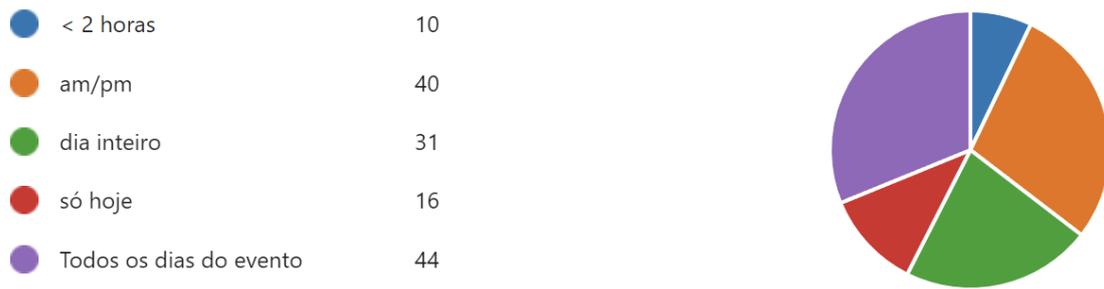
The results obtained on the Figure 13 stand out that the majority of the participants age was between 41-50 years, representing 28%. Meanwhile, the combined ranges of 21-30 and 31-40, all together stand for 55 respondents. Thus, the main group of visitors stand between the 21 and 50 years of age, representing 73% of the surveys collected.

Figure 14 Participants came with...



From this data, we can see that Figure 14 demonstrates that the visitor came to these events with their families, representing 69% of the questionnaire. It is apparent that friends come in second (with 27%) as far as participation is concerned. It is also relevant to conclude the almost absence (only 2%) of tourism organized groups or the presence of tourism companies that include these events on their touristic offer.

Figure 15 Duration of the participation



Participants in re-enactment events have diverse preferences when it comes to the duration of their attendance and figure 15 points out the length of the participation with 31% staying for all the days of event. This may lead to the conclusion that these events can provide a lasting permanence and people enjoy and prefer an extended participation. It may suggest that a significant portion of attendees is highly committed to the event, likely a strong committed re-enactment community or enthusiasts who want to fully immerse themselves in the experience. "Full day" participants account for 22% of the total, indicating a substantial number of attendees who are willing to spend a significant portion of their day at the event. These participants likely have a strong interest in the re-enactment activities and are willing to a day-long engagement.

Figure 16 Type of participant



From the distribution of participant types in re-enactment events as shown in the provided Figure 16, the majority of participants, comprising 95% of the total, are observers. This indicates that a significant portion of attendees prefer to watch and experience the re-enactment events rather than actively participate in them.

Figure 17 How often do you participate in historical re-enactments?

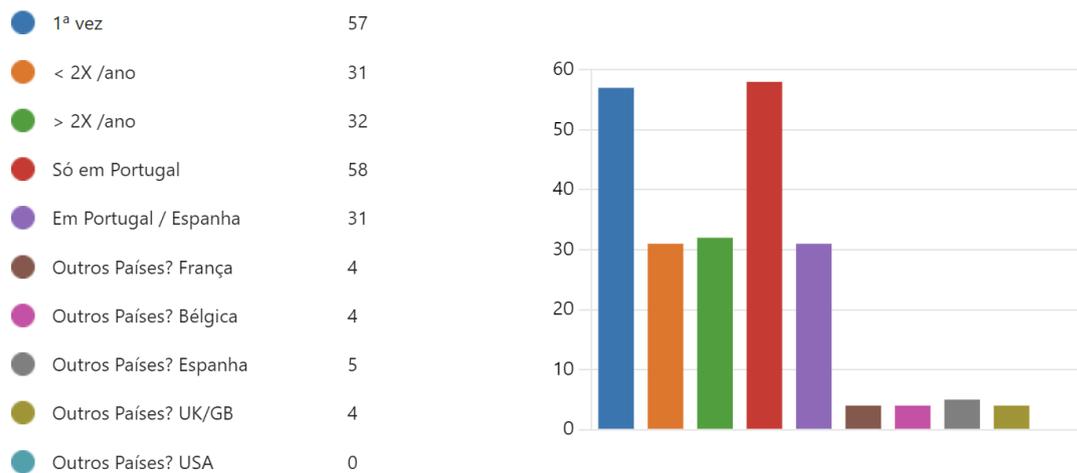


Figure 17 demonstrates that the largest group, making up 25% of the total, consists of individuals who are participating in historical re-enactments for the first time (1ª vez – 1st time). This suggests that there are a continuous influx of newcomers or people exploring historical re-enactment events for the first time. It represents a significant number of First-time participants.

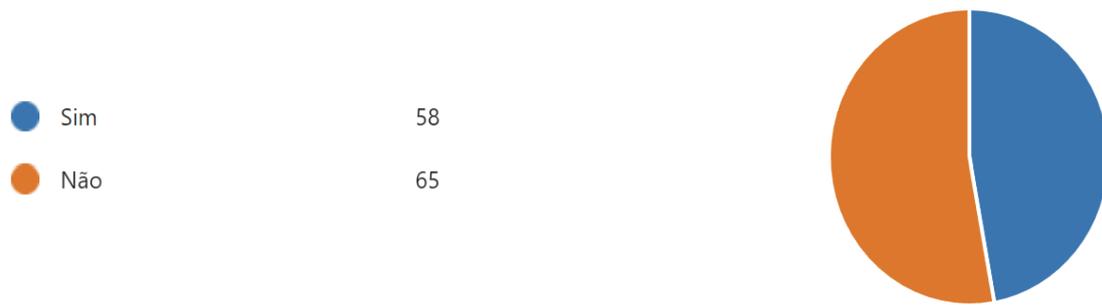
Approximately 14% of participants engage in historical re-enactments less than twice a year (< 2X /year), and another 14% participate more frequently, more than twice a year (> 2X /year). This distribution implies that there is a balance between those who attend sporadically and those who are more regular attendees.

There seems to be a strong domestic focus if we consider the fact that 26% of contributors indicated that they have participated “Only in Portugal”. It suggests that a significant portion of attendees restrict their participation to events within their own country, Portugal. This might reflect a strong sense of local or national historical interest.

Additionally, as far as Regional Participation is concerned, 14% of participants mention that they participate "In Portugal / Spain," indicating a willingness to engage in historical re-enactments in both Portugal and neighbouring Spain. This group may have a broader regional or cross-border historical interest.

Data also provides the other relevant re-enactment events that are more common amongst these participants, namely Great Britain, France, Spain and Belgium.

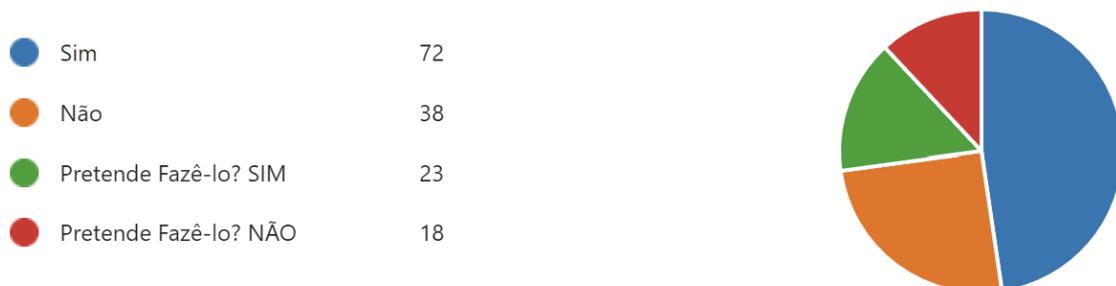
Figure 18 Have you participated in this event before?



As Figure 18 shows, the majority of respondents, 53%, have not participated in this re-enactment event before. This indicates that a significant portion of the audience consists of newcomers or individuals who have not attended it in the past, therefore the majority are first-time participants.

On the other hand, 47% (sim) of respondents have participated in this re-enactment event before, suggesting that there is an existing base of individuals with prior experience or familiarity with the event. It may suggest a nearly half that have a previous experience. It may indicate that the event has a returning audience and a potential of growth to attract new participants or encourage those who have not attended in the past to join.

Figure 19 Have you visited the Interpretation Centre/Museum?



From the data provided in Figure 19, we can observe that on visitation rates, 48% of respondents have already visited the interpretation centre/Museum, indicating that a significant portion of the participants has already explored the museological elements at the event site. On the other hand, suggesting that there is a portion of the audience that has not yet engaged with the interpretation centre/museum, 25% have not visited the venue.

The intension to visit it in the future was expressed by 15%, responding with “Sim” (yes), while 12% of the respondents answered “Não” (No). It indicates the value of the

interpretation centre/museum as a part of the event and suggests that efforts to promote and enhance this aspect may be worthwhile in engaging the audience further.

Figure 20 What other similar events do you know of?

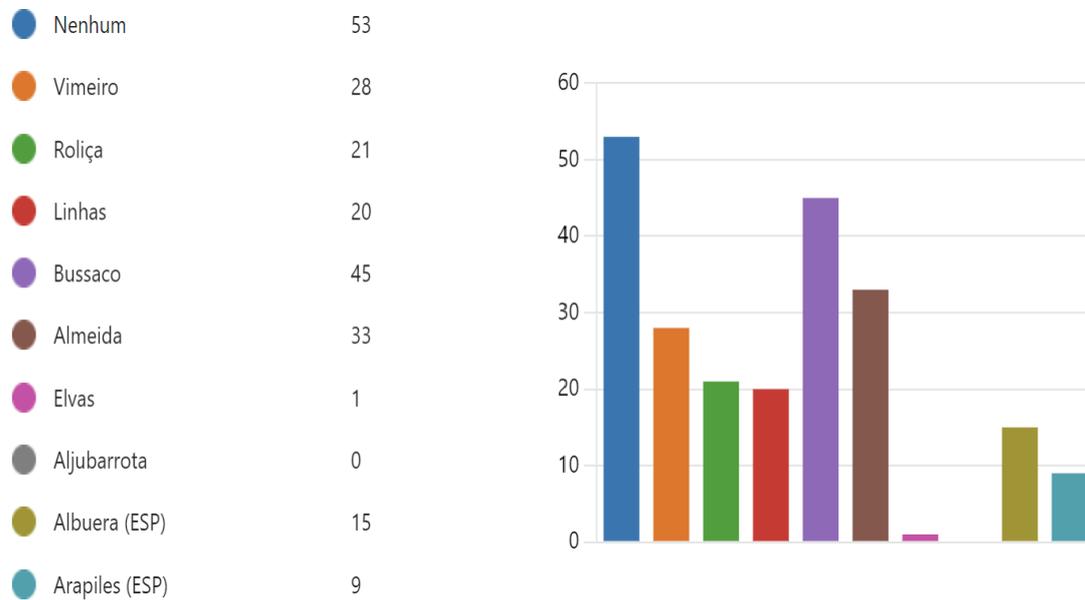


Figure 20 expresses respondents' awareness of other similar re-enactment events from where we can draw several conclusions.

The awareness of similar events is shared by a significant portion, 25%, who indicated that they are not aware of any other similar re-enactment events (“Nenhum” – none). It implies that a quarter of the participants may have limited knowledge of re-enactment events agenda or may not actively follow the re-enactment scene.

The next events appear to have a level of visibility or recognition within the community.

The Vimeiro event is relatively well-known among respondents, with 12% mentioning it. This indicates that the Vimeiro event has a notable presence or reputation among the surveyed audience. Events such as Bussaco (20%), Almeida (15%), Roliça (9%), and Linhas de Torres Vedras (9%) are also recognized by a significant portion of respondents, though to varying degrees. It may suggest a recognition of specific events that are more celebrated in Portugal as the main events of the Peninsular War.

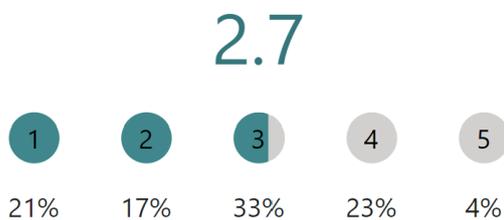
A low awareness of international events is suggested as events held in Spain, namely Albuera (ESP) and Arapiles (ESP), have limited recognition among the surveyed participants, with 7% and 4% mentioning them, respectively. One could argue that these events might be less well-known, potentially due to their international location.

Aljubarrota battle and Elvas are re-enactments that have not received any mentions, indicating that these are not widely recognized or known among this audience. It is an odd conclusion as Aljubarrota is a medieval re-enactment battle widely known in Portugal as the most important of the Portuguese battles, though, not included in this Napoleonic period.

A consideration about the correlation between the lack of visibility and awareness might be drawn as it represents an opportunity for event organizers to promote these events within and outside the re-enactment community.

Figure 21 Motivations for participation: interest in gastronomy

**1 -Not Important 2 - Slightly Important 3 -Moderately Important 4 -Important 5 - Very Important**



According to Figure 21 the average Likert score of 2.7 indicates that, on average, respondents (the largest group, comprising 33%) consider gastronomy to be moderately important in their motivations for participating in these events. This suggests that food experiences play a role in attracting tourists, but it may not be the most significant factor. Even though, the importance varies, as High Importance was selected by approximately 23% of respondents, indicating that a notable portion of battlefield tourists place a relatively high value on the culinary aspect of their experience. Understanding this diversity in preferences can help tailor battlefield tourism experiences to cater to a broader audience while also providing special culinary experiences for those who highly value them.

Figure 22 Motivations for participation: interest in the fair/shopping

**1 -Not Important 2 - Slightly Important 3 -Moderately Important 4 -Important 5 - Very Important**

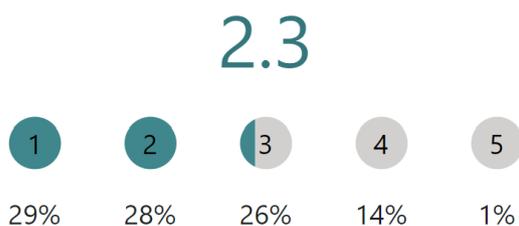


Figure 22 presents interest in fair/shopping as a moderate motivator, ranging an average Likert score of 2,3, indicating that, on average, it is suggested that while fair and shopping opportunities do play a role in attracting tourists, they may not be the primary motivators for most participants. For a significant segment of the participants, these activities contribute positively to their experience without being the primary focus, considering 26%, a substantial proportion of respondents. Nearly as many respondents (28%) consider fair/shopping to be slightly important (score 2), suggesting that it is a relevant but relatively less significant motivation for a substantial portion of participants. Together, 57% of respondents gave fair/shopping lower importance scores (scores 1 and 2), signifying that a significant portion of tourists either do not prioritize these activities or consider them less crucial in their decision to participate. While some visitors may enjoy fair/shopping opportunities as part of their experience, others may be less interested in these aspects and are primarily drawn to the historical and educational aspects of the event.

Figure 23 Motivations for participation: Recreational interest in animation/fun

**1 -Not Important 2 - Slightly Important 3 -Moderately Important 4 -Important 5 - Very Important**



As Figure 23 demonstrates, the average Likert score of 4.2 indicates that, on average, respondents consider recreational animation and fun to be quite important in their motivations for participating in these re-enactment events. This implies that for a significant majority of participants, the opportunity for recreational activities and fun experiences is a key factor that contributes to their decision to engage in re-enactment events or historical recreations. A strong emphasis on fun can be perceived by the Score 5, meaning that 45%, a large group of respondents, see recreational animation/fun as very important, indicating that for many visitors, the element of enjoyment, entertainment, and fun is a central motivation.

Another substantial portion, 39%, rated recreational animation/fun as important (score 4), further highlighting the significance of these aspects. This group values recreational activities as a meaningful part of their battlefield tourism experience.

Considering that 9%, still perceives this motivation as moderately important (score 3) it may indicate that those who may not prioritize fun and recreation as the primary motivation, still consider it a relevant factor in their decision-making.

Only 4% of respondents gave recreational animation/fun lower importance scores (scores 1 and 2), indicating that for a small minority, these aspects are not as significant in their decision to participate. This reinforces the idea that some level of fun and recreation is valued by participants.

This data highlights the need to incorporate recreational activities and entertainment elements into battlefield tourism experiences, meeting the expectations and preferences of the audience as they present a major engagement factor.

*Figure 24 Motivations for participation: interest in the re-enactment of the battle*

**1 -Not Important 2 - Slightly Important 3 -Moderately Important 4 -Important 5 - Very Important**



Figure 24 provides important data about the value of the battle re-enactment with an expressive average Likert score of 4,7, indicating that the primary draw for the vast majority of participants is the re-enactment of the battle. It suggests that respondents consider the re-enactment of the battle to be highly important in their motivations for participating in these events. An overwhelming emphasis on the battle's re-enactment was chosen by 79% of the participants with a score of 5, exposing that the core attraction lies in witnessing or participating in the re-enactment event.

A substantial importance, with a score 4, refers to a smaller percentage of 15% who rated the battle re-enactment as important. Still, it indicates that even among those who may not consider it the most critical factor, battle re-enactment remains a key motivator.

Small percentages are found within the value of moderate importance, limited lower importance and absence of responses, suggesting that a very small minority of participants do not prioritize this aspect in their decision to participate.

This information underscores the significance of maintaining and enhancing the quality and authenticity of battle re-enactments in battlefield tourism events. It may also indicate that

promoting and emphasizing the historical re-enactment can be an effective strategy for attracting and retaining visitors.

Figure 25 Motivations for participation: interest in learning, historical-cultural

**1 -Not Important 2 - Slightly Important 3 -Moderately Important 4 -Important 5 - Very Important**



As shown in Figure 25, there is an exceptional importance of learning under a historical-cultural scope as the average Likert score of 4,5 indicates. It is suggested that the primary draw for the overwhelming majority of participants is the opportunity to engage with and learn about historical and cultural aspects. Data shows an overwhelming emphasis on Learning (score 5) as, 68%, the largest group of the respondents, rated learning in these cultural events as a very important motivation, somewhat the central one, specifically educational and cultural aspects of the experience.

A substantial portion (22%) of respondents rated these motivations as important (score 4), indicating that even if not a primary factor, the educational and cultural components remain a key motivator.

A group for whom these elements are relevant but may not be the central focus of their motivation scored 1 and 2, representing 2%, indicating that a very small minority do not prioritize these aspects in their decision to participate. It underscores the critical role of educational and cultural components in experiencing the Napoleonic re-enactments.

Figure 26 Motivations for participation: touristic interest in general

**1 -Not Important 2 - Slightly Important 3 -Moderately Important 4 -Important 5 - Very Important**



Figure 26 demonstrates that an average Likert score of 3.6, indicates that the general touristic interest is moderately important as a motivation for participants. It suggests that touristic elements play a role in attracting visitors, but they may not be the primary motivation for most of the participants.

A significant proportion of respondents (32%) rated general touristic interest as very important (score 5), suggesting that the broader touristic aspects are a central motivation. Nevertheless, nearly a quarter of the respondents (24%), a substantial group scored 4 and values the touristic elements with moderate importance but may prioritize other aspects as well. If we combine scores 3 and 2, representing 41% of the respondents, one may frame their interest in-between a moderate to slightly important. Touristic aspects contribute positively to their experience, but they may not be the primary focus for a significant portion of the participants. Balancing touristic and historical elements seem to be a relevant strategy when creating tourism products, even though, a general touristic interest may be a somewhat blurred and generic definition that framed those who were not specifically driven by cultural motivations.

Figure 27 Motivation for participation: patriotic celebration

**1 -Not Important 2 - Slightly Important 3 -Moderately Important 4 -Important 5 - Very Important**

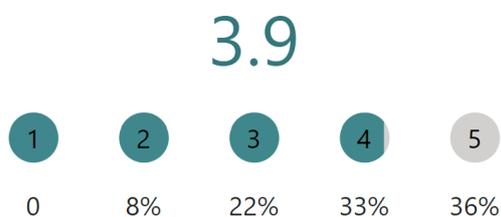


Figure 27 exposes a moderate importance of patriotic celebration as a motivation for these participants. An average Likert score of 3.9 suggests that while patriotism plays a role in attracting visitors, it may not be the primary motivator for the most. A high importance score of 5, a rating of very important, was chosen by 36%, indicating that for a sizable portion of participants, patriotism is a central motivation.

About one-third of the respondents, 33%, consider patriotic celebrations as important (score 4). It suggests that a substantial part values patriotic elements but may also prioritize other aspects of historical re-enactment events.

A moderate importance (score 3) represented 22%, a notable percentage, indicating that there is a group for whom patriotism is relevant but may not be the primary focus of their motivation. Only 8% rated as slightly importance (score 2), suggesting that for this minority,

patriotism has some significance but is not a major motivator. Considering that nobody rated Not Important (score 1), we may conclude that, for this sample, no one views patriotic celebration as entirely unimportant.

Even so, and according to our data, one can conclude that patriotic celebration is moderately important to participants, with varying degrees of importance across respondents.

Figure 28 Motivation for participation: interaction with historical re-enactors

**1 -Not Important 2 - Slightly Important 3 -Moderately Important 4 -Important 5 - Very Important**



As can be seen from the Figure 28, high importance of interaction with historical re-enactors gathers an average Likert score of 3.9, suggesting that the opportunity to engage with re-enactors significantly contributes to the overall experience for most participants.

A strong emphasis on interaction is found, representing the combined scores 4 (Important) and 5 (Very Important), comprising 76%, showing that the majority of the participants highly value the opportunity to interact with historical re-enactors.

A moderate importance and slightly importance was rated by a smaller percentage, 9% and 8%, indicating that there is a minority group to whom interaction with re-enactors is relevant or has some relevance but is not the major motivator.

There is a consensus on importance of interaction as a motivation of the participants. Even if the participants played a role of observers in an interactive ambience, the motivation is suggested to be present and work as a drive for participants.

This data highlights the importance of providing opportunities for visitors to engage with re-enactors, ask questions, participate in Living History activities and immerse themselves in historical narratives during historical re-enactment events.

Figure 29 Motivation for participation: learning to do something historical/traditional with the re-enactors

**1 -Not Important 2 - Slightly Important 3 -Moderately Important 4 -Important 5 - Very Important**

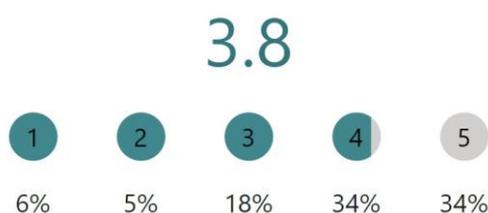


Figure 29 demonstrates a moderate importance of learning historical/Traditional skills as a motivation, considering an average Likert score of 3.8. It suggests that most participants see as an opportunity to acquire historical or traditional skills to be a relevant factor but may not be the primary motivator.

A strong emphasis on Importance (score 4 and 5) is showed and even more relevant when the combined higher rated scores reach 68%. It suggests that a significant majority of the participants highly value the opportunity to learn these skills from re-enactors.

Another substantial percentage (18%) rated it as moderately important (score 3), suggesting that there is a group for whom learning historical/traditional skills is relevant but may not be the primary focus of their motivation.

A consensus on Importance can be concluded as the opportunity to learn historical or traditional skills from re-enactors is moderately important to the majority of participants, with a strong emphasis on its importance as a motivator. This information underscores the value of providing educational and interactive experiences where visitors can acquire historical knowledge and skills during re-enactment events where learning-by-doing activities point out the relevance and the opportunity of creative tourism activities.

Figure 30 Opinion on the quality of the historical recreation of the event: are historical accuracy and authenticity important in these events?

**1 -Not Important 2 - Slightly Important 3 -Moderately Important 4 -Important 5 - Very Important**



As can be seen in figure 30, findings show an exceptional importance of historical accuracy and authenticity, according to the average Likert score of 4.7, suggesting that

historical accuracy and authenticity are central factors in the participants' assessment of the quality of Napoleonic historical re-enactment events.

The largest group of respondents, comprising 81%, presented an overwhelming emphasis on importance as they rated a score 5. This significant majority highlights that for participants, the quality of historical recreation is closely tied to the accuracy of the portrayal and the quality of the recreation.

A notable percentage (16%) rated historical accuracy and authenticity as important (score 4). This further emphasizes the significance of these factors in the participants' evaluation of event quality. It is also important to point out that only 1% in total rated the score 3, 2 and 1, suggesting that nobody views historical accuracy and authenticity as unimportant or of low significance in their assessment of event quality.

Therefore, historical accuracy and authenticity are of paramount importance to the vast majority of participants. The question that we may ask is what authenticity for these participants is and what is perceived as authentic or historical accurate. In the Discussions, this theme will be fully addressed.

Even do, this data underscores the critical role of maintaining a high level of historical fidelity in event planning, costume design, and historical re-enactment to meet the expectations and preferences of the audience effectively.

*Figure 31 Opinion on the quality of the historical recreation of the event: are theatrics and entertainment important in these events?*

**1 -Not Important 2 - Slightly Important 3 -Moderately Important 4 -Important 5 - Very Important**



From the above Figure 31 we can see that a high importance is given to theatrics and entertainment as the average Likert score of 4.4 indicates on participants' assessment of the quality of these events. This suggests that the entertainment value of the event is a significant factor in participants' overall experience and perception of event quality.

The largest group of respondents, comprising 58%, expressed an overwhelming emphasis on importance, rating theatrics and entertainment as very important (score 5),

meaning that for this majority, the entertainment aspect is a central and highly valued component of the event.

A notable percentage (31%) rated theatrics and entertainment as important (score 4), further underscoring the significance of these factors in participants' assessment of event quality. While a smaller percentage (10%) rated it as moderately important (score 3), it indicates that there is a group for whom theatrics and entertainment are relevant but may not be the primary focus of their evaluation.

The objective of the data presented in figures 30 and 31 was to obtain insights into the perception of the value of quality and if visitants prioritized historical accuracy and authenticity or if it was entertainment and theatrics that played a more distinct preference when assessing the quality of the re-enactment.

Data suggests that theatrics and entertainment are highly important to most participants, with a strong emphasis on their perception of quality's event. It also plays an important role in engagement and entertainment purposes but less important than historical accuracy and authenticity.

Therefore, it may be suggested that organizers should prioritize entertainment elements in their efforts to enhance the overall quality and enjoyment of the re-enactment experience.

*Figure 32 How do you characterize and evaluate your experience: Fun?*

**1 -Not Important 2 - Slightly Important 3 -Moderately Important 4 -Important 5 - Very Important**



Figure 32 shows that participants recognize a high importance to fun when characterizing and evaluating their experience. An average Likert scale of 4.3 indicates that participants highly value having a fun experience during a Napoleonic historical re-enactment. This implies that the element of enjoyment, entertainment, and fun is significant and a valued aspect of the participant's experience.

The largest group of respondents, comprising 57%, presented a strong emphasis on importance (score 4) when rating a fun experience. It suggests that a significant portion of the participants highly values the element of fun and enjoyment during the re-enactment.

A notable percentage of 37% rated having a fun experience as very important (score 5), indicating that for a significant number of participants, having a fun and enjoyable time is a central expectation and motivation when participating in these events.

Adding also to the analysis that the three higher scores gathered all the surveys, participants highly prioritize having a fun and entertaining experience and evaluate them as key components of the historical re-enactment.

Figure 33 How do you characterize and evaluate your experience: cultural?

**1 -Not Important 2 - Slightly Important 3 -Moderately Important 4 -Important 5 - Very Important**



Figure 33 points out the exceptional importance of the experience as a cultural one, considering the average Likert scale of 4.6, indicating that participants highly value having a cultural experience and identify greatly this element in these events. It suggests that the cultural and historical aspects of the re-enactments are perceived and a central and highly valued part of the participant's experience.

There is an overwhelming emphasis on importance (score 5), supported by 74%, who rated having a cultural experience as very important, therefore, for this significant majority, experiencing the culture and history associated with the event is a central element in the perception and evaluation, and, at the same time a pivotal expectation and motivation.

A notable percentage of 18% rated having a cultural experience as important (score 4) signifying a strong importance for the cultural and historical factors in participants' overall experience and perceptions.

In summary, participants highly prioritize having a cultural experience and identify this event as a very important display of rich cultural elements and historical significance.

Figure 34 How do you characterize and evaluate your experience: Educational?

**1 -Not Important 2 - Slightly Important 3 -Moderately Important 4 -Important 5 - Very Important**



Figure 34 presents an exceptional importance of an educational experience attributed to these events by an average Likert score of 4.6, indicating that participants highly value having an educational experience and identify greatly this element is these events. It suggests that the opportunity to learn and gain historical knowledge is perceived and a central and highly valued part of the participant's experience.

An overwhelming emphasis on importance (score 5) is indicated by 75% of the respondents who rated having an educational experience as very important and equally valued the experience as an educational one. It also points out the educational aspect as a central expectation and motivation for attending these events.

A notable percentage of 20%, rated having an educational experience as important (score 4), further underscoring the significance of these educational factors in participants' overall experience.

From this data we may suggest that, for this audience, enjoyment and perceived educational elements related to learning and improving knowledge are highly prioritized, valued and pivotal in the significance of these historical re-enactments.

Figure 35 How do you characterize and evaluate your experience? Have you participated in any activities?

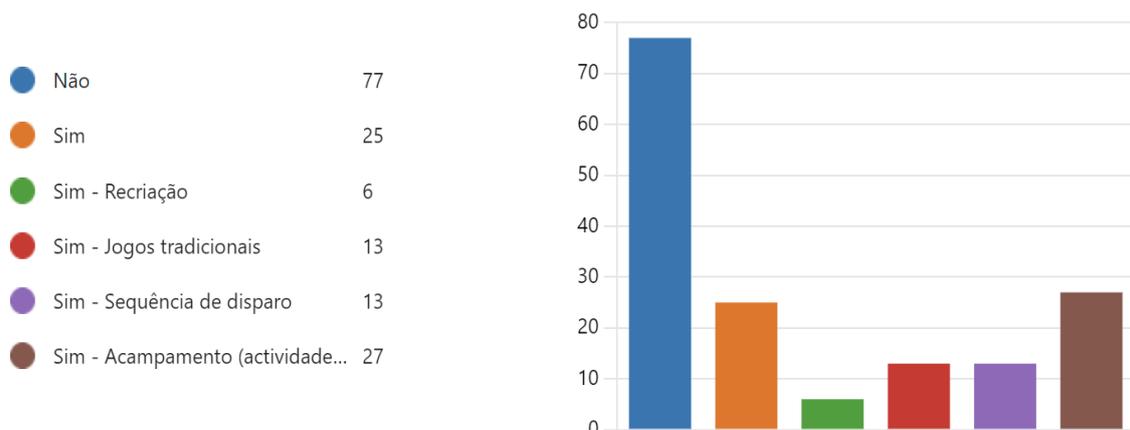


Figure 35 presents information on the active participation or just the observer role of the participants. According to data, 77 respondents did not participate in any activities, comprising 48%. It suggests a medium level of participation, with 53% who have participated. From these, 25 participants (16%) interacted and participated in the enounced activities. The Encampment activities that comprised Living History interactions had the highest preference with 27 participants (17%). The display of traditional games and participating in the drilling of the fire sequence of a musket were two activities with equal participants, a partial of 13, representing 8% per each.

Finally, the historical recreation had only the participation of 6 of the surveyed visitors, representing 4%. This low number of participants may be explained by the safety requirements in handling with firearms and the military performance and skill that is needed to join a re-enactment group.

This data suggests that visitors may express the will to participate and interact but in fact they more frequently play a substantial role of observer during the re-enactment and only the military encampment represents a better opportunity for the interaction. It might be related to the diversity of the traditional activities, but the military activities are the most looked for by visitors. This data has limitations in the interpretation as respondents mention to have participated in several activities and others just declined any response, which may reflect on the data findings. To overcome this issue, a more refined insight can be obtained when crossing data with the next figure.

Figure 36 What would you like to have done?

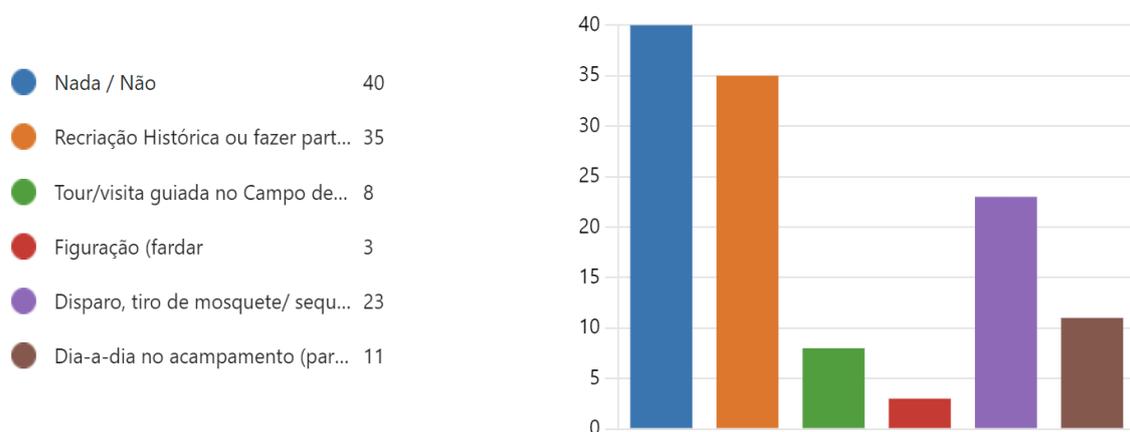


Figure 36 presents the intention not accomplished of the visitors to participate in re-enactment activities. As the survey was conducted at the exit of the re-enactment events, the objective was to better understand the level of engagement and participation and also the impact and impression of the activities to promote the desire to participate in a future event.

The data above shows that 40 (33%) of the respondents expressed no willingness or regret to have participated in any activities of the re-enactment. It indicates a limited interest in participation as data indicates that a substantial group of attendees may attend the event for reasons other than active participation, such as observation or general interest.

The majority of the respondents, 35 (29%) indicated the will and the regret of not having participated in the historical recreation. This suggests that among respondents we find a strong desire to actively engage in the historical recreation aspect of the event, but they may not have had the opportunity or means to do so during their visit.

To perform the shooting sequence and fire a musket was chosen by 23 respondents, meaning that 19% of the surveyed would have enjoyed firing a weapon. This indicates a specific interest in participating in activities related to historical weaponry and military simulations.

The military encampment and its living history activities were chosen by 11, corresponding to 9%, suggesting an interest in experiencing the daily life and routines of historical military encampments.

Participating in a guided visit on the battlefield was indicated by 8 participants, representing 7%, a low impact activity as it was perceived by the visitors. Still, it represents a portion of visitors who value guided tours as part of their re-enactment experience.

Finally, only 3 of the participants, a short 3%, indicated re-enactment figuration as a desired activity yet not performed. It indicates that a relatively small percentage of visitors aspire to take on roles as re-enactors in future events.

We may conclude that while there is a diverse range of interests among visitors to re-enactment events, historical recreation and immersive activities are highly valued by a significant portion of attendees.

Figure 37 Is this experience interactive?

**1(Never) 2(Rarely) 3(Sometimes) 4(Very often) 5(Always)**



As can be seen in Figure 37, when asking participants about the interactivity of their experience, using a Likert scale ranging from “Never” to “Always”, the average Likert score was 4.3. It indicates that, on average, participants perceived their experience as highly interactive.

It suggests that, considering the participant's experience, interactivity is a prominent and valued aspect when participating in these historical re-enactment events.

Consistent high ratings (scores 4 and 5) are expressed by a combined percentage of 87% who rated their experience as very often (37%) and always (50%). This vast majority of participants perceived a high level of interactivity throughout the re-enactment event.

A strong emphasis on Always (score 5) indicated that a substantial portion of participants consistently encountered interactive elements and opportunities.

A notable percentage of 37% reported experiencing interactivity "Very often," further emphasizing the prevalence of interactive elements in the participant's overall experience.

While a smaller percentage (10%) indicated that they experienced interactivity "Sometimes," it suggests that there is a group for whom interactivity was present but not constant throughout their experience.

We may conclude that participants generally perceived a high level of interactivity during their experience, and it points out the importance of providing engaging and interactive elements to produce a successful immersive and interactive re-enactment environment that enhance participant satisfaction and engagement.

Figure 38 Is the experience satisfactory?

**1(Never) 2(Rarely) 3(Sometimes) 4(Very often) 5(Always)**



Figure 38 demonstrates the experience satisfaction levels of the participants, using a Likert scale ranging from "Never" to "Always". The average Likert score was 4.6, which indicates an exceptionally high satisfaction of the participants, suggesting that overall satisfaction is a prominent and valued aspect of the participant's experience.

An overwhelming emphasis on satisfaction, corresponding to score 4 and 5, was chosen by a combined 95% of the respondents. This overwhelming majority indicates high levels of satisfaction throughout the re-enactment event.

A significant portion (70%) of respondents reported that they were "Always" satisfied with their experience. This suggests that a substantial majority of participants consistently found their re-enactment experience to be highly satisfactory.

A notable percentage of 25% indicated that they were "Very often" satisfied, further emphasizing the prevalence of satisfaction among participants.

Importantly, there were no respondents who rated their satisfaction as "Never" (score 1) or "Rarely" (score 2), and only a small percentage (4%) indicated "Sometimes" (score 3) satisfaction. This suggests that dissatisfaction was rare among participants.

We can then conclude that participants overwhelmingly found their experience to be highly satisfactory. This level of satisfaction is a positive indicator of the event's overall quality and its ability to effectively engage and please its audience.

Figure 39 What did you like most about this event?

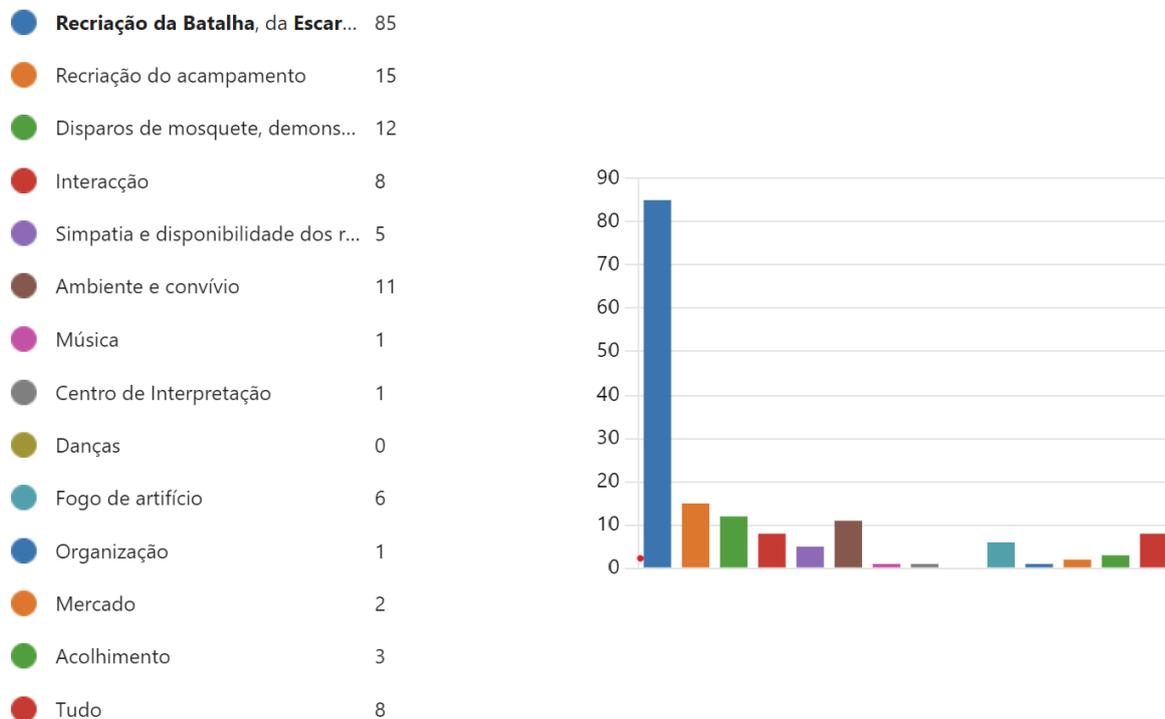


Figure 39 illustrates the preference of the participants by identifying what activity people liked the most within the historical re-enactment.

It shows a high preference for the battle and the skirmish re-enactments that were performed along the several days. This was the most liked activity, with 85 participants, corresponding to 71%, indicating that they enjoyed it the most, suggesting that the central re-enactment of historical battles is a major draw for attendees and a key highlight of the event.

A significant interest in the military encampment can be indicated by the 15 participants who favoured it, representing 12,5% who have a significant interest in

experiencing the daily life and routines of Napoleonic military encampments where Living History activities are available.

Approximately 10% of participants (12) liked the activity of firing the musket and drill demonstrations the most. It came clear that the opportunity to handle historical weapons and witness military drills is appealing to a subset of attendees.

Interaction with re-enactors was the most liked activity for 8 participants (6.7%). This highlights the importance of engaging and interactive experiences during the event.

A positive perception of the re-enactors was expressed as sympathy and availability of the re-enactors was particularly appreciated by 5 participants (4.2%). It underscores the positive impact that friendly and approachable re-enactors can have on the overall visitor experience.

Ambience and entertainment, enjoyed by 11 participants (9.2%), play a role in enhancing the overall atmosphere and enjoyment of the event.

While music, fireworks, and other activities were not the top choices for most participants, they still received some positive feedback. Music, fireworks, organization, market, and hospitality each had a small number of participants who liked them the most.

An interest in comprehensive experience was shared by 8 participants (6.7%), mentioning that they liked “everything”. This suggests that some attendees appreciate a holistic and comprehensive re-enactment experience that combines various elements.

In conclusion, we may find that battle recreation is the primary attraction for attendees, followed by interest in the military encampment, musket firing, and interactive experiences.

This information may provide valuable insights for organizers who should consider that the most favoured activities are highlighted and well-executed to enhance participant satisfaction and overall event success. Even so, the lesser favoured may be relevant to perceive elements that have to be improved to reach a better appreciation level and quality perception.

Figure 40 Would you repeat the experience?

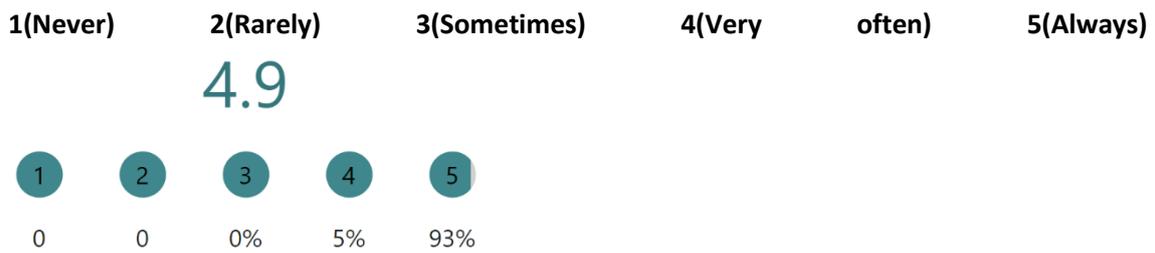


Figure 40 could resume the impact of experiencing the re-enactment event as participants were asked if they would repeat the experience, using a Likert scale ranging from "Never" to "Always".

An exceptionally high willingness to repeat the participation was, on average, indicated by a Likert score of 4.9, indicating an extremely high willingness to repeat the experience of participating in a Napoleonic re-enactment event. It implies that the majority of participants are highly inclined to attend similar events in the future.

A substantial majority (93%) of participants indicated that they would "Always" repeat the experience. It represents an overwhelming desire to repeat (score 5), highlighting that nearly all participants have a strong desire to participate in similar events again.

While a small percentage (5%) rated their willingness to repeat as "Very often" (score 4), it is worth noting that this group is in the minority. Most participants expressed an even higher level of commitment to repeating the experience.

Importantly, there were no participants who rated their willingness to repeat as "Never" (score 1) or "Rarely" (score 2). This indicates a complete absence of reluctance among participants, suggesting that nobody had a negative experience or hesitancy about attending similar events in the future.

We can confidently conclude that participants have an overwhelmingly positive disposition toward repeating the experience. The exceptionally high average rating of 4.9 and the prevalence of "Always" responses (93%) shows that participants are not only satisfied with their current experience but are highly motivated and eager to participate in similar events in the future. This level of enthusiasm and willingness to return is a strong indicator of the success and appeal of the event, as well as its potential for long-term sustainability and growth.

Figure 41 Would you recommend the experience?

**1(Never) 2(Rarely) 3(Sometimes) 4(Very often) 5(Always)**



Along with figure 40, the above figure 41 present an essential portrait of the success of these historical re-enactments as both graphs demonstrate the willing to repeat and to recommend factors.

The average Likert scale score of 4.9 indicates an exceptionally high likelihood of recommendation which means that participants are highly likely to recommend the experience of participating. It signifies that the vast majority of participants have a strong inclination to encourage others to attend similar events.

An overwhelming willingness to recommend (score 5) is rated by 95% of the participants who indicated that they would "Always" recommend the experience. It shows an extremely positive response, highlighting that nearly all participants are enthusiastic about encouraging others to participate in such events.

While a small percentage (4%) rated their likelihood to recommend as "Very often" (score 4), it is worth noting that this group is in the minority. Most participants expressed an even higher level of commitment to recommending the experience.

Importantly, there were no participants who rated their likelihood to recommend as "Never" (score 1) or "Rarely" (score 2). This indicates a complete absence of reluctance among participants, suggesting that nobody had a negative experience or hesitancy about recommending the event to others.

We can then conclude that participants are overwhelmingly enthusiastic about recommending the experience to others. Visitors not only enjoyed their own experience but are highly motivated to share that positive experience with others. This high level of enthusiasm on recommending act as a strong indicator of the event's success, its potential for positive word-of-mouth promotion, and its capacity to draw new visitors in the future.

#### 5.4. Discussion of the results

The previous chapter 5.3 presented the Findings obtained from the 120 questionnaires that were answered by the visitors/participants in the re-enactments of Vimeiro and Almeida. The main objective (objective 3 and V.I and V.II) was to gain an updated and deeper understanding of the participants in these events and at the same time to explore their awareness of the event, motivations, their lived experience, perspectives of authenticity and entertainment and, finally, identify the inhibiting and enhancing factors in visiting the historical recreations of the Siege of Almeida and Battle of Vimeiro.

The research objectives designed the questions to obtain valuable data that was expressed in the figures presented before. Now we present the discussions of those results, having as reference the objectives identified for each block of questions.

##### **Characterization of the participants**

Participants sample showed a large majority of Portuguese visitors (77%) in both re-enactment events suggesting a prevalence of domestic visitors. Nevertheless, a future study on the nationalities of the re-enactors could be interesting to provide insights into the allure amongst re-enactors. The proximity with Spain could be the reason for the 15% of Spanish visitors. Still, the presence of French and British is incipient indicating that promotion amongst these nationalities could be a strategy to enhance the participation in these events.

