

From protocinema to the social media communication of screen locations

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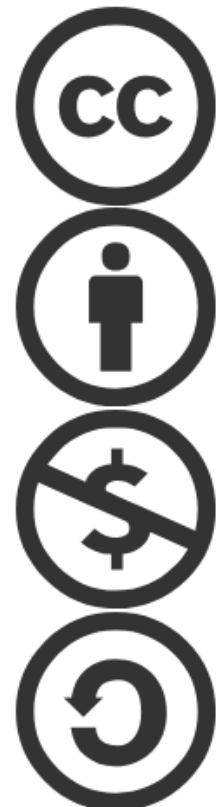
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Abstract

This dissertation explores the relationship between media and tourism by examining the screen tourism of the German TV series "Der Bergdoktor". It analyzes how different tourism stakeholders communicate on Instagram, and examines how their representations connect, differ and overlap. The theoretical framework situates screen tourism within the long-term co-evolution of media and tourism.

The case study of the Wilder Kaiser region in Austria shows that screen products strongly influence the locations and motives featured in social media communication. Screen tourism is co-produced on Instagram by different actor groups. While these groups vary in terms of their posts' performance, composition, and descriptions, they share some characteristics, such as the influencer aesthetic. While Destination accounts remain more closely connected to the physical Wilder Kaiser, Screen Tourists and Production accounts engage more with the fictional and symbolic world of the TV series. These findings demonstrate how media is increasingly shaping tourism experiences beyond the physical trip, and how groups co-producing screen tourism on social media are accelerating the movement towards hyperreality.

The core method of the case study is classifying the accounts into different modified groups: Screen Tourist, Destination and Production. It combines quantitative Instagram data with qualitative trace interviews to generate more insightful 'thick data'. The study compares the TV series' portrayal of the Wilder Kaiser, as represented by operationalised film geography data, with depictions on social media. Although this is a case-specific study, the methodology and diverse data sources provide a basis for the broader theorisation of contemporary screen tourism. This enables the findings to be situated within the historical tourism-media nexus, identifying postmodern screen tourism as its contemporary form.

The case study is underpinned by a theoretical framework that spans postmodern philosophy and screen tourism methodology. The central theoretical perspectives are provided by Baudrillard's theory of simulation, Jansson's mediatization and Urry's post tourism. Reijnders' categorization of media tourism co-production also provides a methodological starting point for the case study analysis.

Keywords: Screen tourism, social media, Instagram, post modernism, simulation, mediatization, post tourist, staged authenticity, co-production, destination, production, de-differentiation, ZDF, Bergdoktor, Wilder Kaiser

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List of abbreviations

- WK -> Wilder Kaiser
- BD -> Bergdokter (eng. Mountain Doctor)
- ST -> Screen Tourist or Screen Tourism depending on context
- DMO -> Destination Marketing Organisation
 - More information about the above-mentioned terms in chapter 2.1
- UGC -> User Generated Content
- RQ -> Research Question
- ZDF -> Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen
- cf. -> Short for (lat.) conferatur as a reference to a passage from an information source that is paraphrased
- ibid. -> Short for (lat.) ibidem and refers to the source cited in the preceding note

Chapter 1

Introduction to current screen tourism research

Lynne Kirby's book "Parallel Tracks" (Kirby 1997) inspired this work, exploring the intertwined history of railroads and silent cinema, marking the first major nexus of media and tourism. My initial exposure to Kirby's theories in a Los Angeles library in 2018 led me to ponder about the relationship of media, technology, tourism and travel. This dissertation examines the co-evolution of media and tourism and extends Kirby's findings to the digital age. It designates screen tourism as a modern manifestation of the tourism-media nexus. This journey from a library book in the USA to a dissertation in Germany already underscores the underling forces at work I want to explore in this work.

Screen tourism as latest phenomenon Screen tourism significantly influences masses to visit specific locations. With most knowledge about the world now coming from media, its unconscious impact on different aspects of life is undeniable. Fans undertake pilgrimages to connect with their medialized heroes and fictional worlds. (cf. Lexhagen, Ziakas, and Lundberg 2023, p. 1393; Böcher and Pasternak 2017, p. 37) Initially, railways established the cinema dispositive and influenced early movie stories. Now, the powerful screen affects travel and tourism, altering tourists' perceptions and the physical landscape of destinations. The mutual relationship between (tourists) traveling and (fictional) narratives is centuries old by now, but today screen tourism relies on it. This is just the latest form of the tourism-media nexus and the screen tourist became a key figure of post tourism, which makes him central to this work's theories. (Reijnders, Boross, and Balan 2022, p. 93)

Learning from post tourism Post tourism challenges traditional tourism by aiming to move beyond mass tourism into *non-touristic tourism*. (cf. Jansson 2018a, p. 102) Post tourists negotiate new boundaries, focusing on sustainability or celebrating fictional places like Kings Landing from "Game of Thrones" (Benioff and Weiss,

D. B. 2011). (cf. Jansson 2018a, p. 102; Reijnders 2011, p. 108; Böcher and Pasternak 2017) What we can learn as researchers lies in the very definition of post tourism: "We may grasp the sociocultural mechanisms through which the boundaries of tourism are challenged and re-negotiated (Jansson 2018a, p. 104)". Post tourism confrontations are our answers to the new relationship between media and tourism, which is the aim of the research questions.

Using the overlooked knowledge of social media Sociologist Jean-Claude Kaufmann studies the complexity of everyday life, emphasizing the importance of the banal, like family meals at home. (cf. Korsmeier 2007, p. 1) Kaufmann states: "[...], there is no commonplace that does not deserve to be thought about. The peculiarity of banality is that everyone knows it and ignores it at the same time, only wants to know about it what they already know, that is, quite little. (Ibid., p. 2)" And Reijnders et al. breaks it down for tourism when he writes that we cannot fully understand if we do not take into account the larger holistic context and that is the tourists' everyday life. (cf. Reijnders and van Es 2022, p. 28) Researchers must avoid this oversight. Cultural geography and sociology should analyze everyday social media posts, as not to discredit it as banality. The knowledge of social media gathered in this case study could tell us something we simply overlooked until we discovered it.

Tourism as a lifestyle fueled by media In the Western world, most people travel regularly, as seen in the abundance of travel content on social networks. It is more common to find someone who travels twice a year than someone who never travels. Tourism is meticulously planned, fitting into routines alongside work and leisure. It is so integral to our life today and has a long developed history since the 19th century, that it reveals much about postmodern life. Travel has become an end in itself, driven by the question, "Where to go next?" (cf. Aschenbrand 2017, p. 70 + 230) In desperation - perfectly captured and described by Gröbner (figure 1.1) - you turn to media for inspiration. Especially networks like Instagram, play a crucial role in inspiring to and informing about destinations, with 65 percent of people (Canzoniere 2014, p. 5) starting their search without a set destination. People in the global north often turn to social media to facilitate the pressure to find the next par-



Figure 1.1: The lifestyle is exhausted at some point (source: front page Groebner 2020).

adise. This work aims to highlight and explore these pressures and dynamics of tourism influenced by media - social and from the screen.

Specifics about issues, assumptions and structure of this work

interdisciplinary screen tourism research Screen tourism is an interdisciplinary phenomenon located between geography, sociology, mass media studies and tourism economics. This makes screen tourism difficult to study through one disciplinary lens as it crosses media, space, tourism practice, everyday life, fiction and reality. The shift from film tourism to screen tourism further complicates the research (page 11) because moving images are no longer experienced only through cinema, but also through television, series, internet content, smartphones and social networks. The central problem of this study is therefore how screen products, destinations and social media users jointly shape the meanings, representations and tourist practices attached to real places. This problem becomes visible in the case of the Mountain Doctor at the Wilder Kaiser, where the different stakeholder groups of Screen Tourists, the Destination and the Production all contribute to screen tourism.

Purpose of this paper The purpose of this paper is to develop an integrative understanding of screen tourism by combining theoretical reflection, historical media-tourism development and a case study of Mountain Doctor screen tourism. The paper aims to situate screen tourism communication in the meta-process of Mediatization (page 29), with the Post Tourism type (page 32) and broader Simulation philosophy (page 25). The historical path dependencies should be connected to current phenomena that are described by theory and witnessed in the case study. The case study core examines how Screen Tourists, Destination and Production accounts communicate screen tourism on Instagram. These groups are analyzed how they co-produce screen tourism in the digital network plane (page 251) influencing the material destination plane.

Questions behind this research The first research question (RQ 1 on page 22) asks: *How is screen tourism co-production situated in the meta-processes and the philosophy of the world?* This question links screen tourism communication to the co-evolution of media and tourism and examines the phenomenon beyond the isolated case study. The second research question (RQ 2 on page 100) is part of the case study and asks: *What is the connection, differences and similarities between the involved agents in their communication of screen tourism over the social networks?* This research question works with a case study about the TV show "Der Bergdoktor" (eng. Mountain Doctor) inducing screen tourism to the Wilder Kaiser screen locations. The questions investigate the screen tourism communication on the social network Instagram, highlighting the evolving influence of digital and social media on tourism. Connected to this ques-

tion are the next sub questions for individual stakeholder groups: Research question 2.1 asks: *How and why are Tourists communicating their screen tourism over the social networks?* Research question 2.2 asks: *How and why is the Destination Marketing communicating their screen tourism over the social networks?* Research question 2.3 asks: *How and why is the Production Crew communicating their screen tourism over the social networks?* The third and final research question (RQ 3 on page 102) asks: How are the involved agents co-producing screen tourism? The third question examines how the social media channels and posts in research question 2 are co-producing screen tourism communication. Together, these questions move from broad theoretical positioning (chapter 2 with RQ 1) to descriptive case study analysis (chapter 3 with RQ 2) and finally to the method of co-production (chapter 4.2 with RQ 3).

Significance of the choosen approaches It connects what is typically treated as separate areas of research: Theoretical perspectives on historical path dependencies crossing with a partical case study. With that the study responds to the need for more case-transcending screen tourism research by placing the Mountain Doctor case within broader historical (e.g. protocinema) and current postmodern developments (e.g. post tourism). Its focus on Instagram is significant because social media add another plain to Janssons co-production theories and offers insights into the everyday and by that often overlooked aspects. This provides a new angle on screen tourism research because social media reveals every day, digital and networked forms of co-production that may not be visible at the destination alone and with other methods of research. The study is also methodologically important because it combines quantitative social media data, trace interview questions, geolocation work, content analysis and operationalized screen product data to answer the research questions. The approach of using interview data to enrich quantitative data ads to the robustness of the computable findings.

Assumptions behind this screen tourism research approach The study assumes that screen tourism is after Reijnders research (Reijnders and van Es 2022 and other works) best understood as a co-produced phenomenon rather than as a one-directional effect from screen product to tourist destination. The stakeholder groups in this case study (Screen Tourists, Destination and Production) are therefore advancements of Reijnders categories (page 41) because they are analytically more useful for examining the co-production. Instagram was chosen amongst the different digital networks, because it is the biggest network where screen tourism co-production can occur alongside, beyond and in connection with the material destination. The data acquisition methodology assumes that combining quantitative and qualitative materials into thick data can reveal patterns and motivations that neither numerical data nor interviews could fully explain alone. The case study of the Mountain Doctor

assumes that it can provide evidence for broader theoretical discussion while still requiring caution about generalization beyond the Wilder Kaiser case.

Structure and organization This research was organized in collaboration with the ZDF Medienforschung and the data team from ZDF Digital who supplied raw data, access to tools and databases as well as helped with analytical questions. The study is organized as an interconnected document that uses hyperlinks, page references, figures, footnotes, citations and tables to connect theories, methods and findings. The dissertation is divided into six chapters: The 1. chapter is outlining the background of this work and its significance to the field. The 2. chapter provides historical context and definitions for the encounter of different screen tourism phenomenon. In chapter 3, the case study is divided into three groups of agents to analyze their Instagram communication about the Mountain Doctor. The subchapter 3.2 describes the research methods used to collect the data. The final case study subchapter 3.5 concludes the thesis by summarizing what the findings mean for current and future developments. In chapter 4, the screen tourism co-production results of the case study and the implications for the current state of media and tourism development are evaluated and discussed. The long appendix has sources, original material from the study, detailed information and additional visuals.

Chapter 2

Theories and definitions of screen tourism

Tourism research is interdisciplinary, blending fields like geography, sociology and marketing, to study mass tourism holistically. This creates a transdisciplinary field, although a marketing and business research approach is most common in tourism research. Screen tourism introduces now film geography, mass media studies and media economics to the growing mix of disciplines. The research of Screen tourism has to already deal with these different disciplines and approaches because this cultural practice in itself traverses different dispositives, is interconnected with other parts of life (page 67) and moves between fiction and reality (page 249 and 27). In this work the chosen methods, the different research questions and the embedding of the results of the case study observations in the development of travel and media should allow for an overarching and integrative perspective. (cf. Steinecke 2010, p. 23 + 24)

Connecting knowledge like a wiki page This thesis should be structured like a Wikipedia page, using hyperlinks and page numbers to connect knowledge. Since the Internet and social media are networks of pages and people, this work will integrate URLs to the internet, references to other chapters, figures to images, text to relevant footnotes, citations to the sources and tables to the data. This approach creates a knowledge system where all findings, theories and methods are interconnected. This web of information enables deeper understanding and broader learning, allowing readers to explore background information, related subjects and detailed explanations if they wish to. Different entry points enable starting for example with the conclusion and backtracking to relevant methods, theories or findings. The most relevant interconnections are also cited by page numbers making

it possible to turn to interesting pages in printed versions¹, but this document is best read as a PDF on an internet-connected computer to fully take advantage of the Wikipedia like organization of knowledge. Optionally, a GitHub account can provide a repository (https://github.com/bergdoktorarbeit/bergdoktorarbeit_public) with additional information.

Structure of this work Screen tourism research has always been concerned with both practical problems and theoretical issues. Normally, researchers tend to separate these two areas. (cf. Beeton 2016, p. 243) Despite conventions this thesis aims to approach the topic with a theoretical foundation and a historical derivation on the one hand, but will also look at the practical results and issues of screen tourism communication with a case study. Only in the final chapter 4 of this thesis, the two perspectives will be integrated into a current state of screen tourism.

Mantle and core chapters Popular narratives and common phenomena will become visible in the analyzed communication of the three co-producing groups (page 17) of screen tourism communication. These descriptive results will be interpreted together with the state of knowledge in the scientific literature and current paradigms in tourism and media research. The thesis has therefore two parts: The mantle part of chapter 2.3.2 and 4.1 is positioning screen tourism within media and tourism evolution, and the core chapter 3 is a detailed case study of Mountain Doctor screen tourism communication on Instagram.

2.1 Terms and definitions

The path of my definitions A lot of the definitions I use in this work started to form long before I had the generous opportunity to write this PhD thesis. Along my research paper about the Union Station in Los Angeles (Böcher and Pasternak 2017) as well as my case study about "Game of Thrones (Benioff and Weiss, D. B. 2011)" in Dubrovnik (Böcher 2018) I found inspiration in the recovered literature (more here on page 94) and premature ideas formed: A lot of the inspiration and the starting point of the tourism media nexus began with my work on the Union Station and the definitions of screen tourism were first formulated in my work about Game of Thrones. But as these ideas and definition sound similar, I also refined them and added new aspects: For this work for example the process of finding the right screen tourism definition was expanded to include the word cloud method (figure 2.3), thereby incorporating many additional sources that influenced the final definition.

¹Also, the Instagram posts can be found when printed as the post IDs are visible in the source information of every post.

HIER SCHREIBT

Andrea David

Reisebloggerin,
Setjetterin &
Filmtourismus-Expertin

Mehr erfahren



Figure 2.1: Germany's most popular screen tourist calls herself "Setjetterin" (source: Screenshot from [filmtourismus.de Impressum](https://www.filmtourismus.de/Impressum)).

Defining screen tourism

Distinction from other forms of tourism To define something it is always helpful to describe what it is not: As the Destination group answered in the trace interviews screen tourists are not considered either cultural, educational, health or backpacker tourists and they do not travel in an organized group. It is strange that the Destination group says that screen tourism is not cultural tourism as it is by definition: TV shows are part of our general cultural bouquet but probably not considered *high cultur* which is what the Destination officials probably define

as cultural tourism. But as Bakk defines in his work, screen tourism is definitely not social, sport, business or political tourism. He continues to define that screen tourism shares traits with leisure tourism but is more culturally focused. What Screen tourism definitely is, is like a pilgrimage (page 53) to fictional instead of holy places. Screen tourism is offering a unique view of spaces unlike regular tourism as it offers an additional layer only visible for tourists who have seen the show (page 242). This paper focuses on on-location screen tourism, where sites are preserved and visitable (e.g. Mountain doctor practice), unlike off-locations² (e.g. Bergdoktor fan fest spaces)³, which do not fit the narrow definition of screen tourism. (cf. Bakk 2010, p. 30; Karpovich 2010, p. 10; Beeton 2016, p. 173ff, Böcher 2018) This study focuses on on-location screen tourism, but off-location practices are still considered when they appear in the screen tourism communication data and influence the wider screen tourism phenomenon.

Finding the right term for film tourism The phenomenon commonly known as "film tourism" (Buchmann 2010; Connell 2012; Moritz et al. 2024; Alvarado-Sizzo, Sánchez Aguirre, and Aldaz Galicia 2024) has been described using many different terms in both academic research and everyday language. A recent review identified hundreds of publications on the topic between 1998 and 2024 (Crespo-Almendros,

²On-location refers to places that are recognizable as filming locations or narrative locations of the screen product. Off-location refers to practices connected to the screen product but not located at an actual filming or narrative site, such as the house of an actor, events or promotional spaces.

³The fan fest still appeared prominently in the screen tourism communication data of the case study and served for some unexpected conclusions (see page 260). As the Wilder Kaiser has several strong on-location spaces the decision was made to include the few off-locations that appeared in the corpus data sporadically into some of the empirical findings. Screen products without on-locations or destinations with only off-locations would not fit the narrow definition, to be clear!

Prados-Peña, and Puche-Ruiz 2025, p. 185), highlighting the field's breadth. Other possible terms you could find include "cinema/cinematic tourism" (Karpovich 2010), "TV/television-induced tourism" (Riley, D. Baker, and Doren 1998; Connell 2005), "movie-induced tourism" (Busby and Klug 2001; H. Kim and Richardson 2003; Im and Chon 2008; Jewell and McKinnon 2008), "film-motivated tourism" (Karpovich 2010), "film-induced tourism" (Frost, G. Croy, and Beeton 2009; Macionis and Sparks 2009; Ward and O'Regan 2009; Beeton 2016, Crespo-Almendros, Prados-Peña, and Puche-Ruiz 2025) and more universal "set-jetting" (Copik 2026) (or see blogger Andrea David use it in figure 2.1) or "*screen tourism*"⁴ (Connell and Meyer 2009; S. Kim, Long, and Robinson 2009; S. Kim 2010; S. Kim and O'Connor 2011; World Tourism Organization 2021) as well as the overarching terms like "media-induced tourism" (Iwashita 2003) or "media pilgrimage" (Alvarado-Sizzo, Sánchez Aguirre, and Aldaz Galicia 2024).⁵ Related concepts such as "celebrity-induced tourism" (Lee, D. Scott, and H. Kim 2008) and "fan tourism" (Escher, Riempp, and Wüst 2008) focus on specific actors or stakeholder groups rather than the screen product itself. (cf. Rittichainuwat and Rattanaphinanchai 2015, p. 137; Crespo-Almendros, Prados-Peña, and Puche-Ruiz 2025, p. 183) These terms differ semantically, referring to particular media forms (TV, film, cinema or movie), motivations (induced or motivated), stakeholder groups (celebrity or fan), locations (set) or have religious connotations (pilgrimage, page 52). Among them, Crespo-Almendros and Prados-Peñas research (Crespo-Almendros, Prados-Peña, and Puche-Ruiz 2025) and figure 2.2⁶ suggests that *film (induced) tourism* is the most widely used term in the field. However, film tourism and film-induced tourism should be distinguished, as Croy wrote (G. W. Croy 2011, p. 160): Film tourism refers to the actual visitation of filming locations as Film-induced tourism focuses on how film and television influence travel motivation. (cf. Rittichainuwat and Rattanaphinanchai 2015, p. 137; Busby and Klug 2001, p. 316; Crespo-Almendros, Prados-Peña, and Puche-Ruiz 2025, p. 186ff; Böcher 2018) This study is primarily concerned with the former phenomenon. Nevertheless, it does not adopt the term film tourism, for reasons discussed in the following paragraphs.

Baseline definition of screen tourism The different definitions were analyzed using the word cloud method, which ranks different words according to their frequency of occurrence. Definitions by these sources were used as input:

⁴This is of course the term that this work will use as I already did in Böcher 2018.

⁵More meta commentary about the field of film tourism can be found in Crespo-Almendros, Prados-Peña, and Puche-Ruiz 2025 on page 181

⁶The terms "film-motivated tourism", "celebrity induced tourism", "fan-tourism", "cinema tourism", "tv-induced tourism" had not enough mentions to be displayed as Ngrams. How film tourism performs against screen tourism can be seen in figure 2.4.

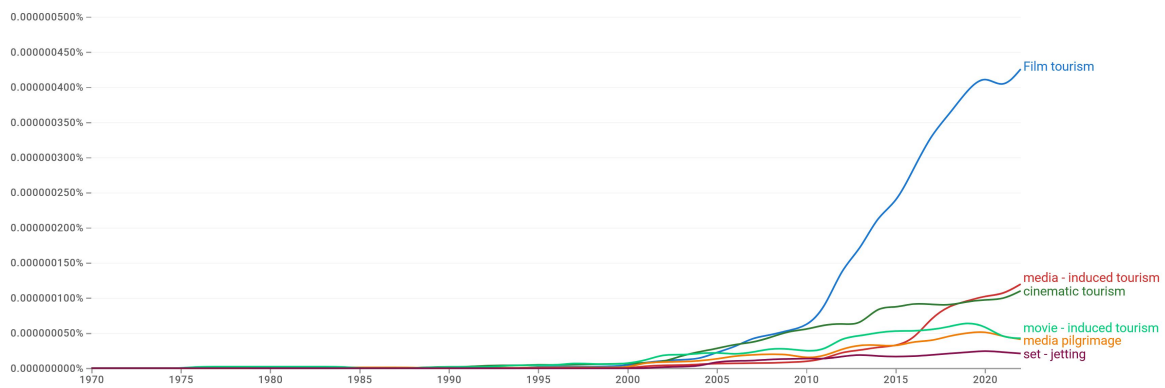


Figure 2.2: Percentage of the books with mentions of the terms "Film tourism", "media-induced tourism", "cinematic tourism", "media pilgrimage", "movie-induced tourism" and "set-jetting" from 1970 till 2022 (source: Screenshot from Google Books Ngram Viewer).

1. Scottish Tourist Board Visit Scotland 2022 on page 1
2. Riley, D. Baker, and Doren 1998 on page 920
3. Tooke and M. Baker 1996 on page 87
4. Jewell and McKinnon 2008 on page 153
5. Plagens 2019 on page 11 till 16
6. Siehl 2011 on page 92
7. Connell 2012 on page 1009 till 1016
8. Buchmann, Moore, and Fisher 2010 on page 233
9. Hudson, Y. Wang, and Gil 2012 on page 178
10. Rittichainuwat and Rattanaphinanchai 2015 on page 137
11. Filmby Aarhus Elmgaard and Holmgaard Christophersen 2012 on page 5
12. Roesch 2009 on page 8
13. S. Li, Tian, et al. 2020 on page 3 and 177
14. Hudson and Ritchie 2006 on page 87 and 256
15. Smith, Robertson, and MacLeod 2010 on page 4

The most used words can be seen in the figure 2.3 and will be the basis for the proposed definition of screen tourism. "Film" and "tourism" are the most dominant as also others found out before me (like Crespo-Almendros, Prados-Peña, and Puche-Ruiz 2025). "Induced", "television", "location", "screen", "cultural", "tourists", "destination" and "cinema" are further among the most used. Film tourism can now be defined as *cultural tourism that is induced by cinema, television and the screen to experience the locations of the inducing product in the destination*. The target group of screen tourism is congruent with the target group of a film or series (cf. David 2017, p. 5).



Figure 2.3: The cloud of words used in traditional film tourism definitions (source: own data). The bigger the text size, the more often the word occurred. Color does not matter.

As this is the baseline definition of film tourism in the field I want to expand on it to create a more fitting definition for my purpose (page 94ff).

The change in film to screen tourism "Screen tourism" broadens the concept beyond "film tourism" to include all media viewed on screens, like TV shows, series and internet content. It acknowledges changing viewing habits and technologies, in addition to cinema. The content independent of the confines of specific dispositives is consumed on smartphones and other devices, reflecting the modern, continuous media landscape. The definition of screen tourism includes different media genres, possible unfamiliar new dispositive and versatile carrier mediums. (Journalistic) documentaries without fiction were also not clearly covered by the old term but are included within screen tourism. At the heart of this new reorientation of film tourism research is the screen, on which the series, films or excerpts⁷ from them induce screen tourism. The importance of screens has grown, transitioning from isolated events like cinema visits to a networked, continuous experience accessible via smartphones. Screen tourism, encompassing series and TV tourism, goes beyond film tourism, reflecting a shift towards visual media's dominant role in shaping tourism in general. "[T]he significance of visuality in contemporary culture far outweighs that of other types of perception, giving the [moving image] representa-

⁷Screen tourism is not defined by the length of a film but by how it is distributed. Nowadays, films are often known through clips, trailers and mashups on social media, not just their full length. These snippets, along with social media paratext, can inspire screen tourism.

tion a primary role in shaping the modern tourist's expectations and perceptions of sights [...] (Karpovich 2010, p. 9)." it is part of the broader "popular media-induced tourism (Ibid., p. 9; Iwashita 2006, p. 60)", distinct from literary tourism and potentially include game tourism, highlighting the evolution of tourist attractions in the digital age.

Dispositive A *dispositive*⁸ describes the environment at the time of consumption. It is the arrangement of physical spaces, social setting, technologies, institutions and/or time etc. through which in this case media are experienced. In this study, the shift from cinema to screen tourism is also a shift between dispositives: From the cinema as a specific viewing arrangement to networked screens embedded in everyday life and travel. Also with the emergence of the prosumer the dispositive of consumption is connected to the production of content for example on social media.

The screen The screen has a broader definition and includes all types of displays in the world, that can show third party media content. A screen could be everything from a smartphone to a cinema projection, from a home TV to a public advertising display, as well as the screen of an in-flight entertainment system⁹ or wearable devices such as smartwatches. The screen does not stay in the living room of the tourist but continues to be present in the destination when guides show screen tourism scenes from the show on the tablet. (cf. Mannheimer, Reijnders, and Brandellero 2022, p. 562) With its ubiquitous presence (see page 87), the screen itself, not just the content it displays, increasingly influences and drives tourism.¹⁰

Screen product A screen product, created by actors, production teams and broadcasters in a screen production, includes all moving image media displayed on screen devices. Viewers consume these products, leading some to become screen tourists. Post-production, all parties may engage as prosumers, interacting with the content on social media and at screen locations. The initial interaction with the screen product triggers travel to screen locations, linking tourists to the production and destinations.

Screen location The screen location is a specific, recognizable site where a screen production occurred. It is often a building or distinct area linked to the narrative and characters of the screen product. It serves as the origin of the production and the destination for screen tourists who visit after experiencing the medialized version in the screen product. This place unites various groups involved (page 17), as a shared point of reference and visitation.

⁸The term dispositive is not used in mainstream research but Michel Foucault's concept of the dispositif (apparatus) comes closes.

⁹More info about these entertainment systems of traveling can be found here in Ahmad 2017.

¹⁰Chapter 4 will explore the influences of the screen further on page 226 and following.



Figure 2.4: Percentage of the books with mentions of the terms "film tourism" and "screen tourism" from 1889 till 2019 (source: Screenshot from Google Books Ngram Viewer). Start was chosen because of the first films premiered around these years (more on page 58)

Sharpening the definition is part of the change This definition of "screen tourism" marks the initial step of this work in exploring the interplay between media and travel, already pointing towards the postmodern shift in reality perception and to (digital) media advancements. Film tourism changed since it was first systematically described around the turn of the millennia in 2000 and the term screen tourism is starting to take off in the mid 2010s (figure 2.4). This usage change demonstrates how auxiliary terms such as screen tourism are used to adapt, broaden or focus theoretical concepts. Originally focused on film, the tourist today interacts with screens ubiquitously, expanding the scope of film tourism into screen tourism. This evolution reflects broader historical shifts from early cinema to the digital era, from modernity to post modernity, addressing changes in the triangle how people, space and media interact and co-produce screen tourism.¹¹ (cf. Böcher 2018, p. 12)

Screen tourism as part of the post tourism development Screen tourism can be considered to be part of Urry's and Jansson's definition of post tourism (see 32). The experience of the post tourist (as well as the screen tourist) is driven by "[...] something that is inherently authentic [screen location], non-replicable [personal emotions] and uncoupled from the orders of everyday life [simulated fiction; D.B.] (Jansson 2018b, p. 104)". Post tourism might be a broader term incorporating even more phenomena and screen tourism is just a sub-category of it. But you could also argue that the screen tourist is the concentrated essence or - maybe debatable - the current stage of post tourism.

¹¹This is already part of the expected outcome for the discussion of the path dependencies described first in chapter 2.3.2 and then later contextualized in chapter 4.1.

Tourism

Screen tourism operates within the confines of regular tourism so we have to also describe the surrounding conditions. To define tourism, we should use the UNWTO definitions of tourism and tourists: Tourism is a social, cultural and economic phenomenon that refers to the movement of people to countries or places outside their normal environment for personal or professional reasons. The people who travel in this way are called tourists: A tourist is a person who, with the motives described above, moves away from his or her usual environment in his or her free time with the intention of returning to it. (UNWTO (2008), quoted in Aschenbrand 2017 p. 57) Jansson adds to this: "Tourists, like people in general, are to an increasing extent (co-)producers of media texts that can be spread and discussed far beyond the close circles of traditional family albums (Jansson 2018a, p. 102)", which also shows some traits of the post tourist. With that the tourist in itself already meets Reijnders ideas of co-production in screen tourism which will be further explored in chapter 2.3.1 on page 37ff.

Post tourism definition Lets dig deeper into a modern type of tourist: Urry defines them as tourists who "take pleasure in the variety of tourist games" (Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 13). The post tourist enjoys the variety of tourist experiences, recognizing them as staged rather than authentic. (cf. Ibid., p. 13ff) This awareness of inauthenticity is crucial in the era of post tourism. Lush and Urry framed this development in 1994 (Lash and Urry 2002) as "the end of tourism". The staged authenticity of the destination is now an important part of tourism: "One in which the traveler (typically a middle-class Western consumer) was reflexively aware of the staged nature of mass tourism and deliberately performed tourism according to media imageries rather than searching for authentic places (Jansson 2018a, p. 101)." Post tourism is understood by André Jansson as "a generalized social condition that entails de-differentiation¹² between tourism and other social realms as well as a complex set of reactions against this predominant trend (Ibid., p. 101)". Post tourism as a condition in which tourism merges with other social realms also reflects a broader critique of its commercialized nature.

Social networks

Social media is anything that has a profile page for each user. You must also be able to connect with other people and these connections must be publicly visible on your profile. The network must have a function to interact with other people in a public

¹²Marshall McLuhan also coined the more positive term "global village" for the age of electronic media that will unite cultures around the world (cf. Adams 1992, p. 120) or again more negatively in Meyrowitz's concept of "No Sense of Place" (Wasburn and Meyrowitz 1988).

place. One of the first networks were Facebook and Youtube, Instagram and Twitter (now called X) came in a second wave and the latest ones are Snapchat, BeReal and TikTok¹³ to name just a few of the most relevant.

Interaction metrics The interactions are a central KPI to this thesis's data analysis. For Instagram, interactions consist of likes and comments but excludes private metrics like saves and direct messages. Likes are often dominating over comments in this metric due to their higher frequency. Likes, symbolized by a heart on Instagram, heavily influence the total interaction count. The value of raw data, in this case the interactions, is not always apparent in media-geographical analyses but they always serve as a filter to only detect the posts with the most impact on the co-produced screen tourism communication.

Screen tourism communication Screen tourism communication in this study consists of Instagram posts and the reactions they receive. The term is not defined by words but through data funnel it was filtered. The corpus initially included all posts identified through a Boolean search (page 105) for terms related to The Mountain Doctor and the Wilder Kaiser. It was then filtered to retain only meaningful screen tourism communication. First, only posts from accounts belonging to the defined co-production groups (page 17) were included. Second, a post had to show a genuine connection to The Mountain Doctor. Posts relying only on hashtags or the popularity (page 218) of the screen product were excluded. An exception was made for posts by former Screen Tourists and members of the Destination or Production groups when their connection remained relevant despite limited thematic content like in figure 3.47 (j). Third, unrelated posts captured by the search were removed. This included obvious false matches such as the English word *going* instead of the town of Going or references to the "Die Hard" (McTiernan 1988) character Hans Gruber. Additional filtering during the geographic analysis ensured that only posts relevant to the Wilder Kaiser case study remained, which filtered out posts about "Die Bergretter" (Pientka et al. 2009), or the original Mountain Doctor series in other screen locations. Geotags were not used¹⁴ to determine whether a post represented meaningful screen tourism communication because the Boolean search already targeted the destination and other geographical filters seemed unnecessary.

Planes of co-production The different planes in the online and offline world are part of the extended methodology of Reijnders co-production categorization visible in figure 4.8. The digital network plane refers to the online space in which screen tourism is communicated, circulated and co-produced. In the case study this

¹³The Chinese name for the app that is its own instance is called Doujin

¹⁴Similar to the overall study because the geotags did not meet quality bar of usefulness as explained on page 111.

was Instagram with posts, hashtags, comments, likes, profiles and platform-specific visibility mechanisms. The material destination plane on the other hand refers to the physical tourism destination, including screen locations, tourism infrastructure, landscapes, events as well as guided tours, signs and embodied tourist practices. Screen tourism connects both planes: Digital communication shapes expectations and attention, while physical visits generate new digital material or proof of being at the real location.

Accounts and stakeholders The terms of Accounts and Stakeholder also exist on these two different planes. Accounts and stakeholders both participate in the co-production and circulation of screen tourism meaning. In the empirical case study, agents are operationalized through Instagram accounts (digital network plane), described in this chapter on page 17. A stakeholder is a broader real-world agent with an interest in screen tourism (material destination plane), such as a tourism organization, hotel, broadcaster, actor, production company or tourist. Not every stakeholder is directly visible as an Instagram account, but every account represents a stakeholder, because behind every account on social media there is a stakeholder publishing photos and descriptions about screen tourism of the Mountain Doctor. For the sake of this study these different terms usually mean the same set of people.

Medialization vs. mediatization

In this paper, the terms "medialization" and "mediatization" are used distinctly, though often seen as synonyms¹⁵. This work is trying to differentiate between the former: *Medialization* refers to the integration of mass media into various societal sectors, influencing our perception and creating a media-shaped worldview, as outlined by Hepp (Hepp, Hjarvard, and Lundby 2015, p. 324ff). *Mediatization* describes cultural and societal changes prompted by media developments, such as the advent of printing or electrification, detailing a transformation where elements adapt to media logic, as described by Hjarvard (Hjarvard 2008, p. 112–115). (cf. Peissl 2022, p. 1) Mediatization is also something that André Jansson uses (expl.: Jansson 2018b) in his work, that is further explained in the core theories on page 29. In his eyes it is a historical meta-process and it "points to the broader 'transformative' consequences of such processes (Jansson 2018b, p. 2)". The distinction helps understand screen tourism: (Screen) tourists approach destinations with a media-shaped view (medialization), encountering locations presented under the influence of media (mediatization). They can also play a key role in this by acting as a kind of *gentrifier* of mediatization in the destination. The medialized screen tourist medializes the destination. This dual process not only transforms the physical space but how tourists

¹⁵As in this wiki article about Mediatization.

perceive and document these places. (cf. Couldry and Hepp 2013) Leszczynski's (Leszczynski 2015, p. 731) argument further blurs the lines between 'virtual' and 'real,' emphasizing media's role in shaping reality itself. It claims "the material conditions of reality within which the practices and spaces of everyday life are produced at the moments or sites of multiple conjunctions of code, content, social relations, technologies and space/place (Ibid., p. 732)". So to speak medialization is reality or becomes reality through mediatization.

Screen Tourists, Destination and Production accounts

Every time the words Screen Tourism, Destination and Production are used with capital first letters the exact groups defined here as part of the case study are meant. If they are used without capital letters they represent the theoretical concept or the more general version of the term, not referring to the specific Mountain Doctor case study.

Screen Tourist All the context on the page 8 and following is given for the definition of the co-producing case study group of screen tourism accounts on Instagram. They had to be at the Wilder Kaiser at some point and post at least once about screen tourism communication on Instagram (defined here on page 15). The content of fan accounts¹⁶ (e.g. @bergdoktor_fanpage2022) is not considered part of the screen tourism group, when they only publish content about the fandom and the screen product without regular personal content about other topics. Specific example accounts are not listed for this stakeholder group to avoid focusing on specific privately owned and operated accounts that are not created for audiences beyond their immediate reach.

Destination Destination accounts are defined by all stakeholders who work directly for the tourism sector or who benefit secondarily from tourists coming to the Wilder Kaiser. The direct benefited accounts like the Destination Marketing Organizations of @wilder.kaiser or @visittirol, hotels like @hotel_garni_tirol or @jodlhof or attractions like @hexenwasser or @skiweltwilderkaiserbrixental. Players that profit indirectly from tourism are restaurants like @gasthof_auwirt_ or @cafe_beim_schuster and various accounts like @zefi.immobilien or @memoryellmau. The Destination Marketing Organizations are a special subgroup of the Destination accounts as they represent the destination itself and are in the case of the Wilder Kaiser also slightly involved in the screen production as for example organizing and advertising the Mountain Doctor fan fest (figure 3.40). As representative of the destination they also frequently feature and share the content of other tourism stakeholders like tourists, attractions, events and the like creating a stage for screen tourism communication.

¹⁶But this could be an interesting topic for future studies to look at this cluster of accounts as well.

The Destination group of accounts does not include local residents, who do not have a commercial product to sell to tourists.

Production Production accounts are all the people who are directly or indirectly involved in the screen production of the Mountain Doctor TV show. From the public broadcasters @zdfmediathek or @orf to the actors like for example @andreagerhard_tall_area or @sigl_hans and the crew behind the camera like @supagraf or @brkhrd.kln. Indirectly also for example the agencies of actors like @schlag_agentur are involved in the production even if they are probably not on-location. Similar to the responsible persons behind the two broadcaster accounts, these three are the only known examples for accounts and stakeholder posting that never been to the Wilder Kaiser in connection with the publication of screen tourism communication on Instagram. Other media covering the Mountain Doctor and Wilder Kaiser issues are not part of the Production group.

Screen tourism co-production In this work, co-production means that screen tourism is not produced by the screen product alone, but through the interaction of several agents: The screen Production at first, but shortly after in collaboration with the Destination and finally with the induced fan that becomes a Screen Tourist. These agents jointly create, circulate and stabilize meanings, images and practices of screen locations. Today this is done especially through social media communication. Co-production therefore describes both physical effects in the material plane (Wilder Kaiser Destination) and symbolic effects in digital network plane (Instagram). As the work and case study will demonstrate, the concept encompasses not only production, but also a great degree of consumption, which would redefine screen tourism as *co-prosumption* (more on page 255). More about this methodology and the original categories in Reijnders, Boross, and Balan 2022 or explained as level 3 of the core theories of this work on page 37. Co-producing screen tourism communication is what is happening in the case study by the corpus accounts on Instagram. This mainly includes Instagram posts with captions, interactions from others that connect the screen product, the screen location and the tourist experience as explained here on page 15. The Screen Tourists, Destination and Production group's social media accounts make screen tourism co-production visible, so I can analyze screen tourism relying almost completely on these online traces (page 2).