It is without surprise that men (70%) represent the majority of the visitors but, it is important to point out that the age range is between 21 and 50 (73%) should consider the fact that 69% came with their families and friends (27%), indicating that it is not a solo activity, and it represents an experience to be lived amongst others.

Participants' duration of attendance analysis showed that these events can provide a lasting permanence (every day of the event or full-day participation) and people enjoy and prefer an extended participation, suggesting that attendees are highly committed to the event. This may be relevant as it indicates a strong committed re-enactment community or enthusiasts who want to fully immerse themselves in the experience.

The type of participant analysis revealed that the majority (95%) of the visitors are just observers and prefer to watch and experience the re-enactment events rather than actively participate in them. It can be confronted later when approaching the will to interaction analysis.

## **Engagement factor**

The frequency of participation indicated that the largest group, making up 25% of the total, consists of individuals who are participating in historical re-enactments for the first time. This interesting influx of newcomers indicate a relevant gain in the attraction for these events. Furthermore, there is a balance between those who attend sporadically and those who are more regular attendees.

A strong domestic focus (26%) signifies that a significant portion of visitors restrict their participation to events within their own country, Portugal. This might reflect a strong sense of local or national historical interest. Still, results showed a willingness to engage in historical re-enactments in both Portugal and neighbouring Spain, indicating the relevance of a broader regional or cross-border historical interest.

Data also provides the other relevant re-enactment events that are more common amongst these participants, namely Great Britain, France, Spain and Belgium.

With the objective of understanding a sense of fidelity on the visitors we intended to identify the percentage of repeaters. Data showed that 53%, have not participated in this re-enactment event before. It suggests that there is an existing base of individuals with prior experience or familiarity with the event. It indicates that nearly half have a previous experience in these events. Therefore, there is a returning audience and a potential of growth to attract new participants or encourage those who have not attended in the past to join.

Results showed the value of the interpretation centre/museum as a part of the event and suggests that efforts to promote and enhance this aspect may be worthwhile in engaging the audience further.

The re-enactment events proved to be engaging and reinforced by a strong willingness to participate and repeat the experience. It is relevant to point out the growing potential in cross-border events that enlarge and engage more communities that shared the same historical events in a more dynamic cultural network.

## **Awareness**

With the objective of analysing visitors' awareness and knowledge about the re-enactment events agenda, results showed that a quarter of the participants could not identify one re-enactment event. It points out that the majority have limited knowledge of re-

enactment events agenda or may not actively follow the re-enactment scene. It implies a lack of awareness and knowledge and a low level of visibility or recognition within the community.

Even so, in reference to Portugal, Vimeiro, Bussaco, Almeida, Roliça and Linhas de Torres are the ones recognized by the visitors. It may suggest a recognition of specific events that are more celebrated in Portugal as the main events of the Peninsular War. A low awareness of international events, especially in Spain, might be related to poor cross-border promotion.

In fact, results might suggest a correlation between the lack of visibility, promotion, and awareness of the events. While amongst the national and international re-enactment community the relevance and awareness of these events seems widely recognized, amongst newcomers this is still poorly invested and represents an opportunity for event organizers to promote these events within and outside the re-enactment community.

## **Motivation**

On the 11th question a set of ten individual sub-questions intended to explore the motivations of the participant, what drives the visitor and what is the importance attributed to each of the selected motivations/interests: gastronomy, the fair/shopping, recreational interest in animation/fun, re-enactment of the battle, learning/historical cultural, touristic interest in general, patriotic celebration, interaction with historical re-enactors, and finally, learning to do something historical/traditional with the re-enactors,.

The analysis on the first motivation started with figure 21 and interest in gastronomy was rated as moderately important, a 2.7 in the 1-5 Likert scale. Despite the high value of food experiences, in these events it is suggested that it may not be the most significant factor for participating. Even so, providing special culinary experiences, historically related, framed in a creative experience of living history could be an interesting strategy to cater a broader audience and explore local traditions related to the historical period as well.

The motivation of shopping and buying local products in the fair or market displayed in the event turned out as a moderately important motivator, suggesting a role in attracting tourist but may not be the primary motivator of most participants. Even so these activities contribute positively for their experience. A majority of 57% rated with the lowest importance value, 1, which may show that tourist either do not prioritize these activities or consider them less crucial in their decision to participate.

Recreational animation and fun were considered in average to be quite important (4.2) in visitors' motivations for participating. The larger majority of 45%, see recreational animation/fun as very important, indicating that for many visitors, the element of enjoyment, entertainment and fun is a central motivation and a key factor that contributes to their decision to engage in re-enactment events or historical recreations. In fact, the highest two scores totalize 84% of the respondents who rated the highest value on recreational animation and fun. It is suggested that it is a good strategy to incorporate recreational activities and entertainment elements into battlefield tourism experiences as they present a major engagement factor.

Tourism relies on the attractiveness of the tourist destination and Herzog (2012) argued its construction combines touristic registers like enjoyment, entertainment, and fascination, on which our findings align with. Miles (2012, 2014) also pointed out the entertainment orientation and drive of the participants in battlefield tourism, just as the leisure pursuit found in living history events (Hunt, 2004) related with re-enactment. It seems appropriate to connect these motivations in a wider entertainment focus that will be aggregated with education, arguing the "edutainment" as a major drive in these historical re-enactments. It signifies memorable activities, more active and more creative, based in cultural and historical aspects that are enjoyable and promote learning.

The highest motivation found was the interest in the re-enactment of the battle (fig 24), being rated as 4.7 in the average Likert Scale, indicating that it represents the primary draw for the majority of participants. For 79% of the respondents, the core attraction lies in witnessing or participating in the re-enactment events. One may argue that the main key motivator is witnessing the event instead of actively participate in the re-enactment. It is suggested if we contrast with the main type of participant found, the observer, as well as the high willingness to participate shown in figure 28. Nevertheless, contrasting with figure 35 results, 48% did not participate and maintained an observer participation.

Even so, the battle's re-enactment is the most desired experience to witness, underscoring its relevance for attracting and retaining visitors.

The interest in learning in the scope of a historical-cultural experience proved to be the second most important motivation, with an average of 4.5 in the Likert scale. It is a primary draw for the overwhelming majority, the opportunity to engage and learn about historical aspects and educational experiences in these Napoleonic re-enactments.

Willard et al. (2021) analysed the battlefield experience in Culloden and argued the importance of edutainment rather than entertainment amongst the visitors. The term 'entertaining' is better associated with 'edutainment' – whereby educational aspects underpin

the entertaining features; visitors' wish their experience to be enjoyable. While engaged in an educational experience, respondents also absorbed the events unfolding before them while actively participating and developing their skills and knowledge. In this process, understanding and awareness is developed (Willard et al. 2021) and narrative is enhanced by the visited cultural elements (museums and interpretational centres).

Touristic interest in general proved to be a moderately important motivation with an average of 3.6 in the Likert scale. Touristic elements seem to play a role in attracting visitors, but they may not be the primary motivation for most of the participants. A general touristic interest may be a somewhat blurred and generic definition that framed those who were not specifically driven by cultural motivations.

Being driven by a patriotic celebration is rated as moderately important reaching 3.9 in the average Likert scale. It signifies that patriotism plays a role in attracting visitors.

This data reveals that this motivation is a significant aspect of the experience, though, we might take in consideration the nationality of the majority and the age range. Being Portuguese, and between 20 and 50 years old, one may relate this with the personal value of patriotic celebration in the present days. Respondents often expressed by words that there is a somewhat relation of feelings of patriotism with the times of the dictatorship nationalism, what leads younger generations to express a lower value on this national feelings and value more the entertainment. Curiously, it is the opposite with the Spanish respondents, where Patriotism feelings seem to be more present and imbedded in Spanish culture. This could be an interesting line to be developed and better understood as no studies analyse the impact of patriotism in Iberian Peninsula as we can find in other countries about the relation with battlefield tourism (Gallipoli and Australia, Bannockburn and Scotland, Normandy beaches and USA, Canada, France and UK, etc.)

Interaction with historical re-enactors is in average 3.9 in the Likert scale. It signifies that a strong emphasis on interaction comprises 76%, showing that the majority of the participants highly value the opportunity to interact with historical re-enactors. A consensus on importance of interaction as a motivation of the participants is shown, even if the participants play a role of observers in an interactive ambience.

A parallel conclusion may be suggested when analysing the figure 29 that expresses the motivation for learning to do something historical/traditional with the re-enactors, rated with an average of 3.8 indicating a moderately important. Even so, a deeper consideration highlights a strong emphasis on Importance (score 4 and 5), showing more relevance when the combined higher rated scores reach 68%. It suggests that a significant majority of the

participants highly value the opportunity to learn these skills from re-enactors but may not be the primary motivator.

Combining the data of figures 28 and 29, we may underscore the value of providing educational and interactive experiences where visitors can acquire historical knowledge and skills during re-enactment events where learning-by-doing activities point out the relevance and the opportunity of creative tourism activities.

This data identifies the strategic importance of providing opportunities for visitors to engage with re-enactors, ask questions, participate in Living History activities and immerse themselves in historical narratives during Napoleonic re-enactment events.

Living-history interpretation provides a staged experience and immediate engagement into the past. Living-history interpretation is “the re-creation of specific periods of the past or specific events utilizing living interpreters usually clothed and equipped with the correct tools and accoutrements of a depicted era” (Luzader & Spellman, 1996, p. 241).

Results confirm what many interpreters have long known, namely, heritage tour interpretation and effective question asking may increase visitor engagement. This is salient because visitor engagement is a key element of quality interpretive experiences (Moscardo, 1999). The increased levels of attention, active participation, satisfaction, learning, and enthusiasm as a result of increased engagement may allow for a richer and more meaningful interpretation experience (Douglas et al. 2018).

Battlefields have an educational potential and provide teaching environment (Marsh, 2020) when interpretation releases the tangible benefits of battlefield tourism.

One must consider the few studies and research articles that can be related to our present study. Visitors or participants are the focus of the studies, but the environment is different (time period, country, type of event). The research studies that were used in literature, to our best knowledge, did not explore the visitors’ perceptions in Napoleonic re-enactment events.

Therefore, in conclusion we may suggest that from all the motivations, the interest in the recreation of the battle is the most important and relevant for the visitors while the second most important is the motivation of learning, framed in a historical-cultural environment. We should also take in consideration that the third motivation is the element of enjoyment, entertainment, and fun, all three constitute the top key factors that contributes to the visitor’s decision to engage in Napoleonic re-enactment events.

## **Opinion on the quality of the historical recreation of the event: authenticity or entertainment?**

At the 12th question, two sub-questions provided insights about the quality of the historical re-enactment and if authenticity or entertainment are important for the participant and part of the perception of quality. These opinions were collected and showed in figure 30 and 31.

Findings show an exceptional importance of historical accuracy and authenticity, according to the average Likert score of 4.7, suggesting that historical accuracy and authenticity are central factors in the participants' assessment of the quality of Napoleonic historical re-enactment events. A significant majority of 81% regarded quality of historical recreation to be closely tied to the accuracy of the portrayal and the quality of the recreation.

Hunt (2004) argues that authenticity, is understood by participants in terms of excitement, exhilaration, and 'experience' which, above all, are given expression on the battlefield.

Chhabra et al. (2003) explored the staged authenticity in the Flora Macdonald Scottish Highland Games held in North Carolina (United States) where re-enactment is also present and argued that satisfaction with a heritage event depends not on its authenticity in the literal sense of whether or not it is an accurate re-creation of some past condition, but rather on its perceived authenticity (consistency with nostalgia for some real or imagined past). Heritage is thus created and re-created from surviving memories, artifacts, and sites of the past to serve contemporary demand. The authors also pointed out that all heritage tourism events can draw upon the results to recognize the importance of authenticity for economic benefits (higher expenditures associated with greater perceived authenticity) and culture sustainability (preservation of heritage).

Hart (2007) linked recreation with authenticity in living history events when studying Civil War re-enactments in the USA (Gettysburg in 2006). The author argues that 'Living History' performances require an interpretive apparatus that takes genuine history as its authority, while remaining external to both participants and tourists, who may well be unaware of how closely their own involvement approximates genuine historical events (Hart, 2007). In the same research paper, Hart also argues that since a reenactment is an acknowledged reproduction, authenticity in the sense of originality, as the postmodernists use the word, is actually an irrelevance. Authenticity, as the participants themselves use it, more often denotes an approximation of the original.

Hunt (2004) studied the American civil war re-enactment groups and argued that while aspects of 'living history' are commodified, the re-packaging and revalorization of a historical epoch outside of its immediate historical context allows re-enactors to bring a variety of meanings to their participation. As authenticity is interpreted in terms of 'experience', it may or may not be associated with specific details of historical correctness. To some extent, the ambiguity around authenticity arises from the fact that not all details of 'living history' are known to historical researchers, while other aspects are difficult to act out.

The question that we may ask is what authenticity for these participants is and what is perceived as authentic or historical accurate. One can argue that the perception of authenticity may be based in each ones' historical knowledge of the period. Visitors seem to have distinct opinions and perceptions as many as the cultural levels are. A general perception of authenticity seems less related to historical accuracy amongst the common visitors. Only the re-enactors and battlefield tourists express more solid knowledge and therefore, the perception of authenticity is higher as they recognise the historical details. This could be an interesting study to develop in the future by comparing the re-enactors authenticity perspective and comparing it to the participants one.

In this present study the perception of quality assessed by the visitors is strongly based on their awareness of authenticity and entertainment experience. Living history present's an extraordinary show of immersive edutainment experience acknowledged by all, even if the historical accuracy is deep rooted or not.

Figure 31 obtained perceptions of the importance of theatrics and entertainment for the quality of the re-enactment or if the most important was the historical accuracy and authenticity.

An average score of 4.4 rated Theatrics and Entertainment as Important, suggesting that the entertainment value of the event is a significant factor in participants' overall experience and perception of event quality. Nevertheless, respondents rated with a much stronger average of 4.7 the historical accuracy and the authenticity. It points out that respondents prioritize historical authenticity when assessing the quality of the re-enactment event.

The objective was to understand if there was an awareness of the difference between theatrics and historical re-enactment authenticity. Visitors seem to make no clear difference and assume both concepts as part of the re-enactment authenticity assessment. It seemed interesting (though not surprising) to conclude this when re-enactors make a clear distinction between the two and see theatrics as a staged history that demines the pillar of authenticity (Chhabra, 2003; Hart, 2007).

## Elements of the experience

Figure 32 is the first of ten sub-questions designed to obtain a clear overview on the experience, specifically to characterize it as an activity of fun (entertainment), cultural or educational “contours”. It was also important to obtain the element of engagement and the whiling of the visitor to actively participate and his assessment on the interaction provided. It was important for the study to understand if these re-enactments are indeed interactive or if people prefer just to observe without interacting.

This first question (figure 32) showed the high importance (4.3 in an average Likert scale) attributed to fun when characterizing and evaluating the experience, implying elements of enjoyment, entertainment, and fun as significant and a highly valued aspect of the participant's experience as it was rated by 94% of the respondents, though from these 57% valued as Important.

Figure 33 asked for the importance of the cultural element and an average 4.6 in the Likert scale was the response, considering it as Very Important. Cultural and historical aspects of the re-enactments are perceived and a central and highly valued part of the participant's experience. Considering the 74% that rated Very Important and the Important rating, a total of 92% highly value having a cultural experience. Participants highly prioritize having a cultural experience and identify this event as a very important display of rich cultural elements and historical significance.

Figure 34 exposed the highest rate of the lived experience assessment, with an overwhelming 4.6 in the Likert scale for the educational element. Combining the two highest rates, totalizing 95%, it points out the educational aspect as a central expectation and motivation for attending these events. It signifies that learning and improving knowledge are highly prioritized and valued in experiencing these Napoleonic re-enactment events.

We may then conclude that the pivotal elements of the experience are Educational and Cultural, and fun and entertainment are a secondary drive for engagement and assessed lived experience.

Results align with other research studies and literature, despite not in the same event framework, where visitor engagement is a key element of quality interpretive experiences (Moscardo, 1999). The increased levels of attention, active participation, satisfaction, learning, and enthusiasm (Deci & Ryan, 2002; Reeve, 2012) as a result of increased engagement may allow for a richer and more meaningful interpretation experience.

## Participation and Engagement

The next graphic, figure 35, showed an important insight about the participation of the visitants. Despite the desired interest in interaction, 48% acted just as observers, signifying a medium level of participation. Encampment and its living history activities was the favoured participated activity. We must point out the interest in the use and drilling of the fire sequence of the musket and traditional games as an important factor of engagement. It seems that only the military encampment represents a better opportunity for the interaction.

Figure 36 meant to deepen the understanding the level of engagement and participation and the impact and impression of the activities to promote the desire to participate in a future event. It also had the objective of crossing data with the previous. It proved to be effective in identifying that a substantial number of visitors (33%) expressed no willingness or regret in participating, preferring a role of observers. Even so, 29% indicated the will and the regret of not having participated in the historical recreation, showing the future motivation to actively engage in the historical re-enactment. Firing a weapon was the next desired experience, indicating the interest in activities that involve handling historical weaponry and participate in military drills, while experiencing the living history activities that recreate the military encampment and provide an immersive engagement.

These results suggest the confirmation in these Napoleonic re-enactment events similar perceptions of engagement found in other events. Engagement, a motivational state of focused involvement in learning, has been associated with numerous benefits. Among these are increased attention, active participation, enjoyment, enthusiasm, and lack of anxiety (Reeve, 2012). Engagement is thus a state of motivation containing elements of interest, curiosity, and enjoyment (Reeve, 2012; 2014). Engagement yields a deep and focused experience in an interpretive activity.

The interactive 'quality' of tourism experiences, together with the sensory, emotional, cognitive, behavioural and relational outcomes, help to create meaning, consumption, and loyalty, thereby implying a reciprocal dimension where both the service provider and visitor contribute to the experiential outcome (Moscardo, 2009).

The analysis on the results of these two last elements of the experience, participation, and engagement, show the high impact of participative learning in visitors' motivation. By applying a more creative environment with cultural significance and traditional activities, enjoyment and curiosity play a determinant role to promote loyalty and willingness to repeat

the experience. It also demonstrates the impact of creative tourism as an engagement element also identified amongst stakeholders and the community (Noivo, et al. 2022).

### **Level of Interaction**

It was important to determine if the re-enactment was an interactive experience and figure 37, allowed us to better characterize the perception of the visitors. The Likert scale values were kept but the qualification changed to a rate form “Never” to “Always”, obtaining a 4.3 average. It indicated that participants perceived their experiences as highly interactive with a combined higher score of 87%. It confirmed that providing engaging and interactive elements, produces a successful immersive and interactive re-enactment environment that enhance participant satisfaction and engagement.

### **Satisfaction factors**

The same modified Likert scale was applied to obtain the experience satisfaction levels of the participants and figure 38 demonstrated an average of 4.6, corresponding to the two combined highest scores of 95%, expressing those participants consistently found their re-enactment experience to be highly satisfactory.

This level of satisfaction is a positive indicator of the event's overall quality and its ability to effectively engage and please its audience.

It was important to identify the activities that provided all levels of satisfaction and figure 39 illustrated that 71% had the highest preference for the battle re-enactment and the skirmishes that were re-enacted. Re-enactment is the major draw for attendees and a key highlight of the event, followed by interest in the military encampment, musket firing, and interactive experiences.

### **Elements of repeat and recommend factors.**

Finally, figures 40 and 41 confirmed the overall satisfaction in regard to the event, pointing out re-enactment as the top experience to be lived as this last two questions expressed the will to repeat and recommend the participation in these events. This information was relevant to obtain the level of loyalty achieved and when asked if the participant would repeat the experience, a massive 93% rated as “Always”, indicating that

participants are not only satisfied with their current experience but are highly motivated and highly inclined to attend similar events in the future. This level of enthusiasm and willingness to return is a strong indicator of the success and appeal of the event, as well as its potential for long-term sustainability and growth.

The same impact can be observed in figure 41 where being asked if they would recommend the experience, 95% of the participants responded “always”, showing an overwhelming willingness to recommend. Nearly all participants are enthusiastic about encouraging others to participate in such events and are highly motivated to share that positive experience.

These two satisfactory elements are strong indicators of the event's success, its potential for positive word-of-mouth promotion, and its capacity to draw new visitors in the future.

On a wider perspective, this data provides the identification of the inhibiting and the enhancing factors in the experience of participating in these re-enactments, as well as insights in what promotes a good, memorable experience. It also helps to deepen the relevance of authenticity or entertainment factors for the visitors. As these two factors seem, as far as literature is concerned, elements to be perceived differently amongst re-enactors and visitors.

## 5.5. Conclusions

Findings expose the importance and the relevance of the participation, promoting and improving the value of the experience, engaging the visitor in an educational experience of historical significance. Re-enactment and living history events appear as a strong attraction for all family members, and the intention to repeat the experience and to suggest the event to others also points out the high perception of authenticity and entertainment value of historical re-enactments where living history activities are present.

**Characterization of Participants:** The majority of participants in these re-enactment events are Portuguese visitors (77%), indicating a strong domestic presence. The proximity to Spain also draws Spanish visitors (15%). French and British participants are less common, suggesting a need for enhanced promotion among these nationalities. Men make up the majority of attendees (70%), with most falling in the 21 to 50 age range. Many attendees come with their families and friends (27%), highlighting the social aspect of the events.

**Duration of Attendance:** Participants tend to stay for the entire duration of the event, indicating a high level of commitment and enthusiasm. Extended participation is preferred, reflecting a strong and committed re-enactment community.

**Type of Participant:** A large majority (95%) prefer to be observers rather than active participants in the re-enactment events. The data on interaction preferences is to be explored further in future studies. Participants tend to stay for the entire duration of the event, indicating a high level of commitment and enthusiasm. Extended participation is preferred, reflecting a strong and committed re-enactment community.

**Engagement Factor:** A significant portion (25%) of participants are first-time historical re-enactors, suggesting a growing interest in these events. Domestic focus is strong (26%), but there is also an interest in cross-border historical events, indicating broader regional historical interest.

**Repeater Percentage:** More than half (53%) of participants have prior experience with re-enactment events, indicating a returning audience. The interpretation centre/museum is seen as a valuable part of the event, suggesting its potential to further engage the audience.

**Awareness:** A quarter of participants could not identify specific re-enactment events, indicating limited awareness and knowledge among some attendees. Specific events in Portugal are recognized, suggesting a focus on local or national historical interest. Efforts to increase visibility and awareness, especially for international events, may be beneficial.

Motivation: The top motivations for participants include the re-enactment of the battle and learning about historical and cultural aspects. Recreational animation and fun are also important motivators, emphasizing the entertainment aspect. Interaction with historical re-enactors and learning traditional skills from them are moderately important motivations.

Opinion on Authenticity vs. Entertainment: Historical accuracy and authenticity are highly valued by participants, with 81% considering them crucial for event quality. Theatrics and entertainment are important but rated slightly lower than historical accuracy and authenticity.

Elements of the Experience: Participants highly value fun, cultural experiences, and educational elements in the re-enactment events. Learning and gaining historical knowledge are top priorities for attendees.

Participation and Engagement: While some participants prefer to be observers (48%), others are engaged in encampment and living history activities. There is a strong desire for interactive experiences, especially those involving historical weaponry and military drills.

Satisfaction Factors: Participants consistently found their re-enactment experience to be highly satisfactory, with 95% expressing high levels of satisfaction. Activities such as battle re-enactment and skirmishes were most satisfying.

Elements of Repeat and Recommend: The vast majority of participants (93%) are inclined to repeat the experience, indicating high levels of loyalty. Nearly all participants (95%) are enthusiastic about recommending the experience to others, suggesting strong word-of-mouth potential.

An important objective of this study was to identify from the conclusions obtained in the findings, the enhancing factors and inhibiting factors in the Napoleonic historical battlefield re-enactment event.

They are presented as strategies to be applied in order to enhance the success and the experience of the participants.

### **Enhancing Factors**

1. Develop a family participation friendly event, with activities specific for the relevant group ages (children <12, Adolescents 13-17, adults >18, Older adults >65) promoting cross-interaction and historically valued experience.
2. Create activities that are engaging experiences of cultural significance: learning by doing, hands-on activities where visitors can handle artifacts or replicas, use or dress

uniforms and equipment and learn directly from re-enactors authenticity and entertainment.

3. Create events with different activities that have a sequence in time that visitors can engage and explore throughout the several days of the event, promoting a lasting permanence and a fully immersive experience.
4. Museums and Interpretation Centres are important to value the historical interpretation of the event and technology should be applied to better create immersive experiences (Virtual Reality, Augmented Reality, interactive interpretation apps, QR codes, etc) and simulation games that can be played to promote interaction instead of a mere observation of artifacts.
5. Re-enactment is the stronger attraction and engagement factor amongst visitors and local community alike. By extending this cooperation to cross-border communities, events enlarge the scale to international dimension and a stronger economy impact.
6. The main motivations to be met, promote enjoyment, entertainment, and fun, mixed with “edutainment” elements, all integrated in activities that achieve high levels of satisfactions among visitors. This strategy must be part of the creative display of activities, therefore, living history activities play a determinant role to meet the desired historical-cultural experience.
7. Promoting historical accuracy and authenticity in the event through experienced, knowledgeable, and historical rigorous re-enactors, up-scales the event’s perception of quality and authenticity, a major drive amongst visitors and re-enactors.
8. Recreating more military encampments and soldiers’ daily routine activities promotes a closer contact between visitors, re-enactors and living historians, increasing more opportunities to interactive educational experiences. Improving historical fidelity in event planning, costume design, historical significance, and investing in more diversified activities offers a good strategy to focus on the stronger element of interaction between participants. Handling historical weaponry and participating in military drills are highly desired experiences.
9. A paramount strategy is to increase the number of the most desired experiences, the skirmishes, battle recreations and battle formations, always supported by a knowledgeable historical narrative that interprets the action to the public. It contextualizes the action and helps to interpret and identify the historical elements, resulting in a more educational and engaging experience.

## **Inhibiting factors**

The following inhibiting factors were identified in the findings of this study and present an opportunity to mitigate the effects in the success of these events.

1. Visitors act mainly as observers and are reluctant to actively participate.
2. Event promotion focused on domestic visitors and mainly in the national re-enactment community.
3. Low visibility: Promotion and divulgation of these events tend to have limited impact, which reflects in low awareness and historical significance perceived by communities.
4. An over theatricalization of the event may represent a staged history that is perceived by re-enactors as unauthentic and inaccurate, sometimes closer to festivals or local/amateur recreative events.

Even so, the presented topics may be relevant to perceive elements that have to be improved to reach a better appreciation level and quality perception, and therefore achieve a more sustainable success in developing these Historical events.

## CHAPTER VI

---

### FACTORS THAT BOOST OR INHIBIT BATTLEFIELD TOURISM



## 6. Chapter VI - Factors that boost or inhibit Battlefield Tourism

This chapter aims, in general, to identify and characterize the factors that promote and boost or inhibit and limit the success of battlefield tourism. Through the literature review and conclusions of the previous chapters, the main objective is to recognize strategies and tactics that enhance and value Napoleonic battlefield tourism in Portugal and Spain. In the present approach, Napoleonic battlefield tourism includes historical re-enactments, battlefield re-enactments, battlefield guided tours, historical Napoleonic resources or locations already inserted in tourism planning and those who are still absent from the touristic development plans.

This pragmatic approach is meant to serve the stakeholders who may apply directly in the field these strategies and tactics that can lead to the sustainable touristic development of the battlefield locations, as well as improvements that promote the successful battlefield tourism.

Firstly, to establish which new forms of tourism can better boost battlefield tourism, we have identified and characterized the ones that seem more fitted taking in consideration the motivations, the experience and the interpretation offered to visitors. To better understand how historical re-enactment, Living History and creative tourism embody the main drivers of battlefield tourism, we explored the perception and the given value by the visitors.

Secondly, we think that if it is important to identify the enhancers of battlefield tourism, it is equally paramount to identify the inhibitors of its success. Therefore, important factors are presented, taking in consideration our conclusions and literature review.

The last part of this chapter is the proposal of a set of Strategies and Tactics for the successful development of the battlefield tourism in Napoleonic battlefields of the Iberian Peninsula. Again, from a pragmatic and useful approach, we intend to contribute with strategic goals and tactic actions based on the topics of this chapter, part of the larger model presented at the end of this thesis.

### **6.1. Identification and characterization of new forms of tourism to boost Battlefield Tourism (Storytelling, Active Tourism, Creative Tourism, Historical Recreation /Re-enactment, and Living History)**

As introduced firstly at the beginning of the chapter, our objective here is to identify and characterize the forms of tourism that promote and boost battlefield tourism. In that sense, to promote and boost, signifies to maintain a durable attraction for visitors, a continuous engaging of the stakeholders in presenting touristic offer and meeting tourists' needs, therefore a sustainable touristic flux, consistent in innovative dynamics, a planned event's agenda with initiatives widely promoted.

These goals are based in the successful touristic development of a touristic attraction, in accordance with the following literature (Hatipoglu, et al., 2016; Dwyer and Edwards, 2010; Seek & Sellier, 2019; Richards & Wilson, 2006; Mason, 2020). It also includes the orientation of the World Tourism Organization concerning sustainable tourism. Therefore, to achieve successful touristic development, several key elements are to be implemented and operationalized:

1 - Sustainable tourism: The World Tourism Organization defines sustainable tourism as "tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities".

2 - Effective Tourism Strategy: It is of paramount importance to establish a comprehensive, enduring tourism strategy that aligns the interests of both the industry and government in their pursuit of sustainable tourism development and management. This plan should entail the collective support and agreement of a diverse array of stakeholders from both the public and private sectors.

3 - Detailed Action Plans: These should clearly define timelines, responsibilities, and the human and financial resources required for plan implementation.

4 - Demand-Driven Solutions: Increased demand is the primary and ultimately the only sustainable driver of more frequent and affordable airlift, product diversification, and improved service delivery.

5 - Developing New Tourism Experiences: This entails crafting experiences that align with the present requirements of customers while promoting sustainability for the environment and the local community. Essential aspects to contemplate when

designing novel tourism experiences encompass off-the-beaten-track travel, slow travel, less frequent but longer travel, local travel, self-guided travel, personal and flexible travel.

6 - Tourism Development Elements: These include developing and managing private-public partnerships, evaluating competitors for a competitive edge, guaranteeing responsible and sustainable growth, regarding tourism as an interrelated system and a sector driven by demand, evaluating private sector investments, fostering international cooperation, promoting tourism clustering, and government participation.

These strategic goals constitute the basis for successful touristic development even though it is a continuous process that requires constant evaluation and adaptation to changing circumstances. For the implementation of battlefield tourism, one may observe these strategic goals as well, developing a strong community-based operation interaction with all the stakeholders in every step of the tourism planning.

One may point out the importance of the battlefield's visitation and interpretation, the tourist's experience, and the dynamic types of tourism, as elements that enhance and value Napoleonic Battlefield tourism. These new forms of tourism can present an opportunity to enlarge the creative value and the cultural experience.

To meet the needs of tourists, McKercher and Du Cros (2015) present the following guidelines for building cultural products and strategies to empower the design of the experiences:

1. Tell a story - storytelling is presented as an instrument that helps tourists better understand local history and culture, while also creating new meanings for destinations and aiding the interpretation of cultural tourism products;
2. Make the asset come alive - products should incorporate creativity and stimulating messages that contribute to the tourist having a pleasant experience. With this, tourists will be more inclined to consume these products and stay longer in the destinations;
3. Make it a participatory experience - cultural products should encourage tourists to participate and thus increase their satisfaction by offering a pleasant experience;
4. Make it relevant to the tourist: cultural tourism products should be presented in such a way as to be relevant to tourists, within their frames of reference and knowledge.

5. Focus on quality and authenticity - considering the profile of the cultural tourist, a selection based on quality will be favoured. The quality and authenticity of cultural products will thus be determining factors in attracting and satisfying tourists (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002).

Considering these last 5 orientations, we may relate each one to the forms of tourism presented in this chapter. The number one stands for the implementation of Storytelling; number two structures creative tourism; number three applies to active tourism, re-enactment and Living History; number four expand a cultural tourism basis, where learning and edutainment presents an opportunity for Living History as well; finally, a reinforcement in re-enactment and Living History is supported by number five, where authenticity and quality are important in the satisfaction levels of tourists.

The experience on a Napoleonic battlefield, may it be a guided visit, participating in a historical re-enactment or assisting to a battle re-enactment, implies a reach array of meanings. Some may be more personal, others, to be lived integrated in a community. Nonetheless, authenticity and perceived quality are common elements of satisfaction when history comes alive in these historical landscapes. Incorporating creativity and knowledgeable interaction present opportunities to learn in every group age and, a relevant storytelling, performed and re-enacted seem to lead visitors to other dimensions of awareness and engagement.

### **Storytelling and digital storytelling as enhancers for battlefield tourism**

Storytelling can be viewed as a central component of human existence, as people use stories to facilitate communication (Moscardo, 2020). At the core of the tourism system where tourist, provider, and community intersect, storytelling is used to co-create tourist experiences (Moscardo, 2020).

Another study by Ross and Saxena (2019) explored the concept of storytelling, but focused on how creative storytelling can generate meaning-making via participative co-creation at heritage sites where tangible remains have been lost. The authors explain that meaningful tourist experiences are first and foremost determined by 1) the mysticism surrounding “lost” heritage, 2) themed activities and 3) creative storytelling (Ross & Saxena, 2019).

Storytelling plays a significant role in battlefield tourism. It serves as a bridge between the past and the present, allowing visitors to connect with historical events and individuals. Here are some key points:

1. **Engagement and Growth:** Storytelling drives engagement with the destination and increases growth. It's an emotive experience that can lead to increased interest and brand loyalty.
2. **Transformative Experience:** Stories show us how to access different experiences or perspectives of the world than our own. They can evoke feelings, leading visitors to feel a part of the story.
3. **Memory Enhancement:** Cognitive psychologist Jerome Bruner suggests that we are 22 times more likely to remember a fact when it is enveloped in an engaging story (Gonçalves, 2018).
4. **Cultural Connection:** Storytelling in cultural tourism destinations, including battlefields, is a catalyst that bridges the gap between residents and tourists (Gonçalves, 2018).
5. **Re-enactments:** Re-enactments of past battles can provide a more complex and nuanced form of storytelling (Ryan, 2007)

Storytelling has been proven to have a catalysing effect on cultural tourism destinations, since the relationship between the visitor and the storyteller boosts the engagement with the destination, increasing tourist loyalty to the destination through a memorable experience (Lee, 2005).

A key feature of place-based product development and promotion is the identification and telling the story of a place through a variety of narrative techniques. These techniques include the tradition of oral storytelling, but also print, video, graphic and digital media (Smith, S. 2015)

Some site's staff uses storytelling as a way to engage visitors and create a more immersive experience. The fusion of place and narrative is important in providing visitors with a meaningful experience (Garcia -Madurga & Grilló-Méndez, 2023).

Best practices for battlefield tourism include employing knowledgeable tour guides, using storytelling to engage visitors (Garcia-Madurga & Grilló-Méndez, 2023).

Chronis (2005) elucidates that storytelling often entails a collaborative effort between tour guides and tourists. Tourists frequently participate in filling in narrative gaps with their imagination or attributing their unique significance to the story. Conventionally, a tour guide is defined as an individual who leads groups or individuals through places of interest while

interpreting cultural or natural heritage (Weiler & Black, 2015). Nevertheless, this definition portrays the tour guide as a one-way communicator, a presenter, or an entertainer.

Within the framework of the Experience Economy (Pine & Gilmore, 1998), it is more appropriate to regard tour guides as experience-brokers who prioritize creating memorable and meaningful experiences for group tour participants (Weiler & Black, 2015). Consequently, tours become tailored or even personalized, resulting in experiences that are not only enjoyable but also leave a lasting impact.

As the demand for co-creative tours continues to rise among experience-oriented tourists, tour guides are well-positioned to meet this demand. Their ability to improvise and adapt their communication style is a significant asset in this context. Thus, tour guiding remains a relevant and indispensable element in experience-centred tourism. This underscores the necessity for the industry to provide tour guides with the essential skills to deliver these interactive experiences and meet the evolving expectations of customers (Weiler & Black, 2015).

All those who contact directly with the visitor/tourist on a battlefield, may play an important role in the narrative and the deep co-relation between history, the place and even family history alike, representing a true immersive and memorable experience (Noivo, et al. 2022). Storytelling implies a better approach to the narrative, a richer and meaningful perspective to which the visitor can relate and understand as the re-enactor shows, the living historian teaches, or the guide interprets.

Uzzell (1989) in "Heritage Interpretation", explored the theory and practice of heritage interpretation, including the different methods and techniques used to engage and educate visitors. The author examined the role of interpretation in shaping visitors' perceptions and attitudes towards heritage sites, and the importance of effective communication and storytelling in creating engaging and memorable experiences.

Or, as argued later, there is little doubt that heritage interpretation can play an important role in enhancing people's awareness, understanding and appreciation of time and place. If this is to occur, the interpretation needs to be planned and designed with that outcome in mind (Uzell, 1996).

Therefore, it seems an effective strategy to implement storytelling techniques amongst the guides, re-enactors, and other elements from the community, who play a role in interpreting the battlefields and the re-enactment events.

## Digital Storytelling and interactive media

Digital storytelling can be described as the art of narrating tales through the use of interactive media, animation, and augmented reality (AR) and virtual reality (VR) enhancements (Psomadaki et al., 2019).

AR is a technology with the capacity to overlay the existing environment into a digital context, with applications including, though not limited to, text, video, images and 3D objects (Azuma et al., 2001). Through AR, 3D virtual objects appear to coexist in the same space as the real world. Virtual reality (VR) is a technology that creates virtual three-dimensional environments that can be interacted with in a seemingly real or physical way as pointed out by Bec et al. (2019).

In the contemporary landscape, it has evolved into a pivotal tool for competitive advantage in the tourism industry, serving as a means to disseminate knowledge and cultural insights (Bassano et al., 2019). Particularly within the realm of cultural heritage, digital storytelling is acknowledged as a strategic avenue for museums and historical sites to invest in, aimed at enticing and captivating their audiences (Katifori et al., 2020).

Improving multimedia elements, storytellers can now craft immersive and enjoyable environments that actively involve visitors in the narrative (Pujol et al., 2013). Research by Katifori, Tsitou, et al. (2020) demonstrated that a storytelling app effectively heightened engagement, learning, and prompted deep reflection among visitors. Furthermore, a study conducted by Bonacini (2019), exploring the impact of digital storytelling on heritage communities, revealed that it not only engaged these communities in preserving their cultural heritage but also fostered partnerships with local heritage institutions.

For tourism purposes, heritage can “be conceptualized as a product, a marketable commodity, although in reality it is multi-faceted, embodying notions of scholarship, culture and personal identity” (Leighton, 2007, p.118). Heritage places can include a wide variety of attractions that make for lucrative tourism opportunities, ranging from small-scale local properties to large attractions that are central to a destination’s tourism strategy (Mijnheer & Gamble, 2019).

Customers actively co-create their heritage consumption experiences (Minkiewicz et al., 2014). For example, Little et al. (2020) explored the potential of 3D modelling technology as a means of preserving heritage while also allowing for memorable tourism experiences. Findings revealed that 3D scanning effectively simulated a WWII Hanger and Norden bombsight within two millimetres of accuracy. These simulations can then be presented to

tourists as Augmented Reality or Virtual Reality experiences that are interactive and authentic (Little et al., 2020). Similarly, a study by Bec et al. (2019) found that integrating technology in immersive heritage contexts has the potential to preserve heritage while enriching the visitor experience and their engagement with history.

Leveraging technology and multimedia tools can significantly enhance the engagement factor, particularly when delving into the realms of history and archaeology. The consensus within the field suggests that museums and historical sites must prioritize investments in digital storytelling to not only draw but also captivate their audiences, as indicated by Katifori, Perry, et al. (2020). These multimedia resources are instrumental in assisting experience providers to craft immersive and enjoyable settings, enabling visitors to actively partake in the narratives, as underscored by Pujol et al. (2012).

We may then point out that the integration of technology and multimedia resources into the presentation of historical and archaeological content not only aligns with the contemporary trend but also offers a promising approach for museums and Napoleonic historical sites to engage, educate, and captivate their visitors in a more interactive and immersive manner.

Gallán (2016, 2017a), Rico & Zurita-Aldeguer (2020) and Moya (2020) explored the advantages in using multimedia platforms to musealize these archaeological sites, demonstrating that the use of Apps can combine georeferenced information, historical content, and historical recreation through Augmented Reality. It seems that the improvement in the interpretation of these heritage sites is closely related to an easy access to information, being through Qr code, App or interactive panels like the models applied in the battlefield of Los Arapiles.

According to Bec et al. (2019), as many tourism destinations are centred on local heritage, there is an opportunity for technology-based applications to contribute to heritage preservation, tourism experience management, as well as further enhancing the suite of tourism experiences.

These technologies can be extended to the use of gamification, promoting a more interactive approach to the battlefields like the Apps created in Almeida “Conhecer Almeida” and the Rota Histórica das Linhas de Torres (Lines of Torres Vedras Route). These Apps promote an interactive experience with the cultural resources and provide important information for the interpretation of the historical event. Augmented Reality is also applied and effectively used to recreate the structures from the Napoleonic times.

The concept of gamification is defined as the use of game design elements and game thinking in a non-gaming context (Deterding et al. 2011). Gamification of tourism can

contribute to a more rewarding interactions and higher level of satisfaction, as well as increase brand awareness and loyalty to the destination (Xu et al. 2016). The gamified system creates fun, engaging, rewarding tourist experiences, contributes to a deeper engagement, understanding and learning, higher satisfaction with the tourism company, establishes a fun and personal experience (Xu et al. 2017).

By providing a multimedia platform that can be used by visitors on a battlefield, we can improve interpretation through Augmented Reality, interact with informative panels placed on the hotspots that structure the visit itinerary, exploring sounds and images of the past, committing our senses to the desired immersive experience. A good example of this is found in the battlefield of the Arapiles and in Almeida, proving the effectiveness of the technological solution. QR codes are displayed in these interpretative panels along with images and a historical contextualization. Applied technology improve storytelling by the use of QR Codes that links the visitor to hear a virtual background sound of the battle while a narrative is played in a re-enactment perspective. Combining visual with sound, the capacity to understand the historical site is easily achieved and promotes an immersive experience.

As observed and experienced directly by the author, one may point out the importance of having these multimedia platforms working in a planned strategy for the interpretation of the battlefield. For that purpose, the Interpretation Centres, combined with the technological platforms, play an essential role as tangible complement for the understanding of the historic event. Interpretation Centres of Napoleonic Battlefields create the opportunity to familiarize with weaponry and artifacts on display, contextualizing their historical significance, stimulating a visual understanding, and promoting interaction.

Napoleonic Dioramas and scale models of battles and fortresses present an extraordinary opportunity for visitors and are recognised as a central representation of the battle action (<https://www.napoleonguide.com/adiorama.htm>). A Diorama portrays with miniatures a detailed and tangible photograph of a historical moment with all the colour and scale, providing a better visual narrative and reconstruction of the strategy and tactics applied in the battlefield. It is so in the Museum of Ciudad Rodrigo (Palácio de los Aguila), Military Museum of Almeida, Centro de Interpretação da Batalha do Vimeiro and at the Aula de Interpretación de la Batalla de los Arapiles.

Figure 42 Interpretation Centre in Los Arapiles



The Diorama of the Battle of the Arapiles, in the Aula de Interpretación “La batalla de los Arapiles”. Image retrieved from:

[https://www.vacceo.com/pages/proyectos/museografia/musealizacion/p05\\_musealizacion\\_arapiles.html](https://www.vacceo.com/pages/proyectos/museografia/musealizacion/p05_musealizacion_arapiles.html)

Other musealized sites of battlefields extended the interaction to a level where technology is the major enhancer. The experience in the Museum of Bannockburn (Scotland) was upgraded to a full-scale Virtual Reality immersive and interactive exhibition of the multimedia capabilities. Bannockburn was the site seen as having the strongest appeal to children, with its extensive Virtual Reality/ gaming presentation and facilities (Pittock, 2018). It is the most interactive site in Scotland and presents a reference for musealization. Even so, “VR/AR visual experiences are a core part of the demand for more personalized and distinct experiences for cultural heritage visitors, but the design of such experiences should prioritize the goals of the experience over the technology”. (Pittock, M. (2018). p.30)

The potential of incorporating the elements of games in a tourist customer journey in creating advanced tourist experience and promoting destinations has been widely recognised (Kim et al. 2021). Tourists seek novel and authentic experiences, uncommon for their everyday life (McKercher and Prideaux 2020).

Interactive games may offer an opportunity for education and understanding of the battle as well, when war-games, board-games or videogames are available for museum visitors. Enthusiastic players appreciate the tangible and visual aesthetics of board games and edutainment seem to be applied as well as the experience of gaming can inspire learning.

## **Active tourism as an enhancer for battlefield tourism**

Active tourism is incorporated in the category of “adventure tourism” by UNTWO (2014) and it is defined as that trip that includes, at least, two of the following three elements: physical activity, interaction with the environment and cultural exchange.

As Escuela et al. (2018, p.30) considered, active tourism can be defined as the tourism subsector that involves leisure and tourist sports activities, which are carried out basically by using the resources available in a particular natural environment, namely air, land, underground, water or underwater settings, present risk (in different degrees) as a distinct feature and require certain skills and psychophysical conditions to be met.

However, active tourism is not only defined by its sporting character or by the fact that it takes place in a natural environment. A battlefield is also a natural and cultural environment, making it possible to interpret this historic landscape by walking, cycling (cycle tourism or mountain biking) or even on horseback.

Durán Sánchez et al. (2014, p.63) in their literature review about Active Tourism in Spain, pointed out the importance of these “new tourisms” as a complement of the traditional forms of tourism that when managed in the proper way, may contribute to sustainable tourism on a local and regional level, promoting several advantages like better local awareness on the natural and cultural resources, economic growth, and a process of educating and improving the environmental awareness of residents and tourists.

Battlefields in Portugal and Spain present an extraordinary opportunity for those who practice the active tourism while exploring and visiting these historical landscapes. Interpretation Routes (and cultural routes) are common in Portugal and Spain and include battlefields but more rarely with a deeper interpretation of the chronology of the battle, the forces movements, and identification of the interpretation hot spots. The present cultural routes were studied during this thesis and only the battlefield of the Arapiles present an exceptional example of what can be done in full extension. There are itineraries for those visitors who walk and extensive itineraries for those who use the bicycle. This tactic is a good model of cultural route or itinerary to disseminate amongst other battle sites.

Visitors to battlefields come mostly alone or in small groups and pretend a longer contact with nature. Also, they expect to find an undamaged landscape, where the historical hot spots are easy to access and interpret (Noivo et al, 2022). It seems adequate to implement in the battle sites solutions that promote this immersive experience where nature plays an important part and fauna, flora and geology are to be interpreted and acknowledged as an

interesting element of the battlefield. Active tourism can provide along with “slow travel” a great opportunity when visitor walk or cycle the battlefields. For this purpose, an important consideration must be attended as trails have to be designed and planned to preserve the integrity of the natural resources just as the historical remains.

### **Creative tourism as an enhancer for battlefield tourism**

Ghisoiu et al. (2017) suggest that a co-creative heritage tourism experiences should foster two-way communication between the site and the tourist by 1) co-producing through active participation and physical interaction, 2) personalisation through experience tailoring, employee interaction, and technology, and 3) engagement through emotional and cognitive immersion (Ghisoiu et al., 2017).

These are principles that were also found in the study about the connections between creative tourism and battlefield tourism (Noivo et al. 2020). An active participation by the visitor includes an interactive two-way communication and a valued feeling of learning. This important engagement was also perceived during the survey presented in chapter 5 on the participants of the re-enactment events.

As addressed before in this thesis, the act of creating an experience is part of a memorable experience. By doing we tend to easily remember and value more as knowledge and learning are pillars of the experience. This can be concluded from the literature review and the findings around creative experiences that were explored in our studies presented in chapter 4 and 5.

Creative tourism can enhance battlefield tourism by promoting a more immersive and engaging experience to visitors, along with a deeper understanding of historical events and its significance, fostering edutainment, and encouraging visitors to repeat the experience. We may point out and explore some of the ways creative tourism enhances battlefield tourism:

1. **Community involvement:** Engaging with the local community and encouraging their active participation in creative tourism initiatives can create a sense of authenticity and cultural exchange. This can include partnerships with local artisans, craftsmen, and businesses to provide unique products and services related to the battlefield's history.
2. **Personalized storytelling:** Offering personalized tours or guides who can share compelling stories and anecdotes about the battle, its participants, and its impact can make the experience more relatable and emotionally resonant for visitors. These guides can also tailor their narratives to the interests of individual visitors.

3. Storytelling and interpretation: Enhancing interpretation efforts through storytelling, signage, and informative materials can help visitors better understand the significance of the battlefield, its historical context, and the individual stories of those involved.
4. Interactive exhibits and multimedia experiences: Incorporating interactive displays, virtual reality experiences, and multimedia presentations can provide visitors with a more engaging and educational experience. Such technologies can help explain the historical context, tactics, and consequences of the battle in a dynamic and memorable way.
5. Educational programs and workshops: Offering educational programs for schools and groups, including history classes, battlefield strategy workshops, or leadership development programs, can attract a diverse range of visitors and enhance the learning experience.
6. Workshops and hands-on activities: Providing visitors with the opportunity to participate in hands-on activities related to the historical era, such as musket firing demonstrations, uniform or costume dressing, or traditional craft workshops, can make the experience more interactive and memorable.
7. Living history reenactments: Organizing living history events with costumed reenactors can transport visitors back in time, allowing them to witness key moments from history firsthand. This helps visitors connect on a more emotional level with the past and gain a deeper appreciation for the sacrifices made during the battle.
8. Themed accommodations: Developing themed accommodations near the battlefield site, such as lodges or inns designed to resemble historical buildings or camps, can help visitors feel like they are truly stepping back in time during their stay.
9. Art and cultural events: Organizing art exhibitions, musical performances, and cultural events related to the battlefield or its historical era can add another dimension to the visitor's experience, making it more enriching and enjoyable.
10. Display other meaningful experiences: By offering historically inspired food and beverage options can immerse visitors in the culinary traditions of the period and provide a multisensory experience. Gastronomy and hands-on kitchen can be an extraordinary experience for all ages and provides a way to connect with the past through taste and smell, and successfully explore senses.

Creative Tourism as a wide range of activities and mixes the act of creation with a multi-sensory experience. All the above tactics are part of a strategic plan to implement successful creative tourism and establish a more engaging and appealing battlefield tourism

experience for a broader audience. It may lead to a greater appreciation of historical events, increase tourism revenue, and the preservation of important historical sites and local memories.

### **Re-enactment as an enhancer for battlefield tourism**

Historic re-enactments encourage the transformation of memory, history, and personal narrative into a visible leisure performance, where individuals draw on nostalgic symbolism to recollect their past and present lives (Stankova & Vassenska, 2015). Heritage providers, such as tour guides, consist of a crucial component to the visitors' experience, as they play the role of "value facilitator" and "interactive storyteller". More precisely, tour guides can facilitate value co-creation through character-based storytelling and costume. This increases engagement and helps visitors relate to the people living in that period (Mijnheer & Gamble, 2019).

Role-play and themed activities become more commonplace in co-creative tourist experiences and are increasingly recognized for having beneficial outcomes for the tourist (Ghisoiu et al., 2017; Mijnheer & Gamble, 2019; Ross & Saxena, 2019).

As re-enactment emphasizes the role-play and experiential aspect of reliving the Napoleonic period, it has a great impact on visitors and in battlefield tourism as it represents the main motivation in these events as shown on Chapter V findings. It points out the educational value and impact in lived experience, therefore, re-enactment appears as a central enhancer for battlefield tourism. We may also identify some elements that are part of the re-enactment dynamics and effectively contribute for the success of battlefield tourism:

1. **Community Involvement:** Re-enactment groups and local communities often work together to organize events. This collaboration can strengthen the connection between tourism stakeholders and the local community, benefiting both through increased tourism and cultural exchange.
2. **Storytelling:** Re-enactors are often skilled storytellers who can narrate the events of the battle and the personal stories of individuals involved. This narrative approach can make history come alive, allowing visitors to connect with the stories of real people who lived through the battle.
3. **Interactive Learning:** Re-enactments allow for interactive learning experiences. Visitors can ask questions of the re-enactors, participate in drills or demonstrations, and

engage in discussions about the historical period. This active participation fosters a deeper understanding and retention of historical information.

4. Emotional Connection: Witnessing re-enactments can create an emotional connection to the historical events and individuals involved. Visitors may develop empathy for the soldiers, understanding the challenges they faced and the sacrifices they made. This emotional connection can lead to a more profound and lasting impact on the visitor's memory and understanding of history.
5. Authenticity: Re-enactors often go to great lengths to ensure authenticity in their portrayals, from clothing and equipment to historical tactics and language. This commitment to accuracy can provide visitors with a more genuine and immersive experience, making them feel as if they have truly stepped back in time.
6. Educational Engagement: Historical re-enactments enable visitors to interact with historical re-enactors who are well-versed in the Napoleonic era. These re-enactors can explain the historical context, tactics, and significance of the battles, offering visitors a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the period. By promoting interaction with visitors, re-enactors foster deep learning by doing activities.
7. Multisensory Experience: Re-enactments engage multiple senses, offering visitors the opportunity to hear the sounds of battle, smell the smoke and food of the era, and see the sights of a historical camp. This multisensory experience can be more memorable and impactful than reading or viewing static displays.
8. Preservation: The revenue generated from battlefield tourism, including re-enactment events, can be used for the preservation and maintenance of historical sites and artifacts. This financial support helps ensure the longevity and accessibility of these important locations.
9. Repeat Visitation: Historical re-enactments often change and evolve over time, offering different scenarios and perspectives. This can encourage repeat visitation as visitors return to experience new re-enactments and gain deeper insights into the battle and the historical period.

By committing strategies to implement these last points with success, re-enactment becomes the most visible opportunity for battlefield tourism development. As studied in the literature review and analysed in the present studies, re-enactment present a pivotal part of the battlefield tourism success. By attracting battlefield tourists, re-enactment participants and visitors, re-enactment events and battlefield re-enactments project perceived authenticity

and quality significance amongst visitors, community re-enactors, local community, and stakeholders alike.

### **Living History as an enhancer for battlefield tourism**

Living history is a form of historical interpretation in which participants dress in period clothing and engage in activities and events that reflect the historical period being portrayed. The goal of living history is to provide an immersive and educational experience that brings history to life for visitors. These themed events may include demonstrations of period-specific skills and crafts, such as blacksmithing, weaving, and woodworking. Participants may also engage in historical reenactments, such as battles or important historical events, to give visitors a sense of what life was like during that time period (Agnew, et al., 2019)

Living history is closely related to re-enactment, which is a specific type of historical interpretation that involves recreating historical events or battles. Re-enactments often involve participants wearing historically accurate costumes and using authentic weapons and equipment to recreate historical battles or events.

While living history and re-enactment share some similarities, living history typically focuses on everyday life and activities during a particular historical period, while re-enactment is more focused on recreating specific historical events or battles. Both living history and re-enactment aim to provide an immersive and educational experience that allows visitors to connect with history in a more personal and tangible way (Hunt, 2004; Johnson, 2015; Coles & Armstrong, 2008).

Undoubtedly, in these thematic events living history has a strong educational value based on Napoleonic daily life, mixing perfectly with creative-tourism and complementing re-enactment.

Therefore, it seems natural to see similarities between living history and re-enactment when addressing the elements by which living history contribute to enhance battlefield tourism.

Based on literature review, and findings and conclusions from chapters IV and V, we may point out the following strategies to implement through living history and, consequently battlefield tourism.

1. Community Involvement: The organization of Living History events often involves collaboration between re-enactment groups, local communities, and historical organizations. This partnership can strengthen the local awareness of history and

ethnographical identity, creating groups that dedicate to research and recover old handcraft techniques and traditions that are taught in these historical events. It benefits local history and cultural exchange.

2. **Storytelling:** Living history participants tend to create narratives with more depth in daily life of that historical period, on a more personal approach, recovering memories that make history come alive. It plays an important role in the construction of a knowledgeable craft display enhancing immersive experiences.
3. **Interactive Learning:** Living History encourages interactive learning. Visitors can ask questions, engage in discussions with re-enactors, and participate in various activities, such as trying on period clothing, handling historical artifacts, or learning about daily life from the military or the common people. This active participation enhances the educational value of the experience.
4. **Emotional Connection:** Living History allows visitors to develop an emotional connection to the past. They can witness the challenges and experiences of soldiers and civilians from the Napoleonic era, fostering empathy and a deeper appreciation for the sacrifices made during this period, especially the local communities as personal stories and family memories can be recalled and recovered.
5. **Authenticity:** Re-enactors in Napoleonic Living History often deep research to ensure historical accuracy in their clothing, equipment, and behaviour in military and civilian lives alike. This commitment to authenticity provides visitors with a genuine and immersive experience, promoting a strong sense of quality involvement, an essential reference for visitors.
6. **Educational Engagement:** Living History presentations offer a unique opportunity for visitors to witness the past in action. They can see, hear, and sometimes even touch the historical period and gain a deeper understanding of the battle, its context, and the daily lives of those involved. This hands-on approach can be especially effective for teaching history, as it allows visitors to learn by experiencing.
7. **Multisensory Experience:** Living History engages multiple senses. Visitors can hear the sounds of the village or if the battle, taste and smell the food of that time or even participate in the cooking. This multisensory experience can create lasting memories and a deeper connection to the past.
8. **Preservation:** The revenue generated from Napoleonic battlefield tourism, including Living History events, can be used for the preservation and maintenance of historical sites, the recovery of old ways and traditions. Sometimes, researching for Living

History allow forgotten skills and crafts to be discovered and maintained, ensuring the preservation of ethnographical values and local traditions.

9. Repeat visitation: Many Napoleonic battlefield sites host recurring Living History events, often with different scenarios and perspectives. Living History activities tend to focus on experiences that promote a deeper understanding of Napoleonic life, encouraging visitors to repeat the experience and spread the word.

This performance of bringing history to life for the general public includes a continuum of research attempts to recreate a known historical event for educational purposes. Trained interpreters, professionals or amateurs, convey the story of history to the public, aiming to portray the life, and more importantly the lifestyle, of people of the Napoleonic period. By promoting craft and cooking demonstrations, song and leisure activities, lectures and traditional local knowledge, Living History is perceived by visitors as an essential element for the success of battlefield tourism.

In conclusion, we may now point out the importance of storytelling, creative -tourism, re-enactment and Living History as major enhancers for the success of battlefield tourism. Even so, as the surveys and the analysis in the previous chapters allowed us to establish, Creative-Tourism, Re-enactment and Living History are the main pillars for a sustainable battlefield tourism where a memorable experience includes interaction, active participation and learning-by-doing activities.

## 6.2. Factors that inhibit the success of Battlefield Tourism

In the previous sub-chapter, we have analysed the enhancers of battlefield tourism and now, in a pragmatic approach, we identify several potential obstacles that could hinder the success of Napoleonic battlefields as tourist attractions.

These elements to be presented are a product of literature review, the findings and conclusions achieved in chapters IV, V and VII.

On Chapter IV the focus group analysed the stakeholders perspectives on battlefield tourism in Portugal and the impact of creative tourism, providing important insights in the absence of dynamics. On Chapter V, the analysis on the experience lived by visitors at the Re-enactment events in Vimeiro and Almeida, reflected some of the problems with organization, infrastructure and visibility. Finally, chapter VII, approached the battlefields through field research and examined the physical operationality of the Battlefield sites of Arapiles, Ciudad Rodrigo and Gravato (Sabugal) in Portugal.

Here are some of the factors that were found to inhibit the success of battlefield tourism and, therefore, are to be considered in any strategy to implement touristic planning:

1. Lack of awareness: One of the main obstacles to the success of Napoleonic battlefields as tourist attractions is the lack of awareness among potential visitors. Many tourists may not be familiar with the history and significance of the battles, which can make it challenging to generate interest and attract visitors.
2. Accessibility: The location and accessibility of the battlefields can also be an obstacle. Some battlefields may be remote or difficult to access, which can make it challenging for tourists to visit and explore the area.
3. Limited infrastructure: The lack of infrastructure and amenities in the area can also be an obstacle. For example, if there are few hotels or restaurants nearby, tourists may be less likely to stay in the area and spend money on local businesses.
4. Competition: Napoleonic battlefields may also face competition from other tourist attractions in the region. If there are other popular destinations nearby, tourists may be more likely to choose those over visiting the battlefields.
5. Lack of funding: Developing and maintaining Napoleonic battlefields as tourist attractions requires significant funding. If funding is limited or inconsistent, it can be challenging to invest in the necessary infrastructure and marketing efforts needed to attract tourists.

6. Sensitivity to the surrounding community: Another obstacle to consider is the potential impact of tourism on the surrounding community. If the community is not supportive of tourism or feels that their cultural heritage is being exploited, it can lead to tensions and potentially harm the success of the tourist attraction.

By addressing these obstacles through effective planning, collaboration with local stakeholders, and a focus on sustainability, it is possible to overcome these challenges and develop successful battlefield tourism in Napoleonic battlefields in the Iberian Peninsula.

With the same objective in identifying obstacles, these are factors that can make the experience of visiting a Napoleonic battlefield more difficult or less enjoyable:

1. Lack of Interpretation: The absence of comprehensive interpretive materials, signage, or guides or inadequate interpretation can make it difficult for visitors to understand the significance of the battlefield and what happened there. This may lead to confusion or a lack of engagement with the site.
2. Poor Accessibility: Some battlefield sites in the Iberian Peninsula may suffer from limited accessibility, either due to their remote locations or a lack of infrastructure. A battlefield that is difficult to access, with poor road connections and transport links, may deter visitors from making the trip. Additionally, a lack of parking facilities or poor public transport options can also make it more difficult for visitors to reach the site. This can discourage potential visitors, particularly those who face mobility challenges or who may find it difficult to access these sites by conventional means.
3. Safety Concerns: Visitors may feel uneasy or unsafe on a battlefield if they perceive a lack of safety measures or if the site is poorly maintained. This may include unmarked hazards, uneven ground surfaces, or a lack of facilities for visitors with disabilities. Safety concerns, such as inadequate fencing, signage, or maintenance of certain battlefield sites, can pose risks to visitors. The potential for accidents or injuries can deter tourists and erode the overall experience.
4. Crowding and Overcrowding: Large crowds can make it difficult for visitors to fully appreciate the battlefield and engage with its history. Large volumes of visitors can detract from the tranquillity and historical ambiance that many tourists seek when exploring these sites, leading to a less enjoyable experience.
5. Inauthenticity: Visitors may be less engaged with a battlefield if they perceive that the site lacks authenticity or feels overly commercialized. This may include the use of modern structures or signage that detract from the historical setting of the battlefield. Visitor's experience can be compromised by anachronistic elements or the absence of

knowledgeable re-enactors or guides. Visitors may find it challenging to fully immerse themselves in the historical era when faced with inaccuracies in clothing, equipment, or presentations.

6. **Lack of Natural and Scenic Beauty:** A battlefield that is situated in an unattractive or unremarkable natural environment may make it less appealing to visitors, even if the historical significance of the site is high. The overall visitor experience is compromised, as tourists miss out on the opportunity to enjoy the natural and historical context simultaneously.

In the realm of Napoleonic battlefield tourism, a confluence of challenges, encompassing insufficient historical interpretation, limited accessibility, safety apprehensions, overcrowding, historical inaccuracy, and the absence of natural and scenic splendour, can collectively impede the visitor's journey, rendering it less enjoyable and more demanding.

### 6.3. A set of Strategies and Tactics to sustain battlefield tourism dynamics.

The last sub-chapters identified and analysed elements that enhance and factors that hinder battlefield tourism. It met the chapter objectives and are part of a major proposal of a Model of Strategic Tourism plan to be applied in battlefields and presented at chapter VIII.

This chapter's major goal was to establish a strategic approach to promote and boost battlefield tourism dynamics. It signifies to maintain a durable attraction for visitors, a continuous engaging of the stakeholders in presenting touristic offer and meeting tourists' needs, therefore a sustainable touristic flux, consistent in innovative dynamics, with initiatives widely promoted in a planned event's agenda.

The previous research allowed us to identify now key strategies and tactics that can be implemented by tourism promoters. This pragmatic approach intends to promote tourism planning by addressing the following actions:

*Table 4 Strategies and Tactics to be implemented*

| <b>STRATEGIES</b>   | <b>TACTICS (create, apply and display to visitors)</b>   |
|---|--|
| <b>TELL A STORY</b><br><br>Enhance understanding and education through Storytelling   | Storytelling techniques applied to narrative   |
|   | Dioramas and scale models of battles and fortresses  |
|   | miniature games, board-games   |
| Improve interpretation and interaction through Digital Storytelling   | Knowledgeable guides or cultural interpreters  |
|   | Augmented Reality and Virtual Reality experiences  |
|   | APPs and multimedia platforms  |
|   | Gamification and videogames  |
|   | QR codes links in interpretative panels to enhance sound and image                                 |
|   | Video Mapping  |
| <b>MAKE IT A PARTICIPATORY EXPERIENCE</b><br><br>Develop Interaction and active participation through multi-sensorial solutions | Interactive exhibits and multimedia experiences  |
|   | Replicas of weaponry and artifacts to be handled   |
|   | Costumes to be dressed   |
|   | Reproduction of dramatized narratives with sounds from the Napoleonic period and the battle itself |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| Promote slow travel and slow sport through Active tourism.                                | Create conditions to support cycling through the battlefield (facilities for renting, repairing, etc.)  |
| Improve sustainability and environmental awareness of residents and tourists              | Apply new and creative Pedal-powered vehicle for family/group   |
|   | Walking trails  |
|   | Different itineraries for different distances   |
|   | Horse riding  |
|   | Identification of Fauna, Flora and Geology and inclusion in landscape narrative   |
| Develop creative tourism as a community opportunity                                       | Creative factories and community experience design spaces   |
|   | Learn old skills and “lost” heritage  |
|   | Learning-by-doing activities with hands-on workshops (traditional craft workshops)  |
|   | Include local artisans, craftsmen, and traditional products   |
|   | Educational programs and workshops for schools (history classes, battlefield strategy workshops, etc.) or companies (leadership development programs) |
| <b>MAKE THE ASSET COME ALIVE AND FOCUS ON QUALITY AND AUTHENTICITY</b>                    | Create and incentive re-enactment groups integrating tourism stakeholders and local community   |
| Develop Re-enactment for educational engagement and immersive experience                  | Role-play and themed activities to engage all age groups  |
|   | Themed Weekends for re-enactment (also include families)  |
|   | Create interactive learning experiences (drills, demonstrations, shared knowledge actions, etc.)  |
|   | Gathering of cross-border re-enactment groups   |
|   | Create a cross-border network with other re-enactment groups and participate in the re-enactors major league.   |
|   | Promote entertainment in different scenarios (military encampment, civil fairs, skirmishes, combats in battlements, etc.)                             |
|   | Promote and deepen historical research for accuracy and authenticity (language, writing, folk songs, food, clothing, daily uses, etc.)                |
|   | <b>MAKE IT RELEVANT TO THE TOURIST</b>  |
| Establish Living History for deep learning-by-doing interaction and cultural significance | Edutainment for all group ages  |
|   | Themed activities promoted with the community   |

|   |  |
|---|--|
|   | Art and cultural events related to the battlefield or its historical era   |
|   | Participate in events for preservation of historical sites and local memories  |
|   | Create an interactive network of researchers, gathering professionals and amateurs that nourish lectures and traditional local knowledge |
| Mix the act of creation with multi-sensory experience | Explore historical culinary experiences in hands-on activities   |
|   | Focus in exploring the senses by creating multi-sensorial activities for all group ages  |
|   | Focus on Napoleonic daily life and revive old ways and local traditions of ethnographic value  |

*Source: Own production*

In conclusion, having dynamic types of tourism promoted along with a strong focus on exploring tourists' experience and interaction, we may identify Re-enactment, Living History and Creative Tourism as major boosters for battlefield tourism, and stakeholders and the community as essential pillars for its success. By also understanding the obstacles that were recognized, these good practices can be implemented and considered by the stakeholders when developing battlefield tourism.

Addressing these challenges is vital for enhancing the visitor experience and ensuring that these historically significant sites are not only preserved and understood but also effectively communicated to tourists. Comprehensive interpretive programs, improved accessibility and infrastructures, monitoring the impact of tourism in the community, a commitment to historical accuracy, and the integration of natural beauty into the visitor experience can collectively contribute to a more enjoyable, interactive and educational journey through the Napoleonic battlefields of the Iberian Peninsula.

## CHAPTER VII

---

FIELD RESEARCH: THE BATTLEFIELD OF THE  
PENINSULAR WAR/WAR OF INDEPENDENCE -  
ANALYSIS OF TOURIST INTERPRETATION,  
CHARACTERISATION OF THE SPACE AND  
PROPOSAL OF GOOD PRACTICES



## **7. Chapter VII – Field Research: The battlefield of the Peninsular War/War of Independence - analysis of tourist interpretation, characterisation of the space and proposal of good practices**

In this chapter are presented three field research realized on the battlefields of the Battle of Sabugal (Gravato - Portugal), Ciudad Rodrigo and Los Arapiles (Salamanca), in Spain. Data was collected, analysed and results discussed, leading to important conclusions that can be used in the improvement of these or other battlefields touristic development.

As part of our thesis study, it proved essential to analyse Napoleonic battlefields in Portugal and Spain in order to provide up-to-date knowledge of these battlefields, but also to understand what has been done and what remains to be done to develop these historic landscapes for tourism. The best methodology would be full day, presential field research, directly obtaining the answers to structured questions in a questionnaire that we drew up. The choice for the field research fell on the battlefield of Sabugal, or Gravato as it is known locally, the battlefield of Ciudad Rodrigo and the great battlefield of Los Arapiles or Salamanca as it is known internationally.

The reason for choosing these battlefields was not by chance and is based on the following reasons. Other battlefields already have tourism development plans (in Portugal, the Lines of Torres Vedras or the Battle of Bussaco). However, the choice of the Battle of Gravato lies in the pristine state of the battlefield, the complete absence of tourist structures, or tourist planning to support the development of battlefield tourism. Finally, from the point of view of military strategy and the reading of its application on the field, this is a war landscape with unique characteristics because the references in historical literature are all observable on the ground. From the point of view of military history, it was Wellington's last chance to encircle several French army corps as they retreated to the frontier, and as such he committed his best forces to this objective. In this battle, Wellington was victorious, but he was unable to realise the strategy he had designed, which would have forced the French to surrender. The terrain allows an excellent reading of the events, and the state of preservation is outstanding. The battlefield has not been altered by human hands and encompasses woods and farmland.

The battlefield of Ciudad Rodrigo is in Spain and fits into an urban environment, integrating military architecture typical of a city fortified by bulwarks. Since Ciudad Rodrigo was the target of a French siege and then another Allied siege, the city's structures show evidence of the effect of war and are included in a tourist development plan. Analysing Ciudad Rodrigo allows us to obtain an understanding of a city of tourist interest that includes military tourism as an integral part of the local and regional tourist offer.

Finally, the battlefield of Los Arapiles is an excellent example of musealization and application of tourist planning of a Napoleonic battlefield. As one of Wellington's most celebrated victories and one of the greatest battles of the Peninsular War, the battlefield is exceptionally well preserved, and the farmland allows for an extraordinary reading of events. It thus allows us to have a set of elements to compare between various battlefields scenarios, at different stages of development.

### **Chapter research design**

The conclusion of insights in this study has culminated in the creation of a Proposal for Valorisation and Touristic Activation, as detailed in Chapter 7.4. This proposal aims to formulate strategies fostering enriched, engaging, and accessible experiences for visitors with diverse backgrounds and preferences. The approach is systematically organized into three key strategies: i) Empowering Stakeholders' Dynamics, ii) Promotion and Awareness, and iii) Implementing Visitor Interpretation and Experience.

The study's methodology relied on a comprehensive literature review, analysis of survey responses, and on-site field research observations. This methodology yielded strategies aimed at enhancing visitors' interpretation and experience during their time at the battlefields. Recognizing the paramount importance of Interpretation and Experience, this led to the development of a resource in the form of a proposal for good practices to guide stakeholders. Three fundamental pillars were identified as central to the approach: i) Factors improving interpretation, ii) Factors enhancing visit operationality, and iii) Factors empowering the overall experience. The analysis of three researched battlefields underscored the specific elements and actions crucial for successful battlefield tourism, subsequently organized into the three pillars presented as enhancing actions for valorisation and touristic activation.

### **Instruments and data collection**

Field research was carried out from 1 to 4 January 2023, on the battlefields of the Battle of Sabugal (Gravato - Portugal), Ciudad Rodrigo and Los Arapiles (Salamanca), in Spain. The battle sites were analysed through the visitors' experience perspective, with the objective of identifying the elements that facilitate or difficult the experience of visiting the respective battlefields.

The field research consisted of a questionnaire with 16 major items to be observed in the battlefields and the objective was to identify the structures and elements needed to improve the tourist visitation and what solutions enhance a more dynamic and interactive experience.

In order to validate the survey quiz, test the questions and explore the capacity of the field-work, a 2-step approach was used: 1st step was face validity, consisting on presenting the questionnaire to be evaluated by an expert, namely, our co-author's 1st research paper, Álvaro Lopes Dias, to assure validity of the questions and pretended scope for analysis; 2nd step was a pilot test to the quiz applied by the author in the Lines of Torres Vedras (2nd defensive Line). As the visitors' experience was the main drive, the questions were improved to shape the current questionnaire, achieving validity and a better connection to the research objectives.

The survey quiz (Appendix IV) is a questionnaire that was completed in the battlefield, in a field notebook, along with the registration of audio-recorded insights, while observing and walking the site. Later, all data was revised and concluded with the help of the photographs taken and deeper research (in battlefield website or other) to confirm the presence or absence of intended objectives. The refined answers and comments were directly transcript to the Findings of the chapter. This methodology was repeated in the three battlefields with success.

The 16 questions applied to the form were structured with the aim of comprehensively exploring the reading carried out by the visitor. For this reason, they are not answered by Yes or No, but rather explore various perspectives, simulating the questions a visitor might have on first contact with the site.

This research method allowed to analyse the battlefield from a visitor's experience perspective, characterising the battlefield and understanding the status of touristic development.

1st objective: Identifying the elements that enhance and inhibit the experience of visiting a Napoleonic battlefield.

- i. Identify the existence or the absence of stakeholders and entities active in the touristic development and its planning.
- ii. Identify the existence or the absence of an integrated plan of tourism development (cultural routes, itineraries, guides, marketing).
- iii. Identify the existence or the absence of natural and cultural resources to be structured as essential elements for the interpretation and visitation of the battlefield. (Preservation status, unchanged landscape, local and historical geographical references accessibilities)

- iv. Identify the existence or the absence of structural elements for the visitation and the interpretation of the battlefield (museums, informative panels, identification of historical key-spots, interactivity, signage and route signs)
- v. Identify the factors that facilitate or difficult the experience of visitation of the battlefield (historical significance, accessibility, interpretation, authenticity, events and activities, natural and scenic beauty).

2nd objective: Present a proposal of good practices in enhancing battlefields interpretation and tourists' experience.

For the awareness of the strategy to successfully develop a battlefield tourism attraction one must also consider the following elements to be identified.

- Destination Development actions – Thematic Routes, Urban Art/Artworks, etc.
- Heritage site Management Tools
- Site conservation (information on history, Heritage Recovery/conservation projects)
- Tourism Marketing (brochures, books, maps, etc.)
- Visitor interpretation Tools (static interpretation panels, interactive interpretation panels, QRcodes, on-site learning experience, Virtual Reality, Augmented Reality, other portable technologies – phone, audio-guides, etc.)
- Co-creation (interaction with the heritage site through personal involvement, Virtual participation, possibility of visitors stating their views and express sorrow)
- Community remembrance and celebration
- Stakeholders/institutions or associations with relevance for War Heritage Management and touristic development.

If the objective was to test the visitation experience of a tourist on the battlefield, and detect heritage site management and visitor interpretation tools, the next premisses were defined: Each visit followed the main indications/signs in the same way a tourist/visitor would do with the minimum information about the historical site; to determine which observation points or historical referenced points should be elected, a comprehensive study on the battlefield was pre-elaborated by the researcher along with web research on the battlefield/historical site own website, with the objective of obtaining information for the visit.

Spatial familiarity was established by walking the battlefield, observing locations, taking photographs, documenting the state of conservation of the sites and the tools of interpretation applied. Each field visit employed one day.

Data collected during the field research offered a comprehensive account on war heritage site management and visitor interpretation evidencing what needs to be achieved in the implementation of the marketing strategy addressing international visitors.

All the information collected in the battlefields was then revised and constitutes the Findings section of each case study presented in the 7th chapter.

At the end of this chapter, discussions of the results combined with referenced literature's good practices, serve as basis for a proposal of good practices in enhancing battlefields interpretation and tourists' experience.

## 7.1. Case study: Battlefield of Gravato, Sabugal

### THE BATTLE OF SABUGAL OR GRAVATO AND CHARACTERISATION OF THE BATTLEFIELD

The battle of Sabugal, or the Battle of Gravato as it is locally known, occurred on the 3rd of April 1811, during the French retreat in direction of the Spanish border, which is not far.

This battle took the name of the close village of Sabugal but in fact, it occurred around 3-4 km far, on the hills to the east. The battlefield stretches along the northern hills on the north river Côa bank.

Wellington's army was around 37,000 men, of whom only around 2,000 were in action against the French at Sabugal. Massena's army comprised around 40,000 men of whom only Reynier's Second Corps and other detached units, some 6,000 men, were involved in the battle. It was a British and Portuguese attack against the main force of General Reynier, forcing a precipitated retreat. The battle of Sabugal (Gravato) was an important action where the two Light Division brigades played a determinant role despite the heavy rain, the fog and poor visibility. Frantic hill climbing, bayonet charges and intense volley fire, along with artillery seizing and desperate defence, kept the memory of this battle as one of the most savage actions. Even so Wellington was not able to achieve his strategy of denying the retreat of Ney's corps or alt Massena's forces before the frontier. A forced retreat of the French and Ney's control of the rearguard allowed the escape of Massena leading to the following great battle of Fuentes de Oñoro.

The actual state of the battlefield is impeccable, allowing an easy reading of the armies positioning and advances as well as major points to interpret the battle.

The field keeps its characteristics, farmland, stone walls, woods of oaks and eucalyptus, smooth hill tops, well connected with the same old roads of the battle time. The old two bridges over the river Côa used on the British attack are now under the waters of the Côa dam.

#### 7.1.1. Findings

1) Are any institutions, organisations or stakeholders identified on the ground?

In Sabugal, the municipality and main town near the battlefield, there are no institutions, organisations or stakeholders identified apart from the Town Hall and the Municipal Museum. In the latter, there is a room where some materials are on display

with the appropriate historical context, albeit summarised. These materials were recovered on the battlefield after archaeological excavations. No organisations have been identified that aim to promote tourism, interpretation or visits to the battlefield. Only the tourist office has oral information about the site. The initiatives organised to promote this historical and cultural resource are insufficient.

2) Are there commemorative monuments? Commemorative plaques? Intervention by national, regional, local or community organisations?

There are two monuments commemorating the Battle of Gravato. A monument was erected at Sabugal's main roundabout during the Bicentenary in 2011. At the site of the battle, in the position initially occupied by the French device, a commemorative plaque was placed in 2011 without any information other than the date, reference to the bicentenary and the indication "Batalha do Gravato". It is located on the edge of the road that runs along the French position. In front of it, facing south, is the field through which the Allied forces advanced. It doesn't allow for any other reading or historical contextualisation than simply invoking the battle and the approximate location of the French command. Nor has the participation of organisations other than the Town Hall been identified.

3) Are there any examples of Urban Art, artistic expression that invokes the historical event or promotes the narrative?

There are no examples of artistic expression aimed at promoting the narrative or interpreting the battlefield. This has not been utilised and is an important opportunity to promote the event to the community and raise awareness of its importance to locals and visitors.

4) Are there any Cultural Routes? Are they indicated? Are they signposted? Do they identify the stages of the route? Difficulty? Accessibility? In what format are they made available to visitors?

There are no cultural routes, itineraries or signs promoting interpretation or the experience of visiting the battlefield.

5) Are there any Tourist Offices/Interpretation Centres with thematic information? Do they have specific leaflets/information on the Battlefield? What about the Routes?

The Sabugal Tourist Office is the only place where tourist information is promoted, but it doesn't have any leaflets, maps or any other material to promote visits to the battlefield. The two books that have been published about the battle are out of print. The staff at the tourist office have a basic knowledge of the battle and were able to locate the commemorative plaque. This is a serious flaw in the organisation and

promotion of the tourist resource, which could be remedied with a leaflet containing information and context about the battle, the location of the movements and events, as well as a map identifying the relevant sites for interpreting the area.

6) Do you have brochures for visitors? Maps, itineraries? Books? Recommended routes? Organised guided tours or an indication of who does them?

There are no organised guided tours or private, public or association initiatives. The Tourist Office has no maps or other brochures dedicated to the Battle of Gravato. This is a gap that urgently needs to be filled, because without publicising and promoting the battlefield, collective memory and tourist dynamism neither exist nor are stimulated.

7) Are the visits promoted/organised by the promoter? Or are they private?

There are no organised or other guided tours.

8) Are there interactive Museums/Interpretation Centres? Do they offer interpretation on digital media such as Augmented Reality or Virtual Reality? Are they committed to interacting with heritage through technology and modern, appealing media?

There is no form of interpretation of the cultural property.

9) What languages are available? In the museum? At the Battlefield sites?

The languages available in the museum are Portuguese and English.

10) Have conservation projects been identified? Promoted by whom?

No promoters or promotion and/or conservation projects have been identified.

11) Have tourism promotion projects been identified? Promoted by whom? Are there cyclical or frequent events about the historical event?

No tourism promotion, tourism valorisation or tourism activation projects have been identified.

12) On the approach to the battlefield: are there orientation signs? Promotional signs? Signs indicating that we are in a historical site and on a cultural route? In which languages?

There are no signs to guide visitors. The only existing panel, which I've already mentioned, only has a commemorative function.

13) In the battlefield: are there identified route(s)? Are there signs?

There are no routes identified or built. There are no orientation signs.

14) At the battlefield: Is there static information support (information panels)? Modernised? With Qr Code that allows interaction and audio interpretation? What is the state of these supports?

There are no static information supports.

15) On the information panels: is there historical information that contextualises the site? Is there a chronological sequence of events? Does it allow the visitor to be directed to the other

sites? using images? Does the panel indicate via a link where to find out more and learn more about the site and the event? Do the supports promote a multi-sensory experience?

There are no information panels.

16) Is the visit to the Battlefield easily guided by the single visitor? Does it allow for an effective reading of the historical event and the sites relevant to interpretation?

There is no guidance for visitors to interpret the battlefield.

### **7.1.2. Conclusions of the results**

The Gravato Battlefield is a remarkable example of how the historical landscape has not changed, allowing the space to be recognised as it was in 1811. The old roads remain, the points referenced in the historical narrative are identifiable and allow the creation of itineraries that follow the historical event, its stages and the movements of the warring forces. There are cultivated fields, pastures, oak forests and recent eucalyptus forests (which sometimes make it more difficult to read the historical landscape).

The access roads are good and the old tracks, as well as being identifiable, allow access to the most important historical sites and observation points par excellence. This Battlefield retains a serenity and a "soul" of its own, almost bucolic and dramatic at the same time.

From the point of view of the interest and relevance of this battlefield to the Peninsular Wars, let's remember Lord Wellington's words about this event: "[...] one of the most glorious battles of British troops" (Napier, W. Battles and Sieges, p.88).

As conclusions of this field research, we could identify the following gaps that should be addressed to ensure better conditions for tourism.

Limited institutional presence: In Sabugal, aside from the municipality, there are no institutions, organisations or stakeholders actively involved in the promotion of battlefield tourism. Apart from the Town Hall and the Municipal Museum, no organisations have been identified. This lack of organised entities with the aim of promoting battlefield tourism, interpretation or visits to the battlefield indicates a gap in the development of battlefield tourism infrastructure in the area.

Absence of Urban Art or Artistic Expression: There are no examples of urban art or artistic expression that invoke the historical event or promote the narrative of the Battle of Gravato. This represents a missed opportunity to engage the local community and educate both locals and visitors about the historical importance of the battlefield.

**Lack of Cultural Routes and Signage:** The absence of cultural routes, itineraries, or signs for interpretation and visitor experience on the battlefield is notable. This lack of infrastructure, including signage, can make it challenging for visitors to navigate and understand the significance of the battlefield.

**Lack of Tourist Information:** The Sabugal Tourist Office is the primary source of tourist information, but it lacks materials such as leaflets, maps, or brochures dedicated to promoting visits to the battlefield. This absence of informative materials represents a significant shortcoming in organizing and promoting the tourist resource.

**Out-of-Print Books:** The two books published about the Battle of Gravato are out of print, indicating a potential gap in the availability of historical resources for visitors interested in learning about the battle.

**Absence of Guided Tours:** There are no organized guided tours, whether private, public, or association-based, for visitors interested in exploring the battlefield. This absence limits opportunities for tourists to gain in-depth insights into the historical event.

**Lack of Interactive Museums or Interpretation Centres:** There are no interactive museums or interpretation centres at the battlefield site that offer modern digital interpretation tools such as Augmented Reality or Virtual Reality. This suggests a potential missed opportunity to engage visitors through modern, appealing media.

**Language Options:** Information at the museum is available in Portuguese and English, indicating some level of accessibility for international tourists.

**Conservation and Tourism Promotion Projects:** No conservation projects or tourism promotion projects have been identified or initiated by any promoters, indicating a lack of concerted efforts in this regard.

**Absence of Orientation and Promotional Signs:** There are no orientation signs, promotional signs, or signs indicating the historical and cultural significance of the battlefield, and no signage is available in multiple languages.

**No Identified Routes or Signage at the Battlefield:** The battlefield lacks identified routes, orientation signs, or informational panels that could guide visitors effectively or provide a chronological sequence of events. There are no signs or panels offering historical context or promoting a multi-sensory experience.

### **7.1.3. Proposal for valorisation and tourist activation**

These findings suggest that the promotion and development of battlefield tourism at the Battle of Gravato site in Sabugal are currently limited. There is a need for increased involvement from institutions, organizations, and stakeholders, as well as the creation of informative and engaging infrastructure to enhance the visitor experience and raise awareness of the historical significance of the battlefield.

the Battle of Gravato site in Sabugal currently lacks essential tourism infrastructure and promotional efforts. The absence of informational materials, guided tours, interpretation centres, signage, and historical context limits the visitor's ability to understand and appreciate the historical significance of the battlefield. There is a clear need for investment and development in tourism promotion, infrastructure, and educational resources to enhance the visitor experience and stimulate tourism at this historical site.

Based on the conclusions, we present some actions that could be included in the Touristic Development Plan of the battlefield of Gravato to enhance battlefield tourism in Sabugal and provide a more engaging and informative experience for visitors through the proposal of several touristic valorisation strategies and improvements.

#### **Strategy to empower stakeholders' dynamics**

**Establish Tourism Promotion Entities:** Create dedicated institutions, organizations, or stakeholder groups focused on actively promoting and developing battlefield tourism in Sabugal. These entities should collaborate with local authorities and tourism bodies to champion the historical significance of the battlefield.

**Promote Conservation and Tourism Projects:** Identify and initiate conservation and tourism promotion projects in collaboration with local stakeholders and relevant organizations. These projects should focus on preserving the battlefield's heritage and enhancing its appeal to tourists.

#### **Strategy for promotion and awareness**

**Introduce Urban Art:** Encourage the creation of urban art or artistic expressions in Sabugal that depict key moments and figures from the Battle of Gravato. This can serve as a visual and educational resource to engage both locals and tourists in the historical narrative.

Enhance Commemorative Monuments: Improve the informational content of existing commemorative monuments by providing historical context through additional plaques, signage, or multimedia displays. This can help visitors better understand the battle's importance and the events that occurred.

Revive Historical Books: Reprint or republish the out-of-print books related to the Battle of Gravato. This will ensure the availability of historical resources for visitors interested in delving deeper into the battle's history.

Tourist Information Materials: Produce informative materials such as leaflets, battlefield maps, and brochures dedicated to promoting visits to the battlefield. Distribute these materials at the Sabugal Tourist Office and other strategic locations to raise awareness among visitors.

### **Strategy to implement visitor interpretation and experience.**

Develop Battlefield Routes: Create well-marked battlefield routes and install informational panels along the routes, static or interactive, that allow the battlefield to be interpreted. Identify the Itineraries of the French and Allied forces, resulting in the identification of observation points, key points of the event, locations referenced in the narratives, locations of the positions and movements of the forces involved, creating an interpretive and narrative route (battlefield Route) supported by observation points and interactive technological interpretation solutions. The use of QR Code would be decisive for interactive use via mobile phone. These panels should offer a chronological sequence of events, historical context, and multi-sensory experiences to immerse visitors in the battle's history. These routes should guide visitors through the significant points of interest, promote interactivity and enhance their understanding of the battlefield's significance.

Install Orientation and Promotional Signs: Place orientation signs, promotional signs, and markers at key access points to the battlefield. Ensure that these signs provide information in multiple languages and highlight the historical and cultural significance of the site.

Organize Guided Tours: Establish organized guided tours of the battlefield, led by knowledgeable guides who can provide detailed insights into the historical events. Collaborate with local historians or associations to facilitate these tours.

Create Interpretation Centres: Develop modern interpretation centres or museums at or near the battlefield site. Equip these centres with interactive tools like Augmented Reality or Virtual Reality to engage visitors and provide immersive learning experiences.

Multilingual Information: Expand language options beyond Portuguese and English to cater to a broader range of international tourists. Consider translations in languages commonly spoken by visitors to the region.

By implementing these proposed strategies, Sabugal can revitalize battlefield tourism, attract a more diverse range of visitors, and provide an enriching experience that fosters a deeper understanding of the historical significance of the Battle of Gravato. These enhancements will contribute to the preservation and sustainable development of the battlefield sites.

## 7.2. Case study: Battle and siege of Ciudad Rodrigo

### CHARACTERISATION OF CIUDAD RODRIGO: THE SIEGE, THE BATTLEFIELD AND THE CITY

The siege of Ciudad Rodrigo took place between 8 and 19 January 1812, with the assault on the city beginning at 7pm on 19 January. It was the first time that Wellington's army conquered a fortress by assault and among military historians it is widely recognised as one of the most emblematic moments of the Peninsular Wars.

The battlefield consists of the urban space within the walls and outside them, where some sites (Téson Grande (Teso de San Francisco), Téson Pequeno, Roman Bridge) and historic buildings (Convento de San Francisco, Convento de San Domingos, Convento de Santa Cruz, Monasterio de Nuestra Señora de La Caridad) play an important role in the military action and in interpreting the historical narrative.

Ciudad Rodrigo occupies the top of a hill overlooking the river Águeda and is a city fortified by walls around 10 metres high that date back to the 18th century. The walls are made up of a higher inner wall and a lower outer wall, with a moat between the walls and ravelins on the north, east and west sides.

All the spaces are accessible and practicable, which allows for an exceptional reading of the events of the assault, easily identifying the Brecha Grande and the Brecha pequena (Amayuelas gate) as the main places for interpreting the assault. The good condition of the walls and their surroundings is also remarkable, especially the ramparts, moats and glacis.

Inside the city, the historic buildings and monuments remain in an excellent state of preservation, which allows the space to be interpreted in the same way as it was in 1812.

#### 7.2.1. Findings

1) Have institutions, organisations or stakeholders been identified on the battle site?

The Junta de Castilla y León, the City Council, the Palacio de los Águila Museum and the Ciudad Rodrigo Foundation are identified as promoters and publicisers. The private military tourism company "el primeraidecamp" and the Association of Local Tourist Guides are advertised as stakeholders who organise guided tours.

2) Are there any commemorative monuments? Commemorative plaques? Intervention by national, regional, local or community organisations?

There are commemorative monuments at national level with 3 flags (Spain, United Kingdom, and Portugal) near the Brecha Grande and near the monument and mausoleum of Don Julián Sánchez "EL Charro", one of the Spanish figures who led the resistance against the French troops.

There is also a modern monument dedicated to Major General Robert Craufurd, commander of the Light Division and killed during the assault on the Brecha Pequena where, next to the Amayuelas gate, there is a plaque honouring him in front of the modern monument that commemorates the Brecha Pequena. The plaque was put up by the Royal Green Jackets, heirs to the Light Division, in conjunction with the Town Hall in 1993.

Another monument, located in Herrasti Square, in front of the Cathedral, pays homage to General Andrés Pérez de Herrasti, governor of the fortress when it was stormed by Napoleonic troops in 1810.

3) Are there any examples of Urban Art, an artistic expression that invokes the historical event or promotes the narrative?

There are no examples of urban art that could be considered for interpreting the narrative.

4) Are there any Cultural Routes? Are they indicated? Are there signs? Do they identify the stages of the route? Difficulty? Accessibility? In what format are they made available to visitors?