Motive and Photographer

This study distinguishes between the photographer's position and the subject or motive of the photo. The photographer's position¹⁷, is defined by the geolocation

¹⁷A geotag on Instagram is often less precise and usually predefined (page 114), which is why these data points were not used in this case study and the Motive-Photographer-Triangle method

of the camera when the photo is taken. In this work, motive does not mean the psychological motivation of the tourist, but the visible subject or central object of a photographer. Defining the subject in the focus of the photo is a qualitative question as it must be decided on case by case basis. The main guideline determining the subject's geographical position in this case study is identifying the last clear part in the center of the photo like demonstrated in figure 2.5. Placing the photo motive when a main screen location is visible is obvious but without the field trip to the Wilder Kaiser finding some of these other motive positions in the valley would not be possible! The relation between the photographer and motive is also important and depends on the chosen subject: Close objects, such as a screen locations, result in smaller geolocation connection than distant subjects, such as landscapes in the background. The connection between these points is visualized in graphs like figure 5.7. Additional challenges arise with drones or photos taken from a high viewpoint where only either the position of the photographer or subject may be discernible. SoSciSurvey was used to accurately map the locations (page 111) of both photographers and the motives based on information provided by individuals familiar with the destination.

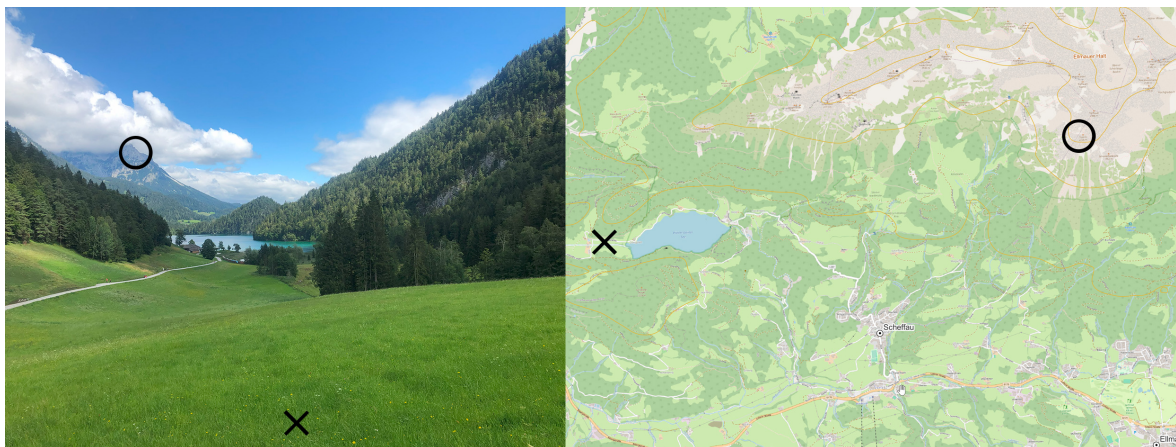


Figure 2.5: Determining points for a motive and a photographer place with a photo example from the Hintersteiner Lake at the Wilder Kaiser (source: own photo)

Fandom eats fans for breakfast

"Fandom is more than simply being a fan, it is a hole culture created by a community of people to share their love of the same thing (Beth and Neil 2023, min. 00:01:00)." It extends beyond admiration by encouraging interaction with the screen product and participation with other fans. Today, these activities often take place through online media. Social media enables direct interaction with celebrities, offi-

was developed.

cial accounts and fellow fans, strengthening communities of fans. "It taps into that ancient human impulse to belong to a group of like-minded people (Beth and Neil 2023, min. 00:02:00)." Fans not only consume the screen product and fan-created content but also produce their own contributions. Therefore, the act of prosuming (page 63) is an integral part of fandom culture. Screen tourism is a prominent expression of fandom, allowing fans to organize travel around favorite media products. It creates fandom opportunities outside the primary setting of the internet to meet at screen locations and share experiences. These gatherings often resemble fandom activities like conventions through activities such as re-enactment¹⁸ and socializing. In some cases, these events even take place at the screen locations themselves. The global success of "The Lord of the Rings-Movies" (Jackson 2001) and its screen locations in New Zealand made this form of tourism a defining example of modern fandom. (cf. van Es et al. 2021, p. 285; Buchmann, Moore, and Fisher 2010; New Zealand Institute of Economic Research 2002) Contemporary media franchises further encourage fandom through transmedia storytelling, pop culture and social media interaction. As these screen products are no longer structured as silos, this interconnected media also encourages fans to engage with them beyond the original product, facilitating the evolution into fandom. Screen tourism and social networks are two important ways in which fans deepen their engagement with fictional worlds and become part of the fandom. (cf. Månsson et al. 2020, p. 267)

Prosumer and co-prosumption

Prosumers are users who both **consume** and **produce** content and in this case study this is screen tourism communication and social media content. In screen tourism, fans and screen tourists consume the screen product but also create new meanings, images and promotional value through their own posts, comments and interactions. While the Screen Tourists are more on the consumption side, the Destination and Production are more on the producing side of the spectrum. The prosumer can be also brought into Reijnders concept of co-producing media tourism (page 37) because it is clear that in screen tourism the consumption is the inducing driver behind all the production that comes after it.

Abbreviations: BD, WK, ST, DMO

The abbreviation **BD** usually stands for *Bergdoktor* (eng.: Mountain doctor)¹⁹, which normally means the name of the TV show. It could also sometimes stand for the main character Martin Gruber and his job as medical doctor in the show or as synonym

¹⁸More info fascinating insights about re-enactments in screen tourism in S. Kim 2010.

¹⁹More infos in chapter 3.3.1 on page 119

for the actor himself Hans Sigl. **WK** is the *Wilder Kaiser* as municipality and region in the state of Tirol in the Austrian alps.²⁰. **ST** of course stands for *screen tourism* or *screen tourist* and is further explained in this chapter on page 17. **DMO** is the abbreviation for *destination marketing organization* which is the umbrella term for tourism boards and mostly public organizations managing tourism in a region or state. In the case study this is for example the WK tourism organization @wilder.kaiser or the statewide @visittirol in distinction to the other profiles named in the definition of the Destination accounts (page 17).

²⁰More Infos on chapter 3.3.2 on page 128

2.2 RQ 1: How is screen tourism situated in the world?

Research question interpretation

It is my humble approach writing about my collected data as *discussion, interpretation* or potential *consequences*. But of course, the relevant chapters also include inferences and conclusions based on concrete observations of path dependencies (chapter 4.1) and the analysis of case study data (chapter 3.5). Nevertheless, this remains a social science without an (experimental) cause-and-effect principle, so that results always involve discussions within the professional community and are preceded by a or other researcher's interpretations. This research question (RQ 1) and the following case study specific questions (RQ 2-3) are formulated in this spirit. The theoretical deductions are just my interpretation and the case study is part of the ongoing discussion about ST representing my humility before the theories on which I build.

RQ 1: How is screen tourism and its co-production situated in the meta processes and the philosophy of the world.

The research question looks at the ST communication and tries to link this to the coevolution of media and tourism. This link has a lot to offer as visual culture and tourism has a long-standing history, that was only started to get untangled from the early 2000s. (ct. Månsson et al. 2020, p. 2) Tracing these trends in media and tourism, connecting it with my own BD case study at the WK and analyzing current developments making this research question important as to look beyond an isolated case study.

Relation to the core theories This research question one will mainly cover post-modern theories, 21st century developments and generalized findings of the BD case study. The philosophy of Baudrillard, as well as Janssons mediatization and post tourism theories will be in the focus of this question. Also, the co-production in ST (after Reijnders theories) will be embedded into these meta processes and philosophies of the world.

Research question within the structure of this work The theory for this first research question can be found in chapter 2.3 starting on page 24 with a conclusion to it in chapter 4.1 on page 226. As explained on page 7, this research question is part of the mantle. It does not so much go down to the level of the individual case study of this work but tackles the surrounding theoretical questions concerning meta processes and the philosophy of the world. In chapter 2.3.1 the reader is first introduced to these core concepts. Chapter 2.3.2 shows the development and historical path dependencies of general ST up to current phenomena. The findings of the case study in chapter 3 are only included on a high level as this is mostly a theoretical

question.

Additional research questions for the case study

To be consistent through this work I call this and all following questions *research question*. But to be more precise RQ 2 and RQ 3 are actually case study questions, which are specifically aimed at the detailed individual case study of ST of the BD. Research question two explores the connections, differences and similarities between the agents of the case study. The different agents and specific sub questions to them will be explained in its own dedicated chapter 3.1 on page 100. The final research question three takes the foundational work of Reijnders theories of media tourism co-production and projects it on the case study. The altered agents of co-production are the same as in the sub questions of research question two. Research question three will also be answered in another chapter 3.1.2 on page 102. The three research questions are separated in that way to concentrate everything related to the specific case study in one dedicated chapter. As research question one is more broad and takes a historical approach to media and tourism relations it is left out of the case study chapter. Just in a later chapter after the foundational theoretical work is laid out and the case study outcomes are analyzed a conclusion (Chapter 4 on page 226) is reached by bringing all three research questions together.

2.3 The philosophies and meta-processes behind screen tourism

The chapters 2.3.1 and 2.3.2 are separated because the first one is showing the core theories of this work, as the second is more a historical analysis of ST development. In chapter 2.3.1 a coherent theoretical and multilevel conceptual framework is established in which the subsequent study is grounded. It is the framework for the case study method as well as the outcome. The chapter 2.3.2 is showing the path dependencies of ST as well as the parallel development of the tourism media nexus. This history chapter is what happened before the recorded findings of the BD case study at the WK, which is revealing a lot about why it is happening this way. As the first chapter in 2.3 is defining how I look at the phenomenon of ST, is the second chapter a look back from where ST came from. As I try to separate these two chapters here to explain them, the core philosophy and theories are of course always part of most of the other chapters.

2.3.1 Core philosophies and Theories

Levels of theory and analytical perspective

Development and core theories Analyzing the development of ST inspired by Kirbys connection between transport technology and cinema I developed an uncommon geographical approach. Taking in consideration the path dependencies of the connection between tourism and media I am more interested in the development of the world as in a static map of it. My approach and the choice of theories should reflect that goal. Despite that development approach this work has some core theories and philosophies from current researchers and established thinkers. These core theories in this chapter 2.3.1 are my perspective on the phenomenon described in the following chapter 2.3.2 and the outcome of the case study in chapter 3.5.

Levels of theory As my theory perspectives have different altitudes of looking at ST development I created three levels.

1. Level: Background foil for viewing the world
2. Level: Theories that brake down the philosophy into observable trends in society
3. Level: Tangible method to categorize the confined case study

These three levels are part of each other as the one below is always part of the levels above. As visible in figure 2.6 I start with Baudrillard's Simulation philosophy as the first level. The ideas expressed in Baudrillard's text and thoughts is the philosophy

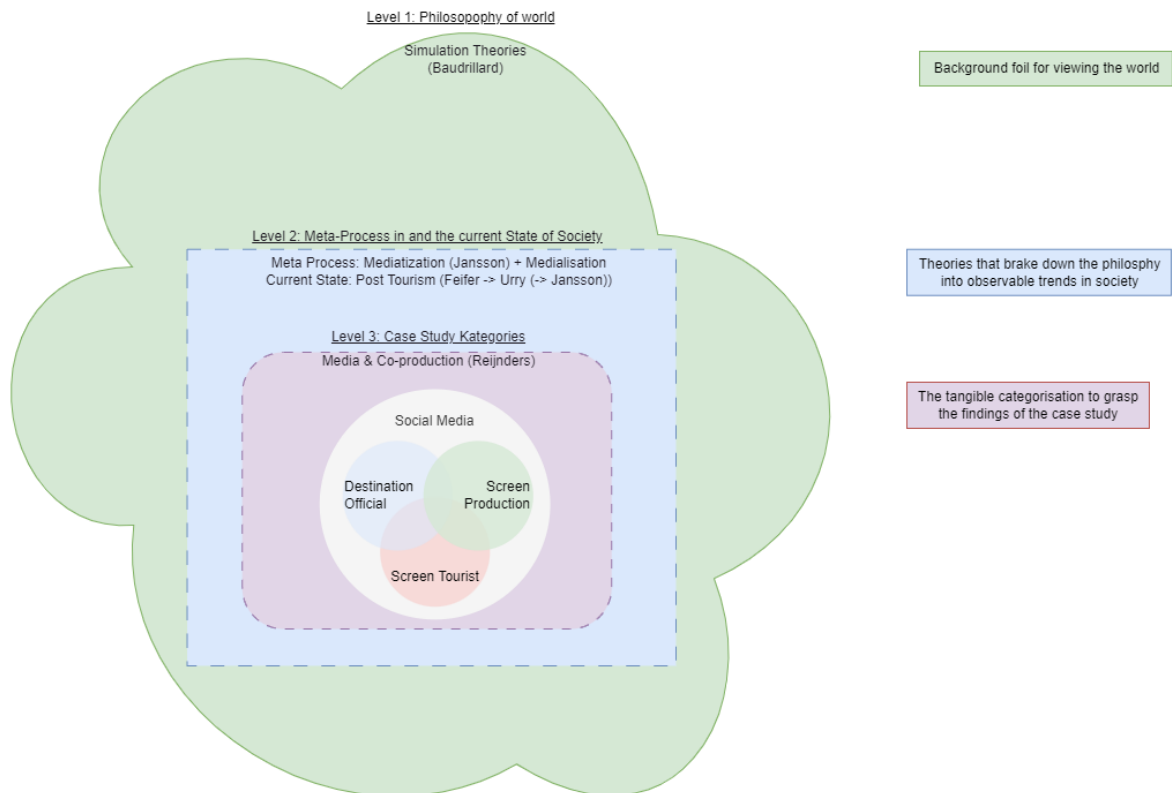


Figure 2.6: Showing the three levels of theory as the analytical perspective of this work (source: own visual).

of the world the phenomenon of ST exists in (page 25ff). In level two comes the meta processes that are currently at play in this world as well as the state of things prevailing present. The mediatization theories of Jansson show the current developments (page 29ff) and the Post Tourist by Feifer, Urry and further refined by Jansson shows how the meta processes and philosophy manifest (probably not always literally) in tourism (page 32ff). The third level is a method to help operationalized the first and second level into lucid data (page 37ff). The tangible categorization developed by Reijnders are used to grasp the findings in the case study.

Level 1: Simulation and Hyperreality from Baudrillard

The basics of Baudrillard's Hyperreality

Baudrillard's relevancy Baudrillard is a French sociologist and philosopher that turned to a cult figure of the post-modernist movement. It was the ground braking movie "Matrix" (Lana Wachowski and Lilly Wachowski 1999) in 1999 that also made his theories known to a wider pop-cultural audience. He could like not many others "hold together philosophy, theory of art and the media, cybernetics, political economy and much more (Filippo 2022, p. 44)" according to Silvestri. Baudrillard's

philosophy is about the blend of virtual and physical realities. ST is at its core the same and this conformation gives it enormous relevancy for this work. The concept of Hyperreality is not self-contained but its intense distortions are rather part of the broader globalized capitalistic forces at play. Capitalism is not in the focus of this work but because these cultures are also embedded in tourism²¹ as well as the media industries gives Baudrillard's ideas and overall significance for our life and the power relations at play. Other scholars like Tomás Maldonado (1970s to 90s), Paul Virilio (1970s to 90s), Derrick de Kerckhove (1980s to 90s), Pierre Lévy (1990s) and Luciano Floridi (1990s to 2010s) have continued Baudrillard's line of thought until the recent resurgence of post factual information in an era of subjective truths. It is with sentences like these "We live in a world where there is more and more information, and less and less meaning (Baudrillard 2017, p. 79)" that Baudrillard seems to explain to us the currently felt information overload, resulting in an indecisive outcome. Baudrillard's philosophy of a simulated world that leads to hyperreality feels more relevant as we are permanently online, do not care about the staged authenticity of tourism and enter the age of post truth. With the mentioned scholars you can draw a direct line from the concept of hyperreality to the epistemic crisis of today. (cf. Cunningham 2024, p. 1, Filippo 2022, p. 44, Leather and Gibson 2019, p. 79; Baudrillard 2017, p. 79ff) Even Baudrillard did not fully anticipate the internet, current generative AI models or the erosion of facts but these technologies and developments move us closer to what he had envisioned (see page 226) and that is something he foretold in 1983 when he published his book. (cf. Morris 2021, p. 330)

Baudrillard's relation to the other theories of this work His sociological theories and thoughts about our relationship to reality should in this work only be used as a philosophy of the world where tourism and media collide to form the phenomenon of ST. The philosophy is only the background foil in which other processes like mediatization and the post tourism type of traveler can be projected on and come to live. "The implications of Baudrillard's concept of simulation can provide a severe lens through which to view the world [...]" (Cunningham 2024, p. 7)." Baudrillard theories as well as his concept of Hyperreality is as the background foil of this work the highest level of abstraction (page 25) and the endpoint of the ST development (chapter 2.3.2). The latter in this chapter explained theory of mediatization is the process along the way to the Hyperreal. The ST co-production categorizations are the subjects influenced by the increasing order of simulacra. The Post tourist is the individual person accepting that he lives in a world dominated by the simulation. As Cunningham puts it in his paper "[...] [Baudrillard's] work provides clues on how to

²¹Which probably one of the biggest business in the world.

explore and navigate a world dominated by simulation (Cunningham 2024, p. 7)". I can use this navigation for the ST phenomenon, that also seems to live at least in both worlds: The real (destination) and the hyperreal (BD narrative). Baudrillard can offer literally no tangible outcome for this work but an abstraction like a map to navigate the other theories and show how they are connected.

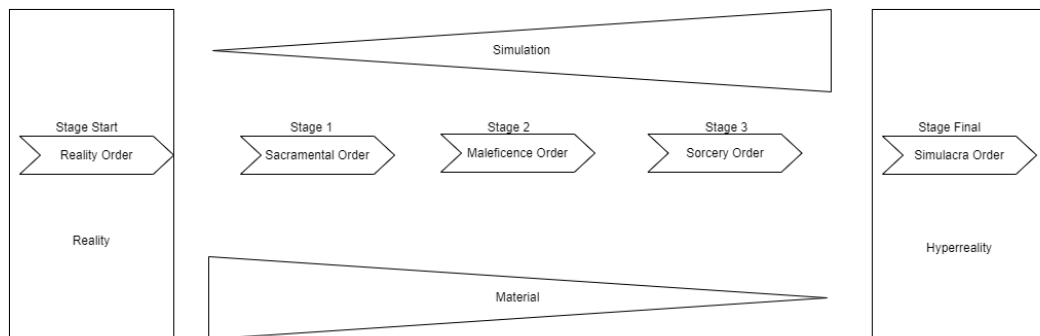


Figure 2.7: Baudrillard's orders of simulation towards hyperreality (Source: Own visualization)

Baudrillard's philosophy In Baudrillard's central work "Simulacra and Simulation"²² he expresses the philosophical concept of the simulation that leads to hyperreality with symbols that have lost the connection to reality. The world he argues is largely absent of objective referents without origin. (cf. Cunningham 2024, p. 2) In the time of writing this book before 1981 he already meant that "[...] society has become so reliant on the maps, models, constructed fantasies, and signs that contact has been lost with the real world which provided the basis for these symbols, thrusting humans into the modern day hyperreality (Ibid., p. 2)". This is even without the arrival of digital media and AI models as well as the proliferation of reality augmenting mobile devices and ubiquitous internet! Based on Baudrillard's philosophy hyperreality is the end and the simulation increases in four stages (figure 2.7):

- Start: Reality Order
 1. Sacramental Order which is a reflection of reality
 2. Maleficence Order which is a masked reality
 3. Sorcery Order which is becoming the absence of reality
 4. Simulacra Order which has no relation to reality
- End: Hyperreality Order

²²Prominently featured in a scene in the Matrix movie.

Stage 1 is a good reflection of reality and works with symbols as Stage 2 is producing counterfeits, caricaturises and can be already considered an inadequate reflection. Stage 3 is starting the production of its own reality which is make believe and deliberately deceptive while stage 4 is the pure simulation without original that overshadows and replaces reality completely. (cf. Cunningham 2024, p. 3; Mitra 2020, p. 2) The different actors, places and spaces of the case study can have different stages of Baudrillard's orders which means that not everything is at the same stage. The way to hyperreality is not linear but oscillating between the stages and is different for each one. That things like theme parks, screen locations and social media can be generally considered "Third order simulations" (Sorcery) is further discussed on page 28. As Cunningham is using these stages in his work: "Baudrillard's four stages of simulation provide a useful framework for understanding the evolution of AI generated art and its impact on our perception of reality (Cunningham 2024, p. 3)." We exchange AI generated with ST communication or the post tourist and that helps to situate my findings in the case study. With his philosophy about the world I can contextualize the theories of this work and the results of the case study. It helps to understand how the meta processes are reshaping the interplay of tourism and media, the roles of screen tourism co-production and measure the influence of screen products on the destination.