The route identified to interpret Ciudad Rodrigo is the "Ruta de los sitios de Ciudad Rodrigo", available in the brochure "Napoleonic Sites in Spain and Portugal" and on the Salamanca Napoleónica website. This route identifies the main points related to the siege and assault on the fortress. However, it doesn't go into the itinerary in depth, excluding both Tésons, the routes taken by the various assault forces, not allowing a chronological reading of the assault. This route is not signposted in the city, although the Salamanca Napoleónica website shows a map with georeferencing, as well as the duration, difficulty and contact details for the Tourist Office.

Another existing route is called Napoleonic Gincana and is promoted by Guiaventuras ([www.viveciudadrodrigo.es](http://www.viveciudadrodrigo.es)). It is a tourist and cultural gymkhana that can be accessed free of charge by scanning a QR code available at the tourist office. It takes you on an itinerary, discovering the most notable places in the city, but it is aimed at a younger audience looking for a fun and quick learning experience that is nonetheless easy to follow and interesting to follow and carry out.

5) Are there any Tourist Offices/Interpretation Centres with thematic information? Do they have specific leaflets/information on the Battlefield? What about the Routes?

The Ciudad Rodrigo Tourist Office is very thorough and proactive in publicising and guiding visitors, handing out leaflets and identifying the most important places for reading about the battlefield. They also made it possible to contact experts from the municipality on the subject and relied on the institutional websites for even more in-depth publicity. Leaflets were handed out as part of the NAPOCTEP project, Ciudad Rodrigo Napoleonic Site, as well as information about the exhibition at the Águila Palace entitled "Ciudad Rodrigo in the War of Independence".

6) Do you have brochures for visitors? Maps, itineraries? Books? Recommended routes? Organised guided tours or an indication of who does them?

The Tourist Office has information brochures but no maps with recommended routes or more elaborate itineraries. It identifies the Association of Local Guides as promoters of guided tours in the historic centre, although there is no evidence of guides specialising in Military Tourism. The exception is the company "el primeraidecamp" dedicated to military tourism.

7) Are the visits promoted/organised by the promoter? Or are they private?

The visits are promoted by the Association of Local Guides. The private military tourism company "el primeraidecamp" is also publicised.

8) Are there interactive Museums/Interpretation Centres? Do they offer interpretation on digital media such as Augmented Reality or Virtual Reality? Are they committed to interacting with heritage through technology and modern, appealing media?

There is a museum/exhibition space in the Águila Palace, where there is an exhibition entitled "Ciudad Rodrigo in the War of Independence", which includes part of the J. R. Cid collection and part of the collection of the Ciudad Rodrigo Cathedral Museum.

This military-historical exhibition at the Palacio de los Águila is exclusively dedicated to the Napoleonic period and has great documentary value, including cartography, engravings, weapons, period materials and a rare, authenticated Napoleon death mask. As part of the NAPOCTEP project, it is now offering two pairs of Meta/Oculus Ques 2 VR Headset glasses, which allow an interactive interpretation of the models on display, making it possible to watch a few minutes of three historical recreations in Virtual Reality. These models/dioramas represent the defensive structures and the assault in the Siege of July 1810, as well as showing moments from the siege of 1812. Dioramas are a very effective way of transmitting knowledge and the ability to interpret spaces to visitors of any age, reconstructing the historical moments,

structures and military forces present on a scale with great detail and visual perception.

The exhibition at the Museum is recent and the exhibition model is interactive and dynamic.

9) What languages are available? In the museum? At the Battlefield sites?

The languages available are Spanish and English.

10) Have any conservation projects been identified? Promoted by whom?

No conservation projects have been identified, although the municipality and the Ciudad Rodrigo Foundation are promoting tourism and history.

11) Have any tourism promotion projects been identified? Promoted by whom? Are there cyclical or frequent events about the historical event?

The NAPOCTEP Project and Salamanca Napoleónica include Ciudad Rodrigo and the information is available on digital platforms. However, there is no publicity for future cyclical events, only those that have already taken place, and all within the framework of the annual Cercos a Ciudad Rodrigo commemoration in which historical re-enactments take place.

12) On the approach to the Battlefield: are there orientation signs? Promotional signs? Signs indicating that we are in a historic place and on a cultural route? In which languages?

There are no orientation or promotional signs on the approach to Ciudad Rodrigo or to the defensive structures important to the battlefield narrative.

13) In the battlefield: are there identified route(s)? Are there signs?

There are no publicised itineraries or cultural routes around the battlefield. Only the Napoleonic Gymkhana takes a simple approach to the most important sites, but it is not geared towards interpreting military tourism.

14) On the Battlefield: Is there static information support (information panels)? Modernised? With QR codes that allow interaction and audio interpretation? What is the state of these supports?

There are no modern interpretation panels that allow you to locate the observation point and fit it into the narrative.

The only existing information panel is in the Brecha Grande, but it is difficult to interpret or read because it has been burnt by the sun. The subtitles are written in Spanish and Portuguese, but the translation in the latter language has errors and the information is insufficient for interpreting the space.

15) On the information panels: is there historical information to contextualise the site? Is there a chronological sequence of events? Does it allow the visitor to be directed to the other sites?

Does it use images? Does the panel indicate via a link where to find out more and learn more about the site and the event? Do the supports promote a multi-sensory experience?

The existing sign does not fulfil any of these requirements.

16) Is the visit to the Battlefield easily guided by the single visitor? Does it allow an effective reading of the historical event and the sites relevant to interpretation?

If there are no suitable information aids, it is not possible to interpret the historical sites and events as part of military tourism.

### **7.2.2. Conclusions of the results**

The fortified city of Ciudad Rodrigo maintains a strong historical character as one of the most renowned battles and sieges of the Peninsular War. Monuments and historical places are promoted and there is evidence of tourism planning with battlefield tourism awareness. Even so, it presents an opportunity to improve the experience of the visitor and value the historical resources.

As conclusions of this filed research, we have identified the following gaps and enhancing elements that should be addressed to increase battlefield tourism and promote a better experience for the visitor.

**Institutional and Stakeholder Involvement:** The identified institutions and stakeholders involved in promoting the battlefield site in Ciudad Rodrigo include the Junta de Castilla y León, the City Council, the Palacio de los Águila Museum, the Ciudad Rodrigo Foundation, the private military tourism company "el primeraidecamp," and the Association of Local Tourist Guides. This suggests a coordinated effort involving public and private entities to promote and publicize the site. Ciudad Rodrigo demonstrates a commitment to promoting and preserving its Napoleonic heritage through the involvement of institutions, organizations, and private companies.

**Commemorative Monuments:** The battlefield site features several commemorative monuments and plaques dedicated to key historical figures and events related to the Napoleonic period. These monuments honour figures such as Don Julián Sánchez "El Charro," Major General Robert Craufurd, and General Andrés Pérez de Herrasti. The presence of these monuments reflects a commitment to preserving and commemorating the historical significance of the site.

**Absence of Urban Art:** Despite the presence of commemorative monuments, there are no examples of urban art or artistic expressions that invoke the historical event or promote the

narrative of the battlefield. This represents a potential opportunity for enhancing the interpretive and immersive experience for visitors.

**Cultural Routes and Signage:** A cultural route known as the "Ruta de los sitios de Ciudad Rodrigo" is available for visitors to interpret the city's Napoleonic history. However, this route has limitations as it does not provide an in-depth itinerary and lacks on-site signage. Another route called the "Napoleonic Gincana" is offered by Guiaventuras, designed as a tourist and cultural scavenger hunt. This route caters to a younger audience seeking an engaging and interactive experience. The availability of cultural routes and guided tours enriches the visitor experience, catering to different interests and age groups.

**Tourist Offices and Information:** The Ciudad Rodrigo Tourist Office is proactive in providing information and guidance to visitors. They distribute leaflets and identify key locations for learning about the battlefield. Information brochures are available, but there are no maps with recommended routes or detailed itineraries. The Ciudad Rodrigo Tourist Office plays a vital role in disseminating information, but there is room for improvement in providing comprehensive maps and itineraries.

**Guided Tours:** The Association of Local Guides promotes guided tours in the historic centre of Ciudad Rodrigo, including some related to military tourism. Private military tourism company "el primeraidecamp" is also involved in promoting and organizing visits.

**Interactive Museums and Interpretation:** The Águila Palace hosts a military-historical exhibition dedicated exclusively to the Napoleonic period. It includes valuable historical artifacts and documents, including an authenticated Napoleon death mask. As part of the NAPOCTEP project, the exhibition now offers Virtual Reality (VR) interpretation, providing an interactive and immersive experience for visitors. VR allows the exploration of historical recreations related to the Siege of 1810 and the Siege of 1812. Dioramas with VR technology enhance the interpretation of historical moments, structures, and military forces.

The integration of modern technology, such as Virtual Reality, into the interpretation of historical sites is a noteworthy development, enhancing the accessibility and engagement of visitors.

**Languages:** Spanish and English are the available languages for information and interpretation at the museum and battlefield sites, suggesting accessibility for both local and international visitors. Nevertheless, the absence of other languages may limit accessibility for a broader range of tourists.

**Conservation and Tourism Projects:** No specific conservation projects have been identified for the battlefield sites. However, the municipality and the Ciudad Rodrigo Foundation are actively promoting tourism and history in the area.

The lack of conservation projects specifically related to battlefield sites suggests potential challenges in preserving and maintaining historical authenticity.

**Tourism Promotion Projects:** The NAPOCTEP Project and Salamanca Napoleónica include Ciudad Rodrigo in their information, indicating collaboration with regional and national tourism promotion initiatives.

The absence of publicity for future cyclical events related to historical events is noted, with an emphasis on past events as part of the annual Cercos a Ciudad Rodrigo commemoration. Collaboration with regional and national tourism projects is positive for promoting the area, but there is room for improvement in publicizing future events.

**Signage and Information Panels:** No identified routes or signage exist within the battlefield area. There is a lack of orientation signs, promotional signs, or indications that visitors are in a historic place or on a cultural route on the approach to Ciudad Rodrigo or its defensive structures associated with the battlefield.

There remains a need for improved on-site signage and more extensive interpretation of the Napoleonic events, especially in the outdoor spaces associated with the battlefield.

**Interpretation and Visitor Experience:** The information panels do not fulfil essential requirements for effective interpretation. They lack historical context, a chronological sequence of events, and the ability to direct visitors to other sites or provide a multi-sensory experience.

There is an existing information panel in the Brecha Grande, but it is in poor condition due to sun damage. It lacks effective interpretation elements and contains errors in the Portuguese translation.

There is an opportunity to improve interpretation of the battlefield by promoting the analysis of the Itineraries of the French and Allied forces, resulting in the identification of more observation points, key points of the event, locations referenced in the narratives, locations of the positions and movements of the forces involved, creating an interpretive and narrative route supported by observation points and interactive technological interpretation solutions.

The absence of adequate signage, information panels, and interpretation elements hinders the ability of visitors to effectively engage with and understand the historical events and sites associated with military tourism.

Without suitable information aids, the visitor experience and effective interpretation of historical sites and events related to military tourism are compromised. Addressing these interpretative deficiencies and investing in signage and information aids could significantly enhance the visitor experience and promote a deeper understanding of the historical significance of the battlefield sites of Ciudad Rodrigo.

### **7.2.3. Proposal for valorisation and tourist activation**

Based on the conclusions, we may point out some strategies and actions that could be considered to improve Ciudad Rodrigo's Touristic Development Plan for battlefield tourism. A special effort could be made in the visitor's experience and interpretation of the historical sites related to the battles and sieges in Ciudad Rodrigo.

Ciudad Rodrigo's battlefield site exhibits active involvement from various institutions and stakeholders in promoting its historical significance. Commemorative monuments and plaques pay tribute to key figures and events associated with the Napoleonic period. However, there is currently an absence of urban art or artistic expressions that could further engage visitors in the historical narrative. The presence of multiple stakeholders and the recognition of historical figures through monuments indicate a commitment to preserving and promoting the battlefield's heritage.

To enhance battlefield tourism in Ciudad Rodrigo and provide a more engaging and informative experience for visitors, several touristic valorisation strategies and improvements can be proposed based on the conclusions:

#### **Strategy to empower stakeholders' dynamics**

**Collaborative Preservation Efforts:** Encourage further collaboration between institutions, organizations, and private companies to jointly develop and implement preservation and promotion initiatives. This can include organizing events, educational programs, and joint marketing efforts to raise awareness about the battlefield's significance.

#### **Strategy for promotion and awareness**

**Urban Art and Artistic Expressions:** Introduce urban art or artistic expressions that vividly depict key moments and figures from the Napoleonic period. Murals, sculptures, or interactive installations can help immerse visitors in the historical narrative, making it more visually captivating.

**Promotion of Future Events:** Collaborate with regional and national tourism projects to effectively publicize future events related to the Napoleonic heritage. Use digital platforms, social media, and promotional materials to inform potential visitors about upcoming historical reenactments, festivals, or exhibitions. It is also strategic to strength the publicity and promotion of existing services.

Conservation Projects: While no specific conservation projects have been identified, actively seek opportunities for preserving and maintaining historical authenticity. Partner with heritage conservation organizations and seek funding for projects focused on battlefield site preservation and restoration.

### **Strategy to implement visitor interpretation and experience**

Develop a cultural route that provides a more complete tour of the battlefield in terms of historical sites and the information provided on digital platforms.

Comprehensive Maps and Itineraries: Enhance the Ciudad Rodrigo Tourist Office's services by providing comprehensive maps and itineraries that cover the battlefield sites in detail. These resources should include marked routes, historical context, and accessibility information.

Multilingual Interpretation: Expand the availability of information in multiple languages beyond just Spanish and English. Consider translations in languages commonly spoken by tourists visiting the region to improve accessibility and attract a more diverse range of international visitors.

Improved On-Site Signage: Address the lack of on-site signage and interpretation elements, particularly in outdoor spaces associated with the battlefield. Install informative panels, directional signs, and markers that guide visitors through the historical events, structures, and locations. In order to deepen the narrative and achieve a broader reading of the spaces by interconnecting them with notable events from the various sieges, we suggest identifying the burial of Major General Robert Craufurd in the Brecha Menor (Brecha Chica at the Amayuelas Gate) during the Allied assault of 1812, the route taken by the various regiments during the assault and identifying the positioning of the various forces involved in chronological order.

Interpretative Deficiencies: Invest in interpretative elements that offer in-depth historical information and context. These elements should narrate the events, chronology, and significance of the battlefield sites. Consider audio guides, video presentations, or interactive apps to aid visitors in understanding the historical events. Information panels, whether static or interactive, promote a better interpretation of the battlefield and the use of QR Code would be decisive for interactive use via mobile phone.

Virtual Reality and Modern Technology: Continue the integration of modern technology, such as Virtual Reality, to offer visitors immersive experiences. By creating an Interpretation Centre, like the Interpretation Classroom at Los Arapiles, using dioramas and

the interactivity provided by Augmented Reality and Virtual Reality we expand the use of technology to recreate historical scenes, provide virtual tours, and engage visitors in interactive learning.

**Accessibility Improvements:** Ensure that the battlefield sites are accessible to all visitors, including those with disabilities. Implement accessibility features such as ramps, tactile maps, and audio descriptions to create a more inclusive experience.

By implementing these proposed strategies, Ciudad Rodrigo can enrich the battlefield tourism experience, attract a broader range of visitors, and promote a deeper understanding of the historical significance of its Napoleonic heritage. These enhancements will contribute to the preservation and sustainable development of the battlefield sites.

### 7.3. Case study: Battlefield of Arapiles (Salamanca)

#### THE BATTLE OF LOS ARAPILES (SALAMANCA) AND CHARACTERISATION OF THE BATTLEFIELD

The Battle of Los Arapiles (or Battle of Salamanca as it is known in English literature) took place on 22 July 1812, where the Allied army (United Kingdom, Portugal and Spain) with around 52,000 men commanded by Arthur Wellesley, confronted the French army with around 49,600 men under the command of Marshal Marmont.

The battlefield is located 7.5 kilometres south of the city of Salamanca, in a landscape of open, treeless, undulating terrain dominated by gently sloping hills except for two that were central to the battle: Los hermanitos, the higher and much longer Arapile Grande, and the lower Arapile Pequeno (or Chico in Spanish), 120 metres above sea level and with a smaller plateau. The town of Los Arapiles lies to the west of the Little Arapile and here the Allied position was supported, facing the Big Arapile to the south, occupied by the French forces and hiding them from Wellington's view from the Teso de San Miguel, an elevation next to the town. The main events and moments of the battle extended from Calvarrasa de Arriba to the east, centred on the two Arapiles, and stretching as far as Miranda de Azán to the west.

The state of preservation of the battlefield is remarkable, and today it's cereal-growing plains. The sites that construct the narrative that interprets the battle remain perfectly identifiable and preserved. The high plateaus are accessible and are essential observation points for understanding the manoeuvres and the evolution of the battle.

The town of Arapiles has a key role to play in promoting and publicising the battle and is home to the Arapiles Battle Interpretation Centre.

#### 7.3.1. Findings

1) Are institutions, organisations or stakeholders identified on the site?

The promoters of the "Ruta del Sitio Histórico" and the constitution of the battlefield as "Sitio Histórico de Los Arapiles" are identified on all the information panels. These organisations are the Diputación de Salamanca and the Ayuntamiento de Arapiles, as well as the Salamancanapoleonica.com website, which publicises the Red Salamantina de Patrimonio Napoleónico (the Salamantine Napoleonic Heritage Network), an association that includes the Ayuntamientos de Alba de Tormes, Arapiles, Ciudad Rodrigo, Fuentes de Oñoro and Tamanes and is coordinated by the Diputación de

Salamanca. The Interpretation Centre in Arapiles identifies the promoters of the Aula de Interpretación, the Fundación Del Patrimonio Histórico de Castilla y León, and indicates that it was a project funded by the European Union and the PRODERCAL (2000-2006) and Adrecag programmes. The company specialising in Military Tourism, "El primer edecán", is also identified as a stakeholder that runs guided tours of the battlefield. In addition to the aforementioned entities, the Arapiles Battlefield is part of the Routes created in the Destination Napoleon project developed with the NAPOCTEP project, co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund ERDF, under the Interreg V Spain-Portugal Programme (2014-2020). The involvement of organisations in the promotion, protection and tourist development of this cultural heritage is attested to.

2) Are there commemorative monuments? Commemorative plaques? Intervention by national, regional, local or community organisations?

The various existing monuments identify the promoters, who are international, national and local. Of particular note is the monument at the top of the Arápile Grande and, in the town of Arapiles, the monument with the bust of Arthur Wellesley, which also invokes coplas that local folklore has preserved as intangible heritage linked to the events of the battle (fig. 43).

Figure 43 Coplas de La Batalla de Los Arapiles



Siding the Municipal sports pavilion of Los Arapiles town, a monument to Wellington was erected and a popular poem was displayed to recover locals' memory about the battle. Source: authors own collection

3) Are there any examples of Urban Art, an artistic expression that invokes the historical event or promotes the narrative?

Yes, there is Urban Art on the outside wall of the Arapiles municipal sports pavilion, where various moments of the battle have been painted, identifying historical figures and texts that contextualise the images in the narrative. It's a very effective way of illustrating history and keeping local memory alive. It is also of great value to visitors (of various ages) as a complement to the visual and historical narrative (fig. 44).

*Figure 44 Mural in the Municipal Pavilion of Sports*



*Two sides of the Pavilion have murals that illustrate decisive moments of the battle and are contextualised by a short but effective written narrative. Source: authors own collection*

4) Are there cultural routes? Are they indicated? Are they signposted? Do they identify the stages of the route? Difficulty? Accessibility? In what format are they made available to visitors?

The Battle of Los Arapiles is part of the Ruta del Sitio Histórico of the Red Salamantina Napoleónica, of several Cultural Routes of the NAPOCTEP project - Napoleonic routes between Spain and Portugal, namely the Route of the Great Battles and Sieges (fig. 48). The battlefield has a cultural interpretation route identified with the most relevant points for interpreting the space and the narrative. The ten observation points are organised in a chronological sequence and are indicated with signs along the route. The digital platform of the Red Salamantina Napoleónica, which also supports the Route of the Battle of Arapiles, contains all the information for the visit, including the information panels located at each observation point. This solution allows you to

prepare for the visit and also to see the information panels that you might not be able to see during a visit to the site. It also provides historical context.

The information panels show the recommended sequence of the visit and are interactive via QRcode. The route and its itinerary are very well publicised and in a very effective and interesting way of interpreting the battle in an interactive, accessible and very captivating way, using the stimulus of the various senses. Information on the duration (4 hours) and difficulty (Medium) is available on the Salamanca Napoleonica website.

Figure 45 Information panel at the Interpretation Centre of Los Arapiles



This information Panel is outside the Interpretation Centre and introduces the Historical Routes, presenting a map illustrating the possible routes at the battlefield. The QR codes allow the download of an informational narrative and are displayed in English and Spanish. The design is modern, attractive and the reading is very effective. Source: authors own collection

5) Are there any Tourist Offices/Interpretation Centres with thematic information? Do they have specific leaflets/information on the Battlefield? What about the Routes?

There is no tourist office in Arapiles, but there is a Battle Interpretation Centre. In the Interpretation Classroom building, on the outdoor sign, there is a QRcode that gives access to all the digital information, the interpretation route and all the platforms for

interpreting the historic site. The replacement of the traditional leaflet with digital content is a notable improvement in interactivity with the battle and the landscape, although the use of a map for reading and interpreting the battlefield would be advisable, considering the profile of the Battlefield Tourism visitor.

6) Do you have brochures for visitors? Maps, itineraries? Books? Recommended routes? Organised guided tours or an indication of who does them?

There are no specific brochures on the battlefield as all the information is available on digital media. These platforms contain the route and the suggested route. The existing brochures are generic and focus on the various routes that include the Battle of Los Arapiles. They are distributed in Salamanca at the Tourist Office, as well as in Ciudad Rodrigo. This brochure was created as part of the NAPOCTEP project for the Year of Napoleon, 2021, the bicentenary of his death, and brings together seven routes that include the most important sites of the Peninsular Wars in Portugal and Spain.

7) Are the visits promoted/organised by the promoter? Or are they private?

The visits to the battlefield suggested on the Los Arapiles Historic Site website are organised by the private company “el primer edecan”.

8) Are there interactive Museums/Interpretation Centres? Do they offer interpretation on digital media such as Augmented Reality or Virtual Reality? Are they committed to interacting with heritage through technology and modern, appealing media?

In the town of Arapiles there is the Interpretation Classroom (Aula de Interpretación) of the Battle of Los Arapiles, dedicated to the battle and featuring dioramas of decisive moments and the location of the fighting forces. It also exhibits materials found on the battlefield as well as weapons and uniforms. The exhibition is very captivating, with a modern museum model that is very careful and appealing, relying on images of great graphic quality and the visualisation of events through dioramas that are remarkable for their detail and quality. Access to the QR Code, which allows you to download the digital content that supports the visit to the battlefield, is easy to access and is available inside and outside the Interpretation Centre, on each poster/information panel. The accessibility of the digital content is excellent, allowing for a very stimulating visitation experience of great graphic quality.

There are no Augmented Reality or Virtual Reality solutions, but the QR codes available on the posters, information panels and digital platforms allow for remarkable interactivity. By reading these QR codes, you can listen to a narrative, presented in Spanish or English, which recreates the atmosphere of the battle with sounds and a re-

enactment of dialogues between those involved in the battle, highlighting decisive moments.

9) What languages are available? In the museum? At the Battlefield sites?

Only Spanish and English are available in the museum and on the interpretive panels on the battlefield.

10) Have any conservation projects been identified? Promoted by whom?

No conservation projects have been identified, but the battlefield is protected by law as a Historic Site.

11) Have any tourism promotion projects been identified? Promoted by whom? Are there cyclical or frequent events about the historic event?

There are concerted tourism promotion actions at the Battlefield of Los Arapiles organised by the Diputación de Salamanca, Salamanca Napoleónica (emocion.es) and the Ayuntamiento de Arapiles. In particular, the creation of cultural routes with interpretation panels at the main points of the narrative, an interpretation centre, promotion of the historic site through promotional panels, a careful and appealing image with specific graphics of the Battle (in red and black), the painting of historic murals, the creation of the monument dedicated to Wellington and evocative of the battle and, finally, promotion of the cultural route on institutional websites.

The cyclical events take place on the date of the Battle, 22 July, and bring together groups of historical recreationists from various nationalities.

In 2022, several murals were created outside the municipal pavilion building in which various moments from the battle were interpreted. This remarkable example of urban art serves to promote tourism and preserve the local historical memory, providing a precious complement to the narrative.

12) On the approach to the Battlefield: are there orientation signs? Promotional signs? Signs indicating that we are in a historic place and on a cultural route? In which languages?

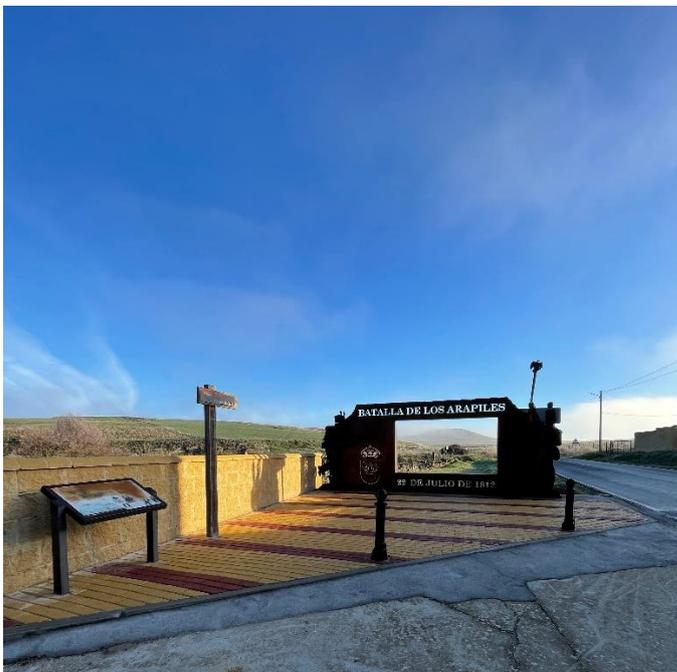
Tourist promotion of the Battle of Los Arapiles is visible on the accesses to Arapiles, through notable promotional panels identifying the battlefield as Los Arapiles Historic Site and the existence of the Historic Site Route (fig. 46). In the town of Los Arapiles there is the starting point of the Route where a cut-out panel frames the main battlefield, between the Arapile Chico and the Arapile Grande, encouraging visitors to take photos of themselves there and publicising the route on social media (fig. 47). The only languages used are Spanish and English.

Figure 46 Promotional Panel



*This panel of great dimension is located in the main access to the town of Arapiles and indicates that we are entering an Historical Site (Sitio Histórico). The illustration has a great colourful impact and represents an intense moment of the battle. It identifies the main regional and governmental entities that promoted the battlefield preservation and touristic planning. It also serves the objective of promoting the battlefield tourism in a different way where other panels are more informative, showing a strategy of different static panels for different purposes. Source: authors own collection*

Figure 47 The starting point of the Historical Route.



*We can see on the left the Historical Route Interpretative panel nº 4 and a sign indicating the direction of the several proposed itineraries. The dark cut-out panel has historical items in the framing, and it allows a photograph in the direction of the battle's main action, between the two Arapiles. Source: authors own collection*

13) On the battlefield: are there identified route(s)? Are there signs?

There are several routes available on the battlefield, with signs to guide you.

There are signs for the Historic Site Route, directing visitors to each of the 10 points with an Interpretive Panel and outside the Interpretation Classroom building there is the Main Information/Interpretive Panel with instructions for these Routes (fig. 42). This information panel shows four routes, two on foot and two by bicycle: the Generals' Route (walking distance of 8.2 km and duration of 2h15m), the Portuguese Route (walking distance of 4.2 km and duration of 1 hour), the Pakenham Way (cycling distance of 17.8 km and duration of 1h35m) and the Light Division Route (cycling distance of 17.2 km and duration of 1h45m), totalling 10 main points for interpreting the battlefield (fig. 47).

As part of the NAPOCTEP project, Interreg España-Portugal, which gave rise to the Destination Napoleon cultural route, the battle of Los Arapiles was included in 4 of the 7 existing routes. Thus, Arapiles is included in the routes: Asedios y las Grandes Batallas, Wellington, Guerrilleros Julián Sánchez El Charro y el Empecinado, and finally, the 3rd French Invasion Route.

As part of this project, there are also signs, although only in the town of Arapiles, indicating that these four routes are part of the Destination Napoleon project.

Figure 48 Historical Routes from Destination Napoleon



This sign is located close to starting point of the Historical Route and identifies Los Arapiles as part of four cultural itineraries that are promoted by Destination Napoleon Project that is part of the NAPOCTEP initiative. It gives a short historical contextualization and identifies the other cultural itineraries of the project. Source: authors own collection

Promoted by the International Mountain Bike Association - Spain, there is also the Ruta Circular de Salamanca (Salamanca Circular Route), which can be travelled by all-

terrain bike and includes the entire battlefield. This route is signposted along the way and has information panels, although the narrative is not geared towards military tourism.

Of all these routes, the one most easily identified by the signs and interpretive panels is the Los Arapiles Historic Site route, which serves the interpretation of the battlefield.

Figure 49 Panel that identifies an important historical spot.



At Calvarrasa de Arriba we can see this cut-out Panel that identifies an historical spot and contextualizes the military action that took place there. It's a different panel (fig. 49) from the ones that identify an observation point that is part of the Historical Route and are numbered (fig. 50). Source: authors own collection

14) On the battlefield: Is there static information support (information panels)? Modernised? With a QR Code that allows interaction and audio interpretation? What is the state of these supports?

The interpretive panels on the battlefield are static, with a modern reading that emphasises modern graphics and the use of a short narrative that is very well supported by three-dimensional images and maps (fig. 51). Each panel shows two QR codes that allow access, in English and Spanish, to a high-quality dramatized narrative that is easily accessed by a mobile device.

The condition of the panels shows the high temperatures to which they have been subjected and the colours are faded but still legible. Some acts of vandalism and the erosion of time mean that new panels will have to be replaced if they are to be read in good condition (fig. 50 and fig.52).

Figure 50 Interpretative Panel nº 4, facing Teso de San Miguel



The interpretative panel n.º 4 in January 2023. The interpretation and reading of the panels are compromised by the action of the sun. Below, fig. 51, represents the same panel as it was originally and as it is displayed in the Digital Platform form Salamanca Napoleonica. Source: authors own collection

Figure 51 Original panel nº 4.



In <https://www.salamancanapoleonica.com/rutas-napoleonicas-en-la-provincia-de-salamanca/ruta-de-los-arapiles/>

15) On the information panels: is there historical information to contextualise the site? Is there a chronological sequence of events? Does it allow the visitor to be directed to the other sites? Does it use images? Does the panel indicate via a link where to find out more and learn more about the site and the event? Do the supports promote a multi-sensory experience?

The interpretive panels are located at the 10 observation points. They are visibly attractive due to the visual narrative they promote, using three-dimensional maps that identify and show the movements of the forces, images of soldiers and officers who stood out, short texts illustrating the moments and actions, and are oriented towards the landscape they are intended to interpret. The information contextualises the location and the sequence of the narrative, guiding the visitor to the next event/panel but allowing them to understand the entire route and the other locations. The experience provided by the QR codes, allowing the dramatized narrative to be heard, guarantees an innovative and very effective multi-sensory experience, suitable for visiting the battlefield.

Figure 52 Interpretative panel nº 2



The state of the panel on the 3rd of January 2023 shows the impact of the sun and degradation of the material. Source: authors own collection

16) Is the visit to the Battlefield easily guided by a single visitor? Does it allow an effective reading of the historical event and the sites relevant to interpretation?

The experience of visiting the battlefield is easily guided by the interpretation tools made available to the visitor, guaranteeing an effective reading and interpretation of the historical event and the sequence of its narrative.

### 7.3.2. Conclusion of the results

The Battlefield of Los Arapiles (or Battle of Salamanca) is a good example to understand how the touristic development of a battlefield can establish a good experience for the visitor. A strategic planning considered marketing, infrastructure, interactive technologies to power the experience and an effective and attractive narrative. Our findings allowed us to understand the impact of these strategies to the visitor as well as the opportunities to improve the experience when valuing historical resources.

This field research presented an important part on our research, where some of the strategies had proven its effectiveness and other gaps and enhancing elements were equally identified and analysed, being now presented to better promote the success of battlefield tourism and visitor experience.

**Institutions and Stakeholders:** The battlefield of Los Arapiles benefits from active involvement and promotion by various institutions and stakeholders. These include the Diputación de Salamanca, the Ayuntamiento de Arapiles, the Salamancanapoleonica.com website, the Fundación Del Patrimonio Histórico de Castilla y León, and the company "El primer edecán," specializing in Military Tourism.

Collaboration with the Red Salamantina de Patrimonio Napoleónico and inclusion in projects like Destination Napoleon and NAPOCTEP demonstrate a coordinated effort to promote, protect, and develop the cultural heritage associated with the battlefield.

The presence of multiple institutions and stakeholders demonstrates a strong commitment to promoting, preserving, and developing the historical heritage associated with the battlefield of Los Arapiles.

**Conservation Efforts:** No specific conservation projects related to the battlefield have been identified. However, it's noted that the battlefield enjoys legal protection as a Historic Site.

**Tourism Promotion:** There is a coordinated effort in tourism promotion at the Battlefield of Los Arapiles, involving the Diputación de Salamanca, Salamanca Napoleónica (emocion.es), and the Ayuntamiento de Arapiles.

Various initiatives have been undertaken, including the creation of cultural routes with interpretation panels, the establishment of an interpretation centre, the use of promotional panels, and the development of appealing graphics related to the battle.

The presence of cyclical events on the anniversary of the Battle (July 22) attracts historical reenactment groups from different countries, contributing to the cultural significance and tourism appeal of the site.

Urban art, in the form of murals depicting moments from the battle, serves as an innovative and visually striking way to promote tourism and preserve historical memory.

Digital platforms, such as the Salamanca Napoleonica website, provide comprehensive information for visitors, including historical context, recommended itineraries, duration (4 hours), and difficulty level (Medium).

The use of digital content and QR codes for information access enhances interactivity with the battlefield and its narrative.

Commemorative monuments, urban art, and cultural routes contribute to a comprehensive and engaging interpretation of the historical events. The presence of cyclical events on significant historical dates adds to the site's appeal and cultural relevance.

**Orientation Signs and Signage:** Tourist promotion for the Battle of Los Arapiles is visibly displayed on the approaches to Arapiles, featuring notable promotional panels identifying the battlefield as the Los Arapiles Historic Site and highlighting the Historic Site Route.

In the town of Los Arapiles, a cut-out panel frames the main battlefield area, encouraging visitors to take photos and share them on social media, thus increasing visibility and interest in the battlefield.

Prominent orientation signs and visually striking panels contribute to the battlefield's visibility and accessibility.

**Commemorative Monuments and Urban Art:** The battlefield features various monuments and plaques that commemorate the historical events. These monuments have international, national, and local significance, reinforcing the historical narrative.

The presence of urban art on the exterior wall of the Arapiles municipal sports pavilion effectively illustrates historical moments of the battle and enhances local memory while providing an engaging visual narrative for visitors.

**Cultural Routes and Interpretation:** Los Arapiles is part of the Ruta del Sitio Histórico and several Cultural Routes, including the Route of the Great Battles and Sieges as part of the NAPOCTEP project and the Destination Napoleon cultural route.

The battlefield boasts a cultural interpretation route with ten observation points, each marked with signs along the route. The Historic Site Route comprises ten main interpretive points, each featuring an interpretive panel, and is supported by clear signage.

The route is divided into different options for both walking and cycling. This circular biking route is provided by the International Mountain Bike Association - Spain, encompassing the entire battlefield area and featuring signage and information panels.

Multiple interpretive routes and signage on the battlefield offer visitors a comprehensive and informative experience.

Static Information Support and QR Codes: Interpretive panels on the battlefield are static but have a modern design, featuring contemporary graphics and concise narratives.

Each panel is equipped with two QR codes, enabling visitors to access dramatized narratives in both English and Spanish using their mobile devices. These panels are visually appealing and employ three-dimensional maps to highlight troop movements, images of key figures, concise textual descriptions of events, and landscape orientation.

The provided information not only contextualizes the battlefield's location but also establishes a chronological sequence of events, guiding visitors to subsequent panels and aiding in their understanding of the entire battlefield and its various locations.

QR codes provide a multi-sensory experience by allowing visitors to listen to dramatized narratives, enhancing the overall interpretive quality.

The panels have endured harsh environmental conditions, including high temperatures, leading to fading of colours and some vandalism. Replacement panels may be necessary for optimal readability.

Visitor Resources: There are no specific brochures dedicated solely to the battlefield site. Instead, all relevant information is available on digital media, including the route and suggested itinerary. Consideration for using maps in addition to digital content could be beneficial for certain types of visitors.

Generic brochures encompassing multiple routes related to the Battle of Los Arapiles and the Peninsular Wars are distributed in Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo, which were created as part of the NAPOCTEP project for the Year of Napoleon in 2021.

Guided Tours: Visits to the battlefield, as suggested on the Los Arapiles Historic Site website, are organized by the private company "El primer edecan." The use of a private company for organized guided tours offers tourists an alternative means of exploring the battlefield.

Tourism Infrastructure: While there is no tourist office in Arapiles, there is a Battle Interpretation Centre that serves as an essential resource for visitors.

Interpretation Centres: Arapiles features an Interpretation Classroom dedicated to the Battle of Los Arapiles. This centre offers a modern museum experience, showcasing dioramas

of crucial battle moments, artifacts found on the battlefield, weapons, and uniforms. The exhibition is visually captivating, featuring high-quality graphics and detailed dioramas.

QR codes are readily accessible both inside and outside the Interpretation Centre, allowing visitors to download digital content supporting their battlefield visit.

While there is no use of Augmented Reality or Virtual Reality, the QR codes provide a high level of interactivity. They enable visitors to listen to a narrative (available in Spanish and English) that recreates the battle's atmosphere with sounds and re-enactments of dialogues between historical figures involved in the battle.

Only Spanish and English are available as languages for interpretation at the museum and on the interpretive panels at the battlefield sites.

Visitor Guidance and Effective Interpretation: The presence of interpretive tools, including QR codes and strategically placed panels, ensures that visitors can easily navigate the battlefield.

These tools facilitate an effective reading of the historical event and enable visitors to engage with the narrative sequence.

The combination of visual elements, narratives, and technological features creates a guided and immersive visitor experience that enhances understanding and appreciation of the battlefield's historical significance.

The battlefield of Arapiles (Salamanca) proved to be the best example of a successful visit experience. It shows how the combination of technology, attractive promotional artwork and good touristic planning promote a much-desired multi-sensorial interaction with history, landscapes of war and a common memory. But the main awareness achieved is how to comprehend these Napoleonic battlefield factors and visitors' needs into a strategic tourism plan specific for these valuable touristic resources.

### **7.3.3. Proposal for valorisation and touristic activation**

From the provided conclusions, several proposals for tourist valorisation strategies and enhancing the tourist experience at the Battlefield of Los Arapiles can be identified.

By implementing these proposals, the battlefield can further enhance its tourist valorisation strategies and provide an enriched, engaging, and accessible experience for visitors from diverse backgrounds and preferences.

#### **Strategy to empower stakeholders' dynamics.**

Multifaceted Interpretation: it is important to continue to collaborate with multiple institutions and stakeholders to maintain a strong commitment to promoting, preserving, and developing the historical heritage associated with the battlefield. This can include ongoing partnerships with local authorities, historical societies, and educational institutions.

#### **Strategy for promotion and awareness**

Conservation: While specific conservation projects have not been identified, ensure that the legal protection of the battlefield as a Historic Site is effectively utilized to preserve its historical and cultural significance. More opportunities should be explored for sustainable preservation practices.

Comprehensive Interpretation: A strategy on building on the existing commemorative monuments, urban art, and cultural routes, offer visitors a comprehensive and engaging interpretation of the historical events. One might consider expanding these initiatives to cover more aspects of the battlefield's history and significance.

Event Promotion: Capitalize on the concerted efforts of various organizations in promoting tourism at the battlefield by continuing to organize cyclical events on significant historical dates. These events add cultural relevance and contribute to the site's appeal.

It is essential to maintain stakeholders' concerted actions and engage an even better multifaceted approach to promotion, including interpretation routes, events, urban art, and online presence.

Guided Tours: One should acknowledge the value of private companies offering organized guided tours. We might consider diversifying tour options and collaborating with these companies to provide tourists with alternative means of exploring the battlefield.

To improve visibility and accessibility one should maintain prominent orientation signs and visually striking panels to enhance the battlefield's visibility and accessibility for visitors. Consider expanding signage to provide even more comprehensive information about the site.

### **Strategy to implement visitor interpretation and experience.**

**Interpretation Routes:** Keep multiple interpretive routes and signage on the battlefield to offer visitors a comprehensive and informative experience. Ensure these routes are well-maintained and clearly marked.

**Digital Enhancement:** Capitalize on the utilization of digital platforms, interactive information panels, and QR codes to further enhance the visitor experience and accessibility to historical content. Continue updating and maintaining these digital resources to provide up-to-date information. Regularly update digital content to ensure it remains engaging.

**Interactive Experiences:** Recognize the trend of contemporary travellers seeking interactive experiences. Continue to develop and promote digital media for visitor information, as it aligns with the preferences of many tourists.

**Interactive Interpretation:** Continue the integration of QR codes and modernized interpretive panels to enrich the visitor experience. Regularly inspect and replace panels damaged by wear or vandalism to maintain their effectiveness.

Despite some wear and vandalism, the panels remain effective tools for providing historical context, guiding visitors, and promoting a multi-sensory experience.

**Museum Experience:** Continue to invest in the Interpretation Classroom in Arapiles, maintaining high-quality museum experiences with modern visuals, dioramas, and accessible digital content through QR codes. Regularly update exhibits to keep the content fresh and engaging. Limited opening schedule presents a common obstacle to visitors and should be revisited.

The availability of information in both Spanish and English enhances accessibility for a wider range of visitors, including international tourists. Consider expanding language options to cater to a broader range of tourists.

Narrative in a museum can be more engaging through the presence of original artifacts found in the battlefield and replicas to be handled, improvements to be implemented in this interpretation Classroom.

**Visitor Information:** While the absence of a traditional tourist office is compensated by the Battle Interpretation Centre and digital resources, consider the inclusion of physical maps or brochures to further enhance the interpretation experience. The absence of specific

brochures for the battlefield suggests a heavy reliance on digital media for visitor information, which may suit contemporary travellers seeking interactive experiences. Offering a variety of information formats accommodates different visitor preferences.

**Visitor Empowerment:** Emphasize that the interpretation tools available on the battlefield empower single visitors to explore and gain a deep understanding of the historical events that transpired there. Promote the site's educational and cultural value as a key part of the tourist experience.

Overall, the interpretation tools available on the battlefield ensure that a single visitor can easily explore and gain a deep understanding of the historical events that took place there, contributing to the site's educational and cultural value.

Los Arapiles demonstrates a well-coordinated effort to engage visitors in the historical narrative and cultural heritage associated with the battlefield, making it an attractive destination for those interested in military tourism and history.

#### **7.4. Proposal of good practices in enhancing battlefield's interpretation and tourist's experience.**

Having made this chapter's construct, our contribution was to identify through the different field researches the strategies that promote stakeholder's dynamics, strategies that implement touristic promotion as a goal and awareness amongst the community and the touristic offer. Finally, equally identified were the strategies to implement and improve visitors' interpretation and experience when at the battlefields. In particular, the relevance given to Interpretation and Experience led us to elaborate this proposal of good practices as a resource to be considered and implemented by stakeholders.

Therefore, the objective is to promote tourism development with the active support of the communities, promoting the preservation and optimized dissemination of their historical, material, and immaterial heritage, building a tourism product based on the dynamics and experiences of those who visit, who structures and manages, and who operates the touristic offer.

These good practices, here presented as factors to be considered in the touristic planning, are intended to be disseminated to local authorities, tourism promoters and tourism regions, when structuring tourism experience design, enhancing awareness and development of battlefield tourism as well as the sustainability of local communities.

To enhance Tourism Experience through Tourism Experience Design implies the process of creating and managing a memorable and meaningful experience for tourists during their visit to a destination. It involves crafting every aspect of the visitor's experience, from the initial research and booking stages, to the on-site experience, and post-visit follow-up (Pine & Gilmore, 2013).

The goal of tourism experience design is to create an emotional connection between the tourist and the destination, enhancing their satisfaction and loyalty, and generating positive word-of-mouth recommendations. This is achieved by considering the tourist's needs, expectations, and preferences, and creating a seamless, engaging, and immersive experience that meets or exceeds their expectations.

Tourism experience design draws on a range of disciplines, including marketing, psychology, design, and hospitality. It involves a range of activities, such as developing unique and authentic tourism products and services, designing customer journeys and touchpoints, providing personalized and tailored experiences, and leveraging technology to enhance the visitor's experience.

Effective tourism experience design requires a deep understanding of the tourist's motivations and behaviours, as well as the destination's unique characteristics and competitive advantages. It also requires collaboration between different stakeholders, including tourism businesses, government agencies, and local communities, to create a cohesive and memorable tourism experience (Leask, 2010; Pine & Gilmore, 2013; Binkhorst & Dekker, 2009).

This literature fosters the importance of the Experience and reaffirms the active participation of the visitor to reach higher levels of satisfaction, reinforcing the immersive experience, and the activities that promote it.

In the following of the conclusions on each field research where elements that enhance or inhibit the experience are considered, we may identify three pillars that sustain this purpose:

- Factors that improve the Interpretation.
- Factors that enhance the operationality of the visit.
- Factors that empower the Experience.

These are the main topics to be addressed in this approach to good practices that enhance battlefield's Interpretation and Tourist's Experience, as supported by Galán (2016, 2017) and Pérez-Juez Gil, A. (2006), concerning the museological management projected for the battlefield of Alarcos and Uclés (Spain), some important references can equally be applied in our focused battlefields.

#### **7.4.1. Factors that improve the Interpretation of a battlefield**

Interpretation involves the awareness of significance, knowledge and understanding of the space, the historical landscape and all that facilitates the processing of information.

Develop awareness about the historical significance: A Napoleonic battlefield that played a significant role in the history of the period is likely to attract more visitors. This may include battlefields where key battles were fought or where significant events took place. Engaging researchers and promoting their finds will improve the significance amongst locals and visitors.

Authenticity: Visitors are often drawn to Napoleonic battlefields that have been well-preserved, with original features such as trenches, earthworks, and buildings still intact. Such features can help visitors imagine what it would have been like to be on the battlefield during the period. Preserving and recovering these spaces improves the sense of authenticity and the interpretation of the historical event.

**Knowledgeable tour guides:** Having tour guides who are knowledgeable about the history of the battlefield and the events that took place there can enhance the experience for visitors. They can provide insights into the strategies, tactics, and military technology used during the battles, as well as share interesting anecdotes about the key players involved. Create a Corp of knowledgeable tour guides.

**Engaging multimedia displays:** Multimedia displays, such as videos, animations, and virtual reality and augmented reality experiences, can help visitors visualize what happened on the battlefield and gain a deeper understanding of the events that took place. QR codes present an extraordinary resource to use image and sound and improve the narrative's immersion.

**Museums and Interpretation Centres:** These bastions of knowledge concentrate musealized artifacts in situ, promote a more complete perspective by using dioramas, timelines, and video-mapping to illustrate the narrative. A more interactive and participatory museum promotes engagement and improves interpretation of more complex subjects.

**Narrative and multilingual information:** It is essential to expand language options but also to address the narrative to different age publics, even exploring the perspective of the other side...the defeated side.

**Cultural Routes or Itineraries:** The construction of these itineraries is crucial to the visitor and should consider far more than just the historical narrative. Main itineraries and secondary ones can be applied, depending on the available time to complete it or the desired perspective (the Allied or the French positions). Observation points or Interpretation hot spots must be identified, and the access guaranteed by foot or special vehicles (bicycles, etc.). These routes imply a system of Interpretative Signage (promotional panels, interpretative panels, orientation signing) with different levels of information and purpose, according to the emplacement.

**Interpretative panels:** In the battlefields, interpretative panels can be placed in specific locations, "Interpretation Hot spots", where the reading of the historical landscape is more effective (a high viewpoint, for instance) or the exact place where part of the historical event occurred (the Headquarters of a commanding officer, location of a specific historical event, etc.). A logical (numbered) sequence of these panels, if aligned with the chronology of the battle events, may promote an improved educational reading and an easy way to explore by ourselves the battlefield. Nevertheless, one should consider that battles are composed of movements from both sides and sometimes, many parties at the same time deploy or engage their forces. It seems that an improved approach to the strategy of placing these interpretative

panels is a mix of several essential elements: the event's chronology + accessibility + logical geographical sequence + planned "Interpretation hot spots" + historical event sites.

What is a good Interpretative panel? Visually attractive, tells a story instead of a text, personalize the event, use QR code for sounds and images, and resists the action of the elements.

Effective interpretation can also encourage visitors to spend more time exploring the site and engaging with its history.

#### **7.4.2. Factors that enhance the operationality of the visit.**

Enhancing the operationality of a visit to a battlefield involves considering several factors to ensure a meaningful and immersive experience. These factors contribute to the overall effectiveness of the visit, providing visitors with infrastructures and special facilities.

**Well-maintained facilities:** Clean, well-maintained facilities, such as restrooms, picnic areas, and gift shops, can make visitors feel more comfortable and enhance their overall experience.

**Accessibility:** A Napoleonic battlefield that is easy to access, with good road connections and transport links, is more likely to attract visitors. Additionally, the availability of parking facilities and good public transport options can also encourage visitors to make the trip and help visitors feel welcome and accommodated. This can include the development of accessible trails and paths that provide visitors with easy access to the key points of interest on the battlefield.

#### **7.4.3. Factors that empower the Experience**

Experience is strongly related with interactivity and by doing and participating. By developing activities with a creative component and a multisensorial approach, a memorable experience can be better designed. Edutainment and learning seem to be a major driver for a battlefield experience.

**Events and Activities:** The provision of events and activities, such as re-enactments, living history displays, and educational programs, can help bring the history of a Napoleonic battlefield to life and engage visitors of all ages. Offer guided tours and educational programs that provide visitors with an immersive and informative experience of the battlefield. This can

include guided walks, lectures, reenactments, and multimedia presentations that bring the battlefield's history to life and promote edutainment and learning.

**Interactive exhibits:** Interactive exhibits can allow visitors to experience what it was like to be a soldier on the battlefield. For example, they could try on period clothing or armour, handle replica weapons, or participate in simulated battle scenarios.

**Well-preserved artifacts:** Seeing artifacts that were used during the battles, such as cannons, muskets, and uniforms, can bring history to life for visitors. These artifacts can help visitors understand the scale and brutality of the battles and the conditions under which soldiers fought.

**Natural and Scenic Beauty:** A Napoleonic battlefield that is situated in a beautiful natural environment, such as a forest or rolling countryside, can enhance the visitor experience and make the site more appealing. Ensure the preservation and conservation of the battlefield through careful management and restoration of historic structures and landscapes. This can include the implementation of preservation guidelines, regular maintenance and cleaning, and the development of sustainability initiatives.

In conclusion, we may find some repetition when comparing these enhancing factors (good practices) now addressed with the proposals for valorisation and touristic activation in each one of the three-field research. In fact, all these elements are part of an intertwined strategy that sometimes overlaps and merges strategies as they are not inflexible. Flexibility and adaptability are major factors for the strategic planning of these battlefields. These landscapes of war are so diverse and complex and are conditioned by the countries own way to implement tourism and preserve cultural heritage. Our approach has the intention to be wider enough to adapt to those different heritage sites, contributing with strategies (on a macro level) and tactics (on a micro level) that can be implemented.

In this chapter we have reached conclusions on the three battlefields researched and acknowledged that for successful battlefield tourism specific elements/actions must be considered. These elements were then organized in three pillars presented as the enhancing actions for valorisation and touristic activation:

1) Stakeholder's Dynamics pointed out the importance of multifaceted interpretation, partnerships, and collaboration with multiple institutions to jointly advance and implement activities, investment, infrastructure and touristic sustainable development.

2) Promotion and Awareness, encompasses art as a mean of promotion, visibility, and awareness; identified the need for tourist information materials; the creation of larger scale events and the promotion of conservation projects; skilled guides on organized tours (private or engaged in the Interpretation Centre); Signage improves visibility and accessibility.

3) Visitor interpretation and Experience, implies diverse battlefield routes to be implemented along with an effective system of static or interactive interpretation panels, multilingual, digitally interactive and multisensorial with AR, VR and QR codes, updated and well maintained; Interpretation centres with multimedia display, interactive learning and participatory experiences, updated and focused on engagement of all group ages; empower interpretation tools for single visitors; improve interactivity through replicas of artifacts to be handled and multisensory activities.

Lastly, on this final sub-chapter we have collected the strategies and tactics that can be rallied as Good Practices to be applied by the stakeholders when addressing battlefields Interpretation and tourists' Experience. These were divided in three factors with a defined purpose:

1) To improve the interpretation of a battlefield, historical significance of the battle and the battlefield must be promoted and disseminated among all parties; Authenticity (good preservation, original features and structures) seems to be highly regarded by visitors and re-enactors as part of quality perceptions and essential part of heritage preservation; knowledgeable tour guides are essential for interpretation and engagement of visitors; interactive multimedia displays; museums and interpretation centres provide a landmark for the historical event and an opportunity for the interactive and participatory experiences (original artifacts and replicas, games, dioramas, Augmented Reality and Virtual Reality); Cultural Routes or itineraries supported by interactive informative panels;

2) To enhance the operability of the visit, infrastructures must be created (tourists' facilities, accessibilities, accessible trails, paths and roads along the Historical Route.

3) To empower the experience, apply Tourism Experience Design, interactivity and learning by doing activities with re-enactors and Living History activities; implement edutainment and learning in educational programs, events and activities; explore multisensorial and immersive experiences with interactive exhibits and recreations; implement preservation guidelines, regular maintenance and cleaning, and the development of sustainability initiatives embracing the battlefield and the natural scenic landscape.

Bringing to the discussion the above-mentioned elements, the objective is to empower battlefield tourism through the participation of all the active parts, apply strategic tourism planning along with Heritage Site Management but now, with a specific focus on Visitor Interpretation Tools, Interactivity, and the desire to repeat a memorable experience.

## CHAPTER VIII

---

PROPOSAL OF A MODEL OF STRATEGIC TOURISM  
PLAN APPLIED TO THE NAPOLEONIC BATTLEFIELDS



## **8. Chapter VIII - Proposal of a model of Strategic Tourism Plan applied to the Napoleonic Battlefields**

This final chapter aims to present a proposal of a model of Strategic Tourism Plan applied to the Napoleonic battlefields, considering the conclusions found along this study and literature that verses strategic tourism planning.

The intention is to follow the objective and pragmatic approach used in the last chapters' proposals, to better address the needs of stakeholders engaged in best practices in developing battlefield tourism.

This model discerns strategies and tactics that facilitate the growth of battlefield tourism with community backing, aiming to conserve and effectively share historical, tangible, and intangible heritage. It seeks to construct a tourism product rooted in the interactions and experiences of visitors, involving the organization and administration of the touristic offer.

The methodology employed for the construction of this strategic Tourism Plan model for the Peninsular War/War of Independence Battlefields aligns with the conclusions and recommendations from preceding chapters. These findings are crucial to achieve the model's pragmatic objective, endorsed by pertinent literature on planning, management plans, sustainable strategies, and touristic development plans. We drew insights from guidelines provided by UNESCO Sustainable Tourism Tool Kits, World Tourism Organization (2023), ICOMOS (2020), and conservation principles, as well as Guidance from Historic England.

Although conservation and management weren't our primary focus, we recognized their importance for stakeholders involved in battlefield tourism. To facilitate a quick understanding of key elements, we identified specific management areas, visitor management strategies, approaches to sustainable tourism, and provided Guidelines for a Conservation Management Plan tailored to Napoleonic battlefields.

We have identified, compared, selected, and aligned international guidelines and best practices with the reality of these battlefields and the concerns on Interpretation and Experience that drives our proposal and are reflected in our proposed guidelines. The final product has a wider scope to meet the awareness of importance of conservation and management, despite not being our main goal, we believed essential for the stakeholders some short paths to understand important elements when addressing the touristic activation of a battlefield. Therefore, for the organization, we identified specific management key areas, strategies, and tactics for visitor management in battlefields, approaches to sustainable tourism concerns, and finally, Guidelines for a Conservation Management Plan applied to Napoleonic battlefields.

## **Basis for the strategic plan**

While the concept of strategy initially had strong ties to the military, its scope has expanded to encompass the skill of effectively managing and leading organizations, drawing insights from the fields of management and administration. In literature, one can observe that authors across various time periods have contributed to refining the understanding of strategy. Ahlstrand et al (2001) have categorized diverse perspectives on strategy into ten schools of strategic thinking. Strategic planning aligns with the Planning School, as designated by Mintzberg et al. (1998), perceiving strategy formation as a formal process characterized by analysis, detail, and distinct phases.

In the tourism sector the need for planning is clearly visible when comparing experiences of success of most of local rationally planned tourist destinations with the negative experience of many unplanned locations verifying negative impacts and low levels of tourist satisfaction. For Williams (2003: p125) the absence of planning brings evident risks for tourism development because it “will become unregulated, formless or haphazard, inefficient and likely to lead directly to a range of negative economic, social and environmental impacts.”

Williams (2003) presents some reasons to justify the importance of planning in tourism:

- Provides a mechanism for a structured provision of tourist facilities and associated infrastructures.
- Permits the co-ordination of activity.
- Allows at conserving resources, but also at maximising the benefits to local populations.
- Provides a mechanism for the distribution and redistribution of tourism-related investment and economic benefits.
- Gives the industry a political significance (since most planning systems are subject to political influence and control) and therefore provides a measure of status and legitimacy.
- To anticipate likely demand patterns and to attempt to match supply to those demands.
- To maximise visitor satisfaction.

Therefore, tourism planning refers to the process of identifying and setting goals for tourism development in a particular destination or region. It involves assessing the current state of tourism in the area, identifying opportunities and challenges, and developing strategies and policies to guide future tourism development. Tourism planning can cover a

wide range of issues such as infrastructure development, environmental sustainability, community involvement, and marketing (Proos, 2019; Du Cros & McKercher, 2020).

The process assesses the current state of a tourism destination, identifying the strengths and weaknesses of the destination, and determining the actions needed to improve the destination's overall tourism product. This includes the analysis of the existing tourism infrastructure, resources, and attractions, as well as the identification of potential markets and target audiences. The goal of tourism planning is to create a strategic plan that will guide the development and management of the tourism industry in a destination (Dwyer & Edwards, 2010; Leask, 2010).

On the other hand, tourism development plan refers to the specific set of actions and strategies that are put in place to implement the tourism plan. The development plan outlines the projects and initiatives that will be undertaken to improve the tourism product of a destination, such as the construction of new attractions, improvement of infrastructure, and marketing efforts to promote the destination to potential visitors (Du Cros & McKercher, 2020; Coelho, et al., 2004).

Leask (2010) highlighted that the management plans should contain guidance on visitors, appropriate use of management tools in conjunction with education and interpretation goals. According to Irimiás (2014) research, it has been acknowledged that the “curatorial approach” is still prevailing on the visitor’s management and economic competitiveness in heritage management. The enhancement of heritage attractions is not simply a conservation issue rather a tool to gain competitive advantage in tourism and in destination development (Leask, 2010). It signifies an important role played by the active organizations, experts, curators, and planners involved in the touristic planning, heritage management and promotion of the battlefields. As Irimiás (2014) argued, the involvement of stakeholders in managing heritage sites is crucial, whether they seek to document and preserve the site for historical study or to develop a new tourism experience. Therefore, the creation of cultural routes and hiking trails in former conflict areas involves the preservation, administration, and promotion of the site for tourism.

According to Moutinho (2000) strategic planning in tourism need to be engaged in based on SCEPTICAL analysis, where the acronym stands for social, cultural, economic, physical, technical, international, communication and infrastructure, administrative and institutional, and legal and political factors.

Social factors influencing tourism encompass a range of elements, including demographic shifts, urbanization trends, and more. On the cultural front, factors are tied to changes in societal values, the rise of global culture, and people's attitudes towards

consumption. Economic factors play a discernible role in tourism planning, with connections to the national economy's condition, exchange rates, consumer income levels, and other relevant considerations.

Additionally, within tourism planning, physical factors pertain to ecological considerations, while technical factors are associated with technological aspects. International factors also influence strategic tourism planning, primarily concerning visa and related issues.

The effects of administrative and institutional factors on tourism planning can be elucidated by considering entities such as tourism societies, consumer groups, and law enforcement agencies. Finally, legal, and political factors in tourism planning encompass alterations in pertinent laws and regulations, as well as the overall stance of governments toward tourism.

The following Table shows the Diversity of Tourism Planning by William (2003) and summarizes the cross-section of applications when planning tourism.

Table 5 Diversity of Tourism Planning

| Planning Sector        | Typical Tourism Planning Concerns/Issues  |
|------------------------|---|
| Physical (land)        | Control over land development by both public and private sectors<br>Location and design of facilities<br>Zoning of land uses<br>Development of tourist transportation systems<br>Development of public utilities (power, water, etc.) |
| Economic               | Shaping spatial and sectoral patterns of investment<br>Creation of employment<br>Labour training<br>Redistribution of wealth<br>Distribution of subsidies and incentives  |
| Social/cultural        | Social integration/segregation of hosts and visitors<br>Hospitality<br>Authenticity<br>Presentation of heritage and culture<br>Language planning<br>Maintenance of local custom and practice  |
| Environmental          | Designation of conservation areas<br>Protection of flora and fauna<br>Protection of historic sites/buildings/environments<br>Regulation of air/water/ground quality<br>Control over pollution<br>Assessment of hazards                |
| Business and marketing | Formation of business plans and associated products<br>Promotional strategies<br>Advertising<br>Sponsorship<br>Quality testing and product grading<br>Provision of touristic information service                                      |

Source: Williams (2003)

Williams table includes many of the elements to be addressed on a battlefield tourism planning.

Proos (2019) argues that literature is abundant with models that can be applied to the process of tourism development planning (Cooper et al., 2008; Hattingh, 2016; Acha-Anyi, 2018).

Inskeep (1991) and Dredge and Jenkins (2007, p.199) identified the following steps of a basic tourism development plan:

1. Study preparation: Decision to design a tourism development plan.

2. Determination of development goals and objectives: Goals from study preparation might be adjusted.
3. Surveys: Gathering information on the tourism products in the area. This can include transportation, accommodation, infrastructure, other tourist services and facilities, tourist attractions and activities in the region to determine their condition.
4. Analysis and synthesis: Analysing the data gathered from the surveys.
5. Plan formulation: Completing the physical development plan.
6. Recommendations: Recommendations are made on the suitability of roads, signage, ablution facilities, accommodation, restaurants, rest stops, battlefield sites, heritage sites and other attraction sites.
7. Implementation: Implementing the plan.
8. Monitoring: Continuously monitoring and feedback on the development plan.

Considering the role of the stakeholders and the community, we may be more inclined to Acha-Anyi (2018:25) who states that the simplest approach to tourism development planning is to ask probing questions to guide the development stages. The different stages in the tourism development plan, according to Acha-Anyi (2018:25), are as follows:

1. Consultative assembly.
2. Definition of strategy and approach.
3. Determination of tourism development goals.
4. Situation analyses.
5. Policy and implementation plan.
6. Plan adoption and community sensitisation.
7. Plan execution, and.
8. Monitoring, feedback, and adjustments.

On a simple but objective way, a strategic plan is a roadmap that guides the development and management of a tourist destination. It helps to align the vision, mission, goals, and actions of the stakeholders involved in the tourism sector. A strategic plan can also help to identify the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats of the destination, and to prioritize the initiatives and resources that can enhance its competitiveness and sustainability.

In fact, when applying these models to battlefields tourism planning, we may suggest a mix that better address the reality and needs of this historical Landscape where Heritage Management by UNESCO (<https://whc.unesco.org/en/sustainabletourismtoolkit/>) and the orientation presented in Achieving the Sustainable Development Goal through Tourism –

Toolkit of Indicators for Projects (TIPs) by the World Tourism Organization (World Tourism Organization, 2023), were also helpful to draw the following stages to apply on the proposed model.

## 8.1. Proposal of a model of Strategic Tourism Plan applied to the Napoleonic Battlefields

### 1. Preparatory study: Decision to design a strategic Tourism plan for a battlefield.

This first step consists of a primary approach to identify the conditions to develop battlefield tourism in a battlefield (Napoleonic or other). These items are to be found and evaluated their operationality: Historical significance, state of preservation of the battlefield and historical structures, accessibility, human and technical resources, stakeholders, touristic infrastructure.

This process identifies the following as key variables for strategic planning: stakeholders (including the local community); supply (infrastructure, resources, and products), and demand (tourist profile and market segmentation).

This includes understanding the local community and their needs, assessing the tourism potential of the site, and analysing the competitive landscape, as well as identifying the key features and attractions that are likely to be of interest to visitors.

A study must be conducted on the present status of heritage classification, legal safeguarding and preservation of the battlefield area, to understand if it is under legal protection or registered under National Heritage Protection, and if it is needed a Master Conservation Plan 2.

It allows to elaborate a first draft of the plan and identify major orientations and objectives.

### 2. Consultative assembly with all the stakeholders.

This second step, by Identifying and assessing the capacities of stakeholders allow us to know and rally all partners to contribute for the strategic plan. Regional and Local entities, tourism operators, re-enactment groups, local historical associations, researchers, tourism promoters, partners from other battlefields and Cultural Routes, event promoters, and local community, should take part on the construction and embrace dynamics. The objective is to

---

<sup>2</sup> According to ICOMOS (2020) Guidelines On Fortifications and Military Heritage, Art. 5.1, a Master Conservation Plan consists of: Historical study of the site and all periods of its development and use; study of morphological development; topographic / planimetric surveys; evaluation of archaeological studies; structural evaluation; structural analysis; diagnosis and monitoring of preservation; study of cultural landscape; interpretive study; analysis of reuse feasibility; use analysis; criteria and recommendation analysis; risk assessment / risk preparedness plan; business and operations plan; visitor surveys / visitor management studies; protection plan; Management plan. The entire Master Plan must be developed by an interdisciplinary team of appropriately qualified professionals with specific knowledge and experience in similar fortifications and military heritage.

understand, organize and define all the contributions, needs and concerns of the participants of the plan. It is also important to define a phased plan in time that represent the project management goals.

**3. Definition of vision and mission:** Goals from preparatory study might be adjusted.

This third step is to define the vision and mission of the Battlefield, which are the statements that describe the desired future and the purpose of the tourism sector. The vision and mission should be clear, concise, inspiring, and realistic, and reflect the values and aspirations of the stakeholders. We must involve the stakeholders in the process of creating the vision and mission, such as the local community, the tourism industry, the government, the NGOs, and the media. This can help to build consensus and commitment among the stakeholders, and to ensure that the strategic plan is relevant and responsive to their needs and interests. At this stage the definition of objectives (general and specific) is essential to revise the goals.

**4. Assess the current situation by gathering information on the tourism products in the area.**

This fourth step is to assess thoroughly the current situation of the destination, including its tourism assets, markets, products, services, infrastructure, policies, regulations, and performance. The research can include transportation, accommodation, infrastructure, other tourist services and facilities, tourist attractions and activities in the region to determine their condition; We can use various tools and methods to collect and analyse data, such as surveys, interviews, focus groups, observation, benchmarking, SWOT analysis, and PESTEL analysis. The aim is to understand the needs and expectations of the tourists, the gaps and challenges in the tourism supply, the external and internal factors that affect the tourism demand, and the comparative and competitive advantages of the destination. It also aims to identify the target market for the battlefield tourism attraction. This includes understanding the demographics, interests, and preferences of the target audience and developing marketing strategies that will appeal to them. This involves determining the types of visitors that are likely to be interested in the battlefield, such as history enthusiasts, school groups, or families.

**5. Analysis and synthesis:** Analysing the data gathered from the surveys.

The fifth step consists of the analysis of the data and the conclusions obtained which are essential to draw the approach to tourists, to identify activities to be designed by stakeholders, to understand the museological tactic that suits the battlefield interpretation and visitors experience, to reapply a SWOT analysis to acknowledge the macro and micro scenarios.

## **6. Redefine the development goals and objectives.**

This sixth step is to reset the goals and objectives of the battlefield tourism development, which are the specific and measurable outcomes that the strategic plan aims to achieve. The goals and objectives should be aligned with the vision and mission, and address the key issues and opportunities identified in the situation analysis. We can use the SMART criteria to formulate the goals and objectives, which means that they should be specific, measurable, achievable, relevant, and time bound. We can also categorize the goals and objectives into different themes or areas, such as product development, marketing, quality, sustainability, governance, and innovation.

## **7. Plan formulation: Develop the strategies and actions.**

This seventh step aims to create the strategies and actions of the battlefield tourism development, which are the plans and activities that will help to accomplish the goals and objectives. The strategies and actions should be based on the best practices and evidence from the situation analysis and consider the resources and capabilities of the battlefield. We can use various frameworks and models to design the strategies and actions, such as the Ansoff matrix, the Porter's generic strategies, the value chain analysis, and the balanced scorecard. We can also assign roles and responsibilities to the stakeholders who will implement the strategies and actions and set indicators and targets to monitor and evaluate their progress and impact. Based on the market analysis, this product development includes identifying the types of experiences that will be offered, developing interpretive signage, exhibits, and multimedia displays, and planning events and activities that will attract visitors. Developing a unique and compelling tourism product involves identifying ways to differentiate the battlefield from other similar attractions and creating a unique and compelling visitor experience. This could involve creating interactive exhibits, offering guided tours, or developing multimedia presentations that bring the history of the battlefield to life. Define timelines, responsibilities, and the human and financial resources required for plan implementation.

The tourism plan should include a comprehensive marketing and promotion strategy that targets the identified audience. This includes developing a brand identity, creating a website and social media presence. This can include online and offline advertising, partnerships with tour operators and travel agencies, and promotions that offer discounts or incentives to attract visitors.

**Infrastructure Development:** Recommendations are made on the suitability of roads, signage, adequate infrastructure such as parking, restrooms, accommodation, restaurants, rest

stops, picnic areas should be developed to enhance the visitor experience and make the site more accessible to tourists.

**Community Involvement:** Involving local communities and stakeholders in the planning and development of the battlefield tourism attraction can help build support for the project and ensure that it benefits the local economy and community. Establish partnering with local businesses to create packages that combine a visit to the battlefield with other tourist activities in the area. This can include the development of partnerships with local businesses and community organizations that can provide support and services to visitors. Promote collaboration with the local community, including organising cultural and social events, offering local jobs, hiring local guides, and promoting local products and services.

**Sustainability:** Sustainable tourism practices should be incorporated into the tourism plan to minimize the impact in local community, preserving the battlefield's heritage, and to ensure the long-term viability of the attraction, ensure that the local community benefits from tourism development.

#### **8. Implementation:** Implementing the strategic plan and Communicate

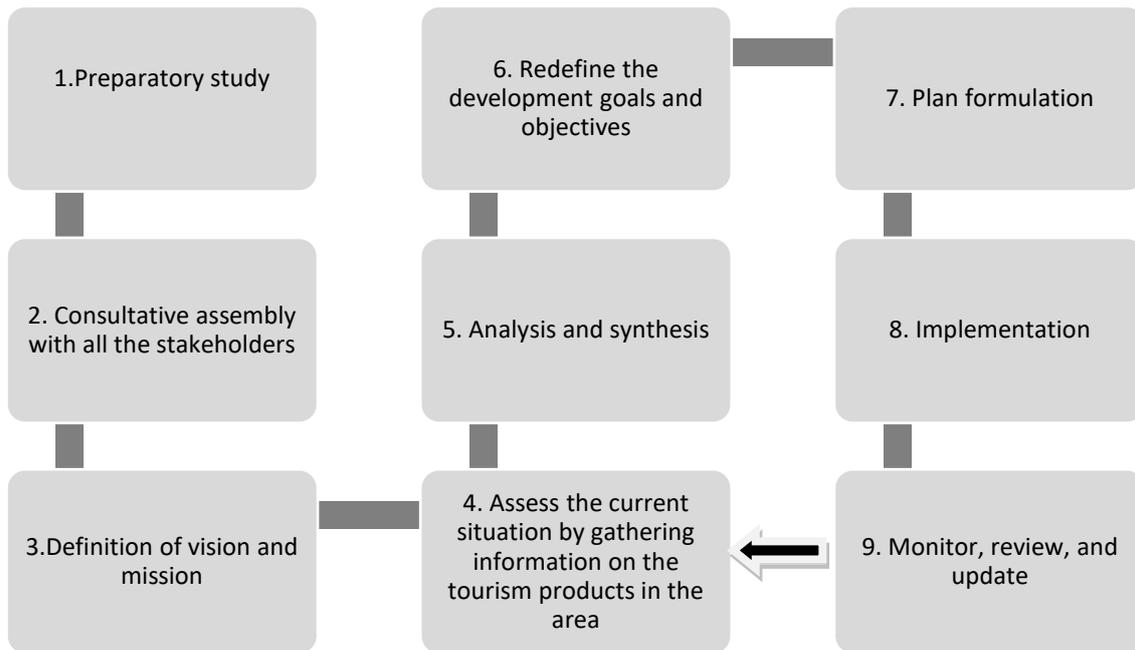
The eighth step is to implement the strategic plan and to communicate, which means to share and execute the vision, mission, goals, objectives, strategies, and actions of the destination. We can use different channels and methods to communicate the strategic plan, such as reports, presentations, newsletters, websites, social media, and events. You can also use different tools and techniques to implement the strategic plan, such as project management, budgeting, risk management, quality management, and stakeholder engagement. The aim is to ensure that the strategic plan is well understood and supported by the stakeholders, and that the strategies and actions are delivered on time, on budget, and on quality.

#### **9. Monitor, review, and update:** Continuously monitoring and feedback on the strategic development plan.

This ninth step is to assure the monitoring, review, and update of the strategic plan, which means to check and adjust the vision, mission, goals, objectives, strategies, and actions of the destination according to the changing environment and performance. You can use different methods and sources to review and update the strategic plan, such as feedback, surveys, audits, reports, statistics, and benchmarks. The aim is to measure and improve the effectiveness and efficiency of the strategic plan, and to ensure that it remains relevant and

responsive to the needs and expectations of the tourists and the stakeholders. The ninth step repositions the strategic plan in the fourth step, in a cyclical movement, aiming to imply anticipation when reading indicators of changes or identifying threats and act in prevention. It allows to readapt the approach instead of just solving existing problems, acting in a more sustainable way.

Figure 53 Proposal of a model of Strategic Touristic Plan applied to battlefields.



Source: Own production

Besides the application of the presented Strategic Plan, developing battlefield tourism in Napoleonic battlefields in the Iberian Peninsula requires **comprehensive strategy steps** that considers the unique historical and cultural context of the region, as well as the needs and expectations of modern tourists. The following major guidelines are to be considered along the creative process as enhancers of the battlefield tourism and are fostered in the findings and conclusions presented in each chapter of this study.

Understand the historical context: To develop successful battlefield tourism in Napoleonic battlefields, it is crucial to understand the military context of the battles and their significance. This includes studying the strategies and tactics used by the armies involved, the impact of the battles on the course of the war, and the cultural and social context of the time.

Conduct research and analysis: Before developing a strategy, it is essential to conduct thorough research and analysis of the Napoleonic battlefields. This includes studying the historical context of the battles, the current condition of the battlefields and related historical sites, and the current state of tourism in the region.

Collaborate with local stakeholders: Collaboration and engagement with local stakeholders, such as museums, historical societies, and tourism operators, is crucial to the success of the strategy. This includes identifying potential partners, developing partnerships, and ensuring that all stakeholders are aligned with the objectives of the strategy.

Develop a comprehensive tourism strategy: Based on the research and analysis, develop a comprehensive tourism strategy that outlines the objectives, target audience, marketing and promotion, and tourism products and services to be offered. The strategy should also consider the needs and expectations of modern tourists and ensure that the experience is engaging, immersive, and educational.

Develop immersive and educational tourism products: Battlefield tourism should be immersive and educational. Develop tourism products and services that offer visitors an opportunity to experience the battlefield firsthand, learn about the historical context and significance of the battles, and engage with local culture and traditions. Visitors to Napoleonic battlefields expect to be transported back in time and to experience the battles in an immersive and engaging way. This can be achieved through a range of experiences, including guided tours, reenactments, and interactive exhibits that bring the history of the battles to life.

Transform interpretation into a participatory experience: Create interactivity experiences where history is tangible, tri-dimensional, fun, creative, and use games to accomplish it.

Implement a strong strategy for creative experience: Creative tourism appeared as a key driver in the tourism success of these attractions and is highly regarded by stakeholders and visitors alike. By engaging the community and stakeholders in re-enactment events, visitors share, learn and reinforce local crafts, history awareness and emotional experiences during learning-by-doing activities.

Apply and improve storytelling: Develop storytelling and digital storytelling when designing creative experiences and multisensorial interactions.

Leverage technology: Technology can be leveraged to enhance the battlefield tourism experience. Develop mobile apps, virtual reality experiences, and other digital tools that offer

visitors an opportunity to explore the battlefield and learn about the battles in an engaging and interactive way.

Nourish the major engagement factor: Incorporate recreational activities and entertainment elements into battlefield tourism. Provide opportunities for visitors to engage with re-enactors, ask questions, participate in Living History activities, and immerse themselves in historical narratives during historical re-enactment events.

Authenticity and quality of the event: By maintaining and enhancing the quality and authenticity of battle re-enactments in battlefield tourism events, it shows to be an effective strategy for attracting and retaining visitors.

Promote the cultural and natural heritage of the region: Visitors are often interested in the cultural and natural heritage of the region. By promoting local cultural events, cuisine, and natural attractions, tourists can be encouraged to stay longer and spend more time in the region.

Value the natural undamaged landscape: A beautiful natural scenery, as it was 215 years ago, is the perfect set for the slow-paced tourism that battlefield tourism enhances. Active tourism experiences promote this stronger contact with nature and value the communion with these historical landscapes. Implementing solutions at battle sites that foster an immersive experience, highlighting the significant role of nature, and encouraging the interpretation and appreciation of fauna, flora, and geology as exciting elements of the battlefield appears appropriate.

Ensure sustainability: It is essential to ensure that the development of battlefield tourism is sustainable and does not negatively impact the local environment or cultural heritage. Develop sustainable tourism practices that support the local community and promote the preservation of the historical sites and natural resources.

Value Living History through edutainment: develop educational programs and workshops for schools and groups within the community to leverage cultural knowledge, heritage preservation, importance of research, historical awareness and local skills and traditions.

Define Re-enactment as a major pillar for dynamics and success: Engage local and cross-border re-enactment groups in your events, promoting exchange of knowledge, stakeholders' interaction, combined promotional strategies and international relevance and recognition.

## 8.2. Management Key areas: a short path

Identifying management key areas allows to visualize the significant issues to be addressed in each category as proposed by Leask (2016). Managing a heritage site implies a systematic diagram that organizes themes and sub-themes to better understand the approaches and actions to take under each department or key area.

*Table 6 Classification categories of articles by management key areas, themes, and sub-themes.*

| <b>Visitor management</b>  | <b>Resource management</b>  | <b>Product management</b>   | <b>Site management</b>   |
|--|---|---|--|
| <b>Visitor Demand</b><br>Motivations<br>Preferences<br>Expectations<br>Segmentation<br><b>Visitor Experience</b><br>Experience<br>Behaviour<br>Perceptions<br>Satisfaction<br>Engagement | <b>Sustainability</b><br>Environmental<br>Sustainable management<br>Conservation<br><b>Designations</b><br>Inscription<br>Impact<br><b>Interpretation</b><br>Authenticity<br>Learning<br>Narratives<br>Identity | <b>Product development</b><br>Development<br>Diversification<br><b>Financial</b><br>Revenue management<br>Spending & willingness to pay.<br><b>Marketing</b><br>Marketing activity<br>Image | <b>Stakeholder management</b><br>Community participation<br>Conflict<br>Partnership<br><b>Staff</b><br><b>Transport</b><br><b>Research &amp; management practice</b><br><b>Technology</b><br><b>Role within destinations</b><br><b>Impacts</b><br>Economic<br>Community<br>Visitor |

*Source: Adapted from Leask (2016).*

## 8.3. Visitor Management of battlefields

Developing a Visitor Management Plan implies ensuring the safety and enjoyment of visitors while minimizing the impact of tourism on the environment and local community. This can include the development of visitor guidelines, management of visitor flows, implementation of online booking systems and the creation of visitor circuits to avoid congestion and facilitate visits to historic sites. This planning extends to implementation of waste management and recycling programs.

For the following orientations, insights were considered from Spenceley et al. (2015) concerning Visitor Management and visitor services and facilities, UNESCO World Heritage Sustainable Tourism Toolkit for “best practices” in sustainable planning and management of tourism which offers managers and stakeholders tools to identify key issues and effectively manage and maximise tourism benefits, while minimising its negative impacts.

Visitor safety: Implement security measures to ensure visitor safety, including placing appropriate signage, barriers, and speed limits in vehicle circulation areas, and implementing fire prevention measures.

Promoting responsible tourism: Encourage responsible tourism by raising awareness among visitors about the importance of preserving historical and cultural heritage of the battlefield, promoting responsible consumption practices, and valuing local culture and customs.

Preservation of historical heritage: Establish measures to protect and preserve the historical heritage of the battlefield, including regular maintenance of monuments and structures, and implementation of policies to prevent degradation and vandalism. Implement a plan of retrieving battlefield artifacts in the possession of privates, valuing donation for museological purposes and local history awareness.

Environmental sustainability: Implement sustainable practices to protect the environment, including using renewable energy sources, reducing waste, protecting local flora and fauna, and promoting eco-tourism.

Waste reduction: Establish a waste reduction programmes, including the use of recycling bins throughout the battlefield area, as well as encouraging the use of reusable bottles and bags by visitors.

Use of renewable energy: Install solar panels and other equipment that utilise renewable energy to reduce reliance on non-renewable energy sources, as well as use energy-efficient LED lighting systems.

Sustainable transport practices: Encourage the use of public transport, bicycles, or electric cars by visitors, and provide parking for bicycles and electric cars. If possible, create eco-friendly transports with no impact in the trails or paths of the battlefield.

Access for people with disabilities: Ensure that the battlefield is accessible for people with disabilities, including the construction of access ramps, the placement of braille signs, and the provision of special services to meet the needs of these visitors.

Training and Development: Provide ongoing training and development opportunities for staff and volunteers to ensure the delivery of high-quality tourism products and services. This can include training on customer service, interpretive techniques, and sustainability practices.

Monitoring and evaluation: Continuously monitor and evaluate the implementation of these good practices, identifying opportunities for improvement and necessary adjustments to ensure the effectiveness of the measures adopted.

Considering these key factors into account allows for the creation of a strategic tourism plan tailored to transform a battlefield into a tourist attraction. This not only enriches the visitor experience but also safeguards the historical significance of the site and contributes to implement sustainable benefits amongst the local community.

#### 8.4. An approach to sustainable tourism in battlefields

Effective management for sustainability is crucial in overseeing the tourism industry, as it cultivates practices that contribute to economic growth. This approach supports strategic planning and the implementation of sustainable tourism, with changes in management efficiency having the potential to influence the overall sustainability of tourism.

Sustainable tourism presents an additional prospect in the form of the advancement of community-based tourism within the country. Community-based tourism revolves around the management of tourism by local communities, leading to increased benefits and advantages for them. The potential offered by community-based tourism extends to empowering local communities to enhance their quality of life through heightened participation in economic activities and interactions with tourists, all while safeguarding their environment and cultural identity. Furthermore, community-based tourism serves as a means for local communities to reinforce their cultural identities and heritage. It underscores the role of community tourism in promoting increased interaction between tourists and the human environment of the countryside, actively involving them in the customs, activities, and lifestyles of the local population (Assefa, 2022).

As promoted by United Nations Environment Programme, & World Trade Organization (WTO) (2005), guidelines and management practices for sustainable tourism development are relevant across diverse forms of tourism and destination types, encompassing both mass tourism and various niche segments. Sustainability principles address the environmental, economic, and socio-cultural dimensions of tourism development, emphasizing the need to establish a harmonious balance among these three dimensions to ensure long-term sustainability.

Therefore, sustainable tourism ought to:

- Strategically utilize environmental resources, recognizing them as fundamental components in the development of tourism, while preserving vital ecological processes and actively participating in the conservation of natural heritage and biodiversity.
- Demonstrate a profound respect for the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities, safeguarding their built and living cultural heritage, upholding traditional values, and fostering inter-cultural understanding and tolerance.
- Establish and maintain economically viable, long-term operations, ensuring equitable distribution of socio-economic benefits among all stakeholders. This includes providing stable

employment, income-earning opportunities, social services to host communities, and actively contributing to poverty alleviation.

The sustainable development of tourism requires the well-informed engagement of all relevant stakeholders, accompanied by effective political leadership to facilitate broad participation and consensus formation. The realization of sustainable tourism is an ongoing endeavour, demanding continuous scrutiny of its impacts and the prompt implementation of preventive and corrective measures as deemed necessary.

Furthermore, sustainable tourism must prioritize maintaining a heightened level of tourist satisfaction and delivering a meaningful experience to visitors. This involves fostering awareness among tourists regarding sustainability issues and actively promoting sustainable tourism practices within their engagement.

These orientations are written to assure the correct approach and are part of the document *Making Tourism More Sustainable - A Guide for Policy Makers, UNEP and UNWTO, (2005, p.11-12)*.

In this context, there arises a compelling need to initiate processes of sustainable development for tourism activities in these Napoleonic battlefields. It is, therefore, understood that fostering tourism in a sustainable manner involves promoting the implementation of leisure activities that not only cater to the needs of visitors but are also embraced by the local community. Such activities contribute to the generation of wealth and employment, on one hand, and the promotion, requalification, and conservation of the cultural, architectural, ethnographic, and natural heritage, on the other. In essence, it entails the implementation of activities addressing tourist needs while simultaneously enhancing the quality of life for residents in the medium and long term.

The framework employed in this study provides a practical tool for destination and organizational planners seeking to enhance sustainable tourism performance across economic, socio-cultural, psychological, political/administrative, tourism/commercial, and environmental/physical metrics. This guidance serves as a valuable resource for decision-makers, facilitating the design, management, and control of sustainable strategic plans with greater effectiveness as they approach the battlefield as a touristic attraction.

#### **8.5. Conservation Management plan**

Reconstructing historical battlefields involves prioritizing the accurate depiction of the terrain during the event. This requires examining physical and documentary evidence,

analysing landscape elements that affected tactical decisions, and considering various geographical factors such as weather, terrain, soils, geology, vegetation, and waterways. Recognizing that the significance of these factors in military history aids in interpreting the battlefield. Recording all components contributing to the landscape's historical character is essential (Farrel, 2011).

The subsequent step involves situating historical events within the reconstructed terrain. This process relies on topographical indicators, combined with contemporary accounts, maps, and other documented information regarding troop numbers. The interpretation aligns with the military practices of the Napoleonic period. Archaeological intervention presents at this moment the opportunity to identify structures and earthworks, producing mapping, recovery, and analysis of battle related artifacts with the aim of understanding the battle with greater precision. In some cases, individual behaviours can be discovered using the physical data (Foard et al, 2003), what can be an extraordinary element for narrative and personal perspectives of those who fought or were present.

The aim of physical preservation of the battlefield is to maintain the sanctity of the site and create a distinction between sacred and secular spaces. Efforts are frequently made to either restore or preserve the natural battlefield landscape exactly as it was during the battle, allowing visitors to contemplate the significance of the historical event within an "authentic" environment.

According to Farrel (2011) as battlefield landscapes encompasses vast areas of rural terrain, threatened by residential, commercial, or industrial development. Conserving battlefield landscapes frequently encourages ongoing use of the property for farming or other open space purposes. By safeguarding the rural environment, preserving wildlife habitat, and maintaining scenic views, battlefield preservation becomes a matter of enhancing the "quality of life" for nearby residents and local authorities.

The growing battlefield tourism sector underscores the need for strategic management, particularly when sites are actively maintained. Conservation easements often protect battlefields, maintaining their agricultural or open-space character, limiting public access. However, when actively managed for tourism, plans for maintenance, access, and interpretation become imperative. The involvement of the local community, coupled with the potential economic benefits of tourism, can enhance the preservation process (Foard, et al. 2003; Farrel, 2011). Visitors anticipate an immersive experience, expecting the battlefield to evoke pre-battle tranquillity, offer visual cues for understanding the conflict, and commemorate its legacy through features like graves and monuments. Site managers face the

challenge of balancing memorialization with historic preservation in their efforts to protect, develop, and interpret the battlefield.

Like Rico and Zurita-Aldeguer (2020) and Mário Galán (2012, 2016) pointed out and we have already explored in pages 107, 111 and 112, even though Spain have an approach about the conservation and preservation of this heritage mainly through the inventory of the battlefields (Galán, 2017), by the Ley 16/1985, de 25 de junio, del Patrimonio Histórico Español, battlefield protection and preservation awareness are insufficiently close to other countries levels of guidelines and regulation (Rico, & Aldeguer, 2019). In addition to national legislation, individual autonomous communities in Spain maintain their own laws and regulations pertaining to heritage preservation. Consequently, a comprehensive understanding of how battlefields are legally safeguarded necessitates a review of the specific provisions within each region. In Portugal, the legal base is the Decreto-Lei n.º 309/2009, de 23 de outubro, and this classification includes the Battlefield of Buçaco, the Battlefield of Vimeiro and the Battlefield of Roliça. Nevertheless, all the other sites fall out this register and classification and therefore no Conservation Management Plan is yet to be seen or applied. This need represents an opportunity to address the conservation and preservation of Napoleonic Battlefields through guidelines already applied in other fields of conflict, something our study could open to discussion.

Therefore, the primary approach on the battlefield treatment and preservation (or conservation) status can be based on guidelines from the following several sources:

The ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites (Sites, O. C. H., 2008).), present the definition of a Master Conservation Plan already shown in page 279, to be considered when planning establishes the principles for conservation, protection, and value of Military Heritage. ICOMOS guidelines “aims to bring clarity and ensure authenticity and integrity in the forms, setting and functionality of the fortifications and military heritage which is essential for the conservation of all attributes including the protection and enhancement of their tangible and intangible values. The Guidelines also contributes to the safeguarding of the tangible and intangible values of fortifications and military heritage as “memory” tied to facts, people, communities, and expressions of cultural identity of local history.”

The Vimy Declaration for the Conservation of Battlefield Terrain, (updated in 2009 and drafted in 2000) was signed in consensus by Battlefield Preservation experts and representants from Canada, France, and United Kingdom that, specifically on the Planning, Treatment, and Conservation stated the following definitions and guidelines also to be considered in our approach:

Article 11. Treatment is defined as an intervention to conserve, stabilize, protect, or otherwise delay the loss of battlefield terrain. The primary objective of treatment will be the conservation of battlefield resources or the retention of the landscape character of a battlefield for future generations.

Article 12. Decisions about treatment will typically be based on multi-disciplinary research, investigation, and long-term planning. Specialist knowledge of battlefield landscapes is rare, and its development is encouraged. Disciplines and interest groups that contribute to understanding battlefield terrain include, but are not limited to anthropologists, arborists, archaeologists, conservation professionals, cultural resource managers, ecologists, horticulturalists, landscape architects, mapping and survey specialists, military historians and engineers, natural resource managers, ordnance specialists, presentation specialists, re-enactors, site managers, soil and forestry scientists, and veterans.

Article 13. Informed conservation in the form of appropriate research, planning, testing, or monitoring must precede any treatment of battlefield terrain, in order to ensure compatibility with site conditions. Where possible, treatments can first be tested on non-historic fabric.

Article 14. Battlefield terrain is part of a living landscape which is subject to natural and cultural processes. Its condition at the time of designation, planning or emparkment does not represent a final stage and conservation should not necessarily aim to hold it in that condition. Some communities might well regard slow decline as an appropriate form of commemoration. Treatment will be based on a sound understanding of these processes, acknowledging that some are unstoppable.

Article 15. All conservation treatments should be sustainable. The decision to implement a treatment that will require ongoing maintenance must include a stated commitment to ensure resources will be available in the future.

Article 16. Treatment and presentation choices must try to ensure long-term protection. Choices will not only affect the character of the site, but may also affect the visitor's response, and the degree of protection from natural processes and human impacts. In all cases, treatment choices should be guided by established planning objectives.

Retrieved from [Vimy Declaration for the Conservation of Battlefield Terrain - Canadian National Vimy Memorial - Memorials In France - First World War Memorials Overseas - Memorials Overseas - Memorials - Remembrance - Veterans Affairs Canada](#)

Since 1995, the Register of Historic Battlefields has acknowledged English battlefield sites of remarkable historical significance. Presently, 46 sites out of a minimum of 500 identified English battlefields have received formal registration. Although registration affords an additional layer of protection against development, the interpretation of ambiguous terms within planning legislation introduces variability in the levels of conservation applied. As Lookingbill & Smallwood (2019) argued, such challenges emphasize the importance of effective management, as registered sites can make significant contributions to local ecosystems as well as neighbouring communities.