The simulacra First and foremost is Simulacra an old Latin word which means likeness, representation, resembling. This is how Baudrillard's used the word. But also adds an inferior quality to the definition as it is an image without the quality of the original ranging in stages or orders up to no origin at all. The simulation consists of these simulacras as it is just the sum of the individual real world processes on the continuum to the Hyperreal. (cf. Leather and Gibson 2019, p. 80) In Hyperreality simulacras became so prevalent and pervasive that distinctions collapse.

Third-order-simulations Disneyland, Instagram filters and ST are third-order simulations. Baudrillard explains this with Disneyland:²³ "Disneyland is presented as imaginary in order to make us believe that the rest is real, [...] (Baudrillard 2001, p. 175)". Screen locations are just smaller and less involved versions of the Disney theme park experience. The struggles as doctor and lover in the BD TV show are fictional, but the WK region is supposed to be real - Advertised by the DMO as "even more beautiful in real life". The obvious fake hides that everything behind it is also fake, because it presents itself at the same time as the real fake and says that the

²³Disneyland like theme parks are not the only possible examples, as the emerging markets of the new Asian middle class (mainly Chinese) are building theme villages and company headquarters of exotic Western things. More on this in Urry's book "The Tourist Gaze 3.0" (Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 25; Hendry 2000).

normal fake is real²⁴. Instagram (face) filters can be like that and hide the inauthenticity of everything else, making social networks generally third-order simulations. (cf. Fletchall, Lukinbeal, and MacHugh 2012, p. 24ff) Social Media and theme parks are "constructing a fantasy multiple levels removed from reality (Cunningham 2024, p. 2)". And the levels amongst ST communication only increases from then on: Social media adds a layer to an already simulated space, aligning with Baudrillard's prediction of self-referential signs.²⁵ Screen locations and media theme parks are appealing not because of "the allure of the real [...] that gives it such predominance but rather the appeal of the absolute fake version (Sadler and Haskins 2005, p. 213)"

Level 2: Mediatization from Jansson

The basics of Jansson Mediatization

Jansson's relevancy Mediatization as a concept is useful to explore how media disseminate, intersect with culture and impact society. It helps break down Baudrillard's System philosophy into real world developments and changes. In modernity media continue to disseminated and be present which leads to more and more experiences of spaces to become saturated with media. "The gradual normalization of mediated communication affects leisure time as well as work time, public places as well as private places. It affects politicians, tourists and single parents [...]. (cf. Jansson 2018b, p. 3)" This results in an adaptation of people, spaces and culture to these new communication and media technologies, which is exactly the concept of mediatization but also why it is so relevant to explore! (cf. Jansson 2018b, p. 2) Media then and more so today are deeply engrained in tourism and it is not just an effect of a neighboring system to another one. Its embeddedness in tourism experiences demonstrates its importance when looking at the ST phenomena. (ct. Månsson et al. 2020, p. 2 + 3) ST can be seen as the mediatization of spaces and places. (ct. Månsson et al. 2020, p. 3) If we can witness changes in (screen) tourism in this case study than this might even be relevant in the meta process of mediatization and we can extrapolate from here for a more general change in multiple other scenarios. Mediatization as term, writes Jansson, can show "media's broader significance in culture and society (cf. Jansson 2018b, p. 3)". This is relevant for modern phenomena such as media tourism where media products induce people to become tourist to visit the spaces displayed in them. Other developments like digitalization, the success of social networks and the distribution of smartphones lead to the omnipresence of

²⁴Does that make any sense?

²⁵Lukinbeal and Zimmerman give an example in the redevelopment of Hollywood Boulevard because it builds on "hollywood-the-cultural-myth" by adopting the simulated world of film (cf. Fletchall, Lukinbeal, and MacHugh 2012, p. 24).

mediatization across time and space but it could also be the other way around and just shows how intertwined the theories, technologies and processes are - and why it is important to study them.

Janssons relation to the other theories of this work "In times of mediated connectivity, travelling can no longer be an escape, (Jansson 2018a, p. 1)" writes Jansson. This explains the impact of media on tourism well and how his theory interconnects to both sides of the phenomenon of ST (Destination and Screen Product). As described in figure 2.6 (page 25) the theories of Jansson are part of Baudrillard's philosophy as they show us how it looks when a philosophy becomes reality. Mediatization is one factor that moves the world along towards Baudrillard's terminus of Hyperreality. As media is one of the strongest drivers behind an intensifying simulation, it also is the more comprehensive mediatization which describes the changing mediation itself. When we understand how mediatization changes media and society than we can also better comprehend the impact of Baudrillard's philosophy and identify the stages of simulacra. As meta process mediatization evolves over time and it starts with modernism, continues with post modernism and it is now maybe²⁶ in its next period of post truth? Conclusions from the current state of mediatization can only be drawn when compared to a different state in the past. The case study with the BD screen product and the WK destination is limited in its explanatory power for the broader trend and tendencies of Mediatization but it shows the current state of the phenomenon within the combination of tourism and media.²⁷ This is why this work is also inspecting the path dependencies of the tourism media nexus (chapter 2.3.2) going back to the beginning of modern worlds. Comparing the conditions of for example Petrarca and his "hike into modernity" (page 47) with modern depictions of ST at the WK, can show us how mediatization evolved and we can make substantial conclusions about current phenomena. (cf Jansson 2018b, p. 5 + 9) The modern ST using social media for ST communication seems to be part of a long development that can help understand current mediatization processes. The development over time also relates to Baudrillard's orders of Simulacra (page 27) that can be only understood in relation to what came before. As Mediatization is a development over time it is part of the process of the Simulation, it is also Janssons theories surrounding the role of the "Post Tourist" that could be seen as the state of Mediatization in tourism today. Identifying post tourism in the screen tourism case study indicates the current condition of Mediatization and hints on which order of

²⁶It is almost impossible to tell that you are in a certain period while being part of the time unfolding but Baudrillard's orders hint at a stage after post modernism and Janssons Mediatization shows continues development.

²⁷This will later be captured by Janssons theory of the post tourist on page 32.

Simulacra we are.

Jansson theory of mediatization Mediatization with a T is defined by Jansson in his book "Mediatization and mobile lives" (Jansson 2018b, p. 2) as "a historical meta-process of structural transformation pertaining to a variety of social and cultural realms, conditioned by altered forms of mediation. [...] whereas mediation refers to 'regular' forms of communication involving some kind of vehicle or medium, mediatization points to the broader 'transformative' [highlight by source] consequences of such processes. Mediatization is thus to be understood as a structural concept, referring to overarching societal transformations that in themselves contain altered and socially shaped forms of mediation." As meta process it is comparable to others such as globalization or de-differentiation because all of these are not only developing in their specific sector but have an impact on culture and society. Jansson incorporates other theories, for example "cultural materialism" of Williams as this perspective says, that media become indispensable to the peoples lives. (cf. Jansson 2018b, p. 2-4). This happens when media becomes more than just communication or information but has a cultural form and "[...] it becomes difficult to imagine a life without them (Jansson 2018b, p. 4)".²⁸ And even if you are currently not using it in the cultural hegemonic form, different sociocultural settings can enforce current Mediatization practices. Tourism is such a setting! Like for example the selfie became the standard pose of tourists (page 71), or visiting screen locations after the success of the original "Lord of the Rings-Trilogy" (Jackson 2001) became a popular tourism occasion. It is also mass media, especially social media, that establish these standard procedures: like visible in all the de-differentiation tendencies of photos of world-famous tourism sights (figure 5.12) or the stereotype of city vs mountains (figure 2.11) as well as the power of a successful TV show on the photos on Instagram in the case study (figure 2.22). Mediatization is more than the process of dissemination and increased use of media and information - while it still is an important aspect of the general mediatization process - but it is rather a qualitative change between media and the material world. (cf. Jansson 2018b, p. 7+18+60).

Definition difference Mediatization like Jansson and his predecessor understand it is "living with media" as "natural elements of the lifeworld (Jansson 2018b, p. 44)" and this has consequences: "People have literally (re-)arranged their life environments in response to the appearance (and disappearance) of media (Jansson 2018b, p. 44)." This arranging around media is for me the core of the Mediatization theory. Also, the disappearance of the media and the inflicted changes through this process is important as tourism is a practice that controversially needs at times more

²⁸Jansson gives a good example of this in his book "Mediatization and Mobile Lives" (Jansson 2018b) on page 8.

media (page 69) but has sometimes less. The arrangement done by the different groups, institutions and societies to the presence and absents of media, connectivity and communication is the main difference to another concept I want to attach to these theories: Medialization with an L.²⁹ this work is using these two terms³⁰ to describe different concepts, scopes and steps in the process. In its fundamentals Mediatization and Medialization are connected but more independent processes: Medialization boils down to learning about the world through media and Mediatization is basically transforming the world with rules set by media. Your world view comes from the media as you are medialised first before mediatization starts to change your arrangement with media and the material world. As they are different they can be understood as mechanisms of simulation bringing on the one hand our knowledge of the world and on the other hand the rules we live by closer to hyperreality. Janssons concept of Mediatization actually already incorporates that our view of the world is shaped by (mass) media. (ct. Jansson 2018a, p. 50f) It is like watching the BD and your view of the WK is medialized but the screen product induces you in the mediatization process to visit the destination as ST. At the destination your medialized world view comes in contact with the actual material world but your gaze, augmentation of reality or the screen locations themselves are still dominated by rules set by mediatization.

Level 2: Post Tourism from Urry and Jansson

The basics of Janssons and Urry's Post Tourism theory

Post Tourism relevancy The influence of media, pop culture and the networked algorithms on the destination together with the new expectations of post tourists leads towards adaptation. The reality in the destination should match its representations in screen products, online images and the influencer posts on Instagram. ST as part of post tourism comes with so much pressure from the attached digital and global mediatization forces that it re-creates, markets or erects many social practices. The post tourist as a type of tourist changes the behavior of the individual tourist but overall the industry that has to adapt significantly to cater, take control or fight back. (cf. Crouch 2005, p. 174) The reacting tourism industry - defined in this work as the Destination - is central to the case study core of this work which makes post tourism important to understand. Post tourism is thereby understood as a "generalized social condition (Jansson 2018a, p. 101)" that is not only relevant for tourists and its catering industries but also within the digital networks, screen productions and pro-

²⁹Which I already differentiated and defined in the definition chapter 2.1 on page 16.

³⁰Different by only one letter: MediaTization vs. MediaLization.

longed in pre- and post-travel phases. It is also (as further paragraphs will explain on page 36) both sides of the de-differentiation continuum in tourism with general social realms and a set of reactions against that trend. This makes post-tourism not only a predominant trend, but also relevant to both ends of the spectrum. (cf. Jansson 2018a, p. 101) The general trend of digitalization and specifically the dissemination of transmedia as "the dominant mode of cultural circulation (Jansson 2020, p. 391)" shows more facets of post tourism. A lot of the defining factors of post tourism derive from dominant culture and current societal trends in the post modern society. (cf. Jansson 2020, p. 391) This suggests post tourism itself to have a major role in influencing future tourism habits, representations, its gaze or motivations.

Post Tourism relation to the other theories of this work Jansson himself (e.g. Jansson 2018b, p. 105ff) establishes the post tourist as actor of his Mediatization theories and connects this type of tourism to this meta trend of the world. The post tourist has a medialized view and often acts or gazes according to mediatized behavior because "both tourist and viewer take prior mediated experiences as reference points (Crouch 2005, p. 173)". Exactly the shifting correlation between the reference points is part of the simulacra orders of Baudrillard (Page 27). When the Post Tourist is not comparing the reality at the destination to the fictional screen product anymore but the other way around than this moves him closer to living in Baudrillard's Hyperreality than previous tourist types. With this tendency the (post) tourist "may soon come to find reality disappointing (Crouch 2005, p. 174)". So the post tourist is the type of tourist heading on the road of Jansson's meta-processes of Mediatization towards Baudrillard's Hyperreality.

Jansson (and Urry's) theory of post tourism Urry most prominent among others³¹ defined post tourism as tourists within contemporary developments, such as the dawn of Hyperreality (page 25) or the rising Mediatization (page 29) resulting in a more playful, self-conscious and fluid tourist that takes the world as a stage. (cf. Crouch 2005, p. 119; Jansson 2018a, p. 102) The self consciousness, observed by Andrew Wood on post tourists in Las Vegas, is often performed and verbalized through ironic comments. (cf. Wood 2005, p. 324) When living standards improved, traveling became more efficient and holidays more diverse, then in conjunction with these changes tourism started to change towards post tourism. Also when the everyday life became aestheticized (for the most part by the early social networks) post tourism developed as a response. (cf. Jansson 2020, p. 392) It became clear to Feifer, Urry and Jansson at different times that tourism cannot be authentic because its compounds are for the most part professionally organized and largely staged. Which would directly

³¹Maxine Feifer first coined the term post tourist when witnessing the "modern plight" in the tourist hotspot of Mont St. Michel in Normandy, France (cf. Feifer 1985).

lead for tourism to become something other than tourism, what we are now summarizing as post tourism. As social space is transformed in post modern societies, it is the post tourist that developed in relation to these changes. (cf. Jansson 2018a, p. 102; Jansson 2018b, p. 109) The post tourist is aware of itself which means for example that the tourism experience was always mediated but the post tourist finally accepts that. He is not evading the simulated environments but playing with it. The omnipresence of media everywhere at anytime made the post tourist be aware that searching for "authenticity was an archaic tourist desire (Crouch 2005, p. 202)". The authentic is a cultural construction with (fictional) screen products just like the BD playing an important role in its formation. (cf. Crouch 2005, p. 202; Jansson 2020, p. 392) It is mostly the ST that walks between narrative fiction and destination reality actually demanding for further mediating of the screen locations. The post tourist is not only ambiguous in dealing with authenticity but also with a few other things which gives him a sociocultural in-betweenness. He acts as part of the hegemonic forces when being part of mass tourism or induced by a blockbuster TV show like Game of Thrones but the self awareness also gives him the opportunity for a counter hegemonic recognition. (cf. Jansson 2018b, p. 123) John Urry also coined the term "armchair traveler", "whose journeys started at home, in the form of fantasies and plans that were sometimes realized, sometimes not (Jansson 2020, p. 392)". It hints at a definition of the post tourism integrating media consumption, medialization and imagination. The screen tourist in the destination is the armchair traveler that *realized* its fantasies induced at home. This is making the screen tourist a consequent post tourist acting on medialized imaginaries. The post tourist is relatively free and uncommitted by the developments of individualism: "The post-tourist is freed from the constraints of 'high culture' on the one hand and the untrammelled pursuit of the 'pleasure principle' [Highlights D.B.] on the other. [...] The world is a stage and the post-tourist can delight in the multitude of games that can be played. (Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 114)" De-differentiation is part of post tourism as it mixes tourist experiences and non-touristic activities, which could be everything from intellectual archeology to adventures mountain climbing. Otherness is of concern for post tourists when they try to understand minority cultures and with the subtle illusion of traveling in an environmental friendly way. (cf. Jansson 2018b, p. 109 + 123)

Redefined post tourism and development of ST Over the years post tourism was redefined along the virtual to actual continuum as Campbell writes: It is without the need for a faraway place moved towards the virtual consumption and use of a series of images. It contests or better extends the traditional physical travel experience and incorporates mediation and imagining. For post tourists either at the destination or digitally the space is neither entirely complete nor authentic but also partially

fragmented and imagined. (cf. Crouch 2005, p. 200) ST can be considered with this definition the concentrated essence of the new post tourism type as it shows us what lies at the possible end of the spectrum.

Complicated demarcation of the post tourist Post tourism is hard to pin down because it takes everything from the world and more as it is always a mix of nations, groups, fandoms or identities that meet and hybridize. This makes the post tourist itself a result of co-production, which is why it is a perfect fit for Reijnders categorization. It is never a monolithic culture but an amalgamating of different and even ambiguous influences.³² What is clear is that the post tourist is conscious about these influences. He is even enjoying it when looking at examples like the BD fandoms. (cf. Crouch 2005, p. 210; Jansson 2018a, p. 103) The post tourist comes after the tourist to abolish what he does himself. He criticizes what he thinks is tourism but operates himself rather close to this leisure culture. It involves questioning the images and structures that have historically defined tourism. The post tourist is aware of itself which puts him in an awkward position because he despises himself. This makes it harder for himself to know what he is and wants and does not help the scientific demarcation of its definition. (cf. Jansson 2018a, p. 100ff + 112; Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 175; Groebner 2020, p. 44; Miller 2017) This flexible way of acting is actually not a problem for the post tourist (only for its scientific fixation) as it helps them to adapt to the fast changing environments of this post modern world that is digital, medialized and governed by algorithmic black boxes. And the post tourist is also not this tourist type all the time as only very few "continuously act as post-tourists in the hyperreal sense of the term (Jansson 2018a, p. 103)". So the post tourist type makes it hard to unravel because of his hybrid, alternating and fluid nature. But the fixation in social media posts can give us as researchers a way to pin down its vertex points to at least understand the geometry of post tourism. This of course is only scratching the surface of this ambiguous phenomena and future research could go more in depth.

Post tourism and web 2.0 When post tourism was coined as term in the 80s, Web 2.0 was not part of the concept. But it is the change that came with web 2.0 that breathed new life into the older post tourism theories: Today the constant connectivity through smart devices and algorithmic networked communication with social media gives the post tourist a new relevance. Today, we not only consume but also create screen content through the Web 2.0, becoming (co-)creators of our vacation destinations on platforms like Instagram. Geotags allow us to re-code tourist spots. With Web 2.0 so closely connected in time (immediate posting at the place) and

³²Which can create in-betweenness through co-production which is discussed further down on page 36.

space (geotagged places) to our carbon-bound reality, the "relations between the authentic and the simulated are continuously challenged (Jansson 2018a, p. 102)". Tourism logic now pervades social life, with holiday photos being highly commented on social media, tourism strategies expanding into various consumer sectors, niche interests being marketed in tourism³³ and tourists contributing to destination image-making and holiday stereotypes. Thus today, (post) tourism is "nowhere [in space] and yet everywhere [in society, D.B.] (Urry 1995, p. 150)". (cf. Jansson 2018a, p. 103)

Grand claims of post tourism Term post tourist is not widely used anymore in tourism research as it "rarely lived up to the grander claims (Jansson 2020, p. 392)" of early papers. It appears occasionally in current literature but is not any more considered to be bound-up with a broader societal transformation and rather just as an individual attitude among tourists. At the turn of the millennia the post tourist did not evolve into a key figure of a post modern semiotic society but since then a lot has happened. But now in the light of new developments after the early 2000s, it could reinforce the theories of the post tourist first described by Feifer in the 80s. (cf. Jansson 2020, p. 392) In his paper "The transmedia tourist: A theory of how digitalization reinforces the de-differentiation of tourism and social life" Jansson argues that the time for the term is finally on the horizon: "[...] rapid changes in media and communications since the turn of the millennium have led in directions that seem to reinforce precisely those forms of de-differentiation that were intimated by the notion of post-tourism. This has to do, above all, with digitalization and the shift from mass media to transmedia as the dominant mode of cultural circulation [...]" (Jansson 2020, p. 392)" Just the technological advancements in the past two decades alone is pushing the post tourist similar to Baudrillard's Simulation philosophy again closer to relevancy and discoverable within the method used in the case study: Social Media content is a driving force of the reemergence of the phenomena itself but makes it also visible for science. This rather theoretical debate among tourism researchers adds further to the complicated demarcations of the post tourism definition.