By adhering to the principle of constructive conservation, which views heritage as a dynamic cultural force, society has experienced heightened support and enthusiasm for the historic environment. This adaptive approach, endorsed by Historic England since 2008, remains faithful to history while accommodating diverse land. The principles of constructive conservation guide the sustainable management of historic environments in the United Kingdom (Sibilia, et al. 2019).

Constructive conservation is a flexible approach to management that uses change to reinforce the unique features of a site, rather than diminish them. Centered on the core concepts of “repair, care, and sustainability,” the aim of constructive conservation is to balance the preservation and adaptation of landscapes in a way that promotes their function and interpretation (Coskun 2015).

This concept of change that accommodates for historical significance has had a valuable role in the development of conservation philosophy. The emphasis that constructive conservation places on innovative schemes that protect and enhance historical landscapes signifies their potential in terms of ecological, economic, educational, and cultural services (Sibilia, et al. 2019).

Battlefield Landscapes have the moving power of inspire action and unite people across generations, rallying its potential and rediscovering historical value.

To provide this consistency, a values-based approach is chosen to assessing heritage significance. This all-embracing set of heritage values are grouped into four main categories: historic, aesthetic, communal and evidential. These categories serve as a comprehensive checklist for individuals to ascertain the diverse heritage values associated with a location. Utilizing these criteria enables a meticulous evaluation of a site's varying levels of significance and provides an objective means of assessing opportunities for intervention. Areas with lower heritage significance may, in certain instances, be modified or replaced to promote new or ongoing use. This approach can stimulate investment, ensuring the preservation and continuity of the future for components deemed highly significant (England, 2019).

As Bruce-Lockhart (2008) defined in the conservation principles and Guidance for Historic England, we could resume this strategy of sustainable management of the historic environment, under six headlines:

Principle 1: The historic environment is a shared resource.

Principle 2: Everyone should be able to participate in sustaining the historic environment.

Principle 3: Understanding the significance of places is vital.

Principle 4: Significant places should be managed to sustain their values.

Principle 5: Decisions about change must be reasonable, transparent and consistent.

Principle 6: Documenting and learning from decisions are essential;

These guidelines can be equally interesting to replicate and apply to our battlefields with an already tested model.

Finally, another valuable model to be considered is the Conservation Management Plan (CMP) used by the English Register of Battlefields.

The purpose of the CMP is to set out the significance and sensitivity of the site, identifying any areas of particular significance, and the cumulative value of the heritage assets in the wider environment. The document helps to:

- identify a policy framework for the appropriate conservation of the Battlefield site.
- set out a programme of works.
- clearly identify priorities for action for the sympathetic management of the Battlefield site.
- establish a series of management policies and actions aimed at safeguarding the significance of the assets whilst recognising that the parkland setting is a valued and much used recreational asset.
- support the Historic Environment.

Its scope provides a clear understanding of:

- the historic development of the Battlefield site, (including reconstruction/mapping of the landscape and an understanding of the evolution of the landscape since then).
- the site's significance and sensitivity.

- its environmental qualities.
- what has been lost, and what has survived.
- threats to, issues surrounding, and constraints of the area.
- an appropriate policy framework for the conservation and management of the site.
- an appropriate framework to inform sympathetic future land management of the site.

Presented these considerations, one must not forget that the simple management approach of this heritages follows 5 pillars: Research, Conservation, Restoration, Didactics and Diffusion, as Galán (2016) and Mira & Zurita (2020) point out in their proposals for the management of battlefields of Mutxamel and Castalla, consisting in the museological approach as defended by Galán (2016) for Alarcos. The result of this approach consists in a museum, cultural routes, historical research, and the divulgation in multimedia platforms. It may be found insufficient when considering all the potential and touristic capacities that can be applied and, to enhance the battlefield management ensuing the demonstrated models, we present Guidelines to be considered by stakeholders and community alike when addressing Conservation Management strategies.

## 8.6. Guidelines of a Conservation Management Plan for Napoleonic Battlefields

### 1. Historical Reconstruction and Documentation:

- Prioritize accurate depiction of battlefield terrain through examination of physical and documentary evidence.
- Analyse landscape elements influencing tactical decisions, considering geographical factors like weather, terrain, soils, geology, vegetation, and waterways.
- Recognize the historical significance of these factors in military history for battlefield interpretation.
- Record all components contributing to the landscape's historical character.

### 2. Situating Historical Events:

- Utilize topographical indicators, contemporary accounts, maps, and documented information on troop numbers to position historical events within reconstructed terrain.
- Align interpretation with military practices of the Napoleonic period.
- Use archaeological intervention to identify structures, earthworks, and artifacts, enhancing precision in understanding the battle.

### 3. Physical Preservation:

- Aim to preserve the sanctity of the battlefield site, distinguishing sacred and secular spaces.
- Consider restoration or preservation of the natural landscape to provide an "authentic" environment for visitors.

### 4. Conservation for Quality of Life:

- Encourage ongoing use of battlefield properties for farming or open space to preserve rural environments.
- Safeguard rural environment, wildlife habitat, and scenic views.
- Enhance the "quality of life" for nearby residents and local authorities.

### 5. Strategic Management for Battlefield Tourism:

- Implement conservation easements for protection, limiting public access to maintain agricultural or open-space character.
- Develop plans for maintenance, access, and interpretation when actively managing for tourism.
- Involve the local community to enhance the preservation process and capitalize on potential economic benefits.

**6. Legal Protection and Regulation Awareness:**

- Recognize existing legislation in Spain (Ley 16/1985) and Portugal (Decreto-Lei n.º 309/2009) for battlefield protection and preservation.
- Consider the need for comprehensive legal provisions at both national and regional levels.

**7. Incorporating International Guidelines for Conservation Management:**

- Adopt guidelines from sources such as ICOMOS Charter, Vimy Declaration, and the Register of Historic Battlefields.
- Apply principles from Historic England's Conservation Principles and Guidance.

**8. Constructive Conservation Principles:**

- Embrace a dynamic, adaptive approach.
- Balance preservation and adaptation using "repair, care, and sustainability."

**9. Heritage Significance Assessment:**

- Emphasize a values-based approach using heritage significance categories: historic, aesthetic, communal, and evidential.
- Utilize a comprehensive checklist for evaluating significance.
- Assess opportunities for intervention based on heritage values.

**10. Conservation Management Principles and Guidance:**

- Follow principles outlined by Historic England:
  - Shared resource concept.
  - Inclusive participation.
  - Understanding significance.
  - Sustainable management for values.
  - Reasonable, transparent, and consistent decisions.
  - Documenting and learning from decisions.

**11. Replicating English Register of Battlefields' CMP Model:**

- Develop a Conservation Management Plan (CMP) for Napoleonic Battlefields.
- Identify significance, sensitivity, and areas of particular importance and cumulative value of heritage assets in the wider environment.
- Establish a policy framework for conservation, a program of works, and priorities for action.
- Understand historic development, environmental qualities, threats, and constraints.

By implementing this comprehensive approach, we aim to contribute to the sustainable preservation of Napoleonic battlefields, ensuring a balanced consideration of historical

significance and accuracy, preservation, community involvement, legal protection, and adaptive management practices guided by established conservation principles and international best practices.

# CONCLUSIONS

---



## 9. Conclusions

### 9.1. Research findings

The subject we have researched was the battlefield tourism applied to the battlefields of Portugal and Spain, referring to the period between 1808 and 1814, known in Portugal as the Peninsular War and in Spain as the War of Independence, part of the wider Napoleonic Wars.

Thus, the title of this doctoral thesis is “Battlefield Tourism: Strategies and tactics for the development and tourism planning of the battlefields of the War of Independence/Peninsular War in Spain and Portugal.”

The scope of our study considered the events of the Peninsular War and its battlefields as a resource for battlefield tourism, combining the potential of cross-cutting studies of Cultural Heritage and Historical Landscape, Military History, tourism dynamics and best practices for tourism planning in Napoleonic battlefields.

Our intention was not to study battlefield tourism from the conceptual framework around Thanatourism and Dark Tourism discussions, but to explore the cultural tourism perspective from a pragmatic approach that could more directly understand the dynamics of the battlefield interpretation and its tools, contributions of re-enactment, living history and creative tourism along with the tourist experience in these landscapes of war.

It was also our concern to establish a more practical approach and increase the operability of our contribution amongst tourism promoters. Hence, the use of guidelines, good (or best) practices and the proposal of strategies and tactics to achieve our goals in a straightforward approach, probably closer to operational’s reading, thou, never forgetting the academic framework and proper construct.

Through thorough research and analysis, we reached into the study of various battlefields, encompassing both tangible and intangible heritage. Our focus covered an examination of their capabilities and potential, a scrutiny of elements enhancers of success or inhibitors, a characterization of motivations, and an exploration of innovative forms of tourism that propel Battlefield Tourism forward. The three key elements subjected to study and analysis were identified as i) stakeholders/tourism agents, the ii) visitors/participants in battlefield tourism events, and the iii) battlefields themselves, viewed from the perspective of visitors' experiences.

To present a wider approach, we have conducted qualitative methodological approach with in-depth interviews to i) stakeholders and Tourism agents who operate in Portugal

battlefields; quantitative and qualitative methodological approaches to the Visitors and participants in the re-enactments of the Battle of Vimeiro and Almeida (Portugal); and empirical research by field-research in the battlefields of Sabugal (Gravato) in Portugal, and Arapiles and Ciudad Rodrigo in Spain.

To answer our main research question, *how to successfully develop battlefield tourism in the Peninsular War battlefields?* we have divided the research design in six phases, each one addressing the main research objectives.

The **first phase** started by acknowledging the research gaps, especially those related to the existing literature in Iberian Peninsula. It answered directly to the 1st objective of our study, which was to develop the updated theoretical framework of Battlefield Tourism applied to the Iberian Peninsula, characterising it, distinguishing its singularities and identifying the current lines of investigation. By doing so, our aim was also to identify the research gaps and research reasons.

The literature review reveals a scarcity of studies on Battlefield Tourism in the Iberian Peninsula, specifically during the Napoleonic period. Existing research mainly concentrates on musealization and heritage, neglecting the tourism potential of these historical sites, representing a limited academic focus on Napoleonic battlefields.

The growing relevance of academic research on military tourism is highlighted, underscoring its impact on cultural tourism and the need for strategic planning. The study aims to bridge the gap between tourism and military history, contributing to international research on the topic.

While a positive change is observed in the region of Valencia, there is an incipient dissemination of scientific knowledge about battlefields in the Iberian Peninsula. Academic research is vital in encouraging this change, as evident in the study's literature review.

Concerning the Heritage Management in the Iberian Peninsula we may point out an absence of cohesive approach to safeguard, disseminate, and protect its historical battlefields compared to the Anglo-Saxon world. The existing efforts are insufficiently structured, leading to the endangerment, lack of awareness, and absence of these sites from mainstream tourist attractions.

The **second phase** was dedicated to Battlefield Tourism in the Iberian Peninsula where we presented an historical background and the identification of the more relevant battlefields consisting of a broad range of military actions that can be considered relevant for battlefield tourism. These represent historical significance, battlefield conditions and touristic value as attractions. An overview of the battlefield tourism in Portugal and Spain explored international projects like NAPOCTEP with seven thematic itineraries and other cultural routes like

Destination Napoleon, Red Salamantina or the project PAdGUE related to Napoleonic related heritage. A scarce number of tourism operators was identified in Portugal and Spain and a significant number of British operators were found operating in Iberian Peninsula. The most preferred battlefields were identified and compared from the several sources. The results emphasised as battlefield tourists attractions: The Lines of Torres Vedras, Roliça and Vimeiro, Bussaco, Almeida and Côa, Fuentes de Oñoro, Ciudad Rodrigo, Salamanca, Elvas, Badajoz, Albuera, Massena's retreat (Pombal, Redinha, Foz de Arouce, Sabugal), Almaraz, Alcântara Bridge, Cadiz and Barossa.

In summary, our findings highlight the expanding opportunities and resources available for promoting battlefield tourism. However, our study indicates that tourism operators are not fully capitalizing on historical recreation events, presenting an untapped potential. While tours are conducted year-round, a greater emphasis on commemorating battle events emerges as a promising avenue for enhancing creative experiences and fostering more interactive initiatives between tourists and local communities.

The analysis of data from international, national, and local entities underscores a robust presence of battlefield tourism associated with re-enactment events and annual commemorations. These activities prove to be significant drivers for battlefield tours and Napoleonic cultural itineraries. Emphasizing trans-border projects becomes crucial for broadening the visibility of this cultural heritage, raising awareness about the tourism value of war landscapes, and establishing them as historical landmarks. Local entities exhibit notable activity and commitment in organizing events, disseminating research on websites, and mobilizing stakeholders within a network of actions that could still be much improved.

Despite this, the influx of battlefield tourists appears to be predominantly linked to historical re-enactments, leaving an opportunity to establish a network of tourism suppliers dedicated to daily operations on these battlefields. This prospect becomes more viable if targeted promotions are directed toward the original markets where interest and motivation are prevalent.

The **third phase** consisted of a first study-case, designed to provide insights into the intersection between battlefield tourism and creative tourism (objective 2). For this purpose, in-depth interviews were carried out aimed at stakeholders, tourism agents, tour guides and tour operators, 15 participants in total, allowing the analysis and understanding of the perspectives of those who deal directly with the battlefield tourism customer.

It provided new and valuable insights that explore the points of convergence with creative tourism within the scope of the Napoleonic Battlefields of Portugal and mainly in the Lines of Torres Vedras. This important contribution explored and understood the role of these

key players somewhat aside from the literature about battlefield tourism. It gave origin to an article published in September 2022 in the *Journal of Heritage Tourism*.

Findings reveal that those 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.

This research enriches the theoretical foundations of both battlefield tourism and creative tourism. In the realm of battlefield tourism, it offers an updated understanding of stakeholders' perceptions, strategies, and needs, consolidating knowledge in this segment and illuminating its future potential.

Tourist motivations are intricately tied to a profound interest in military history, curiosity about locations mentioned in literature and historical television, and the exploration of places with family significance. The connection to family and regimental history emerges as a significant motivator, particularly for visitors with military backgrounds. Notably, most tourists are newcomers to the subject, indicating a growing appeal to younger age groups and an increasing interest in battlefield tourism. The study identifies the primary tourist origins in descending order: England, Scotland, Portugal, Ireland, the United States of America, and Australia.

By incorporating a creative tourism approach, the study introduces a novel application area and emphasizes the necessity for structured collaboration among participants. Creativity emerges as a pivotal factor for attracting tourists, fostering community engagement, and ensuring stakeholder satisfaction. This structured and sustainable approach becomes crucial, especially when considering stakeholders' perspective, as they value re-enactment and living history as integral to the creative experience, fostering interactive and culturally enriching connections.

Creative tourism emerges as a key driver for the success of these destinations, fostering community participation, network collaboration, sustainable development, local identity, and ethnographic memory. This study contributes not only by identifying a new field for 'second generation' experiences, as conceptualized by Binkhorst (2007), where tourists design their unique experiences but also by adding a humanitarian layer to the components of creativity. Building upon Tan et al.'s (2016) four interactive components—persons, processes, products, and place—our research extends creativity to a broader context, offering emotional experiences beyond heritage and site dimensions.

Regarding the factors contributing to the enhancement of heritage valorisation through battlefield tourism and creative tourism, our interviews led us to the conclusion that cultural and historical motives play a prominent role. This indicates a robust interest in the local culture and history of these war landscapes, where homage or tribute to the fallen may not be as pronounced as in more recent era battlefields. There appears to be a significant correlation between these Portuguese and Spanish battlefields and popular television series, particularly the Sharpe Series, as well as Peninsular War literature. The charm associated with figures like Wellington, Napoleon, and an era infused with romanticism is also notably prevalent. Moreover, there is a widespread appreciation for a nuanced understanding of the complexity of these landscapes, with cultural interpreters playing a crucial role.

It is noteworthy that satisfaction factors were identified concerning the visited sites, with a particular emphasis on the landscape and the perspective from "impressive" viewpoints, the beauty of the cultural heritage, and the well-preserved state of the Portuguese battlefields. Special mention is made of the local cuisine, which has become an integral part of the battlefield tourism experience, with certain delicacies linked to Wellington and serving as important historical local references.

The **fourth phase** consisted of a second survey designed to understand and explore the perspectives of the participants in re-enactment events (objective 3). Using a quantitative and qualitative methodology, a face-to-face questionnaire was answered by 120 visitors in the historical recreations of the Siege of Almeida and Battle of Vimeiro, analysing the visitors' experience and the inhibiting and enhancing factors in visiting these cultural spaces. With this purpose, the main objectives were defined to know the participants, understand the motivations, perceptions of authenticity and experience in these historical recreations and re-enactment events.

Findings expose the importance and the relevance of the participation, promoting and improving the value of the experience, engaging the visitor in an educational experience of historical significance. Re-enactment and living history events appear as a strong attraction for all family members, and the intention to repeat the experience and to suggest the event to others also points out the high perception of authenticity and entertainment value of historical re-enactments where living history activities are present.

Findings underscore the significance of participant engagement in historical re-enactment events, emphasizing the value of immersive educational experiences. Re-enactments, particularly those featuring living history activities, prove highly appealing to families, with most Portuguese attendees. While the majority are observers, commitment

levels are high, as participants tend to stay for the entire event. The community's strength is evident in the preference for extended participation.

The characterization of participants reveals a predominantly male audience in the 21 to 50 age range, mainly comprising Portuguese visitors. Limited attendance from French and British participants suggests a need for targeted promotion. Participants express a strong preference for authentic experiences, valuing historical accuracy over entertainment theatrics.

Despite some awareness gaps, a significant portion of attendees, including first-time re-enactors, indicates a growing interest. More than half of participants have prior re-enactment experience, with recognition of specific events in Portugal. Efforts to enhance visibility, especially for international events, may prove beneficial.

Motivations for participation include a desire to re-enact historical battles, learn about cultural aspects, and engage in recreational fun. The importance of historical accuracy is evident, with 81% considering it crucial for event quality. Participants highly prioritize elements such as fun, cultural experiences, and educational components.

Satisfaction levels are consistently high, with 95% expressing satisfaction, particularly regarding activities like battle re-enactment and skirmishes. Loyalty is strong, as 93% express a willingness to repeat the experience, and 95% are enthusiastic about recommending it to others, highlighting significant word-of-mouth potential.

The **fifth phase** encompassed a discussion based in literature and the previous findings with the objective of identifying strategies and tactics that enhance and value Napoleonic Battlefield Tourism in Spain and Portugal, exploring tourists' experience, dynamic types of tourism, battlefields visitation and interpretation (objective 4).

Re-enactment, Living History and Creative Tourism were identified as major boosters for battlefield tourism, and stakeholders and the community as essential pillars for its success. Interactive technological solutions in the interpretation of the battles showed up as a key element that enhance the visitors experience and interaction. To organize a pragmatic framework, a set of obstacles were recognized and enhancing factors were identified. The conclusion led to the identification of key strategies and tactics organized in a set of good practices to be implemented by tourism promoters.

When analysing Storytelling and digital storytelling as enhancers for battlefield tourism, findings showed that storytelling is a crucial aspect of human communication and is central to co-creating tourist experiences at the intersection of tourists, providers, and communities (Moscardo, 2020). Ross and Saxena (2019) emphasized the role of creative storytelling in generating meaning at heritage sites with lost tangible remains. In battlefield

tourism, storytelling acts as a bridge between the past and present, allowing visitors to connect with historical events.

Key points about storytelling in battlefield tourism:

1. Engagement and Growth: It drives engagement and fosters growth, creating emotive experiences that enhance interest and brand loyalty.
2. Transformative Experience: Stories provide access to different perspectives, evoking emotions and making visitors feel part of the narrative.
3. Memory Enhancement: Engaging stories are 22 times more likely to be remembered (Gonçalves, 2018).
4. Cultural Connection: Storytelling bridges the gap between residents and tourists in cultural tourism destinations (Gonçalves, 2018).
5. Re-enactments: Re-enactments add complexity to storytelling (Ryan, 2007).

Best practices include employing knowledgeable guides and utilizing storytelling to engage visitors (Garcia-Madurga & Grilló-Méndez, 2023). Tour guides, viewed as experience-brokers in the Experience Economy (Pine & Gilmore, 1998), play a crucial role in creating tailored and impactful experiences. Co-creative tours meet the demand of experience-oriented tourists, highlighting the need for guides with essential skills (Weiler & Black, 2015).

Direct contacts with visitors on battlefields, including re-enactors and guides, contribute to a deep correlation between history, place, and family history, offering an immersive and memorable experience (Noivo et al., 2022). Uzzell (1989) emphasized the importance of interpretation and effective storytelling in shaping visitors' perceptions at heritage sites. Implementing storytelling among guides, re-enactors, and community elements is an effective strategy in interpreting battlefields and re-enactment events.

By analysing **Digital Storytelling and interactive media**, we came to conclude that Digital Storytelling involves narrating tales using interactive media, animation, augmented reality (AR), and virtual reality (VR) enhancements (Psomadaki et al., 2019). AR overlays digital content on the real world, while VR creates interactive virtual environments (Azuma et al., 2001; Bec et al., 2019). In the tourism industry, digital storytelling is crucial for disseminating knowledge and cultural insights (Bassano et al., 2019).

Key points about digital storytelling in heritage tourism:

1. Immersive Environments: Multimedia elements enable storytellers to craft immersive and enjoyable environments for engaging visitors actively (Pujol et al., 2013).
2. Enhanced Engagement: Digital storytelling improves engagement, learning, and reflection among visitors (Katifori, Tsitou, et al., 2020).

3. Community Engagement: Digital storytelling fosters community engagement in preserving cultural heritage and builds partnerships (Bonacini, 2019).
4. Heritage as a Product: Heritage is a multi-faceted product with marketable potential, ranging from small local properties to major attractions (Leighton, 2007; Mijnheer & Gamble, 2019).
5. Gamification: Technology, including gamification, contributes to preserving heritage, enhancing visitor experiences, and increasing satisfaction (Xu et al., 2016; Bec et al., 2019).
6. Technology, multimedia, and gamification are effective tools for interpreting historical and archaeological content (Pujol et al., 2012). Implementing QR codes, Apps, and interactive panels can offer an interactive and immersive experience on battlefields (Gallán, 2016, 2017a; Rico & Zurita-Aldeguer, 2020).
7. Interactive platforms, such as VR, AR, and gamified Apps, contribute to heritage preservation and offer interactive tourism experiences (Bec et al., 2019). Museums and interpretation centres play a vital role in integrating technology and providing tangible complements to enhance visitor understanding (Garcia-Madurga & Grilló-Méndez, 2023).
8. Digital platforms, Dioramas, and VR experiences create visually rich and interactive narratives in museums and interpretation centres (Pittock, 2018). The incorporation of gaming elements adds educational value, inspiring learning and providing novel experiences for tourists (Kim et al., 2021).

In summary, the integration of technology, multimedia resources, and gamification in heritage tourism not only aligns with contemporary trends but also promises a more interactive and immersive approach to engage, educate, and captivate visitors on historical sites.

Another element to be analysed was **Active tourism as an enhancer for battlefield tourism** and we may conclude that active tourism, classified under adventure tourism by UNTWO (2014), involves at least two of the following: physical activity, interaction with the environment, and cultural exchange. Escuela et al. (2018) define it as a subsector incorporating leisure and sports activities in natural environments, involving risk, and requiring specific skills. However, active tourism extends beyond sports and natural settings. Battlefields in Portugal and Spain offer an ideal landscape for active tourism activities such as walking, cycling, or horseback riding, providing a unique interpretation of historical environments.

Durán Sánchez et al. (2014) highlight the importance of "new tourisms" like active tourism, contributing to sustainable tourism through local awareness, economic growth, and environmental education. Battlefields, especially exemplified by the Arapiles, offer opportunities for interpretation routes catering to walkers and cyclists.

Visitors to battlefields seek a longer, immersive nature experience and undamaged landscapes with easily accessible historical hot spots (Noivo et al., 2022). Implementing solutions that align with active tourism principles, emphasizing nature, and interpreting fauna, flora, and geology, can enhance the visitor experience. Trails must be carefully designed to preserve natural resources and historical remains, aligning with the concept of "slow travel."

By analysing **Creative tourism as an enhancer for battlefield** tourism we have reached Ghisoiu et al. (2017) advocate for co-creative heritage tourism involving two-way communication through co-production, personalization, and engagement. These principles align with the study on the connections between creative tourism and battlefield tourism (Noivo et al., 2020), emphasizing active visitor participation, interactive communication, and valued learning.

The act of creating an experience contributes to its memorability and perceived value, as demonstrated in the literature review and our studies on creative experiences. Creative tourism enhances battlefield tourism by providing an immersive and engaging experience, fostering edutainment, and encouraging repeat visits.

Ways in which creative tourism enhances battlefield tourism include community involvement, personalized storytelling, interactive exhibits, multimedia experiences, educational programs, living history reenactments, themed accommodations, art and cultural events, and gastronomic experiences. These tactics form a strategic plan for successful creative tourism, aiming to create a more appealing and engaging battlefield tourism experience, fostering appreciation for historical events, increasing tourism revenue, and preserving important sites and local memories.

When analysing **Re-enactment as an enhancer for battlefield tourism**, we concluded that Historic re-enactments, transforming memory into visible leisure performance, involve heritage providers like tour guides who act as "value facilitators" and "interactive storytellers," enhancing engagement through character-based storytelling and costume (Stankova & Vassenska, 2015; Mijnheer & Gamble, 2019). Role-play and themed activities in co-creative tourist experiences yield beneficial outcomes (Ghisoiu et al., 2017; Ross & Saxena, 2019).

In battlefield tourism, re-enactments significantly impact visitors, emphasizing role-play and experiential reliving of the Napoleonic period. Re-enactment dynamics contribute to success by involving the community, skilled storytelling, interactive learning, emotional

connection, authenticity, educational engagement, multisensory experiences, preservation, and encouraging repeat visitation. These elements enhance battlefield tourism by fostering a deep connection to history, providing genuine and immersive experiences, supporting historical site preservation, and attracting repeat visitors. Re-enactment stands out as a central enhancer for battlefield tourism, projecting authenticity and quality significance.

In summary, we can emphasize the significance of storytelling, creative tourism, re-enactment, and Living History as pivotal contributors to the triumph of battlefield tourism. The surveys and analyses conducted in the preceding chapters have revealed that Creative Tourism, Re-enactment, and Living History serve as the fundamental pillars for fostering sustainable battlefield tourism. In this context, a memorable experience is characterized by interaction, active participation, and engaging learning-by-doing activities.

Next, the objective was to identify several potential obstacles that could hinder the success of Napoleonic battlefields as tourist attractions and must be considered in strategic planning. Limited knowledge of the battles' history among potential visitors poses a challenge in generating interest. Remote or challenging locations may deter tourists, affecting their ability to explore the battlefield. Inadequate amenities, such as hotels and restaurants, can discourage visitors from staying and spending locally. Competition with other tourist attractions in the region may divert tourists' attention from the battlefields. Insufficient funding for infrastructure development and marketing efforts can impede the attraction's success. The impact of tourism on the local community must be carefully managed to prevent tensions and negative effects.

To enhance the visitor experience, additional challenges must be addressed. Inadequate interpretive materials or guides can hinder visitors' understanding and engagement with the battlefield. Limited access, poor road connections, and inadequate transport options can discourage potential visitors. Perceived safety issues, such as unmarked hazards or uneven surfaces, can make visitors uneasy and compromise their experience. Large crowds can detract from the historical ambiance and tranquillity sought by many tourists. Modern structures or signage that diminish the historical setting may reduce visitor engagement and immersion. Unattractive or unremarkable natural environments may make battlefields less appealing, impacting the overall visitor experience.

Addressing these challenges through effective planning and collaboration can pave the way for successful Napoleonic battlefield tourism in the Iberian Peninsula.

In conclusion, this last chapter successfully achieved its objectives (objective 4) by identifying and analysing factors that both enhance and hinder battlefield tourism. These findings form a crucial component of the proposed Model of Strategic Tourism plan, which

were detailed in Chapter VIII. The primary aim of this chapter was to establish a strategic approach for fostering and advancing battlefield tourism dynamics. This involves creating a sustainable and enduring attraction, engaging stakeholders in offering tailored tourism experiences, and maintaining a consistent and innovative touristic flow with well-promoted initiatives in a planned events agenda.

Through prior research, key strategies and tactics have been unveiled for implementation by tourism promoters. The conclusions drawn highlight the significance of dynamic tourism types and a strong emphasis on exploring tourists' experiences and interactions. Re-enactment, Living History, and Creative Tourism emerge as major catalysts for battlefield tourism success, with stakeholders and the community serving as essential pillars. Recognizing and addressing identified obstacles is crucial for stakeholders in the development of battlefield tourism, ensuring the preservation, understanding, and effective communication of historically significant sites to tourists.

Conclusively, overcoming challenges by implementing comprehensive interpretive programs, enhancing accessibility and infrastructures, monitoring community impact, committing to historical accuracy, and integrating natural beauty into the visitor experience collectively contribute to a more enjoyable, interactive, and educational exploration of the Napoleonic battlefields in the Iberian Peninsula.

At the final of this chapter (the chapter VI), for the set of Strategies and Tactics to sustain battlefield tourism dynamics, we can conclude that a comprehensive set of strategies and corresponding tactics has then been outlined to elevate the battlefield tourism experience. The emphasis lies on storytelling, active participation, sustainability, creativity, authenticity, and relevance to tourists. By telling engaging narratives through storytelling techniques, dioramas, scale models, and knowledgeable guides, visitors can gain a deeper understanding of historical events. Digital storytelling, augmented reality, and virtual reality experiences, along with gamification and interactive exhibits, enhance interpretation and interaction.

The strategies also focus on making battlefield tourism a participatory experience. This involves creating multi-sensorial solutions, allowing visitors to handle replicas of weaponry, re-enactment costumes, and experience dramatized narratives with sounds from the Napoleonic period. Active tourism, with a focus on slow travel, slow sports, and environmental awareness, offers various options such as cycling facilities, walking trails, horse riding, and identification of fauna, flora, and geology.

By making the asset come alive and focus on quality and authenticity, creative tourism is positioned as a community opportunity, fostering learning-by-doing activities, traditional

craft workshops, and educational programs. Re-enactment, seen as a key element for educational engagement and immersive experiences, involves integrating tourism stakeholders and local communities, organizing themed weekends, joining, and gathering cross-border re-enactment groups and promoting historical research for accuracy.

By making it relevant for the tourist, living history may establish deep learning-by-doing interaction and cultural significance, incorporating research on historical themes, edutainment for all age groups, and participation in events for the preservation of historical sites. The approach also integrates the act of creation with a multi-sensory experience, exploring historical culinary experiences and focusing on Napoleonic daily life and local traditions. Collectively, these strategies and tactics aim to enrich the battlefield tourism journey, ensuring a memorable, educational, and culturally significant experience for visitors.

**The sixth phase** corresponds to the field research that was carried out on the battlefields of Sabugal (Gravato) in Portugal, Ciudad Rodrigo, and Los Arapiles (Salamanca) in Spain, analysing through the visitors' experience perspective, the elements that facilitate or difficult the experience of visiting the respective battlefields (objective 5).

We achieved spatial familiarity by traversing the battlefield, observing key locations, and capturing photographs that documented the sites' conservation status and the employed tools of interpretation. The field research consisted of a questionnaire with 16 items to be observed in the battlefields and the conclusions allowed us to identify the structures and elements needed to improve the tourist visitation and what solutions enhance a more dynamic and interactive experience.

Findings on the field-research allowed us to conclude each battlefield's analysis with a Proposal for Valorisation and Touristic Activation divided in three important approaches: i) Strategy to empower stakeholders' dynamics, ii) Strategy for promotion and awareness, and iii) strategy to implement visitor interpretation and experience.

Lastly, through analysis of the findings and conclusions of the in-depth interview perspectives, respondents' answers in the surveys, literature review, along with observation in the field-research, this final sub-chapter gathered the strategies and tactics that can be rallied as Good Practices to be applied by the stakeholders when addressing battlefields Interpretation and tourists' Experience. These were divided in three factors with a defined purpose: i) To improve the interpretation of a battlefield, ii) To enhance the operationality of the visit, iii) To empower the experience.

Summarizing the findings from each battlefield lead us to define each factor, so, **i) To improve the interpretation of a battlefield**, one must consider that interpretation involves the awareness of significance, knowledge and understanding of the space, the historical landscape

and all that facilitates the processing of information. To optimize battlefield tourism, a strategic approach to interpretation is essential:

1. **Historical Significance:** Elevate awareness about a Napoleonic battlefield's historical importance to attract visitors; Engage researchers and promote their findings to enhance local and visitor significance.
2. **Authenticity:** Preserve and recover original features like trenches and buildings to provide an authentic experience; Enhance interpretation by maintaining the historical integrity of the battlefield.
3. **Knowledgeable Tour Guides:** Establish a corps of knowledgeable tour guides to provide insights into strategies, tactics, and historical anecdotes; Enrich the visitor experience with engaging narratives from informed guides.
4. **Multimedia Displays:** Implement multimedia displays, including videos, animations, and AR/VR experiences, for enhanced visualization; Utilize QR codes to offer immersive images and sounds, improving narrative immersion.
5. **Museums and Interpretation Centres:** Concentrate artifacts in situ, using dioramas and video mapping for a comprehensive historical perspective; Foster engagement with interactive and participatory museum experiences.
6. **Multilingual Narratives:** Expand language options and tailor narratives for different age groups, providing a more inclusive experience; Explore perspectives from both sides, ensuring a comprehensive understanding.
7. **Cultural Routes or Itineraries:** Construct itineraries considering historical narrative, time constraints, and desired perspectives; Identify observation points and interpretation hot spots, guaranteeing accessibility by foot or special vehicles.
8. **Interpretative Panels:** Place panels strategically at interpretation hot spots, aligning with the event's chronology and logical geographical sequence; Ensure panels are visually attractive, tell a compelling story, use QR codes for multimedia, and withstand environmental elements.
9. **Visitor Engagement:** Effective interpretation encourages visitors to spend more time exploring and engaging with the historical site; Prioritize strategies that enhance the educational value and immersive experience for a memorable visit.

Considering the next **ii) factors that enhance the operability of the visit of a battlefield**, involves regarding several factors to ensure a meaningful and immersive

experience. These factors contribute to the overall effectiveness of the visit, providing visitors with infrastructures and special facilities.

Optimal visitor experience hinges on well-kept facilities, including clean restrooms, picnic areas, and gift shops. Enhanced accessibility, achieved through easy transport links, ample parking, and public transport options, is vital for attracting and accommodating visitors. Developing accessible trails ensures seamless exploration of key battlefield points, fostering a welcoming and accommodating atmosphere.

Finally, on the **iii) Factors that empower the experience**, we may argue that Experience is strongly related with interactivity and by doing and participating. By developing activities with a creative component and a multisensorial approach, a memorable experience can be better designed. Edutainment and learning seem to be a major driver for a battlefield experience.

Therefore, enriching the Napoleonic battlefield experience involves organizing events like re-enactments, living history displays, and educational programs. Guided tours and immersive activities, such as walks and multimedia presentations, enhance visitor engagement and promote edutainment. Interactive exhibits, allowing hands-on experiences like trying on period clothing or participating in simulated battles, offer a unique perspective. The display of well-preserved artifacts, including cannons and uniforms, vividly illustrates the battles' scale and intensity. Additionally, preserving the battlefield's natural beauty, through conservation efforts and sustainable practices, contributes to an appealing and immersive visitor experience.

The battlefield of Arapiles (Salamanca) proved to be the best example of a successful visit experience. It shows how the combination of technology, attractive promotional artwork and good touristic planning promote a much-desired multi-sensorial interaction with history, landscapes of war and a common memory. But the main awareness achieved is how to comprehend these Napoleonic battlefield factors and visitors' needs into a strategic tourism plan specific for these valuable touristic resources.

Finally, **the seventh phase**, applied contributions from literature mixed with the research findings and conclusions into the proposal of a model of strategic tourism plan especially applicable to these same battlefields or others from the same period (objective 6).

These strategies aim to foster community-supported tourism development by preserving and effectively disseminating historical heritage. The focus is on constructing a tourism product grounded in visitor experiences, community involvement, and efficient management. These practices are designed for sharing with local authorities, tourism promoters, and regions to stimulate discourse and advance sustainable battlefield tourism.

The pragmatic approach is tailored for stakeholders to implement these strategies on the ground, fostering sustainable development and enhancing the success of battlefield tourism.

Our proposal is based in a sequential model of nine steps:

1. **Preparatory study:** Decision to design a strategic Tourism plan for a battlefield.
2. **Consultative assembly with all the stakeholders.**
3. **Definition of vision and mission:** Goals from preparatory study might be adjusted.
4. **Assess the current situation by gathering information on the tourism products in the area.**
5. **Analysis and synthesis:** Analysing the data gathered from the surveys.
6. **Redefine the development goals and objectives.**
7. **Plan formulation:** Develop the strategies and actions.
8. **Implementation:** Implementing the strategic plan and Communicate
9. **Monitor, review, and update:** Continuously monitoring and feedback on the strategic development plan.

Besides the application of the presented Strategic Plan developing battlefield tourism in Napoleonic battlefields in the Iberian Peninsula requires comprehensive strategy steps. Major guidelines were presented to be considered along the creative process as enhancers of the battlefield tourism and are fostered in the findings and conclusions presented in each chapter of this study.

Although conservation and management weren't our primary focus, we recognized their importance for stakeholders involved in battlefield tourism. To facilitate a quick understanding of key elements, we identified specific management areas, visitor management strategies, approaches to sustainable tourism, and provided Guidelines for a Conservation Management Plan tailored to Napoleonic battlefields.

Important considerations for stakeholders were collected to provide awareness on the importance of Conservation and Management Plans. For that purpose, guidelines were suggested with the aim of contributing to the sustainable preservation of Napoleonic battlefields, ensuring a balanced consideration of historical significance and accuracy, preservation, community involvement, legal protection, and adaptive management practices guided by established conservation principles and international best practices.

Resume of the Guidelines of a Conservation Management Plan for Napoleonic Battlefields:

1. Historical Reconstruction and Documentation.
2. Situating Historical Events.
3. Physical Preservation.

4. Conservation for Quality of Life.
5. Strategic Management for Battlefield Tourism.
6. Legal Protection and Regulation Awareness.
7. Incorporating International Guidelines for Conservation Management.
8. Constructive Conservation Principles.
9. Heritage Significance Assessment.
10. Conservation Management Principles and Guidance.
11. Replicating English Register of Battlefields' CMP Model.

Our research has highlighted the importance of a novel approach to these battlefields, encompassing a strategic plan to develop tourism through the importance given to stakeholders, visitors, and the battlefields, all as pillars for the success. We have contributed for the study and awareness of the battlefields and battlefield tourism from the Iberian Peninsula by applying multiple methodological approaches obtaining new data that may provide stakeholders and tourism promoters the resources to address in a pragmatic way elements that structure their strategies and tactics.

There is a discrepancy in efforts related to battlefield tourism, lacking a structured network or cohesive Iberian plan. The absence of integrated strategies hampers the potential recognition and development of battlefield tourism as a shared Iberian touristic asset. Findings also emphasizes the importance of structuring battlefields in a network to promote a more effective tourism strategy. A unified approach can offer tourists a multi-sensory, authentic experience integrated with local values and potentialities.

Conclusions reinforce literature and extend updated knowledge to the Battlefields of the Peninsular War and War of Independence. Relevant and empowering dynamics like re-enactment, creative tourism, living history and participative interaction come out as determinant factors for the many perspectives of success for Napoleonic Battlefields of Portugal and Spain.

## 9.2. Theoretical implications

As theoretical implications, we may obtain and acknowledge several considerations that aggregate our discussion about our research and objectives.

The literature review identifies a research gap in Napoleonic Battlefield Tourism in the Iberian Peninsula, emphasizing limited academic focus. The study underscores the growing importance of military tourism research, particularly in the region of Valencia, and highlights the need for strategic planning to unlock tourism potential. It emphasizes the scarcity of cohesive Heritage Management in the Iberian Peninsula, resulting in insufficient efforts to safeguard and promote historical battlefields, posing risks such as endangerment, lack of awareness, and exclusion from mainstream tourist attractions. The research aims to contribute to international studies by bridging the gap between tourism and military history in this context.

Our study aims to contribute by answering several research questions, including understanding the motivations of tourists visiting Iberian Peninsula battlefields, analysing the recognition of Napoleonic-era battlefields, exploring tourism dynamics beyond commemorative events, and identifying forms of tourism that enhance community development.

It proposes methods such as questionnaires, interviews, and direct observations to deepen the understanding of these tourists and their impact on local communities.

We have obtained encouraging research results demonstrating that creative tourism, re-enactment, living history and storytelling can enhance the success of battlefield tourism and the visitors experience, especially in an unattended region on these matters, Portugal, and Spain. It also empowered Creative Tourism as a touristic product to be developed in close cooperation with the communities.

Our studies also contributed to the awareness of the importance of stakeholders and their perspectives in a literature where visitors are the focus. Therefore, by presenting a new perspective to be valued in battlefield tourism planning, it resulted in the publication of the research in the *Journal of Heritage Tourism* in September 2022.

Research findings and conclusions on the visitor experience at the re-enactments of Vimeiro and Almeida presented new insights and valuable data to understand and characterize the participants and their perceptions over the event and the impact of the activities related to re-enactment. We also intend to contribute to the relevance of creative-tourism, re-enactment and living history as important motors for battlefield tourism success.

The dynamics on Edutainment and its impact was also addressed on our studies, contributing for the literature with a wider awareness in relation to Living History within battlefield tourism.

According to our conclusions we may emphasize the potential of battlefield tourism, particularly during the Napoleonic period, as a significant attraction factor for Spain and Portugal. The focus is on transforming these places from mere sites of memory to year-round tourist destinations, leveraging their historical significance.

Acknowledging the demand for historical battlefield reenactment, the study proposes the development of a Tourism Development and Sustainability Plan. This plan aims to provide a strategic vision for the sustainable tourism development of Napoleonic battlefields, considering them not only as attractions but also as places of memory and identity. Interactivity and positive impact in community may be structured in planning enhancing the perspective of the visitor.

The study underlines that the successful management of tourist destinations can be improved through a well-crafted tourism strategy involving all stakeholders. It illustrates the collaboration between academia and public tourism organizations in creating meaningful action plans for destinations. Our approach underscores the significance of strategy development in tourism, emphasizing the importance of clear vision and leadership for enhanced success.

### 9.3. Practical implications

Findings of this study have several implications for promoters of battlefield tourism, stakeholders, community, and entities that plan, structure and develop tourism in these historical landscapes.

Substantial evidence supports the incorporation of visitor attractions in destination development through collaboration with local communities and the inclusion of both new and established visitors. Acknowledging current challenges, especially diverse visitor profiles and responses to increased commercial pressures, the study emphasizes the need for researchers to bridge academic and practitioner perspectives. The thorough examination of research findings contributes significantly, accompanied by a call for a future research agenda that delivers pertinent and easily accessible insights to the sector.

The unique characteristics of the battlefields from Iberian Peninsula, untouched and extremely relevant for the peninsular war/war of independence historical significance, extend the theoretical knowledge to practical dimensions that may be implemented in the many fields of action that promote battlefield tourism.

Our research provided some practical strategies and tactics that were organized in guidelines or good practices to be considered and implemented.

Tourism operators can optimize engagement and broaden their audience by focusing on commemorations of historical battles. Recognizing the heightened interest during these events, operators can strategically shift their offerings, developing specialized packages and experiences tailored to attract a more diverse tourist base.

Capitalizing on the potential of historical recreation events is an opportunity to enhance visitor experiences through interactive initiatives. This could encompass immersive experiences, guided tours led by historical reenactors, and educational programs designed to deepen visitors' understanding of the historical significance of battlefields.

To leverage the observed spike in battlefield tourist numbers during historical reenactments, there is a strategic opportunity to establish a network of suppliers specifically catering to daily operations on these sites. This initiative could involve promoting year-round activities, tours, and experiences, extending interest beyond commemorative events.

The study emphasizes the significance of trans-border collaborations for broader visibility of cultural heritage. Tourism operators can explore strategic partnerships with different regions and countries sharing Napoleonic heritage, fostering joint marketing efforts, cross-border events, and the creation of comprehensive Napoleonic cultural itineraries.

Acknowledging the active involvement of local entities in developing events and disseminating research, tourism operators can strategically engage with these entities. This collaboration may involve creating partnerships, supporting local initiatives, and integrating community-driven elements to enhance the overall battlefield tourism experience.

Targeted marketing efforts in the original markets where interest and motivation are prevalent present an opportunity to attract battlefield tourists. Operators can collaborate with travel agencies, utilize digital platforms, and participate in relevant tourism expos and events to effectively promote battlefield tourism.

Recognizing the need for sustained tourism beyond historical reenactments, tourism operators can develop comprehensive tourism sustainability plans for Napoleonic battlefields. These plans would ensure year-round visitation, contribute to heritage preservation, and yield long-term economic benefits for local communities.

To enhance the success and participant experience in battlefield tourism events, several practical strategies can be implemented. Firstly, organizing family-friendly activities tailored to different age groups, including children, adolescents, adults, and older adults, promotes cross-generational interaction and provides historically enriched experiences. Secondly, creating engaging cultural experiences, such as hands-on activities with artifacts and replicas, ensures authenticity and entertainment for visitors. Sequencing events over multiple days with a variety of activities encourages lasting engagement, contributing to a fully immersive and enduring experience. Integrating technology, such as Virtual Reality and Augmented Reality, into museums and interpretation centres enhances historical interpretation and creates immersive experiences.

Additionally, fostering international collaboration in re-enactment events expands their scale, generating a stronger economic impact and attracting a wider audience. Balancing enjoyment, entertainment, and educational elements in activities ensures high participant satisfaction and a creative historical-cultural experience. Emphasizing historical accuracy and authenticity through experienced re-enactors elevates the event's perceived quality. Increasing military encampments and daily routine activities facilitates closer interactions between visitors, re-enactors, and living historians, enhancing educational experiences. Finally, highlighting popular experiences like skirmishes, battle recreations, and formations, supported by a knowledgeable historical narrative, contributes to a more educational and engaging battlefield tourism experience.

Our research findings pioneered and was able to identify inhibiting factors and present an opportunity to mitigate the effects in the success of these events.

Successfully implementing strategies related to the points transforms re-enactment into the foremost avenue for the development of battlefield tourism. As delineated in the literature review and scrutinized in the current studies, re-enactment plays a crucial role in the success of battlefield tourism. Drawing in battlefield tourists, re-enactment participants, and visitors, these events project a perceived authenticity and signify a high quality that resonates among visitors, community re-enactors, the local community, and stakeholders alike.

This live portrayal of history for the public involves ongoing efforts to recreate historical events for educational purposes. Trained interpreters, whether professionals or enthusiasts, share the narrative of history, aiming to depict not only the events but also the lifestyle of people from the Napoleonic period. By showcasing craft and cooking demonstrations, songs, leisure activities, lectures, and local knowledge, Living History is seen by visitors as a crucial element for the success of battlefield tourism.

In conclusion, the significance of storytelling, creative tourism, re-enactment, and Living History emerges as key drivers for the success of battlefield tourism. Surveys and analyses in preceding chapters affirm that Creative Tourism, Re-enactment, and Living History constitute the foundational elements for sustainable battlefield tourism. A memorable experience is crafted through interaction, active participation, and hands-on learning activities.

Conclusions on the three battlefields research, acknowledged that for successful battlefield tourism specific elements/actions must be considered. These elements are practical strategies to be implemented and were organized in three pillars presented as the enhancing actions for valorisation and touristic activation:

1) Stakeholder's Dynamics underscores the significance of multifaceted interpretation, fostering partnerships, and collaborating with diverse institutions for collective advancement and execution of sustainable activities, investments, infrastructure, and tourism development.

2) Promotion and Awareness, emphasizes using art for promotion and visibility, stresses the importance of tourist information materials, advocates for larger scale events, and promotes conservation projects. Additionally, it highlights the role of skilled guides in organized tours, whether private or associated with the Interpretation Centre, and underscores the impact of signage on improving visibility and accessibility.

3) Visitor interpretation and Experience: Implementation of diverse battlefield routes is proposed, coupled with an efficient system of static or interactive interpretation panels. These panels should be multilingual, digitally interactive, and multisensorial, incorporating AR, VR, and QR codes, kept up-to-date and well-maintained. The strategy includes Interpretation Centres equipped with multimedia displays, interactive learning, and participatory

experiences, all updated and tailored to engage visitors of all ages. The plan aims to empower interpretation tools for individual visitors and enhance interactivity using replicas of artifacts for hands-on experiences and multisensory activities.

It's essential to provide actionable recommendations that stakeholders can consider for implementation. Our study proposed strategies and tactics organized in three factors as Good Practices when addressing battlefields Interpretation and tourist's experience.

1) To improve the interpretation of a battlefield, historical significance of the battle and the battlefield must be promoted and disseminated among all parties; Authenticity (good preservation, original features and structures) seems to be highly regarded by visitors and re-enactors as part of quality perceptions and essential part of heritage preservation; Knowledgeable tour guides enhance interpretation, and interactive multimedia displays in museums and interpretation centres offer engaging experiences through original artifacts, replicas, games, dioramas, Augmented Reality, and Virtual Reality. Cultural Routes with interactive panels support the overall experience.

2) To enhance the operability of the visit, is required the creation of tourist facilities, accessible trails, paths, and infrastructure along the Historical Route.

3) To empower the experience, Tourism Experience Design is applied, featuring interactive activities with re-enactors, Living History, edutainment, and learning programs. Multisensorial and immersive experiences are explored through interactive exhibits and recreations. Implementing preservation guidelines, regular maintenance, and sustainability initiatives contribute to the battlefield and scenic landscape. The overall objective is to empower battlefield tourism by involving all stakeholders, applying strategic planning, and focusing on Visitor Interpretation Tools, Interactivity, and the creation of memorable experiences.

Bringing to the discussion the above-mentioned elements, the objective is to empower battlefield tourism through the participation of all the active parts, apply strategic tourism planning along with Heritage Site Management but now, with a specific focus on Visitor Interpretation Tools, Interactivity, and the desire to repeat a memorable experience.

Important Practical Implications were achieved to address the insufficient knowledge and scope on the touristic development plans dedicated to battlefields. We have contributed to the discussion and tourism development with a strategic tourism plan that may be used in a Napoleonic battlefield or others that are intended to be promoted.

Through the awareness of comprehensive strategic steps, our studies pointed out guidelines and considered the application of a novel sequential model of nine steps to implement a Strategic Tourism Plan for Napoleonic battlefields.

While not our primary focus, we acknowledged the significance of conservation and management in battlefield tourism. To streamline key elements, we identified specific management areas, visitor strategies, and sustainable tourism approaches, offering tailored Guidelines for a Conservation Management Plan for Napoleonic battlefields. Stakeholder considerations were gathered to raise awareness about the importance of these plans, aiming to contribute to sustainable preservation.

These guidelines emphasize a balanced approach, considering historical significance, accuracy, preservation, community involvement, legal protection, and adaptive management, aligning with established conservation principles and international best practices.

#### 9.4. Limitations and future research lines

As in most studies, some limitations were identified along the research work. It has started in 2019, immediately before the pandemic, enjoying still the opportunity of a pre-pandemic operational environment, much diminished until 2022 as all tourism was locked down. Battlefield tourism has improved and now, in December 2023, we expect to have better conditions and new players to support the development of tourism. Nevertheless, the strongest period of research was in 2022-2023 representing a somewhat updated perspective.

Even so, literature and academical research has increased in the last two years with new perspectives and we have mostly addressed and updated the one about Portugal and Spain until November 2023, resulting in the necessity of an overall updated literature review.

The scope of our research in the in-depth interviews (chapter IV, 1st study case) could be much larger now that new stakeholders and tourism promoters are present in the market. So, the 15 contributors for our research on connecting the dots on Battlefield Tourism and creative Tourism can be enlarged in a close future, providing new insights and values to be analysed and compared with our 2020/21 research. This study would be much improved by analysing now British tourism operators that develop and apply battlefield tourism programs in Portugal and Spain. This perspective on the promoters and the tourists is a two-fold insight needed to enlarge our knowledge.

A deeper study on living History can be now addressed not just in Portugal but extended to Spain for highly interesting perspectives and wider research on the impact. Our intention is always to extend our study over the borders and understand the perspectives of Iberian Peninsula despite the different realities. This comparison is a much-needed future research to identify successful approaches like NAPOCTEP, Red Salamantina, PADGUE or the Routes of the Lines of Torres Vedras, or Arapiles battlefield, and widespread that knowledge to stakeholders, communities, and governance.

Our second case-study occurred in 2022, with questionnaires in Vimeiro and Almeida re-enactment events, already out-side the pandemic's restrictions still. The same events in 2023 seemed to be substantially bigger and the new reality can be much improved in 2024 with another perspective to be suggested now: the re-enactors' insights. It seems to be quite interesting to collect and examine their full perspective and extend this study to other battle re-enactment events like La Albuera, Fuentes-de-Oñoro, Bailén, La Coruña, Valencia, etc., where battlefield tourism and re-enactment became a strong touristic attraction, mainly for the events' celebration. Again, the growth potential is visible and even Portugal is reinforcing re-enactment events that, being studied, can contribute to the knowledge of the stakeholders'

dynamics, and needs along with best practices to be added to the present, disseminated and implemented for the successful development of battlefield tourism.

Technology also improved and new interpretative tools, immersive and multisensorial, are at reach with successful use in interactive museums like in Bannockburn, Normandy, Gettysburg, etc. It means that new tools can be applied to our battlefields and extend the experience with novel museology and improved interpretation tools. Therefore, our study can be largely improved as it was produced in the 1st semester of 2023.

Other limitation that can be transformed into a future research opportunity is the number of studied battlefields on our field-research. Other battlefields have been improved in interpretative tools (Roliça and Bussaco, Badajoz, etc.) and an up-date of their status is needed. Therefore, other battlefields need a similar field-research, improved by the sharpening of the model, to obtain an upgrade of information and understand the tourism impact, preservation status and legal protection. The immense number of battlefields in Spain present a daunting task, though, we must not walk alone, and many researchers can join this endeavour, extending our humble contribution. Galizia is a good example of new perspectives provided by researchers but, unfortunately, we were aware of these studies late in the submission of our studies, representing another limitation on our contribution.

The same occurred with the Tourism Region of the Centre of Portugal, where Tourism Planning is being applied to the activation of battlefield tourism, and even in the Estremadura Region ins Spain, unfortunately these plannings are not public or completed and applied and therefore out of our reach of knowledge at this moment.

Finally, when approaching the strategies and tactics for the development and tourism planning of the battlefields of the War of Independence/Peninsular War in Spain and Portugal, our drive was to identify enhancers for the success of battlefield tourism, elements that structure strategy, factors that direct the advance, and guidelines that identify tactics that implement action. Our aim is to empower people with knowledge, awareness, and effective tools, and assume the compromise that our humble contribution will continue the sharing of their memories and ancestral knowledge, valuing a common culture and promoting historical awareness without borders.

Ultreya et Suseya!

# REFERENCES

---



## References

- Agnew, V., Lamb, J., & Tomann, J. (Eds.). (2019). *The Routledge Handbook of Reenactment Studies: Key Terms in the Field*. Routledge.
- Ahlstrand, B., Lampel, J., & Mintzberg, H. (2001). *Strategy safari: A guided tour through the wilds of strategic mangament*. Simon and Schuster
- Alabau-Montoya, J., & Ruiz-Molina, M. E. (2020). Enhancing visitor experience with war heritage tourism through information and communication technologies: Evidence from Spanish Civil War museums and sites. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 15(5), 500-510.
- Ali, F., Ryu, K., & Hussain, K. (2016). Influence of experiences on memories, satisfaction and behavioral Intentions: A study of creative tourism. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 33(1), 85–100. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10548408.2015.1038418>
- Anderson, J. (1982). Living history: Simulating everyday life in living museums. *American Quarterly*, 34(3), 290-306. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2712780>
- Arteche, J. G. de, (1868). *Atlas de la Guerra de la Independencia*, Depósito de la Guerra, Madrid
- Assefa, T. K. (2022). Opportunities and Challenges for the Development of Sustainable Tourism to the Local Communities. *Journal of Tourism & Hospitality*. 11:498. <https://doi.org/10.35248/2167-0269.22.11.498>
- Assefa, TK. (2022). Opportunities and Challenges for the Development of Sustainable Tourism to the Local Communities. *J Tourism Hospit*.11:498
- Bailoa, S., & Cravo, P. (2020). Strategic tourism planning in Portugal: challenges for the national tourism development. *Zbornik Veleučilišta u Rijeci*, 8(1), 353-374. <https://doi.org/10.31784/zvr.8.1.23>
- Baldwin, F., & Sharpley, R. (2009). Battlefield tourism: Bringing organised violence back to life. In R. Sharpley, & P. R. Stone (Eds.). In *The darker side of travel: The theory and practice of dark tourism* (186–206). Channel View Publications. <https://doi.org/10.21832/9781845411169-011>
- Banks, I., & Pollard, T. (2011). Protecting a bloodstained history: battlefield conservation in Scotland. *Journal of Conflict Archaeology*, 6(2), 124-145. <https://doi.org/10.1179/157407811X13027741134148>
- Bassano, C., Barile, S., Piciocchi, P., Spohrer, J. C., Iandolo, F., & Fisk, R. (2019). Storytelling about places: Tourism marketing in the digital age. *Cities*, 87, 10-20. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2018.12.025>

- Bec, A., Moyle, B., Timms, K., Schaffer, V., Skavronskaya, L., & Little, C. (2019). Management of immersive heritage tourism experiences: A conceptual model. *Tourism Management, 72*, 117-120. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2018.10.033>
- Bellido, R. (2020). El campo de batalla como recurso turístico. In *Historia Pública de la Guerra de 1808-1814 (45-52)*. Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes.
- Bérénice Zunino, «Cultural Heritage, a Central Issue in European Wars during the Modern Period», *Encyclopédie d'histoire numérique de l'Europe* [online], published on 22/06/20, consulted on 04/08/2023. Permalink: <https://ehne.fr/en/node/12421>
- Binkhorst, E., & Den Dekker, T. (2009). Agenda for co-creation tourism experience research. *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management, 18*(2–3), 311–327. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19368620802594193>
- Bird, G., Westcott, M., & Thiesen, N. (2018). Marketing dark heritage: Building brands, myth-making and social marketing. In *The Palgrave handbook of dark tourism studies* (pp. 645–665). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bonacini, E. (2019). Engaging participative communities in cultural heritage: using digital storytelling in Sicily (Italy). *International Information & Library Review, 51*(1), 42-50. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10572317.2019.1568786>
- Bornarel, F., Delacour, H., Liarte, S., & Virgili, S. (2021). Exploring travellers' experiences when visiting Verdun battlefield: a TripAdvisor case study. *Current Issues in Tourism, 24*(6), 824-841. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2020.1751593>
- Bruce-Lockhard, L. (2008). *Conservation principles, policies and guidance for the sustainable management of the historic environment*. London: English Heritage.
- Cai, L., Liu, J., & Huang, Z. (2008). Identifying rural tourism markets: A practical tool. *Journal of Hospitality & Leisure Marketing, 17*(3-4), 418–434. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10507050801985153>
- Çakar, K. (2020). Investigation of the motivations and experiences of tourists visiting the Gallipoli Peninsula as a dark tourism destination. *European Journal of Tourism*
- Chen, C. M., & Tsai, T. H. (2019). Tourist motivations in relation to a battlefield: A case study of Kinmen. *Tourism Geographies, 21*(1), 78–101. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2017.1385094>
- Chu, J. H., & Mazalek, A. (2019). Embodied engagement with narrative: a design framework for presenting cultural heritage artifacts. *Multimodal Technologies and Interaction, 3*(1), 1. <https://doi.org/10.3390/mti3010001>

- Chylińska, D. (2019). "Nameless landscapes" - what can be seen and understood on a battlefield? *Tourism Geographies*, 22(4-5), 787–812. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2019.1686768>
- Clare, K. (2013). The essential role of place within the creative industries: Boundaries, networks, and play. *CITIES*, 34, 52–57. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2012.05.009>
- Clarke, P., & Eastgate, A. (2011). Cultural capital, Life Course Perspectives and Western Front battlefield tours. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 9, 31–44. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14766825.2010.527346>.
- Climent, M. P. S., & Riquelme-Quiñonero, M. T. (2020). Simbiosis entre historia y turismo. La Guerra de la Independencia en la ciudad de Alicante. In *Historia pública de la guerra de 1808-1814* (pp. 53-69). Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes.
- Coelho, J. P., Figueira, L. M., & Costa, C. (2014). O turismo militar e a ativação turística do património: Conceitos, perspetivas e tendências. *Revista Turismo & Desenvolvimento*, 1(21/22), 113–120. <https://doi.org/10.34624/rtd.v1i21/22.11089>
- Coles, J., & Armstrong, P. (2008). Living history: learning through re-enactment. In *38th Annual SCUTREA Conference* (Vol. 2, p. 4).
- Coşkun, B. S. (2015). Constructive Conservation: A British Approach for Conservation. In *Reuso 2105-III Congreso Internacional sobre Documentación, Conservación y Reutilización del Patrimonio Arquitectónico* (pp. 22-24).
- Creswell, J. W., & Clark, V. L. P. (2017). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research*. (3rd Ed.). Sage publications.
- De Bruin, A., & Jelinčić, D. A. (2016). Toward extending creative tourism: participatory experience tourism. *Tourism review*, 71(1), 57-66. <https://doi.org/10.1108/TR-05-2015-0018>
- Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2002) ed. *Handbook of self determination research*. Rochester, NY: The University of Rochester Press.
- Dias, Á, González-Rodríguez, M. R., & Patuleia, M. (2021a). Creative tourism destination competitiveness: An integrative model and agenda for future research. *Creative Industries Journal*, 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17510694.2021.1980672>
- Dias, Á, González-Rodríguez, M. R., & Patuleia, M. (2021b). Developing poor communities through creative tourism. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 19, 509–529. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14766825.2020.1775623>
- Dias, Á, Silva, G. M., Patuleia, M., & González-Rodríguez, M. R. (2020). Developing sustainable business models: Local knowledge acquisition and tourism lifestyle entrepreneurship. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2020.1835931>

- Dias-Sardinha, I., Ross, D., & Gomes, A. C. (2018). The clustering conditions for managing creative tourism destinations: The Alqueva Region case, Portugal. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 61(4), 635–655. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09640568.2017.1327846>
- Domínguez, D. A. (2020). Historia pública de la Guerra de Independencia en Aragón. Rutas urbanas de Los Sitios y campamentos-museos napoleónicos. In Historia pública de la guerra de 1808-1814 (pp. 8-21). Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes.
- Douglas, D., Ellis, G., & Lacanienta, A. (2018). Increasing visitor engagement during interpretive walking tours. *Journal of Interpretation Research*, 23(2), 31-48. <https://doi.org/10.1177/109258721802300203>
- Doyle, J., Kelliher, F., Whelan, S., & O'Toole, T. (2018). *The power of storytelling in the Co-creation of tourism experiences* [Doctoral dissertation, Waterford Institute of Technology].
- Drake, G. (2003). 'This place gives me space': Place and creativity in the creative industries. *Geoforum; Journal of Physical, Human, and Regional Geosciences*, 34(4), 511–524. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0016-7185\(03\)00029-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0016-7185(03)00029-0)
- Dredge, D., & Jenkins, J. M. (2007). *Tourism planning and policy*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Du Cros, H., & McKercher, B. (2020). *Cultural tourism*. Routledge.
- Dunkley, R., Morgan, N., & Westwood, S. (2011). Visiting the trenches: Exploring meanings and motivations in battlefield tourism. *Tourism Management*, 32(4), 860–868. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2010.07.011>
- Durán Sánchez, A., Álvarez-García, J., Río-Rama, D., & de la Cruz, M. (2014). Active tourism research: a literature review (1975-2013).
- Duxbury, N., Silva, S., & Castro, T. V. D. (2019). Creative tourism development in small cities and rural areas in Portugal: Insights from start-up activities. In D. A. Jelinčić, & Y. Mansfeld (Eds.), *Creating and managing experiences in cultural tourism* (pp. 291–304). *World Scientific Pub.* [https://doi.org/10.1142/9789813233683\\_0018](https://doi.org/10.1142/9789813233683_0018)
- Dwyer, L., & Edwards, D. (2010). Sustainable tourism planning. *Understanding the sustainable development of tourism*, 19-44.
- Eade, J., & Katić, M. (2018). *Military pilgrimage and battlefield tourism. Commemorating the dead*. Routledge.
- Egger, R., & Bulencea, P. (2015). *Gamification in tourism: Designing memorable experiences*. BoD—Books on Demand.
- England, H. (2019). *Statements of Heritage Significance: Analysing Significance in Heritage Assets*. Historic England Advice Note 12. Swindon: Historic England.

- Escuela, M. B., Wehbe-Herrera, C. D., & Rodrigo, A. L. (2018). Analysis of the regulation of active tourism in Spain. *Revista de Estudios Empresariales. Segunda Época*, (2).
- Esdaile, C. J. (2003). *The Peninsular War: A New history*. Macmillan.
- Farrell, N. (2011). Historic Battlefields: Studying and Managing Fields of Conflict. *A companion to cultural resource management*, 298-318. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444396065>
- Fletcher, I (1994) *Wellington's Regiments: The Men and Their Battles, 1808–15*, The History Press Ltd.
- Foard, G., Sutherland, T. L., Schmidt, A., Pollard, T., & Newman, M. (2003). Battlefields. *Landscapes*, 4(2), 5-43. <https://doi.org/10.1179/lan.2003.4.2.5>
- Foley, M., Lennon, J.J., Maxwell, G.A. (Eds.), (1997). Hospitality, tourism and leisure management: Issues in strategy and culture, Cassell, London, pp. 153-164
- Foulk, D. (2016). The impact of the “economy of history”: The example of battlefield tourism in France. *Mondes du tourisme*, (12). <https://doi.org/10.4000/tourisme.1338>
- Galán, M. R. (2016). La musealización del campo de batalla de Alarcos. *ArtyHum: revista digital de artes y humanidades*, (28), 204-232.
- Galán, M. R. (2016b). La legislación española y los campos de batalla. *ArtyHum: revista digital de artes y humanidades*, (29), 155-169.
- Galán, M. R. (2017a). Uclés: el acondicionamiento museográfico de un campo de batalla de la Guerra de la Independencia. *Boletín del Museo Arqueológico Nacional*, 36, 443-462.
- Galán, M. R. (2017b). *Los yacimientos olvidados: Registro y musealización de campos de batalla*. Archaeopress Publishing Limited.
- García-Madurga, M. Á., & Grilló-Méndez, A. J. (2023). Battlefield Tourism: Exploring the Successful Marriage of History and Unforgettable Experiences: A Systematic Review. *Tourism and Hospitality*, 4(2), 307-320. <https://doi.org/10.3390/tourhosp4020019>
- Ghisoiu, M., Bolan, P., Gilmore, A., & Carruthers, C. (2017). “Conservation” and co-creation through film tourism at heritage sites: an initial focus on Northern Ireland. *Revista Turismo & Desenvolvimento*, 1(27/28), 2125-2135. <https://doi.org/10.34624/rtd.v1i27/28.10457>
- Giaccone, S. C., & Galvagno, M. (2021). Small-scale cultural festivals in Southern Europe: A motivation-based segmentation study. *European Journal of Tourism Research*, 29, 2902–2921. <https://doi.org/10.54055/ejtr.v29i.2413>
- Glenn, Leah T. (2021). "Aiming to Reenact: The Efficacy of Military Living History as a Learning Tool" *Museum Studies Theses*. [Master Thesis, State University of New York College at Buffalo] 31. [https://digitalcommons.buffalostate.edu/museumstudies\\_theses/31](https://digitalcommons.buffalostate.edu/museumstudies_theses/31)

- Gonçalves, J. C. P. (2018). Histórias de cultura. O poder do Storytelling em destinos de Turismo Cultural. *Cadernos de Geografia*, (37), 113-120. [https://doi.org/10.14195/0871-1623\\_37\\_9](https://doi.org/10.14195/0871-1623_37_9)
- Gordon, A. (2016). *Time travel: Tourism and the rise of the living history museum in mid-twentieth-century Canada*. UBC Press.
- Gössling, S., Scott, D., & Hall, C. M. (2021). Pandemics, tourism, and global change: A rapid assessment of COVID-19. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 29(1), 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2020.1758708>
- Hall, G. (2016). Selective authenticity: Civil War reenactors and credible reenactments. *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 29(3), 413–436. <https://doi.org/10.1111/johs.12089>
- Harris, C., Wilson, E., & Ateljevic, I. (2007). Structural entanglements and the strategy of audiencing as a reflexive technique. *The Critical Turn in Tourism Studies: Innovative Research Methodologies*, 41–56. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780080470986-5>
- Hart, L. (2007). Authentic recreation: living history and leisure. *Museum and Society*, 5(2), 103-124.
- Hartmann, R. (2014). Dark tourism, thanatourism, and dissonance in heritage tourism management: New directions in contemporary tourism research. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 9(2), 166–182. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1743873X.2013.807266>
- Hatipoglu, B., Alvarez, M. D., & Ertuna, B. (2016). Barriers to stakeholder involvement in the planning of sustainable tourism: The case of the Thrace region in Turkey. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 111, 306-317. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2014.11.059>
- Hernández-Cardona, F. X., Feliu-Torruella, M., Sospedra-Roca, R., & Boj-Cullell, I. (2022). Audiovisual narrative, re-enactment, and historical education: Hospitals in the Spanish Civil War. *Frontiers in Education*, 7. <https://doi.org/10.3389/feduc.2022.979175>
- Hertzman, E., Anderson, D., & Rowley, S. (2008). Edutainment heritage tourist attractions: A portrait of visitors' experiences at Storyeum. *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 23(2), 155-175. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09647770802012227>
- Holbrook, M. B., & Hirschman, E. C. (1982). The experiential aspects of consumption: Consumer fantasies, feelings, and fun. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 9(2), 132-140. <https://doi.org/10.1086/208906>
- Hunt, S. J. (2004). Acting the part: 'living history' as a serious leisure pursuit. *Leisure Studies*, 23(4), 387–403. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0261436042000231664>

- Iles, J. (2006). Recalling the ghosts of War: Performing tourism on the battlefields of the western Front. *Text and Performance Quarterly*, 26(2), 162–180. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10462930500519374>
- Iles, J. (2008). Encounters in the fields – tourism to the battlefields of the Western Front. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 6(2), 138–154. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14766820802376299>
- Independencia en la Comunidad Valenciana (España). Propuesta de gestión para los escenarios bélicos de Castalla y Mutxamel. In T. Abelló, G. C. Cattini, V. Gavin, J. Ibarz, C. Santana, Q. Solé, y A. Vives (coords.). *Postguerres/ Aftermaths of War* (pp. 767-785). Universitat de Barcelona y Ventall.
- Inskeep, E. (1991). *Tourism planning: An integrated and sustainable development approach*. John Wiley & Sons.
- integrating theory with practice*. Cabi.
- Johnson, K. (2015). Performing pasts for present purposes: Reenactment as embodied, performative history. In *History, memory, performance*, (36-52). London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Jusztin, M. (2012). Creativity in the Johari Window: An alternative model for creating tourism programmes. *Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice*, 4(2), 12–24.
- Katifori, A., Perry, S., Vayanou, M., Antoniou, A., Ioannidis, I. P., McKinney, S., ... & Ioannidis, Y. (2020). “Let them talk!” exploring guided group interaction in digital storytelling experiences. *Journal on Computing and Cultural Heritage (JOCCH)*, 13(3), 1-30. <https://doi.org/10.1145/3382773>
- Komppula, R. (2014). The role of individual entrepreneurs in the development of competitiveness for a rural tourism destination – A case study. *Tourism Management*, 40, 361–371. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2013.07.007>
- Leask, A. (2010). Progress in visitor attraction research: Towards more effective management. *Tourism Management*, 31(2), 155–166. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2009.09.004>
- Lee W, Reeve J, Xue Y, Xiong J. (2012). Neural differences between intrinsic reasons for doing versus extrinsic reasons for doing: an fMRI study. *Neuroscience Research*, 73(1), 68-72. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.neures.2012.02.010>
- Lee, J. (2005). Establishing a conceptual model of tourism development: Based on symbolic image and cultural activities of venues. *Korea Association Regional Geography*, 23(2), 93-113.

- Leighton, D. (2007). 'Step back in time and live the legend': experiential marketing and the heritage sector. *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*, 12(2), 117-125. <https://doi.org/10.1002/nvsm.288>
- Lemelin, H., & Whipp, P. (2019). 27. Last chance tourism: a decade in review. *Handbook of globalisation and tourism*, 316.
- Leopold, T. (2007). *A proposed code of conduct for war heritage sites*. Battlefield Tourism (49-58). Routledge.
- Lipscombe, N. (2014), *The Peninsular Wars Atlas*, Revised edition, Osprey Publishing
- Little, C., Bec, A., Moyle, B. D., & Patterson, D. (2020). Innovative methods for heritage tourism experiences: Creating windows into the past. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 15(1), 1-13. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1743873X.2018.1536709>
- Llistó, G. C. (2013). La recreación histórica en España: definición, caracterización y perspectivas de aplicación. *Glyphos: revista de arqueología*, (2), 6-28.
- Lloyd, D. W. (1998). *Battlefield tourism: Pilgrimage and the commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia and Canada, 1919-1939*. Oxford [England]. Berg.
- Lookingbill, T. R., & Smallwood, P. D. (2019). *Collateral Values: The Natural Capital Created by Landscapes of War* (3-14). Springer International Publishing.
- Luzader, J. C., & Spellman, J. (1996). Living history: Hobby or profession? In *Interpretive Sourcebook, 1996. A Sense of Place*, A, 238.
- Maitland, R. (2010). Everyday life as a creative experience in cities. *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 4(3), 176–185. <https://doi.org/10.1108/17506181011067574>
- Mason, P. (2020). *Tourism impacts, planning and management*. Routledge.
- McKercher, B., & Prideaux, B. (2020). *Tourism theories, concepts and models*. Goodfellow Publishers Ltd.
- Mijnheer, C. L., & Gamble, J. R. (2019). Value co-creation at heritage visitor attractions: A case study of Gladstone's Land. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, 32, 100567. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tmp.2019.100567>
- Miles, S. (2014). Anthropogenic Disaster and Sense of Place: Battlefield Sites as Tourist Attractions. In I. Convery, G. Corsane, & P. Davis (Eds.), *Displaced Heritage: Responses to Disaster, Trauma, and Loss* (Heritage Matters, 19-28). Boydell & Brewer. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781782044109.004>
- Miles, S. (2014b). Battlefield sites as dark tourism attractions: An analysis of experience. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 9(2), 134–147. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1743873X.2013.871017>

- Miles, S. T. (2012). *Battlefield tourism: Meanings and interpretations* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Glasgow].
- Minkiewicz, J., Evans, J., & Bridson, K. (2014). How do consumers co-create their experiences? An exploration in the heritage sector. *Journal of marketing management*, 30(1-2), 30-59. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0267257X.2013.800899>
- Mintzberg, H., Ahlstrand, B. and Lampel, J. (1998) *Strategy Safari: A Guided Tour through the through the Wilds of Strategic Management*. Free Press, New York.
- Mitchell, N., Rössler, M., Tricaud P. (2009) *World Heritage Cultural Landscapes - A Handbook for Conservation and Management*, UNESCO World Heritage Centre
- Mogollón, J. M. H., Costa, C., & Di Clemente, E. (2019). Antecedents in the investigation on military tourism. *Journal of Tourism and Heritage Research* 2(3), 611–624.
- Mogollón, J. M., Folgado-Fernández, J. A., & Campón-Cerro, A. M. (2017). Eventos basados en recreaciones históricas militares como estrategia dinamizadora del turismo local: El caso de la batalla de La Albuera (españa). *Revista Turismo & Desenvolvimento*. 1(27/28), 1071–1082. <https://doi.org/10.34624/rtd.v1i27/28.9749>
- Moreno-Lobato, A., Costa, C., & Hernández-Mogollón, J. M. (2020). Value creation in the cultural routes of the european council through the design of military tourism products. *Revista Turismo & Desenvolvimento*, (34), 53-64. <https://doi.org/10.34624/rtd.v0i34.22336>
- Moscardo, G. (2009). Tourism and quality of life: Towards a more critical approach. *Tourism and hospitality research*, 9(2), 159-170. <https://doi.org/10.1057/thr.2009.6>
- Mottiar, Z. (2007). Lifestyle entrepreneurs and spheres of inter-firm relations: The Case of Westport, Co Mayo, Ireland. *The International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Innovation*, 8(1), 67–74. <https://doi.org/10.5367/000000007780007326>
- Moutinho, L. (2000). *Strategic Management in tourism*, CABI
- Myatt, F. (1995). *British Sieges of the Peninsular War*. Staplehurst.
- Napier, W. (1910). *English Battles and Sieges in the Peninsula*, Popular edition, John Murray, London.
- Noivo, M. A. (2010). *A 1ª e a 2ª Linhas de Torres: a Valorização do Património e o Turismo Cultural* (Master dissertation), Universidade de Lisboa.
- Noivo, M. A., Lopes Dias, Á., & Jiménez-Caballero, J. L. (2022). Connecting the dots between battlefield tourism and creative tourism: the case of the Peninsular War in Portugal. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 17(6), 648-668. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1743873X.2022.2116983>

- Ohridska-Olson, R. V., & Ivanov, S. H. (2010, September). Creative tourism business model and its application in Bulgaria. *Proceedings of the Black Sea Tourism Forum "Cultural Tourism—The Future of Bulgaria"*.
- Oman, C. (1914). *A History of the Peninsular War: Volume V*, Clarendon Press
- Pagán, E. A., & Jiménez, M. R. (2020). La recreación histórica como historia pública: reflexiones en torno a su inclusión en el debate académico. *Hispania Nova: Revista de Historia Contemporánea*, 1, 186-217. <https://doi.org/10.20318/hn.2020.5370>
- Paget, J. (1996). *Wellington's Peninsular War – Battles and Battlefields*. London.
- Palmer, C., & Andrews, H. (2019). Tourism and embodiment: Animating the field. In *Tourism and embodiment* (1–8). Routledge.
- Pennell, C. (2018). Taught to remember? British youth and First World War centenary battlefield tours. *Cultural Trends*, 27(2), 83-98. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2018.1453449>
- Pérez-Juez Gil, A. (2006). *Gestión del patrimonio arqueológico: el yacimiento como recurso turístico*. Barcelona, Ariel, 163-269.
- Pérez-Ruiz, L. (2020). The heritage of the War of Independence: Napoleon's route along the Duero River. *Journal of Tourism and Heritage Research*, 3(4), 183–198.
- Pine, B. J., & Gilmore, J. H. (1998). *Welcome to the experience economy* (Vol. 76, No. 4, 97-105). Cambridge, MA, USA: Harvard Business Review Press.
- Pine, B. J., & Gilmore, J. H. (2011). *The experience economy*. Harvard Business Press.
- Pine, B. J., & Gilmore, J. H. (2013). The experience economy: past, present and future. *Handbook on the experience economy*, 1, 21-44.
- Pittock, M. (2018). The Scottish heritage partnership: immersive experiences. *Policy report*.
- Proos, E., & Hattingh, J. (2020). Advancing heritage tourism in the Central Karoo: The South African War battlefields route. *Development Southern Africa*, 37(4), 678–693. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0376835X.2019.1698409>
- Psomadaki, O. I., Dimoulas, C. A., Kalliris, G. M., & Paschalidis, G. (2019). Digital storytelling and audience engagement in cultural heritage management: A collaborative model based on the Digital City of Thessaloniki. *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, 36, 12-22. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.culher.2018.07.016>
- Pujol, L., Katifori, A., Vayanou, M., Roussou, M., Karvounis, M., Kyriakidi, M., ... & Ioannidis, Y. (2013). From personalization to adaptivity—Creating immersive visits through interactive digital storytelling at the Acropolis Museum. In *Workshop Proceedings of the 9th International Conference on Intelligent Environments* (541-554). IOS Press. <https://doi.org/10.3233/978-1-61499-286-8-541>

- Raivo, P. J. (2015). Politics of memory: historical battlefields and sense of place. *Nordia Geographical Publications*, 44(4), 95-100.
- Raj, R., Griffin, K. A., & Morpeth, N. D. (2013). Cultural tourism: issues and policies. In *Cultural tourism* (pp. 39-52). Wallingford UK: CABI. <https://doi.org/10.1079/9781845939236.003>
- Ram, Y., Björk, P., & Weidenfeld, A. (2016). Authenticity and place attachment of major visitor attractions. *Tourism management*, 52, 110-122. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2015.06.010>
- Ramírez Galán, M., & Jiménez Sanz, P. J. (2013). Los campos de batalla: un nuevo espacio de musealización. *Arqueoweb*, 14, 149-177.
- Reeve, J. (2012). A self-determination theory perspective on student engagement. In
- Reeve, J. (2014). *Understanding motivation and emotion*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Reeves, K., Bird, G. R., James, L., Stichelbaut, B., & Bourgeois, J. (2016). *Battlefield events: Landscape, commemoration and heritage*. Routledge.
- Remoaldo, P., & Cadima-Ribeiro, J. (2019). Creative tourism as a new challenge to the development of destinations: The Portuguese case study. In M. Peris-Ortiz, & M. R. Cabrera-Flores (Eds.), *Cultural and Creative Industries: A Path to Entrepreneurship and Innovation* (81–99). Springer, Cham. [Research](https://doi.org/10.54055/ejtr.v24i.407), 24, 2405–2417. <https://doi.org/10.54055/ejtr.v24i.407>
- Richards, G. (2011a). Creativity and tourism: The State of the art. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38(4), 1225–1253. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2011.07.008>
- Richards, G. W. (2011b). Cultural tourism trends in Europe: A context for the development of cultural routes. In K. Khovanova-Rubicondo (Ed.), *Impact of European cultural routes on SMEs' innovation and competitiveness* (21–39). Council of Europe Publishing.
- Richards, G., & Hall, D. R. (Eds.). (2003). *Tourism and sustainable community development* (Vol. 7). Psychology Press.
- Richards, G., & Wilson, J. (2006). Developing creativity in tourist experiences: A solution to the serial reproduction of culture? *Tourism management*, 27(6), 1209-1223. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2005.06.002>
- Rico, J. A. M., & Aldeguer, R. Z. (2019). Los campos de batalla de la Guerra de la Independencia en la Comunidad Valenciana (España): Propuesta de gestión para los escenarios bélicos de Castalla y Mutxamel. In *Postguerres* (p. 787). Universitat de Barcelona.
- Rico, J. A. M., & Aldeguer, R. Z. (2020). La gestión de los campos de batalla: una asignatura pendiente en España. *Her&Mus. Heritage & Museography*, 21, 77-103.

- Ritchie, B. W., Burns, P. M., & Palmer, C. A. (Eds.). (2005). *Tourism research methods*:
- Riquelme-Quiñonero, M. T., Ramírez Galán, M., & Martín-Serrano Rodríguez, G. A. (2021). La cartografía como herramienta para la musealización de las batallas de la Guerra de la Independencia. Estudio de caso: Bailén.
- Robertson, I. (2010). *An Atlas of the Peninsular War*. Yale University Press
- Ross, D., & Saxena, G. (2019). Participative co-creation of archaeological heritage: Case insights on creative tourism in Alentejo, Portugal. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 79. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2019.102790>
- Ross, D., Saxena, G., Correia, F., & Deutz, P. (2017). Archaeological tourism: A creative approach. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 67, 37–47. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2017.08.001>
- Rössler, M. (2014). World heritage cultural landscapes: 1992–2012. In *Conserving Cultural Landscapes* (29-46). Routledge.
- Ryan, C. (Ed.). (2007). *Battlefield tourism: History, place and interpretation*. Elsevier.
- Salazar, N. B. (2005) Tourism and glocalization: 'local' tour guiding, *Annals of Tourism Research* 32(3): 628–646. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2004.10.012>
- Santagata, W., & Bertacchini, E. (2011). Creative atmosphere: Cultural industries and local development. *Working Paper Università Torino*, 4, 3–11.
- Saunders, R., Weiler, B., & Laing, J. (2017). Life-changing walks of mid-life adults. In C. M. Hall, Y. Ram, & N. Shoval (Eds.), *The Routledge international handbook of walking* (264–273). Routledge.
- Seaton, A. V. (1999). War and thanatourism: Waterloo 1815–1914. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26(1), 130–158. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383\(98\)00057-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(98)00057-7)
- Seaton, T. (2009). Thanatourism and Its discontents: An appraisal of a decade's work with some future issues and directions. In T. Jamal, & M. Robinson (Eds.), *The Sage handbook in tourism studies* (521–542). Sage.
- Seaton, T. (2018). The Palgrave handbook of dark tourism studies. *The Palgrave Handbook of Dark Tourism Studies*, 9–31. [https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-47566-4\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-47566-4_1)
- Seek, C., Sellier, N. (2019). *Stimulating Sustainable Development Through Tourism Concessions : Case Studies on How Tourism Can Benefit the Environment and Communities Living in and Around Protected Areas*, World Bank Group. Retrieved from <https://policycommons.net/artifacts/1280149/stimulating-sustainable-development-through-tourism-concessions/1871413/> on 28 Oct 2023.

- Sellars, R. W. (2005). *Pilgrim places: Civil War battlefields, historic preservation, and America's first national military parks, 1863-1900* (Vol. 3). Fort Washington, PA.: Eastern National.
- Sibilia, C. D., Carter, G., & Lookingbill, T. R. (2019). Registering English Battlefields: The Constructive Conservation of Historic Environments. *Collateral Values: The Natural Capital Created by Landscapes of War*, 37-76.
- Sites, O. C. H. (2008). The ICOMOS charter for the interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage sites. *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 15(4), 377-383.
- Smith, S. (2015). A sense of place: Place, culture and tourism. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 40(2), 220–233. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2015.1049814>
- Spenceley, A., Kohl, J., McArthur, S., Myles, P., Notarianni, M., Paleczny, D., Pickering, C. and Worboys, G. L. (Eds.). (2015) 'Visitor management', in G. L. Worboys, M. Lockwood, A. Kothari, S. Feary and I. Pulsford (eds) *Protected Area Governance and Management*, 715–750, ANU Press, Canberra.
- Stankova, M., & Vassenska, I. (2015). Raising cultural awareness of local traditions through festival tourism. *Tourism & Management Studies*, 11(1), 120-127.
- Tan, S., Kung, S.-F., & Luh, D.-B. (2013). A model of 'creative experience' in creative tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 41, 153–174. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2012.12.002>
- Tan, S., Tan, S., & Luh, D. (2016). Understanding tourist perspectives in creative tourism. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 19(10), 981–987. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2015.1008427>
- Teddlie, C., & Tashakkori, A. (2009). *Foundations of mixed methods research: Integrating quantitative and qualitative approaches in the social and behavioral sciences*. Sage.
- UNESCO World Heritage Sustainable Tourism Tool Kit. Guide 7 Adding value through products, experiences and services, <https://whc.unesco.org/document/198423>
- United Nations Environment Programme, & World Trade Organization (WTO) (2005). *Making Tourism more Sustainable: A Guide for Policy Makers*. <https://wedocs.unep.org/20.500.11822/8741>.
- Upton, A., Schänzel, H., & Lück, M. (2017). Reflections of battlefield tourist experiences associated with Vietnam War sites: an analysis of travel blogs. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 13, 197 - 210. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1743873X.2017.1282491>
- Uzzell, D. L (1989) *Heritage Interpretation (Vol. 2). The Visitor Experience*, Belhaven Press
- Uzzell, D. L. (1996). Creating place identity through heritage interpretation. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 1(4), 219-228.

- Wagler, A., & Hanus, M. (2018). Comparing Virtual Reality Tourism to Real-Life Experience: Effects of Presence and Engagement on Attitude and Enjoyment. *Communication Research Reports*, 35, 456 - 464. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08824096.2018.1525350>
- Weller, J. (1962). *Wellington in the Peninsula 1808–1814*. London: The Institution of Royal Engineers.
- Willard, P., Frew, E., & Lade, C. (2022). Culloden Battlefield: the visitor experience in the context of the experience economy model. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 28(2), 252-273. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2021.1993311>
- Williams, S. (2003). *Tourism Geography*, (1st ed.). Routledge
- Williams, S. (2009). Strategies for development: the role of planning in tourism. In *Tourism Geography* (2nd Ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203877555-19>
- Winter, C. (2010). Battlefield visitor motivations: explorations in the Great War town of Ieper, Belgium. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 13(2), 164-176. <https://doi.org/10.1002/JTR.806>
- World Tourism Organization (2014): *AM Reports, Vol 9 – Global Report on Adventure Tourism*, UNWTO, Madrid. <https://www.e-unwto.org/doi/book/10.18111/9789284416622>
- World Tourism Organization (2023). *Achieving the Sustainable Development Goals through Tourism – Toolkit of Indicators for Projects (TIPs)*, UNWTO, Madrid, <https://doi.org/10.18111/9789284424344>
- Xu, F., Buhalis, D., & Weber, J. (2017). Serious games and the gamification of tourism. *Tourism management*, 60, 244-256.
- Xu, F., Weber, J., & Buhalis, D. (2013). Gamification in tourism. In *Information and Communication Technologies in Tourism 2014: Proceedings of the International Conference in Dublin, Ireland, January 21-24, 2014* (525-537). Springer International Publishing.
- Zurita-Aldeguer, R. (2020). Historia y representación de la guerra en el espacio público valenciano. In *HISPANIA NOVA: Primera Revista de Historia Contemporánea on-Line en Castellano. Segunda Era (1)*, 218–247. <https://doi.org/10.20318/hn.2020.5371>
- Zurita, R., & Abbou, A (Eds.). (2020). Historia pública de la guerra de 1808-1814, Alicante, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 169.
- Zurita-Aldeguer, R., & Rico, J. A. M. (2018). Los campos de batalla: Patrimonio cultural e historia digital. *Quiroga. Revista de Patrimonio Iberoamericano*, 44–54.
- Zurita-Aldeguer, R. (2022). Guerra de la Independencia e historia digital: dos proyectos de la Universidad de Alicante. *Vegueta: Anuario de la Facultad de Geografía e Historia*. <https://doi.org/10.51349/veg.2022.1.04>

# APPENDICES

---



## Appendices

Appendix I – Table of the Literature Review

Appendix II - The script: Interview questions/topics and objectives

Appendix III - Questionnaire survey applied in the Re-enactments of Vimeiro and Almeida

Appendix IV - Survey quiz applied in the Field Research in the Battlefields of Sabugal, Ciudad Rodrigo and Arapiles.