Post tourism in-betweenness

Post tourism is producing de-differentiation and fighting against it at the same time In seeking new experiences, tourism often creates uniformity through standard hotels, landscape stereotypes and global pop culture influences on divers local landmarks. Mass tourism and Western cultural spread lead to a monotonous world, contrary to the exotic experiences desired. Even in the 19th century, tourists felt there

³³Like the heavy metal cruise ships that have become popular in recent years.

was already nothing new to see.³⁴ (cf. Aschenbrand 2017, p. 221; Groebner 2020, p. 95–97; Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 8) In a world full of signs and continued growth of media prosumption, the gaze is further streamlined. Postmodernism tends to de-differentiate spaces and the practices within them. Television and its content have been described as a "vast wasteland (Esslin 2017, p. 103)" symbolizing the final point of de-differentiation. Urry describes tourist culture as "anti-auratic", valuing reproducibility over uniqueness because today everything can be mechanically, electronically or digitally reproduced. Tourists do not care about de-differentiation. This is visible under certain hashtags and geotags on Instagram, as in figure 5.12. (cf. Ibid., p. 98) But postmodernism is too complicated for a one-sided answer as there is contradictory behavior. As the de-differentiation of tourism in the carbon world grows, the post tourist is increasingly looking for new areas of the *real*. These new areas can be found in ST, shaped by screen products, showing us a new level of differentiation of post tourists. Post tourism could be seen as a "generalized social condition (Jansson 2018a, p. 103)" of post modernity: "A condition that includes both de-differentiation and a complex set of reactions³⁵ to this prevailing trend towards de-differentiation (Ibid., p. 103)."

From in-betweenes to co-production In post tourism the individual actors are torn between the hegemonic and a counter order. It is the sociocultural in-betweenness with examples like the above-mentioned de-differentiation or like with STs fiction vs. reality remix. (Jansson 2018b, p. 123) It is within these spaces of in-betweenness that different actors like the ones analyzed in the case study behave, gaze and produce content like and with others. When everything is on a fluid continuum you start co-producing in these spaces where everybody meets. In a destination like the WK, ST is bringing these spaces of in-betweenness with the common denominator of the BD TV show. Social media itself is the perfect plane for these actors to meet and co-produce on the common ground of the inducing screen product.

Level 3: Screen tourism co-production from Reijnders

The basics of Reijnders co-production categories

We are now on level 3 below the philosophy of Baudrillard as well as the metaprocesses of Jansson and the current state of tourism. On this lowest altitude Reijnders ST co-production categories are more like a scientific method. With this method of splitting my perspective into three different groups I want to display the theories and philosophies of level 1 and level 2 in action. These categorizations can be used like a

³⁴The counterargument at that time formulated in 1908 by the industrialist Albert Kahn coming back from a world tour was: "Take photographs!" (cf. Groebner 2020, p. 96)

³⁵How post tourism is actually against tourism is explained in paragraph 2.3.1.

prism looking at the other core concepts to see all the different colors they are made of, only to be combined as one ray at the end, connecting all the different aspects of these individual theories.

Reijnders relevancy With 4 articles in the field of film tourism research Reijnders is among the most productive with its earliest paper going only back to 2019. This makes him part of the current discussion and relevant in the field as a researcher. (cf. Crespo-Almendros, Prados-Peña, and Puche-Ruiz 2025, p. 187) The "power dynamics behind media tourism have remained off the radar for (too) long (Reijnders, Boross, and Balan 2022, p. 94)", writes Reijnders and van Es in their 2022 paper "Unravelling imaginative heritage". Since it was first described, media tourism has grown into an important niche in tourism because of its huge economic impact which happened concurrent to the tourism and media industries progressively converging. The media- and screen tourism still being a niche and subliminal in its motivations (page 166), makes it not uninteresting but rather relevant to disclose the forceful dynamics that manifest between its relative size in tourism and its strong consequences on the destination. Reijnders co-production concept gives ST research a much-needed broader and multi-actor approach. As studies in the past were mostly case study focused - also some of Reijnders like Schiavone and Reijnders 2022 or Schiavone, Reijnders, and Brandellero 2022 - with an interest in the experiences of individuals, it is now time to illuminate the power configurations behind separate ST experiences. The co-production categories can explore why "certain narratives are told, while others are not (van Es et al. 2021, p. 29)". All actors from fans becoming ST, the inducing media production and its screen actors as well as the tourism industry and local stakeholders are relevant for this process and so is Reijnders concept overall. (cf. Reijnders, Boross, and Balan 2022, p. 94; van Es et al. 2021, p. 20 + 29)

Reijnders relation to the other theories of this work As Reijnders categorizes different groups that co-produce the ST it is these individual groups that relate to the other theories of this work. First the tourist overall is strongly connected to the mediatization and mediatization meta theories of Jansson and so is the concept of the post tourist (page 32). Secondly the Production finds itself being part of the simulating forces of Baudrillard's. Thirdly the Destination might have the least connection to the different theories of this work but with its strong tendency to stage authenticity (page 223 or 229) and grand marketing narratives (page 74 or 231) even they got a connection to the simulation and mediatization and as service industry they have to heavily adapt for the expectations of the post tourist. Also as the groups between each other become more intertwined in co-producing ST, the screen production and tourism industries will intensify the mediatization and subsequent touristification

of the destination.³⁶



Figure 2.8: Reijnders co-production of media tourism actor visualization (Source: van Es et al. 2021, p. 24).

Reijnders categories In his theories about "imaginative heritage (Reijnders and van Es 2022)" Reijnders uses the concept of *media tourism as co-production*. The imaginative heritage is just the result of the co-production (figure 2.8) by "not only locals, fans and tourists, but also the media industries, the tourism industries and the local governments (Reijnders, Boross, and Balan 2022, p. 92)". Imaginative heritage is not static so he also focused on the moving parts of it: The involved groups who are dynamically creating heritage in a social process. This process involves distinct actors and important discourses as well as contradicting identities and conflicting notions of heritage that together become this process, what he calls "heritage-in-the-making (Reijnders, Boross, and Balan 2022, p. 97)". Reijnders identified three differ-

³⁶Reijnders identifies this effect as a research gap that could be unfolded by depart from media theme parks like Disneyland (page 82) in the USA or Bollywood Parks in Dubai. (cf. van Es et al. 2021, p. 27) The so called Disneytization as part of Mediatization or a step towards Hyperreality is another link to the other theories of this work. This work is also looking at these lines of research on page 232.

ent groups:

1. Screen Production and fans
2. Tourism industries and (screen) tourists
3. Government and local communities

Each of them is influencing the other and together they co-produce the media tourism. The first group consists of the media industry that is producing screen products and the viewers consuming these and eventually become fans. The screen production is imagining the place in the beginning and the fans then expand it on their own terms making them a factor in determining what is becoming popular and/or part of pop culture. So Reijnders theory goes beyond a co-production between groups but also within, as these habits also exist inside the mentioned groups. Reijnders second group is the industry of tourism from the outbound starting point to the destination DMO as well as the tourist that when induced by a screen product is already a ST when he arrives at the destination. The tourism industry is actively taking the established imaginations and is locating them within the destination, incorporating it into the local imaginative heritage. (cf. van Es et al. 2021, p. 23 + 24) A visual example of this is probably a plaque at a place in the destination that marks this place as screen location, so this becomes a place of imagination through an on-sight marker (page 52)³⁷. Tourists in general are more unpredictable in their interactions in the destination (STs not so much) but they eventually become part of the practices of the industry, the communities and the screen product narratives. ST for example post their presence in a screen location online³⁸, which become part of the place making creating the imaginative heritage. The third group is the (regional) government and the local communities within the destination. The government in form of city mayors, regional administration or DMOs try to develop policies to support or restrict the media tourism. Local communities might start grass-root activism for example against something like overtourism and work with or against the government to regulate media tourism. Also, the local inhabitants of the destination must live with the laws set by the government or even enforce it in the community or within the tourism sector and against (screen) tourist themselves. (cf. idib., p. 23–26) These different groupings create the circle of co-production visible in figure 2.8. The first group of media industry and fans is starting to imagine the place creating a focal point for popular imagination. The second group of tourism industry and the tourists are touristifying the popular imagination virtually but also in the destination. Then the third group, consisting of the local government and communities, is developing

³⁷Which is exactly what happened with the BD practice at the WK (figure 4.5).

³⁸Visible in so many posts of this case study for example in figure 2.22.

policies for the evolving media tourism. The third group is working to either use or combat the dominance of the popular imagination and the power of touristifying their home. All these groups contribute to the place making with their individual practices and will prompt new initiatives creating "an unending process that adds layer upon layer of imaginative heritage to a place. (van Es et al. 2021, p. 23)" (cf. *idib.*, p. 24) Every layer of new imaginative heritage can be interpreted as a step in Baudrillard's simulacras towards Hyperreality. In Reijnders theory a lot of power in the co-production of media tourism lies within the tourist itself, that becomes even more powerful when he is a fan of the screen product - Which would make him an ST by definition. "[...] to a large degree," the popularity of a screen location depends "on the individual choices made by fans and other tourists (van Es et al. 2021, p. 27)". In his concept of co-production the fan is one of the first steps it needs to transform the narrative of the screen product into materialistic changes. The imaginative heritage as result of this co-production is not possible without the masses of tourist having a multitude of experiences at the destination constructing an imagination based on a common screen product. Fans can organize pilgrimages to real places but also post on Instagram to co-produce in great numbers which stands in contrast to the kind of influence from Reijnders other groups: Screen productions with their rather surgical involvement and cultural dominance and the tourist industries as one of the biggest businesses in the world with their economic advantage and incentives. (cf. van Es et al. 2021, p. 26ff) The ST tour guide is essential for Reijnders theory of co-production because "at these moments during the tours, the realms of cinematic representation and 'actual' events and history temporarily coexist (Schiavone and Reijnders 2022, p. 11)" or to put it differently on film tours "fictional narratives become heavily intertwined with both historical narratives and the materiality of place (Schiavone and Reijnders 2022, p. 12)". As ST and tour guide on a screen location tour you are already part of the co-production of ST. This all might be true but the concentration on the tour guide as individual group of actors within the larger destination tourism complex takes away from other actor groups that also partake in the co-production. This is why this work tries to open the categories established by Reijnders et al. to include more than tour guides and wants to rearrange them (Definitions on page 17).

Tweaking Reijnders categorizations

As already defined in chapter 2.1 on page 17 I tend to use a slightly different version of Reijnders co-production categorizations. My versions of the different co-production groups are called Screen tourist (ST), Destination and Production³⁹. Pro-

³⁹Every time I write Screen tourist (ST), Destination or Production with a capital letter I mean these co-production categories rather than the generic description of a media production or tourism in a

duction is basically Reijnders group 1 without the fans. The fans of group 1 and the tourists of group 2 are combined in my categorization into the ST group. The Destination is also a combination of Reijnders group 2 without the tourists and group 3 without much focus on the local communities (page 17). The clear definition of these three groups, that will be used in the case study as well as the following discussions, can be found in chapter 2.1 on page 17.

Selectiveness of the new categorization The new categories are more selective because they clearly separate people from one another. In Reijnders first co-production category he has the fan of the screen product and in the second category he puts the tourist which in my opinion is the same person. The decision to divide these into distinct categories is particularly illogical when considering the context of ST, where tourism is induced by the screen product fandom. So the fan and the tourist becomes in my adjusted co-production categories one group named Screen tourist (definition on page 17). Also in ST contexts the destination marketing organization (DMO) plays mostly an important part. As organization in between - not fully tourism industry but part government agency - it connects Reijnders group 2 and group 3. Notably at the local government level the actions are sometimes not differentiable to tourism activities. The tourism industry is in a lot of popular destinations the main source of income, needs the most regulation and is a major part of the identity of the place. This is why I put the local governments and the tourism industry into my adjusted co-production category called Destination (definition on page 17). As I argued you can separate the local government from the tourist industry so putting them into different groups would not be a selective categorization. The third adjusted co-production group of this case study is called Production (definition on page 18) incorporating the industries behind the inducing screen product (Broadcaster, production studios, casting agencies) as well as people that are part of the screen production itself (directors, actors, on set personnel). This clear and distinct separation has another advantage against Reijnders original separation: Within Reijnders separation it becomes clear that these were not only supposed to be separate groups but also have a time dimension. This is why he also calls them literally "steps" (van Es et al. 2021, p. 23). In his categorization it starts with the creation of the screen product in group 1 and audiences "expand these imaginary worlds (van Es et al. 2021, p. 23)". The tourism industry in group 2 "appropriates these imaginations (van Es et al. 2021, p. 23)" and tourists join when its ready. Finally, the local governments and communities in group 3 react either "stimulate the media and tourism industries" or "protest against media tourist initiatives (van Es et al. 2021, p. 23)". As these steps unfold

destination!

Reijnders categories become too much fixed on this timeline rather than clearly separating distinct groups. For this case study the selectiveness of the groups by individual is more important. When clearly separating the distinct groups like explained on page 42 it is possible to not only use the categories sequentially but simultaneous. This is opening up much more opportunities for co-production and is not limiting the direction in one way: Production can actively work with DMOs to produce behind the scenes material, ST are involved in the image creation of the destination by participating in photo contests or the tourism industry is working with the Production like the famous Air New Zealand flightsafety video with Lord of the Rings fans. The distinct groups also help to show and understand the power configurations at play. These adjusted co-production groupings are not on the dimension of time, but move along the dimension of power instead. Not resulting in steps along a timeline, but rather, degrees of cultural influence. The more powerful shape the less powerful, creating a trickle down process.⁴⁰ Reijnders originally created the categories to illuminate these power configurations between individuals as explained in a paragraph on page 38 but the adjusted co-production categorizations for this case study can more clearly uncover them instead of focus too much on the sequence of the steps. The group of the Production is the most powerful as it has the cultural influence as well as some of the most prominent people in their group: the screen actors. The Destination with the financial power of the huge tourism industry behind them has also more leverage on paper. The STs are in between these mighty groups but can also offer with the sup group of the social media influencers some significant players. Putting the individual tourist in the same group as the whole tourism industry becomes a problem when exploring the power configurations because the balance is not even close. When the power level within one group is so vastly different⁴¹ than you can hardly make any deductions on how this is influencing other groups or people in this configuration. Reijnders et al. just focused on the material plane of media tourism co-production. This work is trying to extend that by incorporating the digital plane (figure 4.8 on page 252). In the case study the digital plane is represented by the social network Instagram. Almost every co-production of ST that can happen in the destination can also be happening in a social network like Instagram and *more!* An act of co-production can also be happening between the two planes.⁴² The digital network is an additional plane that exists in parallel but also with a lot of connections to the material destination. All the groups that are active in the destination

⁴⁰So in the end these might not be that different from Reijnders more timely steps.

⁴¹"It's Over 9,000!"

⁴²For example the photo frame (page 86) that is part of the Destination and induces the tourists to be used as photo opportunity that they can post online.

are also present here, creating co-production independently but also in coherence with what happens in the other plane. The additional social media plane has an advantage because it manifests subliminal experience (page 2) that could not be discovered elsewhere. I also incorporated this additional plane as it is a simple matter of dissemination of social media in society in general but also further its profound relationship with tourism (Destination group) and tourists (ST) (page 2) as well as its role in popular culture for the screen product (Production) and the fandom (ST). All of this taken together shows that a view of ST co-production without social networks could be incomplete at best. With all the adjustments and extensions to Reijnders media tourism co-production categorization and with the addition of the social media plane I still believe that the core of Reijnders method is helpful for this work. The central argument of ST as an act of co-production is still valid but I just exchanged and regrouped the actors involved. Co-production is still happening for an important part in the destination and the material world, I just added another place where it can happen with more angels of interaction. The relations of his theories to others in this work are still worthwhile as his relevancy is not diminished. The results of imaginative heritage from media tourism co-production are also not affected by these tweaks of the categorization. Reijnders prepared a good foundation for my advancements⁴³ and it has its undeniable place as core theory in this work.

⁴³Similar to my development of the term film tourism towards screen tourism (ST) on page 11 in chapter 2.1

2.3.2 Development and path dependencies of tourism and media

I structured this chapter 2.3.2 with the aim of tracing the historical development of tourism and media to identify its present consequences in chapter 4.1 showing the current state of screen tourism. These steps and paths of developments are the eclectic breadcrumbs throughout history that together trace the shared path of tourism and media through its past and present. In this chapter I want to lay out the detailed path that media and tourism took since mass tourism developed in the 19th century. The development of tourism and media gives us hints on what to expect from modern ST co-production. What were the path dependencies in ST that the case study of the BD at the WK is now behaving like described from chapters 3.3 to chapter 3.5. This chapter explicitly combines the common developments of ST, as in the proto gaze or literary tourism, on the one side and developments specific for the case study, as in exalted mountains or hiking. The case study is just the current iteration of this development continuing to evolve further into the future. The assumption was that media and tourism developed alongside and influenced each other since the protocinema.

Phase I: Protocinema

Paintings and early art

Since the 18th century, the viewing habits of early tourists⁴⁴, were shaped by the artistic norms of their era. It required landscapes to resemble the idealized scenes depicted in paintings. This *proto-gaze* influenced how landscapes were perceived, much like Casper David Friedrich's "Wanderer über dem Nebelmeer"⁴⁵ (1817) which epitomizes the romantic gaze. It is a lone hiker, not just in nature but triumphant in solitude, symbolizing man's stance not against nature, but as a counter to early industrialization. (cf. Aschenbrand 2017, p. 49 + 110–111) As landscapes transitioned from wild to exalted through the 19th century. Art and technology helped reshaped perceptions, instilling a mix of fear and admiration that spurred tourists to seek direct experiences with nature. By 1865, the aesthetic of an exalted nature had been democratized, broadening the access of these experiences to the masses. Tourism thus not only changed perceptions of nature but became intertwined with it, highlighting a mutual evolution of both nature and tourism as interconnected entities. (cf. Aschenbrand 2017, p. 49–51 + 66)

⁴⁴At this time primarily the upper-class elite (cf. Aschenbrand 2017, p. 49).

⁴⁵eng.: Wanderer Above the Sea of Fog

Photography

The age of the world as a photo Photography, once a privilege of artists, became a commonplace means of capturing reality. It evolved into a medium of communication and social expression by the early 20th century. (cf. Schreiber 2020, p. 204) By 1910, over one-third of American households owned a portable camera (Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 170), integrating photography into everyday life. Judging by its dominance over the last few centuries, it certainly looks like photography is a typical postmodern trait, as it especially seems to be for tourism and modern social media networks. Émile Zola captured this sentiment, suggesting one has not truly seen something until it is photographed. (cf. Schreiber 2020, p. 204; A. K. Scott 2018) Heidegger described modernity as "the age of the world as a picture (quoted in Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 166)", emphasizing the profound shift photography brought to the representation of reality: All of this was possible now: "From the infinitely large to the infinitely small, from the depths of the sea to the deepest recesses of the human body, from the perpetual motion of celestial bodies to the seething movement of microorganisms [...]" (Des Cars 2022, p. 5)."

The act of photographing The primary motivation behind photography has shifted from merely documenting events to the process of documentation itself, engaging with the technology and crafting a narrative through editing. In modern experience culture, photography has become an experiential act, where the technical ease of taking photos allows more focus on post-production and storytelling. (cf. van House 2011, p. 125ff; van House 2009; Groebner 2020, p. 105 and 106) This transformation empowers every individual to shape their own stories, effectively "become their own director or screenwriter [...]" (Löfgren 1999, p. 74)." Photography's appeal now lies even more so in the creative process of interpreting and transforming them through (digital) enhancements, making the efforts after shooting a photo an integral part of the modern tourist experience. By that this is creating a whole new plane where potential ST co-production can exist.

Change of perception Photography, from its early days, was captivating for its ability to quickly produce photos as vivid and real as the observed environment itself, a phenomenon described by Walter Benjamin (Benjamin 1993, p. 51). He highlighted the intrinsic relationship between the photographer and their camera, a dynamic that extends to tourists who use cameras to capture and shape their perceptions of the world. (cf. Benjamin 1993, p. 56). This connection also parallels how other technologies, like transport and cinema, influence our view of the world. Just as the cinema screen and train window extend our visual reach, the camera is illustrating how technology mediates our experience of reality.

Places began to travel In the 1880s, the advent of photography allowed places

to "travel" as tourists captured and shared images far more easily than they could through a painting. Unlike the costly and time-consuming process of landscape painting, photographs could be quickly produced and widely distributed, making distant places accessible and connecting them in new economic and visual relationships. Places began to travel as photos to the people that could not reach them physically. A development that continued until today to live photos with a camera in everyone's pocket. This shift transformed photography from a mere reflective tool (like painting was) into an active technology of world-making. In Walter Benjamin's view, the mechanical reproduction of photos catered to a modern desire to bridge distances and bring the world closer together. This was turning photographs into instruments of place-making rather than mere representations of reality. Photos are not statements about the world but part of it. (cf. Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 166–168)

History of hiking

Hiking into modernity At the dawn of the twentieth century, walking transitioned from a perilous necessity to a leisurely and cultural activity, influenced by changing perceptions of nature. Francesco Petrarca, who climbed Mount Ventoux (France) in the 14th century, epitomized this shift. Previously seen as dangerous or utilitarian, walking became a form of recreation when Petrarca climbed the mountain not out of necessity but for pleasure. This act not only marked the beginning of recreational hiking but also symbolized the transformative view of nature from adversary to ally and a source of enjoyment. (cf. Rosenplänter 2020a, p. 2; Leather and Gibson 2019, p. 80ff) "Und da gehen die Menschen hin zu bewundern die Höhen der Berge, das mächtige Wogen des Meeres, die breiten Gefälle der Ströme, die Weiten des Ozeans und den Lauf der Gestirne und verlassen dabei sich selbst,"⁴⁶ as quote from a letter from Petrarca to Dionysius (Confessiones X, eight).⁴⁷ A sentiment that can still be found in modern reflections about tourism. Petrarca's journey was revolutionary, introducing the concept of traveling for pleasure long before the formal establishment of tourism. His reflections emphasized the marvels of natural landscapes and set a precedent for the values cherished in tourism today. Cited as the father of mountain tourism (alpinism) and a precursor to modernity, Petrarca's influence extends beyond hiking and his time: His actions were laying foundational elements for future perceptions of travel, leisure and the archetype of mountain destinations. His

⁴⁶ „And people go to marvel at the heights of the mountains, the immense tides of the sea, the broadly flowing streams, the vastness of the ocean and the paths of the stars and forget about themselves (Translated from German by deep1.com).“

⁴⁷ Found in a NZZ article about Francesco Petrarca and whether he was really on the mountain or not.

ascent of Mount Ventoux is also regarded as an early form of media tourism, linking physical travel with the consumption and creation of media narratives. (cf. Aschenbrand 2017, p. 76 + 115; Petrarca 2014, p. 43; Rosenplänter 2020a, p. 2; Reijnders 2021, p. 2) This connection between mountains and tourism has evolved into what Enzensberger describes as the "incitement of tourism (Aschenbrand 2017, p. 113 + 114)", particularly alpinism, which continues to thrive today. Following in Petrarca's footsteps, the Romantics further developed walking as a lifestyle, now integral to holidays in mountainous regions like the Alps. Today it serves also as both a personal and cultural critique.⁴⁸ (cf. Aschenbrand 2017, p. 46 + 66 + 113 + 114; Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 22)

Missing hikers Even in the early tourist rush to the Alps, artists like Lugardon romanticized the region, depicting idyllic landscapes free of people or infrastructure — found again in today's social media depictions. Despite the presence of hikers, they were absent from artistic representations until the era of selfies. Nowadays, discussions about hiking are intrinsically linked to descriptions of the landscape. The Instagram hashtag #hiking (figure 2.9) features predominantly panoramic views or self-portraits against spectacular natural backdrops. Nature is present in the absolute majority of photos, people in more than half nowadays. (cf. Aschenbrand 2017 119 + 121; Leather and Gibson 2019, p. 80ff) But the persons in the photos are only yourself and your peers but almost exclusively not other tourists

or tourism staff, so the absence of tourists and infrastructure stayed the same over the time.

Hiking into the past For Bollnow, hiking's evolution into post-tourist utopia is not an escape but a polarity between everyday life and nature. The WK mountains and nature counteract modern life⁴⁹: No big houses, paths that seem to follow the terrain

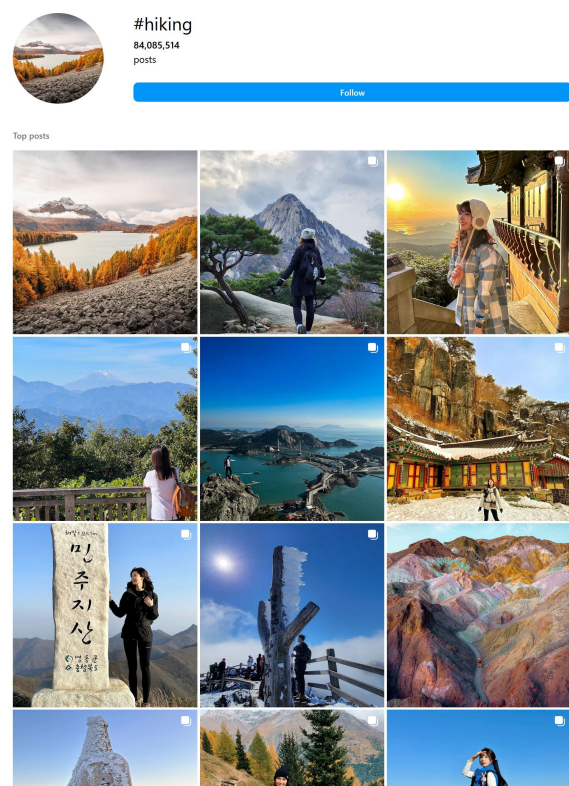


Figure 2.9: Instagram hashtag #hiking (Source: Instagram screenshot (30.11.2023)).

⁴⁸Which is discussed in a later section on page 120.

⁴⁹How feelings of nostalgia and the exalted nature of the Alps fit together is explained in paragraph

and a simple, straightforward space in the valley between the mountains. Our artificial and complicated daily life in postmodern cities evokes feelings of nostalgia, not for lived times but a mythical past, pure and "not yet spoiled by modernity (J. Chen and N. Chen 2017, p. 3)"⁵⁰. Since the 18th century, proto-tourists equated travel with a journey back in time but what they meant were spaces where the beauty of the past was still (lived) reality⁵¹. The WK, with its traditional farms, romantic mountains and hiking paths, embodies this nostalgia. This landscape is showcased in the *Heimatfilm* genre (page 119), highlighting traditional values and harmony with nature (page 119). "When nature is taken as the antidote to the pressures of modern life, it is framed within a hyperreality of perpetual growth (Leather and Gibson 2019, p. 81)." The simulation of nature and the outdoors in screen products, media and ST communication can be understood as the nostalgic act to restore what once has been eliminated and "nature was never glorified quite so much before it was everywhere laid waste," says Baudrillard 1998 (Baudrillard 2012, p. 101)

Establishing of the exalted nature

The Beauty and the exalted Beast Hiking offers a physically demanding experience, rewarded by panoramic views at the summit, though mountain railways can ease the journey. (cf. Aschenbrand 2017, p. 120) With height comes a better view and a stronger sense of transcendence. The higher you go, the more you can touch the alleged (christian) paradise. The mountains take on a context beyond their original meaning and become exalted! The sea is also sometimes marked as exalted, but only the tourist experience in alpine landscapes has been consistently linked to this aesthetic. (cf. Aschenbrand 2017, p. 113 + 114 + 243; Leather and Gibson 2019, p. 80) The aesthetic of the "picturesque" in Alpine landscapes with the sublime mountain peaks with serene valleys and green forests contrasts the exalted visual of the mountain peaks.⁵² Already in the paintings of the 19th century, mountains are shown in contrast to something beautiful. This stylistic dialectic enhances the exalted nature of the mountains, a theme evident and popular today, as in figure 2.9. (cf. Aschenbrand 2017, p. 117 + 118)

Retro desire for the exalted alps in a time of acceleration The Alps are often view-

2.3.2.

⁵⁰That hiking was the beginning of modernity and a big step towards a different life experience that drives all the changes up to this point is of course again the postmodern simultaneous dichotomy that can be ignored.

⁵¹This is what we can call post-romantic.

⁵²As seen in the BD case study: Beautiful townscapes and the mysterious rocks of the WK, or the happy family life against the life-threatening unusual illness of patience. (Source: ten season of the BD TV show)

ed through a lens of nostalgia and the allure of a mythic past, a sentiment intensified in our rapidly accelerating (digital) times. These mountain landscapes serve as canvases for retro-inspired sentiments. If we look at the spaces of the Alps like the WK, we find hills that are little used for agriculture, old buildings, a dominance of natural influences, a fragmented infrastructure and so on. In this setting, each element helps reconstruct and narrate tales of a bygone era. This is making the Alps not just a destination but a storyteller of historical myths. For tourists, they evoke nostalgia for a time that is more myth than reality. The tourist listens in awe to these stories at the destination that brought him there in the first place. (cf. Mele and Egberts 2023, p. 789 + 799ff; Groebner 2020, p. 80 + 81) In the imagination of the tourists, concluded by Reijnders et al., these nostalgic places are dominant. The imagination of these people are directed further into the past, then into the future making nostalgic stories a good fit for potential ST. (cf. Reijnders and van Es 2022, p. 26) These nostalgic places create an emotionally charged background for screen productions and create a strong affection for the destination. This quest for the past is preserved and perpetuated in tourists' photographs, capturing a scene that will soon itself be a desire of nostalgia. The acceleration of our world has supported not its development but the existence of the exalted nature of the Alps⁵³. The accelerated image turnover of Instagram makes every post old within days but what stays in the minds of the users is the destination depicted that creates a nostalgic allure while the post itself is long forgotten.

Developments in society

The invention of leisure time The 19th century was an era of major technological advances that continue to influence our lives today, such as the invention of the light bulb, the telegraph, the telephone, the power grid and modern rail transport. (cf. Rosenplänter 2020b, min. 00:02:40ff) Increased automation and streamlined, interconnected processes gave workers more leisure time. These innovations coincided with the rise of wealth in the global North and laid the groundwork for modern tourism. Without leisure, tourism would not be possible because no one would have time for it! Leisure soon became the antithesis of the organized and structured working day. (cf. Aschenbrand 2017, p. 55) As leisure emerged as a break from the structured working day, it also fostered the growth of mass media consumption, which in itself offered a new way to spend leisure time. These new mass media also took on the role of a dialectical medium of what else to do with this time. (cf. Rowe 2006, p. 317–331) Tourism was a co-product of available leisure time and of mass media establishing destinations to go to - also of course the developing transport Technologies

⁵³This is also supported by the theories of Baudrillard and the simulation on page 237.

had their share of a climbing tourism trend.

The development of tourism out of leisure time In order to develop an urge to travel to a destination, one must first know that it exists. In a discursive social dialogue, a place has to gain relevance in order to be considered as a holiday destination. Leisure time made it possible to travel, but the media made people want to go to certain places. (cf. Aschenbrand 2017, p. 242) With disposable leisure time, it became possible for people to use their lifetime for more than just family and work. But first they had to use their time to consume media, such as newspapers, books and the first films, in order to be induced to visit the places they had discovered. Leisure time made media consumption and tourism possible, but the influx of people to travel came from media and especially the moving pictures, (Kirby 1997, p. 134ff + 146ff)

The effects of an accelerating world

Technological acceleration was the driving force behind the shrinking of the world in the 19th century. With the fast trains and the expanding railway network, as well as new communication technologies in the following centuries such as telegraphy, radio and telephone, the compression of time and space made modernity possible. As knowledge about the world has a rapidly decreasing half-life, it becomes less worth knowing, harder to verify realities and less important to tell the truth. And if you have less factual, applicable knowledge about the world, you have "shrinking presence", as Hermann Lübbe defined it. (cf. Rosa 2016, p. 232–234; Harvey 1989, p. 260ff + 284ff) This is a world where fiction can exist on a level playing field with reality, as evidenced by the ST phenomenon in its destinations.

Tourism safety and adventure

Tourists often seek both safety and adventure, a contradiction that DMOs need to balance. Something as simple as interacting with locals in a foreign language can be seen as an adventure compared to routine tasks at home. (cf. Aschenbrand 2017, p. 246–247) Pre-travel information and emotional connections facilitated by the media can enhance a sense of security while maintaining the thrill of adventure. A role that could be filled by a screen product. Fictional screen products in particular can help here, with their strong emotional impact on the fan, providing more than just information about the destination. "The foreign unknown is harmless in the world of tourism, and shocks are coming in the 'package deal' with predictability (Bauman 2011, p. 29 + 30)." Being prepared by a TV show of what to expect makes you feel safer than what you get by looking only at beautiful promotional material, and when you travel to the WK on the Autobahn with a vignette, sleeping in a 4-Star Ho-

tel, going up the mountains with a lift and having a 4G internet connection all the way then this is not an adventure but tourism infrastructure made for you. Security allows consumption, but it is never an adventure. Security is often only a medialized feeling. A security co-production of physical security at the destination and a sense of security with a dip of adventure through screen products like the BD. You are close to the adventures of the BD at the screen location without being physically harmed or in actual danger. ST offers the safety of modern mass tourism with the emotional proximity to an adventure.

Markers and history

History as off-sight marker History and stories play an important role in the appropriation of landscapes when traveling. History is a learned cultural practice and a natural part of tourist habits at a destination. It can be said that history is nothing more than a narrative about our past, a life that has become a story to be told in the future. This relationship between history and travel dates back to Pausanias' account of his travels in Ancient Greece. Tourist sites are often not just appreciated for their aesthetics but for the historical and mythological narratives they embody. These stories charge the artifacts with relevance and meaning in a discursive and dialectical mode (through the media). It takes always to sides to come together: The destination or artifact and the story or history behind them to get a sight worth seeing. The fabric of a place must inherit something greater than the combined pieces of itself: "A pile of appropriately textured sand is nothing until it is turned into a sandcastle (Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 119)," as Urry writes. This (narrative) information becomes a marker or sign for places and objects of interest, with media playing a key role in broadcasting these stories to a wider audience. History functions, as MacCannell shows, as an off-sight marker. (cf. Aschenbrand 2017, p. 102ff; Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 119 + 120)

Identifying on-sight markers When visiting the WK destination, the on-sight marker, like the sign of the practice in front of the fictional location⁵⁴ in figure 2.10, directly indicates a location's relevance and doubles as a prop in the show. On-sight markers are typically confined to their physical places like street signs, while off-sight markers come from external sources and are often sourced from media or historical contexts. They both guide tourists by signifying points of interest, one physically and the other mentally. (cf. Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 119; Aschenbrand 2017, p. 103 + 104; Böcher 2018)

⁵⁴This was actually stolen so many times that they replaced the sign of the new famous BD main character with his fictional predecessor in the series (see figure 2.10).



Figure 2.10: Andrea Diener with the two versions of the fictional Mountain Doctor practice sign in front of the screen location (Source: screenshot from David 2015).

Proto screen tourists and pilgrimage

Imagination needs places The imagination in your head needs places to materialize. This could be explained by a theory of separate worlds: You live in an empirical, measurable world, but there is also the world of imagination, of stories out there and fantasies in your mind. They are usually separate, but when they come together in one place, they create meaningful human experiences. For Caughey this means: "The quotidian becomes unusual, while at the same time the strange and unknown is

made usual (Reijnders 2011, p. 15)."⁵⁵ (cf. Reijnders 2011, p. 15)

Proximity is transformation From the diverging realities in the media and your personal experience of the world comes a desire for proximity. People want to be close to the stars and stories they encounter in media. ST is exactly that: Bringing people from their media world of David Hume's so-called "absent present (Hume 1740, p. 123)" to be on-site witnesses at the destination.⁵⁶ ST is just one form that fulfills this desire to ground the imagination in material places. Place is still important and today no less than before.⁵⁷ (cf. Reijnders 2011, p. 106; van Es et al. 2021, p. 5–7 + 294) But it is always ambiguous in post modernity, as Waysdorf notes: "To be there, however we define 'there,' is important, even if 'there' does not really exist (Ibid., p. 294)." These processes of transformation change not only each group involved, but also the physical destination and the networked spaces, as the case study in chapter 3.4 has shown.

Pilgrimage as proto (screen) tourism Tourism, which evolved from early pilgrimages, continues to include the obligatory visit to churches and participation in spiritual rituals well into the 21st century. Pilgrimage and tourism are both practices of searching: They reflect an eternal quest for self-discovery and connection. (cf. Amirou (2012), cited in Aschenbrand 2017, p. 54 + 55; Aschenbrand 2017, p. 79) Originally established by religions, sacred sites served as tangible anchors for intan-

⁵⁵Problematic here is the binary division between imagination and reality, which cannot be maintained in post modernity. More on this critique on page 4.1.

⁵⁶There is a long tradition of people trying to locate places from media, possibly beginning with the work of Petrarch as early as the 14th century, and with a big boom during the Age of Romanticism that continues to this day. (cf. van Es et al. 2021, p. 7; Reijnders, Boross, and Balan 2022, p. 93)

⁵⁷Also, visible in the use of geotags (page 92) to place the digital social media posts in the world.

gible beliefs. In secular terms: Religions were the ones who started creating places for fiction. These sacred destinations, central to every religion through the ages, also function as repositories of collective memory; in effect, these places seem to freeze time and thus shape memory. (cf. Reijnders 2011, p. 13-16)

New forms of spirituality Tourism might indeed be seen as a new form of religion for the postmodern era, with travel influencers acting as its new priests and travel guides akin to sacred texts. "Moving around and experiencing the absolute here elsewhere seems to be postmodernism's way of salvation," wrote Wöhler 2013. (cf. Aschenbrand 2017, p. 54–55) As traditional religious influence diminishes, tourism offers a new way to find meaning and transcendence. Similar to how landscapes in art before, like those by Caspar David Friedrich, shows the compensation of religion in a new kind of relationship with the landscape and have taken on a nearly divine significance. (cf. Aschenbrand 2017, p. 11) This shift reflects a broader societal change where the narrative told about a place often becomes more important than the place itself, echoing the doctrinal influence historically wielded by religions like the Catholic Church. (cf. Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 149ff) As social networks became the discourse platforms of post modernity it is the object in the destination that looses is power: "The fame of the object becomes its meaning (Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 149)." Similar to pilgrimages, when fans become STs they consider the sacred places of their fandom as the intersection of reality and imagined worlds. This is actually not a new form of spirituality but one place can now have potentially several imagined worlds and you can be a fan of all of them. (cf. Månsson et al. 2020, p. 309)

From pilgrimage to screen tourism Pilgrimage is a precursor of standard tourism, but it has even more in common with ST. The need to place one's imagination, either a god or a fictional narrative (sometimes indistinguishable), is a strong similarity. While historically pilgrimages blended religious devotion with cultural and leisure experiences, ST does similarly with fandom, transforming viewers' adoration for fictional content into physical journeys. Reijnders suggests (Reijnders 2011, p. 105) that both forms of tourism are responses to the need to externalize desires for something transcendent. This is underscoring how modernity's push to make the immaterial tangible has only intensified with the rise of digital media. As we continue to digitalize and dematerialize experiences, tangible interactions with places depicted in media become even more significant, not as a contradiction but as a natural consequence of our medialized worldview. (cf. Reijnders 2011, p. 13ff and 105ff; Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 5; van Es et al. 2021, p. 289; Reijnders 2021, p. 3)

From foot to train

It is not a journey, but a departure and arrival Previously, travel on foot meant engaging deeply with the journey itself, epitomized by the German saying, "the way is the goal". The appropriation of the landscape changed from walking paths to the train carriage. Traveling by train introduced a focus on the beginning and end, home and destination, reducing the journey to merely the means to an end. (cf. Aschenbrand 2017, p. 77) This shift allowed more people to travel further and faster, not emphasizing the experience of travel itself. "The train takes the tourist directly to the destination and the journey is only an arrival (Aschenbrand 2017, p. 77)." The train, much like later mountain railways and gondolas, brought tourists directly to their destinations, prioritizing efficiency over experiential depth, thus reshaping the relationship between travelers and the landscape as well as prioritizing the destination in modern (alpine) travel.

Pictorial exploration at the destination As early as the 19th century, the destination of a railway line had to be an exceptional place. Landscape was no longer experienced traveling physically, but rather pictorially at the train destination. As Burckhardt puts it: "Der Gast des 19. Jahrhunderts bezieht sein Hotelzimmer, schlägt die Vorhänge zurück und sieht aus seinem Fenster [...] das Idealbild der typischen Alpen [...]; im Idealfall stimmt das vom Fenster gerahmte Bild mit jenem überein, das der Reise im Reiseprospekt schon vorgefunden hat (Ritter and Burckhardt 2006, p. 268)."⁵⁸ (cf. Aschenbrand 2017, p. 77–78) Continuing the development of the construction of houses with picturesque views, hotels were also built in the same way from this age on. Sitting safely and comfortably on your hotel balcony (page 51) overlooking spectacular urban and natural landscapes. This was already recognized at the time as the "spectacle-isation [SIC] of fishing villages (Drachmann (1881), p. 62 found in Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 159)". Thus, tourism evolved from a physical journey into a visual consumption of scenery. (cf. Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 159 + 160; Aschenbrand 2017, p. 77–78) This is paving the way for future iterations on tourism, media co-developments and influences onto each other.