Appendix I - Table of the Literature Review

| Artigo  | Index Q | Revista Científica  | País de origem do Artº | Status     | Nº de citações scholar | Linha de investigação   | Linha de invest. genérica                                 | Scope of BT                  | Tipo de Metodologia  | Tipo de metodologia genérica | Objetivos   | Período histórico                               | Wars  | Área Geográfica                                   | Implicações práticas  |
|---|---------|---|------------------------|------------|------------------------|---|---|------------------------------|--|------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| Andrus, P. W. (1992). <i>Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering America's Historic Battlefields</i> . (Vol. 40). US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Interagency Resources Division.   | --      | National Register Bulletin - America's Historical Battlefields  |                        | Relevância | 9                      | Registry of America's Battlefields - guidelines and methodology for identifying, evaluating and managing BF | BF development strategies and methods                     | Battlefields                 | Literature Review  | Conceptual                   | To register Battlefields in USA   | American Civil War                              | American Civil War (1851-1865)                      | USA   | Guidelines; methodology for the registry, axes, description, significance, mapping, conducting surveys and research   |
| Baldwin, F., & Sharpley, R. (2009). Battlefield tourism: Bringing organised violence back to life. In R. Sharpley & P. R. Stone (Eds.), <i>The darker side of travel: The theory and practice of dark tourism</i> (pp. 186-206). Bristol: Channel View. [Google Scholar] DOI: <a href="https://doi.org/10.21832/9781845411169-011">https://doi.org/10.21832/9781845411169-011</a> | --      | Livro In R. Sharpley & P. R. Stone (Eds.), <i>The darker side of travel: The theory and practice of dark tourism</i> (pp. 186-206). Bristol: Channel View. [Google Scholar] | UK                     |            | 88                     | Battlefields relevance in the Battlefield Tourism: First World War Study and warfa attractions              | Participants' motivations, perceptions and interpretation | Battlefield Tours/pilgrimage | Case studies; Surveys, direct observation; literature review   | Mixed Methods                | relationship between tourism and war and, drawing on the case of tourism to the First and Second World War battlef elds of northern Europe, to explore the motives for and management of tourism to such sites. | First World War                                 | World War I (1914-1918)                             | Western Europe (France, Bélgica)                  | That is, it based upon experience and observations gained from the planning and leading of tours principally to First World War battlefields, though it also draws upon the ex-Servic community and their families) on the experience, attitudes and intentions of visitors to battlefi |
| Basarin, V. J., & Hall, J. (2008). The business of battlefield tourism. <i>Deskin business review</i> , 3(2), 45-55.  |         |   | UK                     | Relevância | 9                      | Economic, touristic and identity impact of ANZAC battlefield Tourism in Gallipoli                           | BFS' socioeconomic impacts                                | Pilgrimage                   | questionnaire-based survey methodology (2007's participants in the ANZAC Day commemorations in Gallipoli)  | Quantitative                 | This paper has investigated the business of battlefield tourism by estimating the potential economic impact of such an event, by utilising a questionnaire-based survey   | 1st world War                                   | World War I (1914-1918)                             | Gallipoli   | This type of tourism is one of the fastest growing sectors in the industry and creates a significant economic impact. It identifies motivations, numbers, expenditure of  |
| Caddick-Adams, P. (2005). II. Footprints in the Mud: The British Army's Approach to the Battlefield Tour Experience. <i>Defence Studies</i> , 5(1), 15-26.  | Q1      | Defence Studies<br>Routledge  | uk                     |            | 7                      | Comparison between past and present battlefield expeditions made by the military                            | Participants' motivations, perceptions and interpretation | Battlefield tours            | Literature review  | Conceptual                   | Compare today's battlefield expeditions with those undertaken in the past and assess their relevance for the twenty-first century   | Several   | World War I (1914-1918)<br>World War II (1939-1945) | UK, USA, Germany                                  |   |
| Chhabra, D., Healy, R., & Sils, E. (2003). Staged authenticity and heritage tourism. <i>Annals of Tourism Research</i> , 30(3), 702-719. doi:10.1016/S0160-7383(03)00044-6  | Q1      | <i>Annals of Tourism Research</i><br>Elsevier   | UK                     |            | 1105                   | Staged Authenticity in Heritage Tourism Events;   | Living history/reenactment events and authenticity        | Reenactment/Living History   | The event studied was the Flora Macdonald Scottish Highland Games held in North Carolina (United States). Tourists and event organizers were asked to evaluate the authenticity of | Mixed Methods                | the role of perceived authenticity as a measure of product quality and as a determinant of tourist satisfaction   | XVI-XIX centuries                               | Early Modern English Wars (1494-1789)               | North Carolina (USA), Highland Traditional Games. | All heritage tourism events can draw upon the results to recognize the importance of authenticity for economic benefits (higher expenditures associated with greater  |
| Chronis, A. (2012). Between place and story: Gettysburg as tourism imaginary. <i>Annals of Tourism Research</i> , 39(4), 1797-1816.   | Q1      | Annals of Tourism Research  | UK                     |            | 135                    | socially constructed character of tourism imaginaries in BT   | BFS' significance, identity and symbolism                 | Battlefields                 | Semi-structured interviews to tourists   | Qualitative                  | Unpack the constructed nature of Gettysburg as a tourism imaginary, as a social construct that envelops and shapes an otherwise meaningless physical  | American Civil War                              | American Civil War (1851-1865)                      | USA   |   |
| Daugbjerg, M. (2014). Patchworking the past: materiality, touch and the assembling of 'experience'in American Civil War re-enactment. <i>International Journal of Heritage Studies</i> , 20(7-8), 724-741.  | Q2      | International Journal of Heritage Studies   | UK                     |            | 39                     | Materiality and tact in BT  | Living history/reenactment events and authenticity        | Reenactment/Living History   | Ethnographic fieldwork among costumed reenactors reinigorating the American Civil War  | Qualitative                  | Investigate the power of things and materials in the context of historical re-enactment   | American Civil war                              | American Civil War (1851-1865)                      | USA   |   |
| Dunkley, R., Morgan, N., & Westwood, S. (2011). Visiting the trenches: Exploring meanings and motivations in battlefield tourism. <i>Tourism management</i> , 32(4), 860-868.   | Q1      | Tourism management  | UK                     |            | 320                    | Tourist demand's motivations and behaviour  | Participants' motivations, perceptions and interpretation | Battlefield tours            | Qualitative ('creative conversations', a technique combining creative interviews and interactive interviewing)   | Qualitative                  | Understanding of the experiences of battlefield tourists and reflect on the tourism management implications of those experiences  | WWI   | World War II (1939-1945)                            | France (Somme; Belgium (pres); British tourists   | BT experiences are aimed at an emotionally sensitive, nuanced and reflexive constituency. Thus, experiences must be tailored to include both historical and contemporary  |
| Eade, J., & Katić, M. (2017). Commemorating the dead: Military pilgrimage and battlefield tourism. In <i>Military Pilgrimage and Battlefield Tourism</i> (pp. 1-12). Routledge.   | -       | LIVRO<br>Routledge  | UK?                    |            | 15                     | Pilgrimage tourism and Battlefield Tourism  | Pilgrimage tourism and commemoration                      | Battlefield Tours/pilgrimage | Literature Review  | Conceptual                   | To research on pilgrimage tourism related to war and memory in diverse geographical areas. To understand and interpret contemporary pilgrimages and commemorative practices where space overcome war            | WWII, Bosnia, Kosovo, Italy, Netherlands, Japan | World War II (1939-1945)<br>Bosnian War (1992-1995) | Bosnia, Kosovo, Italy, Netherlands, Japan         | reference material for future research, understanding and interpretation of contemporary pilgrimages and commemorative practices worldwide.   |

|  |    |  |     |  |     |  |   |                                |   |                         |   |  |  |                    |  |
|--|----|--|-----|--|-----|--|---|--------------------------------|---|-------------------------|---|--|--|--------------------|--|
| Farrell, N. (2011). Historic Battlefields: Studying and Managing Fields of Conflict. A Companion to Cultural Resource Management. 298-318.   | -- | --   | UK  | Relevância   | 2   | Conceptualization of BF and BT   | BT conceptualization of & research trends                 | Battlefields                   | Literature review   | Conceptual              | Conceptualize BF and explore interpretation and preservation practices  | Several  | American Civil War (1851-1865)<br>Early Modern English Wars (1494-1789)  | USA, Europe, ASIA  |  |
| Foard, G., Sutherland, T. L., Schmidt, A., Pollard, T., & Newman, M. (2003). Battlefields Landscapes, 4(2), 5-43.  | Q3 | Landscapes   | UK  |  | 6   | Review the development of battlefield tourism and conservation                 | War landscapes  | Battlefields                   | Archaeological prospection techniques; Geophysical surveys;   | ??                      | Explain how the application of landscape archaeology can transform our understanding of military history, reveal the findings of the integrated, forensic archaeology survey.   | Twnton (1461); Sedgemoor (1685); Culloden (1746); Manassas (1861); Gettysburg (1863) | American Civil War (1851-1865)<br>Early Modern English Wars (1494-1789)  | USA and UK         |  |
| Foster, L. (2019). <i>Increasing The Accessibility of Battlefield Heritage: Considering Whether Battlefield Interpretation Would Be Improved Through the Use of Mobile Applications</i> (Doctoral dissertation, University of Huddersfield). | -- | PHD thesis   | UK  | Relevância   | 0   | Improvement of battlefield interpretation through mobile applications          | Development strategies and methods                        | Battlefield tours              | Several surveys and interviews were conducted to determine the opinions of professionals and potential visitors alike | Mixed Methods           | Investigate the present state of battlefield interpretation and considers how it can be developed   | Battle of Towton (1461)  | Medieval English Wars (455-1485)   | UK                 |  |
| Fouk, D. (2016). The impact of the "economy of history": The example of battlefield tourism in France. <i>Mondes du Tourisme</i> , 1(2).   | ?? | Mondes du Tourisme                                     | FRA | Relevância   | 7   | BT as a motor for economic activity, most specifically in the tourism industry | Socioeconomic impacts                                     | Battlefield Tourism in general | Literature review   | Conceptual              | show that battlefield tourism produces tangible results which reflect positively on the French tourism industry more generally  | Several  | World War I (1914-1918)<br>World War II (1939-1945)  | France             |  |
| Franks, P. (2012). The best way to see Waterloo is with Your Eyes Shut: British 'Historism', Authenticity and Commercialisation in the Mid-Nineteenth Century. <i>Anthropological Journal of European Cultures</i>                           | Q1 | Anthropological Journal of European Cultures           | USA |  | 5   | Nineteenth-century British Waterloo tourist behavior in the XIXth Century      | Participants' motivations, perceptions and interpretation | Battlefield tours              | Literature review   | Conceptual              | Analyse how nineteenth-century British visitors of Waterloo anticipated, experienced and explained  | Napoleonic Wars  | Napoleonic Wars- Western Europe (1803-1815)  | Belgium (Waterloo) |  |
| Frost, W. (2006). Braveheart-ed Ned Kelly: historic films, heritage tourism and destination image. <i>Tourism management</i> , 27(2), 247-254.   | Q1 | Tourism management                                     | UK  |  | 271 | Historic films as promoters of heritage tourism                                | Promotion of heritage tourism                             | Battlefield Tourism in general | Literature review; Direct observations;   | Qualitative /Conceptual | This article examines Ned Kelly in terms of issues of authenticity, destination image and the development of heritage tourism   | 1850-1880  | 1850-1880  | Austrália          | In creating an attractive destination image, historic films have the potential to strongly imprint a particular historical interpretation  |
| Fyall, A., Prideaux, B., & Timothy, D. J. (2006). War and tourism. <i>International Journal of Tourism Research</i> , 8(3), 153-246.   | Q1 | International Journal of Tourism Research              | UK  |  | 24  | Introduction of special issue  | BT conceptualization of & research trends                 | Battlefield Tourism in general | Literature review   | Conceptual              | Research trends   | Several  | World War I (1914-1918)<br>World War II (1939-1945)  | Several            |  |
| Gaán, M. R. (2017). Los yacimientos olvidados: registro y musealización de campos de batalla. <i>Archaeopress Publishing Limited</i> .   | -- | Archaeopress Publishing Limited                        | ESP | Relevância   | 9   | Arqueologia e musealização dos campos de batalha de Espanha                    | Archeology and musealization                              | Battlefields                   | Revisão de literatura e recursos bibliográficos; metodologias aplicadas à arqueologia;                                | Conceptual              | Conceber o estado da arte da arqueologia aplicada aos campos de batalha em Espanha; identificar as aplicações da museologia aos campos de batalha;  | todosos períodos históricos incluindo a Guerra da Independência.                     | Roman Wars (III b.C - V a. C.)<br>Napoleonic Wars - Iberian Peninsula (1807-1814)<br>Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) | Espanha            | Concebe os critérios para a criação da Lista de Registo de Campos de Batalha do ponto de vista do interesse da arqueologia; Desenvolve a abordagem metodológica à Batalha de Uclés (1808); |
| Hall, G. (2016). Selective Authenticity: Civil War Reenactors and Credible Reenactments. <i>Journal of Historical Sociology</i> , 29(3), 413-436.  | Q1 | Journal of Historical Sociology - Tese de doutoramento | UK  |  | 11  | Sociological approach: Selective authenticity in BT                            | Living history /reenactment: events and authenticity      | Reenactment/Living History     | 1. In depth interviews with civil war reenactors; 2. Observation of civil war reenactments                            | Qualitative             | Examine groups of Civil War reenactors and where their focus of authenticity lies whether it is on authentic objects or interactions.   | American Civil War   | American Civil War (1851-1865)   | USA                |  |
| Hart, L. (2007). Authentic recreation: living history and leisure. <i>museum and society</i> , 5(2), 103-124. DOI: https://doi.org/10.29311/mas.v5i2.99  | ?? | museum and society                                     | UK  | Relevância (após análise, não acrescenta ao BT, apenas ao reenactment) | 39  | American Civil Wars Reenactment and authenticity                               | Living history /reenactment: events and authenticity      | Reenactment/Living History     | Direct observations; in depth interviews;   | Qualitative             | To show how theoretical issues of authenticity arise as practical problems in the Civil War reenactment community by presenting observations from the 2006 Gettysburg reenactment and by relying on a number of texts produced by participant-observers | American Civil War   | American Civil War (1851-1865)   | EUA                | Since a reenactment is an acknowledged reproduction, authenticity in the sense of originality, as the postmodernists use the word, is actually an  |

|   |             |   |     |                                      |     |   |   |                                |  |               |  |   |   |   |   |
|---|-------------|---|-----|--------------------------------------|-----|---|---|--------------------------------|--|---------------|--|---|---|---|---|
| Hartmann, R. (2014). Dark tourism, thanatourism, and dissonance in heritage tourism management: New directions in contemporary tourism research. <i>Journal of Heritage Tourism</i> , 9(2), 166-182.  | Q1          | <i>Journal of Heritage Tourism</i>              | USA | Aparece Q1 mas Tur e Q2              | 221 | Dark-tourism and thanatourism conceptualization, evolution, and research directions                   | Conceptualization of BT & research trends                 | Dark Tourism                   | Research note. Revisão de literatura e recursos bibliográficos;  | Conceptual    | Historical and disciplinary background on dark tourism and thanatourism; Progress in dissonant heritage and thanatourism/dark-tourism  | Séc XX  | World War I (1914-1918)<br>World War II (1939-1945) | EUA, Europa Ocidental                               | Contribui para a identificação dos autores, origens das linhas de investigação sobre o Dark-Tourism; dissonant heritage, geography of memory.   |
| Fernández-Wagoner, J. W.; Poigado-Fernández, J. A., Campón-Cerro, A. M., (2017) Eventos basados en recreaciones históricas militares como estrategia dinamizadora del turismo local: El caso de la batalla de La Albuera (España). Source: <i>Revista Turismo &amp; Desarrollo Sostenible (RTDS) / Journal of Tourism</i> | Sem<br>Qrtl | <i>Journal of Tourism &amp; Development</i>     | POR | Relevância                           | 1   | Napoleonic reenactment based on historical battles and touristic impact                               | Living history /reenactment: events and authenticity      | Living history /reenactment    | An open-ended questionnaire addressed to the organizers of the event was conducted. Also secondary data were used. Para la investigación se realizaron entrevistas en profundidad a los responsables de las instituciones organizadoras del    | Mixed Methods | To study military historical settings and re-enactments and their tourism potential. Evaluar el fenómeno de las ambientaciones y recreaciones históricas de carácter militar, y su impacto en el contexto turístico                | Spanish Independence War (Napoleonic wars in Iberian Peninsula)                 | Napoleonic Wars - Iberian Peninsula (1807-1814)     | La Albuera Battle (Badajoz, Spain)                  | The results point out that this kind of re-enactments is distinguished by its singularity and rooting, exerting influence on cultural tourism. En cuanto a las implicaciones prácticas para la gestión, se              |
| Hertzog, A. (2012). War Battlefields, tourism and imagination. Via. <i>Tourism Review</i> , (1).  | Q1          | <i>Tourism Review</i>                           | UK  | É sobre memoriais de guerra e não BF | 11  | Memory Tourism and War Tourism in Picardy: a perspective of evolution from the local actors           | Pilgrimage tourism and commemoration                      | Pilgrimage / Battlefield tours | Literature review  | Conceptual    | To explore the tourist imaginary and war tourism impact in touristic regional development.   | 1st world War   | World War I (1914-1918)                             | Picardy - France (Somme)                            | This turning point which turns traces of the war into a tourism resource forms part of a global context as an answer to local issues of identity construction and territorial   |
| Holquin, S. (2005). "National Spain Invites You": Battlefield Tourism during the Spanish Civil War. <i>The American Historical Review</i> , 110(5), 1399-1426.  | Sem<br>Qrtl | <i>The American Historical Review</i>           | USA | Relevância                           | 90  | O Battlefield Tourism iniciado em Espanha ainda durante a guerra civil e com objetivos de propagação  | Significance, identity and symbolism                      | Battlefield tours              | Revisão de literatura e análise documental.  | Conceptual    | Analisar as Rotas de Guerra como o primeiro Battlefield Tourism em Espanha, considerando as implicações políticas, o modelo aplicado, a  | Spanish Civil War (1936-39)   | Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)                       | Spain   | The Spanish case confirms that thanatourism and its cousin heritage tourism are inextricably linked to interpretations of history   |
| Hunt, S. J. (2004). Acting the part: Living history as a serious leisure pursuit. <i>Leisure Studies</i> , 23(4), 387-403.  | Q2          | <i>Leisure Studies</i>                          | UK  |                                      | 133 | Living History as a "serious leisure" pursuit.  | Participants' motivations, perceptions and interpretation | Living history /reenactment    | Quantitative memoirs enquiry to participants in a Living history event. These included questionnaires, interviews, participant observation, and a literature review of the society's newsletter, as well as those produced by the battlefields | Mixed Methods | To analyze the interests, orientation, and motivation, and levels of commitment of the UK's American Civil War Society (ACWS) members, in relation to their link with  | American Civil War (1861-1865)  | American Civil War (1861-1865)                      | UK  | One of the findings of the research is that in the ACWS the standards of authenticity, in terms of the visual aspects of the conflict – especially uniform and military   |
| Iles, J. (2008). Encounters in the Fields-Tourism to the Battlefields of the Western Front. <i>Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change</i> , 6(2), 138-154.  | Q2          | <i>Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change</i>   | UK  |                                      | 88  | Experience of the tourists in battlefield landscape; the role of the tour guide in the interpretation | Participants' motivations, perceptions and interpretation | Battlefield tours              | Ethnographic fieldwork, participant observation in organized tours, interviews to participants and stakeholders  | Qualitative   | Tourists embarking on organised commercial tours experience and engage with the battlefield landscape and in particular it will focus on the role of the tour guide in setting and directing the context for the tourist encounter | First World War (1914-18)   | World War I (1914-1918)                             | Western Front in France (Somme) and Belgium (Ypres) | present-day visits to the Western Front are more properly understood in the context of embodied, sensuous performances rather than in terms of the primacy of the gaze. The appeal for tourists is not so much a desire |
| Iles, J. (2008). Reclaiming the ghosts of war: Performing tourism on the battlefields of the Western front. <i>Text and Performance Quarterly</i> , 26(2), 162-180.   | Q2          | <i>Text and Performance Quarterly</i>           | UK  |                                      | 65  | IGUAL AO ILES 2008  | Participants' motivations, perceptions and interpretation | Battlefield tours              | IGUAL AO ILES 2008   | Qualitative   | IGUAL AO ILES 2008   | First World War (1914-1918)   | World War I (1914-1918)                             | Western Front in France (Somme) and Belgium (Ypres) | IGUAL AO ILES 2008  |
| Lee, Y. J. (2016). The relationships amongst emotional experience, cognition, and behavioural intention in battlefield tourism. <i>Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research</i> , 21(6), 697-715.   | Q1          | <i>Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research</i> | UK  |                                      | 40  | Consumer behaviour  | Participants' motivations, perceptions and interpretation | Battlefield tours              | Survey by questionnaire  | Quantitative  | Identify the hypothesized relationships amongst emotional experience, cognition, and behavioural intention in battlefield tourism  | Sino-French War (1884-85)   | Sino-French War (1884-85)                           | Taiwan  |   |
| Leopold, T. (2007). A proposed code of conduct for war heritage sites. In <i>Battlefield Tourism</i> (pp. 71-80). Routledge.  | --          | <i>Routledge</i>                                | UK  | Relevância                           | 26  | Codes of Ethics applied to war heritage sites   | Development strategies and methods                        | Battlefields                   | Literature review  | Conceptual    | Role of codes or conduct for war heritage sites as fundamental tools for maintaining a country's war   | Vietnam War   | Vietnam War (1955-1975)                             | Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam                             |   |
| Lloyd, D. W. (2014). Battlefield tourism: Pilgrimage and the commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia and Canada, 1919-1939. A&C Black.   | ??          | <i>A&amp;C Black. LIVRO</i>                     |     | Relevância                           | 482 | O turismo de guerra como peregrinação aos campos de batalha da 1ª Grande Guerra                       | Participants' motivations, perceptions and interpretation | Pilgrimage                     | Revisão de literatura em bibliotecas, arquivos, museus, narrativas pessoais, jornais da época  | Conceptual    | visitantes dos campos de batalhas como peregrinos ou como battlefield tourists numa perspectiva de turismo de  | First World War (1914-18)<br>incide sobre as visitas entre as guerras mundiais. | World War I (1914-1918)                             | Europa Ocidental                                    | As peregrinações aos campos de batalha e lugares de memória têm um carácter solene, evocativo e religioso   |

|  |          |  |     |  |     |  |   |                             |  |               |   |   |  |                                     |  |
|--|----------|--|-----|--|-----|--|---|-----------------------------|--|---------------|---|---|--|-------------------------------------|--|
| <a href="#">Melstrom, R. T. (2020). Valuing historic battlefields: an application of the travel cost method to three American Civil War battlefields. Journal of Cultural Economics, 38(3), 223-236.</a>             | Q1       | <i>Journal of Cultural Economics</i>   | USA |  | 31  | Consumer behaviour   | Participants' motivations, perceptions and interpretation | Battlefield tours           | Survey by questionnaire to 3 battlefields  | Quantitative  | Present individual demand models for three historic battlefield sites   | American Civil War  | American Civil War (1861-1865)   | USA                                 |  |
| Miles, S. (2014). Battlefield sites as dark tourism attractions: An analysis of experience. <i>Journal of Heritage Tourism</i> , 9(2), 134-147. DOI: 10.1080/1743873X.2013.871017                                    | Q1       | <i>Journal of Heritage Tourism</i>   | UK  | Aparece Q1 mas Tur e Q2  | 108 | Experience of the tourists at Dark sites: Battlefields in UK, of Hastings (1066), Bannockburn (1314)                             | Participants' motivations, perceptions and interpretation | Dark Tourism                | Based on a wide-ranging survey of battlefield sites the study used a blend of quantitative and qualitative methods. In-depth interviews and content analysis of visitor comments | Mixed Methods | This paper seeks to meet this challenge by providing more evidence of the actual experiences of tourists at those sites which are conceptually  | British sites of Hastings (1066), Bannockburn (1314), Bosworth (1485) and Culloden (1746)                               | Medieval English Wars (455-1485) Early Modern English Wars (1494-1789)                         | UK                                  | The results showed that visitors had a wide range of experiences but there was no evidence of a considered appreciation of   |
| Miles, S. T. (2012). Battlefield tourism: Meanings and interpretations (Doctoral dissertation, University of Glasgow).   | --       | <i>Tese Doctoral</i>   | UK  | Relevância   | 18  | The meaning of Battlefields for tourists and the effect interpretation has on those sites  | Participants' motivations, perceptions and interpretation | Battlefield tours           | qualitative and quantitative methods; Participant coach tour observation; Archival research; in-depth interviews with experts/stakeholders, face-to-face                         | Mixed Methods | Analysis on the meanings of battlefields for tourists; The role of interpretation of this sites; the development of creating an "attraction" to | the four main 'managed' battlefield sites in the UK - Hastings (1066), Bannockburn (1314), Bosworth (1485) and Culloden | Medieval English Wars (455-1485) Early Modern English Wars (1494-1789) World War I (1914-1918) | UK e Europa Ocidental               | It asserts that a broader appreciation of the visitor interaction needs to be adopted utilising a multi-sensory approach and not   |
| <a href="#">Miles, S. (2013). From Hastings to the Ypres salient: Battlefield tourism and the interpretation of fields of conflict. In R. Butler &amp; W. Suntuik (Eds.), <i>Tourism and Heritage Research</i></a>   | Q1       | <i>in Livro: Butler R., Suntuik W. (2013) Tourism and War, London: Routledge.</i>                        | UK  |  | 10  | Interpretation of the battlefields by the tourists   | Participants' motivations, perceptions and interpretation | Battlefield tours           | qualitative and quantitative methods;  | Mixed Methods | Comparison of the Interpretation on the Hastings medieval field and Ypres's 1st World War   | Hastings - Medieval (1066) and Ypres - 1st World War  | Medieval English Wars (455-1485) World War I (1914-1918)                                       | England and France (Western Europe) | sem acesso   |
| Mogollón, J. M. H., Costa, C., & Di-Clemente, E. (2019). Antecedents in the Investigation on Military Tourism. <i>Journal of Tourism and Heritage Research</i> , 2(3), 611-624.                                      | Sem Qrti | <i>Journal of Tourism and Heritage Research</i>  | ?   | Relevância   | 0   | Military Tourism: re-enactment and Living History  | Conceptualization & research trends                       | Living history /reenactment | Literature review  | Conceptual    | Theoretical framework of the Military Tourism and identification of lines of investigation  | todos   | World War I (1914-1918) World War II (1939-1945) American Civil War (1861-1865)                | Europa e América                    | se observou um marcado carácter anglosaçon en las editoriales de las revistas, pues predominan Reino Unido y Estados Unidos de América). La responsabilidad de los autores               |
| Pennell, C. (2018). Taught to remember? British youth and First World War centenary battlefield tours. <i>Cultural Trends</i> , 27(2), 83-98.  | Q1       | <i>Cultural Trends</i>   | UK  |  | 24  | Perceptions of battlefield tourism participants  | Participants' motivations, perceptions and interpretation | Battlefield Tours           | Mixed methods: Quantitative - survey to participants; qualitative - embedded ethnographic observation of participants  | Mixed Methods | Explore the perspectives of participants in a youth education programme raising awareness about WWII  | WWI   | World War I (1914-1918)  | UK                                  |  |
| Piekarz, M. (2007). Hot war tourism: the live battlefield and the ultimate adventure holiday. <i>Battlefield Tourism: History, Place, and Interpretation</i> , 153-169.  | --       | <i>artigo em capitulo do livro Ryan C. 2007, Battlefield Tourism: historia, place and interpretation</i> | UK  | Relevância   | 20  | Hot War Tourism  | Participants' motivations, perceptions and interpretation | Dark tourism                | Literature review  | Conceptual    | Conceptual recognition and distinction to the Hot War Tourism phenomenon; identification of tourist types and motivations                       | Contemporâneo   | World War I (1914-1918) World War II (1939-1945)   | Europa                              | Hot war tourism is far from new, is more diverse than many would suppose and should not be understood as just an extension in the growth of adventure tourism. It is clear that cold war |
| Piekarz, M. (2007). It's just a bloody field! Approaches, opportunities and dilemmas of interpreting English battlefields. In <i>Battlefield Tourism</i> (pp. 51-70). Routledge.                                     | --       | <i>Battlefield Tourism</i><br><i>Livro</i><br>Routledge  | UK  | Relevância   | 26  | Development of battlefields as tourism attractions   | Development strategies and methods                        | Battlefields                | Comparative analysis of English and Scottish battlefields (unspecified methodology)  | Conceptual    | how the use of battlefields as a tourism resource has developed in England  | Several   | Medieval English Wars (455-1485) Early Modern English Wars (1494-1789) World War I (1914-1918) | UK                                  |  |
| Pirker, E. U. (2011). 'They saw our people dressed up and they just... escaped!' Mark Wallis in interview about the development of professional live history in Britain. <i>Rethinking History</i> , 15(4), 551-565. | Q1       | <i>Rethinking History</i>  | UK  | Não tem a KW battlefield... mas fala de re-enactment de batalhas | 3   | Re-enactment as a popular form of historiography   | Participants' motivations, perceptions and interpretation | Reenactment/Living History  | interview with UK's most established professional live history company   | Qualitative   | provide insights into the practice of first-person interpretation; explore the potential of this practice for historical understanding.         | Unspecific  | Unspecific   | UK                                  |  |
| Prideaux, B. (2007). Echoes of war: battlefield tourism. In <i>Battlefield tourism</i> (pp. 39-50). Routledge.   | Sem Qrti | <i>Livro</i><br>Routledge  | UK  | Relevância   | 65  | Battlefields diversity and their importance as touristic attractions; the role of War Museums; Significance of military Heritage | Promotion of heritage tourism                             | Pilgrimage                  | Literature Review  | Conceptual    | To analyze the diversity of Battlefields, importance for the nations, types of fields, relevance of the War Museums                             | Contemporâneo (1st World War)   | World War I (1914-1918)  | Austrália/Gallipoli                 | Primary history occupies an important place in the heritage of many nations and is celebrated in many ways including memorials, ceremonies, monuments, museums, reenactments             |

|   |          |  |     |            |     |   |   |                            |  |                          |  |   |  |   |   |
|---|----------|--|-----|------------|-----|---|---|----------------------------|--|--------------------------|--|---|--|---|---|
| Proos, E., & Hattingh, J. (2020). Advancing heritage tourism in the central Karoo: The South African War battlefields route. <i>Development Southern Africa</i> , 37(4), 678-693.                                 | Q2       | Development Southern Africa<br>Routledge           | UK  |            | 1   | Potential of battlefield tourism to local/regional economic development               | Development strategies and methods                        | Battlefield tours          | Thematic content analysis of 33 interviews to potential stakeholders from the supply side. | Qualitative              | Explore the developmental perspectives for the South African War Battlefields Route  | South African War (1899-1902)                                 | South African War (1899-1902)  | South Africa  |   |
| Rabareda, A. R. (2011). Herramientas y estrategias de difusión del Patrimonio Histórico: los eventos de recreación histórica en Cataluña. <i>erph, revista electrónica de patrimonio histórico</i> , (9), 89-110. | Sem QrtI | erph, revista electrónica de patrimonio histórico, | ESP | Relevancia | 10  | Management of re-enactment events; Role of these events in heritage diffusion         | Significance, identity and symbolism                      | Reenactment/Living History | Unspecified  | Conceptual               | Analyse the uneven potential is uneven of re-enactment events for heritage diffusion; underline the positive elements and the shortcomings of these events.  | Several   | Unspecific   | Spain   |   |
| Radtchenko, D. (2006). Simulating the past: Reenactment and the quest for truth in Russia. <i>Rethinking History</i> , 10(1), 127-148.  | Q1       | Rethinking History                                 | UK  |            | 39  | Reenactment in Russia: Authenticity, simulation and Sub-cultural motivations.         | Living history /reenactment: events and authenticity      | Reenactment/Living History | Literature Review; direct observation  | Conceptual / Qualitative | To analyze the quest for authenticity in Russian Reenactment; tendencies on festivals and events, groups   | Viking; Medieval  | Viking Wars (VIII b.C - a.C)   | Russia  | despite or in efforts to avoid simulation, the quest for the authentic past ends in production of hyper-real simulated objects.                                     |
| Ryan, C. (Ed.). (2007). <i>Battlefield tourism. History, Place and Interpretation</i> . London and New York: Routledge.   | --       | Livro<br>Routledge                                 |     | Relevancia | 8   | Battlefield Tourism: interpretation, visitors and experiences                         | Participants' motivations, perceptions and interpretation | Battlefield tours          | Literature Review  | Conceptual / Qualitative | To analyze the battlefield Tourism from diverse perspectives: geographical, tourist motivations, tourist experience, war significance, memory, celebration, Ethics, Re-enactment, commemoration, <i>types of war tourism</i> | I and II World Wars; Spanish Civil War; Medieval Battlefields | World War I (1914-1918)<br>World War II (1939-1945)<br>Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) | Europe (west and East); Asia - China, Pacific; USA; Australia | vasto, conclusões dos vários autores dos vários artigos.  |
| Semrose, S. (2020). Battlefields as tourist destinations: On the concept of battlefield tourism from a cultural science perspective. <i>Zeitschrift für Tourismuswissenschaft</i> , 10(2), 272-300.               | --       | Zeitschrift für Tourismuswissenschaft              |     | Relevancia | 0   | Cultural science perspective  | Conceptualization and research trends                     | Dark Tourism               | Literature review  | Conceptual               | critically discussion of the thanatourism concept and of its knowledge potential for cultural tourism  | IWW   | World War I (1914-1918)  | Austria and Germany   |   |
| Scates, B. (2006). Return to Gallipoli: Walking the battlefields of the Great War. Cambridge University Press.  |          |  | UK  |            | 215 | Anzac Pilgrimage to Battlefields in Europe  | Participants' motivations, perceptions and interpretation | Pilgrimage                 | Interviews, Surveys, archival record, literature review                                    | Mixed Methods            | Significance of the ANZAC pilgrimage into World Battlefields; the experience; the meaning for australians; motivations and memory  | I and II World Wars   | World War I (1914-1918)<br>World War II (1939-1945)                                  | Europa (France, Gallipoli)                                    | vasto, conclusões dos vários autores dos vários artigos.  |
| Seaton, A. V. (1999). War and thanatourism: Waterloo 1815-1914. <i>Annals of Tourism Research</i> Vol. 26, Nº 1: 130-158.   | Q1       | Annals of Tourism Research                         | UK  |            | 512 | Waterloo Battlefield historical evolution and development under a sacralization model | Development strategies and methods                        | Battlefield Tours          | Literature Review  | Conceptual               | Battlefield Tourism as Thanatourism; Examines the historical evolution of Waterloo as a tourism mega-attraction; Sacralization model   | 1815 - 1914   | Napoleonic Wars- Western Europe (1803-1815) World War I (1914-1918)                  | Waterloo - Belgium  | Identification of the types of Thanatourism; Distinction of the types of tourists in Waterloo; The site sacralization of Waterloo;                                  |
| Seaton, A. V. (2000). "Another weekend away looking for dead bodies...": Battlefield tourism on the Somme and in Flanders. <i>Tourism Recreation Research</i> , 25(3), 63-77.                                     | Q2       | Tourism Recreation Research                        | UK  | Embora Q1  | 111 | Perspectives and experiences of Battlefield tourists in the Western Front             | Participants' motivations, perceptions and interpretation | Battlefield Tours          | Small scale observational methodology: coach tour of 29 tourists on a three day excursion  | Mixed Methods            | To investigate perspectives and experiences of tourists in the Somme (western front); How the itineraries and interpretation of the tour organizers impacted in  | 1st World War   | World War I (1914-1918)  | Western Front ( The Somme) - France and Flandres              | 1st world War landscapes appeals differ in quality and intensity among different groups of tourists; Battlefields are deeply connected with individual perceptions, |

|   |          |  |     |                         |     |  |   |                                |   |             |   |  |  |                    |   |
|---|----------|--|-----|-------------------------|-----|--|---|--------------------------------|---|-------------|---|--|--|--------------------|---|
| Sibilla, C. D., Carter, G., & Lookingbill, T. R. (2019). Registering English Battlefields: The Constructive Conservation of Historic Environments. In <i>Collateral Values</i> (pp. 37-76). Springer, Cham. | Sem QrtI | <i>Collateral Values</i>                       |     | Relevancia              | 0   | Brief history of English battlefield designation and conservation  | Development strategies and methods                        | Battlefields                   | Three case studies that vary along a management and land use gradient                   | Qualitative | Describe specific ecosystem services provided by battlefield landscapes   | 1st English Civil Wars (XVIIth C.); War of Roses (XVth C.); Viking Invasions (Xth C.)  | Viking Wars (VIII b.C. - a.C)<br>Medieval English Wars (455-1485)<br>Early Modern English Wars (1494-1789)             | UK                 |   |
| Sikora, J. (2017). Embattled Legacies: Challenges in Community Engagement at Historic Battlefields in the UK. <i>Engaging Heritage, Engaging Communities</i> , 20, 147.                                     | Sem QrtI | <i>Engaging Heritage, Engaging Communities</i> | UK  | Relevancia              | 0   | Community engagement at historic battlefields  | Development strategies and methods                        | Battlefields                   | Analysis of two case studies  | Qualitative | To analyse the engagement of communities in the planning and management processes of battlefields   | Picts-Northumbrians (VIIIth century); Anglo-Scottish wars (XVIIth and XVIIIth century) | Medieval English Wars (455-1485)<br>Early Modern English Wars (1494-1789)  | UK                 |   |
| Sikora, J. P. (2013). "This deathless field": the role of on-site interpretation in negotiating heritage values of historic battlefields (Doctoral dissertation, Newcastle University).                     | --       | PhD thesis                                     | UK  | Relevancia              | 1   | On-site interpretation at historic battlefields and how it contributes to the heritage values of these sites | Participants' motivations, perceptions and interpretation | Battlefield Tours              | Qualitative analysis (visitors' observations; semi-structured interviews; case studies) | Qualitative | Verify the elements of BFs valued by visitors, besides their military importance  | Battles of Bosworth (XV); Flodden (XVI); Culloden (XVIII)                              | Medieval English Wars (455-1485)<br>Early Modern English Wars (1494-1789)  | UK                 |   |
| Slade, P. de 2003: Gallipoli thanatourism. The Meaning of ANZAC. <i>Annals of Tourism Research</i> Vol. 30, Nº 4: 779-794   | Q1       | <i>Annals of Tourism Research</i>              | UK  |                         | 268 | ANZAC's meanings on memories towards Gallipoli   | Significance, identity and symbolism                      | Pilgrimage/Battlefield Tours   | Literature review   | Conceptual  | ANZAC visitors to gallipoli explore other motivations out of Thanatourism concept   | 1st world War  | World War I (1914-1918)  | Gallipoli - Turkey | Significance, meanings, and motivations of ANZAC Tourists in Gallipoli.   |
| St-Pierre, M., & Marcotte, P. (2020). Heritage and war tourism: enemy of the past, tourist of the future. In <i>A Research Agenda for Heritage Tourism</i> . Edward Elgar Publishing.                       | --       | <i>A Research Agenda for Heritage Tourism</i>  |     |                         | 0   | Interpretative discourse in battlefields   | Significance, identity and symbolism                      | Battlefields                   | Literature review   | Conceptual  | War-related tourism as a conveyor of a message of peace   | WWI; WWII  | World War I (1914-1918)<br>World War II (1939-1945)  | Europe, Asia, USA  |   |
| Timothy, D. J., & Boyd, S. W. (2006). Heritage tourism in the 21st century: Valued traditions and new perspectives. <i>Journal of heritage tourism</i> , 1(1), 1-16.  | Q1       | <i>Journal of Heritage Tourism</i>             | UK  | Aparece Q1 mas Tur é Q2 | 553 | Heritage Tourism   | Conceptualization and research trends                     | Battlefield Tourism in general | Literature review   | Conceptual  | Overview about heritage Tourism, concepts, tendencies, characteristics, planning, cultural routes, Thanatourism, Business Tourism, Politics | none in particular   | Unspecified  | Europe             | Identification of new lines of investigation (personal heritage tourism)  |
| West, B. (2014). Historical re-enacting and affective authority: Performing the American civil war. <i>Annals of Leisure Research</i> , 17(2), 161-179.   | Q2       | <i>Annals of Leisure Research</i>              |     | Embora Q1               | 20  | Sociology (Civil War re-enacting as a vehicle for political orthodoxy)                                       | Significance, identity and symbolism                      | Reenactment/Living History     | Qualitative analysis of historical materials, manuals and semi-structured interviews    | Qualitative | Examine the performative dimensions of American Civil War battle re-enacting  | American Civil War   | American Civil War (1861-1865)   | USA                | highlight the dominant re-enacting tradition in the USA and a methodology for examining other engagements with re-enacting.               |
| Winter, C. (2009). Tourism, social memory and the Great War. <i>Annals of tourism research</i> , 36(4), 607-626.  | Q1       | <i>Annals of tourism research</i>              | UK  |                         | 212 | Sociology (social memory theory)   | Significance, identity and symbolism                      | Pilgrimage                     | Literature review   | Conceptual  | Processes through which tourism can perpetuate the memory of the Great War  | WW   | World War I (1914-1918)  | Australia          | The involvement of tourism in the creation of social memory means   |
| Zurita-Aldeguer, R., & Rico, J. A. M. (2018). Los campos de batalla: Patrimonio cultural e Historia digital. <i>Revista Quiroga</i> , 44-54.  | --       | <i>Revista Quiroga</i>                         | ESP |                         | 2   | Comparative analysis of the significance of battlefields tourism in USA/UK and Spain                         | Development strategies and methods                        | Battlefields                   | Literature review; Digital resources analysis   | Conceptual  | General significance of the battlefields in the United States and Great Britain and its comparison with Spain                               | Various  | American Civil War (1861-1865)<br>World War I (1914-1918)<br>Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)<br>World War II (1939-1945) | USA; UK; Spain     | creation of a digital platform that would provide information and highlight the importance of Spanish battlefields as a cultural heritage |

*Appendix II*

The script: Interview questions/topics and objectives

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

---

|   |   |
|---|---|
| 10. Do customers seek participation in historical re-enactments?  | a) Characterization of the battlefield tourists and the desired experience. b) Demand for creative tourism. |
| 11. What do you consider to be a memorable experience?  | Factors that enhance the tourist experience   |
| 12. Does your company arrange for customers to participate in Living History events or re-enactments?                                 | Identify immersive/creative experiences in the tourism offer  |
| 13. Does your organisation co-operate in/carry out any activities with the local community?   | Identify participation in the community   |
| 14. Does your organisation co-operate in/carry out activities with the local community frequently?                                    | Identify impact in the community  |
| 15. Where are your customers from?  | Characterization of the battlefield tourists  |
| 16. Does your entity build the tourism product in an isolated way, or does it bring together partners from the community? Which ones? | Aggregating/promoting role of stakeholders. Identification of community partners.                           |
| 17. What Creative Tourism activities do you know of?  | Control and awareness   |
| 18. Do you incorporate Creative Tourism activities in your tourism offer? Which ones?   | Application of Creative Tourism activities  |
| 19. How important is creative tourism to battlefield tourism?   | Perception of the importance of battlefield tourism to creative tourism                                     |
| 20. What values do you identify in creative tourism that promote battlefield tourism?   | Perception of the values that empower creative tourism in the promotion of battlefield tourism              |
| 21. What tourism sustainability actions do you  | Application of good   |

---

---

apply in your tourism offer?

practices in sustainable  
tourism

22. What changes to the tourism offer will you  
apply in the post-pandemic scenario?

Post-pandemic actions  
in the tourism offer

---

*Own elaboration*

Questionnaire survey applied in the Re-enactments of Vimeiro and Almeida.

**QUESTIONÁRIO DATA \_\_\_\_\_ RECRIAÇÃO DA BATALHA \_\_\_\_\_**

**1 – Nacionalidade** \_\_\_\_\_

**2 - Género** H.....M.....Out

**3 – Idade** \_\_\_\_\_

**4 – Veio em/com** Sozinho.....Família..... Amigos.....Grupo de Turismo organizado

**5 – Duração da Participação** .....< 2 horas.....am/pm.....dia inteiro.....Só hoje..... Todos os dias do Evento

**6 – Tipo de participante** Observador...Participante não recriador....Recriador hist...Battlefield Tourist....Organização

**7 – Com que frequência participa em Recr. Hist.** 1ª vez.....<2X /ano.....>2X/ano.....  
Só em Portugal..... Em Portugal/Espanha..... outros países? Quais \_\_\_\_\_

**8 - Já tinha participado antes neste evento?** SIM ..... NÃO.....

**9 – Visitou o Museu de Almeida?** SIM .....NÃO..... Pretende fazê-lo? SIM.....NÃO.....

**10 – Que outros eventos semelhantes conhece?** Nenhum....Vimeiro....Roliça....Linhas...Bussaco.. \_\_\_\_\_

**11 - Motivações da participação** outra \_\_\_\_\_

Interesse pela gastronomia. (nada importante) 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 (Muito Importante)

Interesse pela feira/compras. (nada importante) 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 (Muito Importante)

Interesse recreativo pela animação/diversão. (nada importante) 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 (Muito Importante)

Interesse pela recriação da batalha. (nada importante) 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 (Muito Importante)

Interesse em aprender, Histórico-cultural. (nada importante) 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 (Muito Importante)

Interesse Turístico em geral. (nada importante) 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 (Muito Importante)

Celebração Patriótica. (nada importante) 1 .....2.....3.....4.....5 (Muito Importante)

Interação com Recriadores históricos. (nada importante) 1.....2.....3.....4.... 5 (Muito Importante)

Aprender a fazer algo histórico/tradicional com os Recriadores. (nd impor/te) 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 (Mt Importante)

**12 – Opinião sobre a qualidade da recriação histórica do evento**

Nestes eventos o rigor histórico e a autenticidade são importantes? (nada importante) 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 (Muito Importante)

Nestes eventos a teatralização e o entretenimento são importantes? (nada importante) 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 (Muito Importante)

**13 - Como caracteriza e avalia a sua experiência?**

Divertida? 1 (Nada) 2(Pouco) 3(Suficiente) 4(Bastante) 5(Muito)

Cultural? 1 (Nada) 2(Pouco) 3(Suficiente) 4(Bastante) 5(Muito)

Educativa? 1 (Nada) 2(Pouco) 3(Suficiente) 4(Bastante) 5(Muito)

Participou em alguma actividade? NÃO..... SIM.... Qual/Quais \_\_\_\_\_

O que gostaria de ter feito? \_\_\_\_\_

A experiência é interactiva? 1 (Nada) 2(Pouco) 3(Suficiente) 4(Bastante) 5(Muito)

A experiência é satisfatória? 1 (Nada) 2(Pouco) 3(Suficiente) 4(Bastante) 5(Muito)

O que gostou mais neste evento? \_\_\_\_\_

Repetia a experiência? De 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 Recomendava? De 1.....2.....3.....4.....5

#### Appendix IV

Survey quiz applied in the Field Research in the Battlefields of Sabugal, Ciudad Rodrigo and Arapiles.

- 1) Are there institutions, organisations or stakeholders identified on the battlefield site?
- 2) Are there commemorative monuments? Commemorative plaques? Intervention by national, regional, local or community organisations?
- 3) Are there examples of Urban Art, artistic expression that invokes the historical event or promotes the narrative?
- 4) Are there any Cultural Routes? Are they indicated? Are there signs? Do they identify the stages of the route? Difficulty? Accessibility? In what format are they made available to visitors?
- 5) Are there any Tourist Offices/Interpretation Centres with thematic information? Do they have specific leaflets/information on the Battlefield? What about the Routes?
- 6) Do you have brochures for visitors? Maps, itineraries? Books? Recommended routes? Organised guided tours or an indication of who does them?
- 7) Are the visits promoted/organised by the promoter? Or are they private?
- 8) Are there interactive Museums/Interpretation Centres? Do they offer interpretation on digital media such as Augmented Reality or Virtual Reality? Are they committed to interacting with heritage through technology and modern, appealing media?
- 9) What languages are available? In the museum? At the Battlefield sites?
- 10) Are conservation projects identified? Promoted by whom?
- 11) Have any tourism promotion projects been identified? Promoted by whom? Are there cyclical or frequent events about the historic event?
- 12) On the approach to the Battlefield: are there orientation signs? Promotional signs? Signs indicating that we are in a historic place and on a cultural route? In which languages?
- 13) At Campo de Batalha: are there identified route(s)? Are there signs?
- 14) In Campo de Batalha: Is there static information support (information panels)? Modernised? With a QR Code that allows interaction and audio interpretation? What is the state of these supports?
- 15) On the information panels: Is there historical information that contextualises the site? Is there a chronological sequence of events? Does it allow for a reading that directs the visitor to the other sites? using images? Does the panel indicate via a link where to find out more and learn more about the site and the event? Do the supports promote a multi-sensory experience?
- 16) Is the visit to the Battlefield easily guided by a single visitor? Does it allow for an effective reading of the historical event and the sites relevant to interpretation?

Marco António do Carmo Gomes Noivo

*Ultreya et Suseya!*

BATTLEFIELD TOURISM: STRATEGIES AND TACTICS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND TOURISM  
PLANNING OF THE BATTLEFIELDS OF THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE/PENINSULAR WAR IN SPAIN  
AND PORTUGAL

Seville, December 2023