Information of the world

The absent present David Hume's 18th-century theory of the "absent present" suggests that imagination is essential to the creation of ideas. Imagination is stemming from sensory perception and forms ideas that evolve into a mental framework in which "old experiences could be ranked and new experiences interpreted (van Es

⁵⁸"The guest of the 19 hundreds goes into his hotel room, opens the curtains and looks out of the window [...] to find the ideal mountainscape of the alps [...]; ideally the framed view out of the hotel window is the same as the traveler saw before arriving in the brochure (translated by deep1.com)."

et al. 2021, p. 5)". Imagination initially filled world's information gaps, a concept furthered by Kant, who believed that "a coherent experience of the world is simply impossible" and therefore the imagination does not come after experience but precedes it. (cf. van Es et al. 2021, p.5ff) This later concept relates to ST, where fictional narratives feeds the imagination and fills in the gaps about the destination. Going to a destination is then only filling the gaps left from the fiction world of the screen product. The pieces for these gaps can come from personal experiences, supplied by the tourism industry or can be seen directly as the landscape of the destination.

Confirmation in the real world Imagination is inherently linked to sensory experiences. For even "the wildest fantasies spring from something recognizable (Reijnders 2011, p. 15)". We can only imagine as far as our knowledge allows: What you do not know, you cannot imagine, where there are no words, you cannot describe.⁵⁹ Every imagined concept, whether personal or depicted in media, was inspired by the physical world. The imagined narratives are variations or mirrors of your world. (cf. Reijnders 2011, p. 15; van Es et al. 2021, p. 6) Completing the cycle where reality inspires imagination, which we then seek to see reflected in the world.

Phase II: The birth of cinema and modern worlds

The development of city and rural

Media often depict stereotypical landscapes, leading to skewed perceptions of places: Mountains appear isolated and cities overcrowded (figure 2.11). This portrayal shapes tourist expectations and reinforces the idea of the countryside as an ideal retreat for city dwellers. "Having a city grow up around you is not an uncommon American experience (Solnit 2007, p. 72)" and not only for Americans and the global north but increasingly the whole globalized world! Historically, as cities grew denser in the 19th and 20th centuries, urban architecture may make residents feel confined in what Benjamin calls the "Kerkerwelt" (eng. Dungeon).⁶⁰

Tourism as an end to itself

The invention of gazing In the Christian pilgrimage tradition, the landscape was initially unimportant and went largely unremarked due to limited opportunities to look and means to talk about their impressions. However, as the modern age ushered in leisure time (see page 50) and Romantic thinkers pioneered ways to appreciate and discuss landscapes, gazing at landscapes developed into a deliberate activity.

⁵⁹This was also touched upon slightly after page 107. Outside of this work, the theories around *Neusprech* and the *Major Consensive Narrative* discuss this phenomenon.

⁶⁰And this is exactly the narrative of the pilot episode of the BD series. On page 119 the plot is explained in more detail.

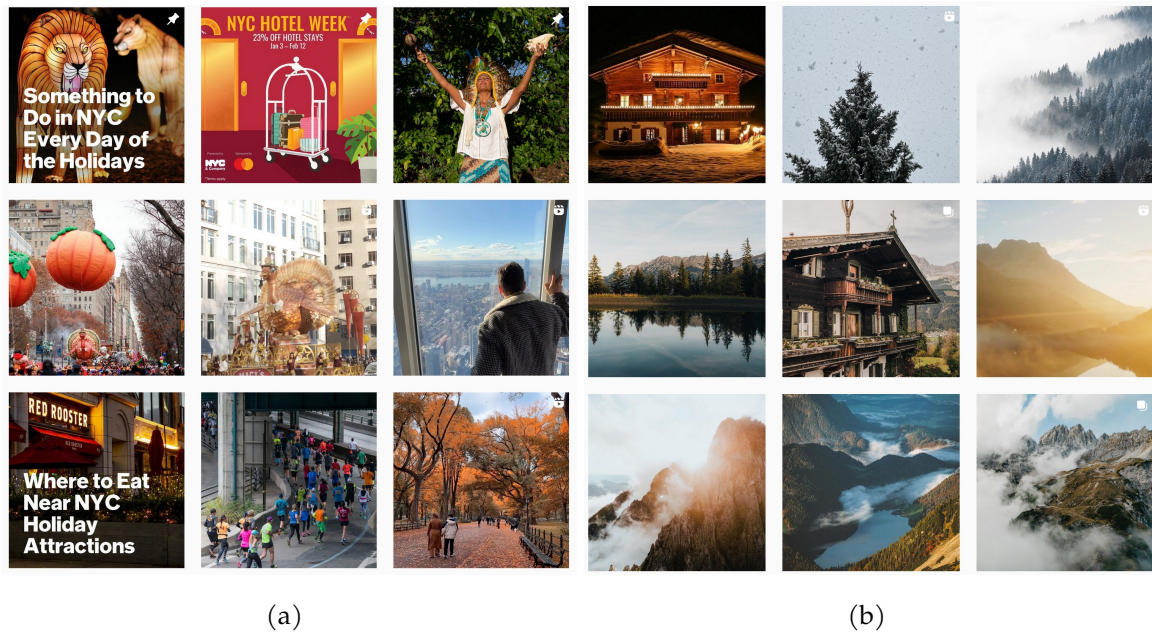


Figure 2.11: (a) Instagram page of New York (USA) DMO. (b) In contrast the Wilder Kaiser (Austria) DMO (Source for (a) and (b): Instagram Screenshot (25.11.2022)).

Gazing at landscapes was an invention! That was what cinema found and built upon. Travel evolved from a scholastic pursuit to an end in itself, focusing more on the experience and visual enjoyment, evidenced by the proliferation of travel guides at the time. (cf. Aschenbrand 2017, p. 76; Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 6)

The flaneur In the 1880s, new technologies of representation began to proliferate. These included dioramas⁶¹ but also postcards⁶², guidebooks⁶³, photographs⁶⁴, but also arcades and cafés, and simpler mirrors and stained-glass windows. The *flaneur* emerged as a key figure, engaging with these spaces through leisurely exploration. He uses these spaces, walks through them and gazes at things as he goes. Similarly, the perspectives of train passengers, car drivers and plane passengers were transformed by their modes of transport, illustrating Urry's point that "The arrival changes the nature of vision (Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 162)." This evolution highlights how transportation technologies influence our perception of space. (cf. Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 162) Which hints at what newer technologies like smartphones, ubiquitous internet, social networks and ST communication are able to do with the experiences of destinations together with other agents and phenomena.

⁶¹More on this from Kirby in Kirby 1997.

⁶²Mentioned on page 65.

⁶³The link with leisure on page 57.

⁶⁴Detailed on page 46.

The story of cinema and railway

The conjoined development of cinema and the railway The link between cinema and transport technologies (especially the railways) is deeply rooted in the development of the two apparatuses, which Kirby explores in detail in her book "Parallel tracks (Kirby 1997)". This is not only because the two technologies began to spread throughout the world in the same century, but the relationship between them was already established when it started - in the protocinema phase: "[...] the railroad was, first of all, a social, perceptual and ideological paradigm providing early film spectators with a familiar experience and familiar stories, with an established mode of perception that assisted in instituting the new medium and in constituting its public and its subject (Kirby 1997, p. 2 + 3)." The prefixes' cine- or kino- signify movement as one of the key components of cinema, as Lukinbeal explains. (cf. Lukinbeal and Zimmermann 2008, p. 89) Technologies of tourism and the media are intertwined since their mutual evolution in the last hundreds of years giving way for a post modern version of their co-development in the case study.

The train as cultural image When cinema was established, the perceptual and social paradigms of modern mobile urban societies in the West were already deeply ingrained. Railways, having set the stage for cinema's evolution, became a potent cultural symbol within film history, exemplified by the famous Lumière brothers' ⁶⁵ 1895 film "The Arrival of the Train at La Ciotat Station" (A. Lumière and L. Lumière 1896). This early connection is further highlighted by the world's first tracking shot, filmed from an electric railway by a Lumière cameraman in 1897 (Promio 1897). (cf. Böcher and Pasternak 2017, p. 24–27; Geddes and Gregory 2014, p. 144) Early cinema's close relationship with railways is underscored by continued works



Figure 2.12: Buster Keaton in the front of the train like the cameras of the early genre of train movies. Photo from the production of the all-time great silent (train) film "The General" (Bruckmann and Keaton 1926) (Source: Filmdienst.de (30.11.2023)).

⁶⁵The famous pioneers of the first films that ever saw this earth.

from iconic filmmakers like George Méliès, Edwin S. Porter, D.W. Griffith, Dziga Vertov, Buster Keaton (figure 2.12) and John Ford, who prominently featured trains in their films and narratives.

Holiday productions

The Western genre, exemplified by "The Great Train Robbery" in 1903 (Porter 1903), was one of the first popular genres. Westerns uniquely benefited from the freedom to shoot on location, offering financial and creative independence similar to the liberated mindset of tourists. Far from the constraints of everyday settings, they could fully unleash their creativity. Hollywood stars and crews also relished the privacy afforded away from the "prying eyes of Hollywood (Frost 2006, p. 5)". Privileged members of the production crew often treating these shoots as a holiday, engaging in leisure activities like hunting or fishing. (cf. Dickinson 1973, p. 85; McBride 2001, p. 419; Rothel 1990, p. 63 + 69) This is similar to some elite members of the BD production crew see their time at the WK (figure 2.13), with the DMO actively pushing this and working together to create a heaven like destination where even work looks like leisure.

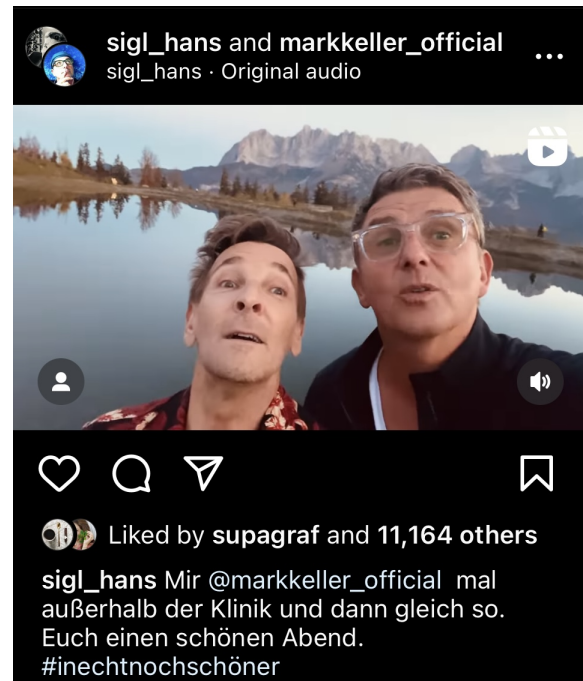


Figure 2.13: The actors from the Mountain Doctor are promoting the destination, playing golf and enjoying the view while shooting in the region (source: Instagram screenshot with post ID 8VdK6YAagz).

Spatial techniques of film

Narratives as containers Narratives can include the contingent, the unpredictable and the ironic in history and culture, as well as its spaces and times. Spaces become places as a product of humanity's attempt to represent and preserve meaningful experiences. They do this through language, art and ritual. Places are created as much by tangible experience as by the imagination within narratives. (cf. Weller 2013, p. 32) This is why the spatial techniques of screen products are important, and cinema in particular has established a strong grip on these place-making narratives. Place are created by being there but also by imagining being there and this comes together in ST when out of an imaginary world you finally arrive at the space.

Vistas and establishing shots Cinema and its proto-cinematic predecessors are highly charged spatial media⁶⁶. They often employ panoramic shots that mirror the sweeping views typical at tourist destination vistas. These panoramas are used to establish a sense of place and are called establishing shots and are often the first of a specific scene. However, cinema can also present fantastical, otherworldly views inaccessible in reality. Techniques like aerial views and intricate camera movements can create a hyperrealistic cartography that distinguishes film topography from actual places, offering perspectives that transcend normal human experience. (cf. Geddes and Gregory 2014, p. 149–150)

Recognizable landscapes Every screen product uses landscape to some extent. Some of them closer to reality (for example "Once Upon a Time in the West" Leone 1968) and some of them far away ("Blade Runner" R. Scott 1982) or completely generated ("Avatar" Cameron 2009). And it does not even matter if it is all CGI, as Escher writes in his article "Naturaneignung in Hollywood?" (Escher 2012). In order for the audience to locate the narrative, you need a recognizable environment to which you can attribute a real place. (cf. Reijnders 2011, p. 111) The landscape does not have to be real, it just has to resemble a real counterpart, so that the fiction is "grafted onto existing landscapes (Reijnders 2011, p. 111)". But what is also happening is that the continued extent of digital effects in fictional world building is creating tensions between "the depictions of specific landscapes and the potentials for audience recognition of these, because it becomes more difficult for tourists to perceive a 'realistic' [highlight by source] sense of place (Månsson et al. 2020, p. 117)".

Virtual travel Early cinema techniques "[...] enables audiences to travel virtually, to experience the filmed locations at a distance [...] (Tzanelli 2007, p. 3)", enhancing the immersion to the point where distinguishing real from virtual becomes increasingly difficult. As audiences engage with these cinematic representations, they feel compelled to visit the actual places, blending imagination with the visual journey initiated by the screen product. (cf. Tzanelli 2007, p. 3) Virtual travel has long been a reality, and it continues to evolve with technology. It is just that the level of immersion is getting higher, congruent with an increasingly impossible task to separate the real from the virtual.

Film as a revolutionary medium

Visual dominance Film has elevated the visual sense in Western culture, exemplified by ST. For instance, J. R. R. Tolkien's books did not mention New Zealand, but Peter Jackson's "The Lord of the Rings" film trilogy (Jackson 2001) linked it to Middle-earth. New Zealand became Middle-earth despite being a fictional continent

⁶⁶More on this later in the section about the spatial turn on page 53.

in a high fantasy setting. Even with a subtle blend of real and artificial visuals in the movies, this association shows the overwhelming influence visuals can have, even dominating other senses and media types. (cf. Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 18; New Zealand Institute of Economic Research 2002; S. Li, H. Li, et al. 2017)

The blurred lines of cinema Movies uniquely blend myth and reality, creating an intermediate world where anything is possible. This "world in between (Blochner 2003, p.51)" has blurred the lines between fiction and reality. In modernity, fiction and reality have come closer together. Films and cinema are one of the places of transition. Films often focus on everyday details so effectively that they often feel more real than reality itself. In contrast to cyberspace, which remains distinct⁶⁷, film is deeply integrated into our lives and culture, making the distinction between real and fictional worlds less clear and less necessary. In a medialized and mediatized world, it is no longer possible or tempting to separate reality from fiction. (cf. Ibid., p. 50–52 + 210) This integration has made cinema a dominant form of entertainment since the early 20th century, contributing to phenomena such as ST: London's famous Baker Street, made familiar through Sherlock Holmes, is "more real by far to tourists than are the hotels they temporarily occupy (Tuan 1991, p. 690-691)".

The Age of Mechanical Reproduction

The art transformed the world through reproduction Art's transformation of the visible world has progressed notably since the invention of Gutenberg's printing press, evolving through photography, cinema and culminating in the hype cycles of social media. Walter Benjamin noted that film has been the most potent agent of this transformation (at his lifetime), for better or worse, significantly altering our sensory perception of the world. The technical reproduction of moving images via film has not only changed landscapes from coastlines to mountain ranges but also fundamentally altered our concepts of matter, space and time. (cf. Benjamin 1993, p. 14) Benjamin writes in the 1960s: "Weder die Materie, noch der Raum, noch die Zeit sind seit zwanzig Jahren, was sie seit jeher gewesen sind (Ibid., p. 8)."⁶⁸ This shift is rooted in the newfound ease of reproducing images for mass consumption. A stark contrast to the earlier, more labor-intensive methods of art reproduction. (cf. Ibid., p. 8–10) Today not only one (moving) image can change the world but it is the reproduction of one into many. It is not a horizontal co-effort but a vertical one that changes by multiplication of what the world looks like.

⁶⁷In recent years, cyberspace has become more and more part of your life with mobile technologies, digital life and augmented reality.

⁶⁸"Neither the matter, nor the space, nor the time are since twenty years what they have always been (Translated by deep1.com)."



Figure 2.14: Mountain-Doctor-Meme from social media (source: Twitter post)



Figure 2.15: Characters with the same name in "Die Hard" (McTiernan 1988) and BD (Source: Unknown internet source).

Screen tourism against the mechanical reproduction ST could be seen as a reaction to the loss of uniqueness in reproduced art, as tourists seek out the real places they have seen on screen.⁶⁹ (cf. Fletchall, Lukinbeal, and MacHugh 2012, p. 110) Reproduction can only bring it into a hyperreal situation, it cannot replicate the here and now of the original: "Unter der Großaufnahme dehnt sich der Raum, unter der Zeitlupe die Bewegung [der Zeit, D.B.] (Benjamin 1993, p. 36)."⁷⁰ It is a different nature that is visible to the apparatus of the camera than to the human eye. Before, most spaces were discovered consciously and directly, but with the new media it is now mostly indirect access to spaces. For example, the photo of a remote glacier is now visible to everyone on Instagram in the palm of their hand on the way to work. Reproductions transform specific moments into anytime, anywhere experiences, democratizing access but diluting the *aura*. The aura is the unique character found only in physical proximity, like looking at a mountain range on a clear Sunday, as Benjamin explains. (cf. Ibid., p. 13ff, 35ff, 50) ST visit these real places to connect with the aura lost in reproduction. So reproduction is reducing the aura only around its reproduced units but is refreshing its pull to seek it for themselves as ST.

Reproduction as ritual Technical reproduction emancipated art from tradition and cult. (cf. Ibid., p. 17) Over time, the reproduction of art and media became part of every corner of society. Reproduction became just another process in the globalized world. You can almost state that technical reproduction is a post modern tradition. It

⁶⁹. But the question remains whether they are really looking for the 'real' place, and whether destinations such as WK can offer this. This thesis will try to answer this in the case study on page 136.

⁷⁰"Under the close-up the space stretches and with slow-motion the movement [of time, D.B.] (Translated by deep1.com)."

is a ritual amongst other and found its pop-cultural expression in the visual culture of the internet. Reproduction is part of the DNA of the Internet and people have become habitual in making memes (figure 2.14 and 2.15). (cf. Hiro 2011, p. 1)

Exhibition through reproduction With advancements in reproduction techniques since photography, art's exhibition factor has risen, while its cult value has diminished. Benjamin highlights that "im flüchtigen Ausdruck eines Menschengesichts winkt aus den frühen Photographien die Aura zum letzten Mal (Benjamin 1993, p. 21)".⁷¹ But as this aura fades, exhibition value predominates. In tourism, the representation of people persists and has adapted to the digital age, where selfies have become a common form of expression through mobile cameras on social networks. (cf. Benjamin 1993, p. 20 + 21; Eberle 2017, p. 13ff) Is the selfie really the last resort of the cult in post modernity? And how many selfies like in figure 2.16 can be identified in the case study (page 136) of this work?

Producers and consumers As reproduction technology evolved, the subjects of photography shifted from elite portraits to include everyday people, democratizing media representation. This change, amplified by the affordability of photographic equipment, transformed individuals into both audience and contributors, particularly evident in the rise of photography⁷² itself that became accessible to the masses. (cf. Benjamin 1993, p. 29) Today, we see a culture of *prosumers* who simultaneously experience and create content. In tourism today, this is very clear as travelers consume tourism experiences and produces (social media) photo content about it. The tourist's consumed experience becomes the content but you do not need digital technology for that. Content like sending postcards (page 65), writing reviews or posting photos online becomes the consumed content of others - possible future tourists. The line between consumer and creator has blurred, a trend that began with early media but has been greatly accelerated by the internet. (cf. Ibid., p. 29; Yoo and Gretzel 2011, p. 611; Neuhofer, Buhalis, and Ladkin 2012, p. 7)



Figure 2.16: A Screen Tourist making a selfie in front of the Mountain Doctors family home (Source: Instagram screenshot with post ID CDMyx-sFLBx).

⁷¹"In the fleeting expression of a human face, the aura beckons from the early photographs for the last time (translated by deep1.com)."

⁷²And later with the combined use of smartphones and social media.

A medium of control Technical reproduction changes not only the medium, but also the relationship between the medium and the consuming masses. A mass that had just been created with the newly established mass medium of cinema. In films, like all technically reproduced media, typically "das Konventionelle wird kritiklos genossen, das wirklich Neue kritisiert man mit Widerwillen (Benjamin 1993, p. 33)."⁷³ Going to the cinema is not an isolated, singular reception of art, like reading a book or looking at a painting, as you always experience it together with others.⁷⁴ With technical reproduction the collective reaction often influences individual responses. Similarly, on social media, posting is shaped by communal expectations. (cf. Ibid., p. 33) Thus, consuming and sharing photos of travel engages with broader social control mechanisms inherent in media reproduction. So besides being a co-production of ST communication it is also a co-control of content between the involved users.

The stream as mode of modernity

The stream was established with modernity and the introduction of newspapers, which allowed everyone to experience the same stories. Today it is more elaborate, but basically the same, as it still brings together the past, present and future of the users. The stream allowed multiple temporalities to coexist and interact. The change of pace and temporality "enabled us to imagine ourselves as members of the same sociological reality (Hochman 2014, p. 3)". The stream shows us the lives and spaces of others more than other forms of society before modernity. (cf. Ibid., p. 3–4). An example: Today you have your own experience live at a tourist destination while seeing what all your peers and followed accounts do at the same time. The synchronicity of stories is now in your own hand, not gate capped by traditional mass media but collectively constructed in the stream.

The stream fosters the absent presence The stream of images fosters a new way of thinking: not linear, faster, disjointed, and overlapping, transforming the brain into a flow of knowledge continuously taking in and giving out information. This can lead to a state of "absent presence"⁷⁵ (Turner 2015, p. 111), where divided attention prevents full engagement and in the end this can cause stress even while doing nothing. (cf. Ibid., p. 111) The stream gives a perfect canvas for co-construction of meaning, imagery and new narratives because everything is happening so fast that adaption becomes co-production.

⁷³"The conventional is enjoyed uncritically, the truly new is criticized with reluctance (Translated by deep1.com)."

⁷⁴Just as Coppola said with experiences of film festivals.

⁷⁵More on this feeling of being connected but not present in Yudhijit Bhattacharjee's story about his relationship with his father (Bhattacharjee 2019).

Phase III: Parallel development of tourism, media and technology

Communication of tourists

Postcards, the original medium for travel communication, featured aesthetics similar to those sold today in tourism, such as temples or landscapes, largely ignoring industrial scenes at the destination.⁷⁶ (cf. Munar and Jacobsen 2014, p. 52; Groebner 2020, p. 73 + 74) Dubbed 'the new postcard' (Munar and Jacobsen 2013, p. 52), photos and videos shared via smartphones and social media represent modern tourism communication but have not eclipsed traditional postcards, which still hold relevance and popularity in new social contexts. These communication mediums coexist, with postcards providing a tangible, emotional connection and social media offering instant communication blurring the lines between home and destination. Communication about tourism destinations is what made tourism possible in the first place - communication preceded tourism. Both forms serve to showcase holidays as status symbols and affirm the traveler's presence at the destination, maintaining the tradition of tourism as a form of social communication. The game of status can only be played when you have both the holiday trip and communicate about what you did after and progressively in the moment. In a social competition won with the proof of being there, photos of the loneliest beach or the highest mountains are shown on smartphones, social media networks and postcards. (cf. Munar and Jacobsen 2014, p. 52; Groebner 2020, p. 49 + 50).

The importance of locations

Today's film industry combines digital techniques like green screens, CGI and motion capturing with actual on-location shoots. While digital productions dominate mainstream cinema, on-location shoots remain crucial for culturally significant and critically acclaimed films, as real locations often contribute to a film's aesthetic and critical success.⁷⁷ Filmmakers value real-world locations for their irreplaceable authenticity and atmosphere, as noted by Sony's Jeff Cooper regarding LA Union Station: "You couldn't build a soundstage like this (Strauss 2014, p. 1)." Both digital and real-world settings are used to enhance storytelling, providing a balance of vi-

⁷⁶A wonderful source of old and new postcards can be found at Bartko Reher Antiques (cf. Bartko and Reher n.d.).

⁷⁷This cultural discourse is perfectly illustrated by the debate surrounding the Star Wars franchise: George Lucas used more CGI in the original trilogy (episodes four to six), which was filmed on location in Tunisia in the 70s and 80s, even after the CGI effects in the second trilogy (episodes one to three) were criticized. The latest trilogy (episodes seven to nine) went back to its roots and offered reasonable CGI effects, on location shooting (Dubrovnik for example) and natural looking sets and props. (cf. Eidiger 2015, p. 1)

sual effects and tangible settings that reflect a production's ambition and budget, often leading filmmakers on a global search for unique locations to captivate audiences.⁷⁸ (cf. Maier 1994, p. 1–7; Böcher and Pasternak 2017, p. 51 + 52; Hain 2023, min. 00:07:23ff) Similar motivations seem to lure filmmakers and screen tourist to the same places as both try to find places for their imagination.

The romantic and collective tourist gaze

The shift of world forms the tourist gaze The concept of the tourist gaze, as defined by Urry, emerged around 1840, sparked by the coinciding advent of collective travel, tourism desire and photographic technology. This period marked a significant shift where technology and social change melded to shape a new cultural zeitgeist.⁷⁹ (cf. Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 14) Gazing only became a thing when the apparatus allowed us to reproduce it (page 61). The ability to reproduce and share our gaze through photography was integral from the start, fundamentally changing how relationships and perceptions were formed. Through "virtual witnessing" plays a dramatic role in the imagining of the other. Photography is constructing and circulating the gazed at others to not just reflect but to create new imaginaries. (cf. Ibid., p. 14 + 186; Millington 2013, p. 280) Urry notes, 1840 "is one of those remarkable moments when the world seems to shift and new patterns of relationship become irreversibly established (Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 14)". Photography advanced the development of the tourist gaze, as "they are not separate processes but each derives from and enhances the other, as an 'ensemble' (Ibid., p. 186)."

The formation of the gaze Urry's theory of the (romantic) gaze is social constructivism. It deconstructs the notion of the 'innocent eye'. The gaze is a discursively consolidated expectation of a landscape, its interpretation and appropriation. This gaze is not merely an observation but a socially constructed way of seeing, enriched by our knowledge of the relationships between things. Urry emphasizes that seeing is embodied, affecting how spaces are experienced based on societal stereotypes about what or who should inhabit those spaces. (cf. Ibid., p. 1-2; Aschenbrand 2017, p. 245; van Es et al. 2021, p. 285; Crouch 2000; Crouch 2001). Finding these stereotypes in the condensed setting of tourism makes the gaze a "good way of getting at what is happening in 'normal society' (Ibid., p. 3)". Moreover, the influence of screen products on our visual expectations significantly shapes this modern gaze, as tourists seek out landscapes that match predefined visual signifiers (Urry and Larsen 2011,

⁷⁸This balance and ambition is perfectly shown in Gareth Edwards film "The Creator" (Edwards 2023).

⁷⁹Urry and Larson describe in their book "The tourist gaze 3.0" (Urry and Larsen 2011) on page 14 all the unfolding and defining events that happened in a period of just three years around 1840.

p. 16). The gaze as a "discursively consolidated expectation" comes primarily today from different screen products and especially social networks that discursively with comments, consolidate with trending topics and mold our expectations with images from production and destination actors as we will see in the case study later.

The (romantic) gaze The technology of the smartphone, the internet and social networks has influenced and empowered the visual gaze in modern tourism. (cf. Ibid., p. 2) The gaze is not an invention of the (modern) tourism industry, but was already present in the paintings of the Romantics and was subsequently developed between different stakeholders. The romantic gaze presents an idealized image of tourism that often remains unfulfilled, as destination advertisements create expectations they cannot meet. Consequently, tourists may find themselves disappointed upon encountering for example a crowded destination, contrary to the solitary romantic scenes promised. (cf. Aschenbrand 2017, p. 246; Groebner 2020, p. 44)

Seeing other tourists In the tourism ecosystem, backpackers are viewed as the apex tourists, seeing themselves above the plentiful *regular* tourists. (cf. Ibid. 50 + 105; Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 202) In Goathland, UK, tourists attracted by the "Heartbeat" TV series (Byrne 1992), differ from other visitors: They engage superficially due to the screen-induced collective gaze and view their visit as *snackable content*, contrasting with walkers and ramblers who immerse themselves for longer periods and less intrusively. This distinction even leads to complaints among tourist groups about each other, echoing the sentiment in Jarvis Cocker's song "Common People", where he sings, "You know that everybody hates a tourist (Found in Groebner 2020, p. 103)". This situation illustrates the varying perceptions of the 'correct' way to experience and gaze upon a landscape, suggesting a hierarchy of visual engagement deemed appropriate for different settings. (cf. Mordue 2009, p. 338 + 342) Not only do you feel superior but since the construction of tourism as leisure activity you should be also quantifiable the only tourist at the space and at least in the social media communication the other tourist are nowhere to be seen (page 48). Other gazes of (screen) tourists and from the Destination and Production is something you naturally come in contact with in social media. Algorithms of course can shield you from seeing other content on these networks but nowhere else come these different types of tourists so close as online. Nowhere else is individual tourism content so visible for everyone.

From with to within media

Transmedia⁸⁰ as part of the sub processes within Mediatization is blurring the

⁸⁰Find more fascinating information about these phenomena in Henry Jenkins work on Transmedia Storytelling (Jenkins 2007) and a very popular example in the movie "Matrix" (Lana Wachowski and

line between media and where it begins and ends. With transmedia and polymedia among others mediation becomes a process without visible borders. ST itself can be seen as a transmedia phenomena as the narrative of the inducing screen product continues at the screen location in the destination. "[...] people in affluent, networked societies no longer live *with* media but *in* [highlights by source] media. This means that media are not external to everyday practices; rather, [...] are now carried out *within* the realm of online media. (Jansson 2018b, p. 12)" This could be everything from:

- Peer group word of mouth becoming social media adds by the DMO
- Postcards are now Instagram posts
- Travel agencies or now found online as travel search engines
- Film now has an online pop culture base

Mark Deuze calls this "media life" and attributes the expansion of Mediatization particularly to social networks. As these media types link tourists, fans, Destination and Production together, they also turn social practices into the platform economic logic and algorithmic aggregation. (cf. Deuze 2011; Jansson 2018b, p. 12)

Mediatization processes in tourism

Medialised destination In the early stages of tourism, medialized photos greatly influenced travel, primarily disseminated through limited gatekeeper media like cinema, which often served as the only window to the world for the less affluent and those in the Global South - Which is still mostly true today. Despite an increase in tourists and a concurrent rise in media usage, the impact of media on perception of travel destinations remains significant. Media continues to shape how these places are seen, even as more people visit them than ever before. (cf. UNWTO 2024, p. 1; Zenith 2023; Statista 2023b) Cresswell notes that "place is constantly produced and reproduced in a world in movement, open to change, mediation and contestation (Cresswell 2004)", expressing that a distinction between direct and indirect spaces of experience cannot be maintained in a hyper-medialized culture. Initially dominated by film, this trend has persisted and evolved with television and series significantly influencing place-making today. Fletcher, Lukinbeal and McHugh write that television now plays an overlooked but significant role in place-making. (cf. Fletchall, Lukinbeal, and MacHugh 2012, p. 13) And social networks are the next iteration of that influencing space in a whole new way.

Lilly Wachowski 1999) in this work, that build heavily on Baudrillard's philosophy - which closes the circle and the connections of this theory to other parts of this work.

Medialized tourist perception More and more spaces do not exist as 'lived in' or 'been there', but as 'seen on screen'. The spaces in the destinations are directly dependent on the media system, how people use them, act on them, represent them. (cf. Ibid. 13, Aschenbrand 2017, p. 21; van Es et al. 2021, p. 8) "[...] different modes of mediascape induce a diversity of travel modes in the social and physical landscapes (D. Wang, Park, and Fesenmaier 2012, p. 372)." 77 percent of travelers surveyed by Globetrender (Globetrender 2020, p. 1) feel compelled to visit the most popular tourist attractions. This comes from social consent for must-see tourist attractions, which are defined, supported and delivered by screen products. The result is that the most picturesque places are intensely overcrowded. (cf. Ibid., p. 372 + 373; Globetrender 2020, p. 1; Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 160) Mediatized perception can also be shaped by sharing one's experience directly on the web. Mediatization is visible when we try to fit the content into the constraints of the screen when video calling a friend or sharing in social networks under the vertical paradigm.

Minimizing strangeness The conflict between foreignness, authenticity and familiarity in tourist destinations is transported in the story of the tourist who wants domestic food at the buffet in the destination. This tourist wants the exotic and the recognizable. (cf. Aschenbrand 2017, p. 70) The media helps to reduce this conflict by familiarizing tourists with exotic places and customs before they arrive. Medialization extends to our holidays through smartphones and travel guides that translate and highlight regional authenticity, although subjectively. (cf. Ibid., p. 245) Guides and media offer a curated slice of reality, giving the tourist as little exoticism as necessary and as much familiarity as possible. The physical sensation of being at a destination remains a uniquely personal experience. Holidays are usually a guided experience with a pan over the most beautiful sights. The last truly unique experience you can have is the physical sensation of being at the destination, which is not about the surroundings but rather something internal. The de-differentiation of the world of tourism in order to individualize the specific tourist experience, and the result is that tourists find the strangeness within themselves.

The scaling of the world

The agency of networked media In the 20th century, media technologies shifted from one-way systems such as cinema, radio and television to two-way mobile media (devices) that rely heavily on internet-connected applications, services and platforms. This shift has greatly expanded user agency, making technology a profound influence in almost every aspect of life. Social media, in particular, has become one of the dominant forces in shaping how we perceive and engage with our world. The affordance with nature, says Leather and Gibson 2019, has never been higher

as with social media and emphasizes Instagram especially. Alpine holidays, skiing and hiking destinations are very nature focused and when this is streamlined by a screen product and amplified by ST communication in social networks than the forces exerted pushing towards hyperreality in the normally very physical nature is very strong and fixed. For example, destinations such as Maya Beach in Thailand became globally recognized through films such as 'The Beach' (Boyle 2000), but it is now social media that amplifies and manipulates these mediated perspectives. As the space themselves loses control, it gives the user greater influence over these spaces. (cf. Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 179; Jansson 2018a, p. 104; Leather and Gibson 2019, p. 80).

The world in your pocket The smartphone, a device small enough to fit in your pocket, represents the shrinking of both our world and our devices. Unlike public media such as cinema, smartphones are highly individualized: Each one tailored to its owner through personalized logins, algorithm-driven apps and unique home screens, making them as distinctive as fingerprints.⁸¹ (cf. Schreiber 2020, p. 53) This shift marks a contraction in media consumption spaces, from cinema in public spaces to television and radio in shared living rooms, down to the personalized pocket device of the smartphone in your personal space. Today, while you can access the world from your smartphone as you relax alone at a resort, it underscores a more solitary interaction with media. Outside factors still shape what you see and gaze at with your smartphone but more than ever it becomes augmented by technology rather than other involved actors. Regardless of the possible world in your pocket everything you see and send is going through the device, filters and algorithms first before anyone is able to react, answer or use it. It is a proposal of a world that is co-produced first until you see and interact with it, but it is the algorithms of the big social networks that are the "new media barons (Morris 2021, p. 334)".⁸²

Individualisation of the world

Outsourcing individualism It is paradoxical that trends towards individualism result in an outsourcing of the self in algorithmic environments visible in social networks like Instagram. At the same time that they were becoming more deeply integrated into our lives, the networked systems of the internet gained more subliminal influence over us. Ourselves is now part of the network as part of the simulation.

⁸¹The individualization of the smartphone environment can also lead to an individualized medialization and mediatization, which will be discussed later in this section on page 32.

⁸²Probably even mightier than the Influencer (described on page 246) and actors that themselves for the most part are just using the same algorithm for their advantage without having much influence over it.

Our algorithmic relationship is always something personal that we are not aware of the architecture of the systems that surround us. The outsourced individual reality seems masked by the algorithm, filters and the network. (ct. Jansson 2018b, p. 14)



Figure 2.17: Women use their cellphones in Duomo Square in downtown Milan (Italy) on 25.02.2016 (Source: Taylor 2018, p. 14).

The selfie The selfie, a modern staple of digital communication, reflects increasingly individualized lifestyles since modernity's rise. Unlike traditional portraits, selfies are defined by their widespread distribution and social interaction. The selfie pose is standardized and a tourist convention (figure 2.17). More than just capturing a moment, selfies serve as calls for social interaction making it a perfect fit for social media garnering comments and likes that assess and validate the experience. They are not merely mementos but a call to communicate with the subject of the

selfie and by that tools for fostering relationships. The selfie propagates the crafting of a market-aligned, neoliberal identity through continuous self-reflection and adaption to compliant strategies of representation. (cf. Eberle 2017, p. 17–21 + 56)

A performative individualism The performative turn reevaluates individualism by highlighting how personal actions often represent public self-display⁸³, suggesting that what is considered individualism may actually be a blend of performance and consumption. "The act of 'consumption' is at the same time an act of production, of reinterpreting, reformulating, redoing, decoding what is encoded in the present (Du Gay et al. (1997), cited in Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 206)." For tourists, it is more than individual consumption of past texts, but also the creation of future texts through performances. (cf. Ibid., p. 206; Cavanaugh 2012) This intersection of consumption and production characterizes the Web 2.0 era, leading to the concept of a "prosumer society" (Neuhofer, Buhalis, and Ladkin 2012, p. 5). Performance acts both offline and online as a link between the collective and the individual: The individual performance in the collective tourist gaze at the destination, or you connect your personal life in a fandom to fictional narratives through enactment at the screen location. (cf. van Es et al. 2021, p. 285 + 286) So, experiencing and producing some-

⁸³This places contemporary discussions of social media representations of individualism in the context of an ongoing transition that began long before social media was developed, the Internet was conceived and television became widely accepted.

thing together happens not only on the same plane (in the destination), but also across the planes (the material world and the digital networks).⁸⁴

Televisions new centrality

Usage of television Television remains a major leisure activity in industrialized countries like the US and Germany (figure 2.18), often ranking just after work and household duties in time spent. (cf. Forsa 2023; Adams 1992, p. 118) It is seamlessly integrated into daily routines, often used passively, leading to its influence being underestimated. Television usage is consistent worldwide because owning a TV typically results in similar viewing habits across different demographics and countries. The decisive factor in television consumption is just whether you have one. This de-differentiation in TV consumption predates the influence of screen products and other post-modern effects. (cf. Ibid., p. 118–120; van Es et al. 2021, p. 8)

A better sense of place in television Whereas film (in the cinema) excels at conveying a sense of place because of its visual scale, television's episodic nature builds a strong sense of place over time, enhancing its place-making power. (cf. Fletchall, Lukinbeal, and MacHugh 2012, p. 16) Regular viewing of TV series fosters a deep familiarity with their settings.⁸⁵ This can promote cultural exchange and understanding, especially when shows are distributed internationally. Viewers become emotionally involved in the lives of the characters, and the act of watching becomes an integral part of a normal weekly routine. (cf. Ibid., p. 16ff + 80; Mordue 2009, p. 334; Adams 1992, p. 120) And it is not just the time we spend watching: "Televisual place-making is, therefore, a dynamic and ongoing process which unfolds as we watch and wait to return (Fletchall, Lukinbeal, and MacHugh 2012, p. 80)."

Television as place Television transforms perspectives, enabling viewers to experience different realities. This is illustrated by Adams imaginative scenario: A coffee cup that is not a place for a human but when you shrink down to the size of an insect it could be. Television, as an apparatus that can show this, also has the ability to transform a non-place into a place. The television screen moves the cinematic experience into private homes, creating a unique sense of place. Adams described television as a "social context," "sensory communion," and "social congregation" (Adams 1992, p. 117), emphasizing its role in shaping social spaces. To speak of television as a place is not an attack on the definition of place, but it indicates a shift in society away from a place that depends on a physical location. Unlike traditional geographic places,

⁸⁴This co-production in and between the planes is in chapter 4.2 part of figure 4.8 on page 252 and discussed on page 254.

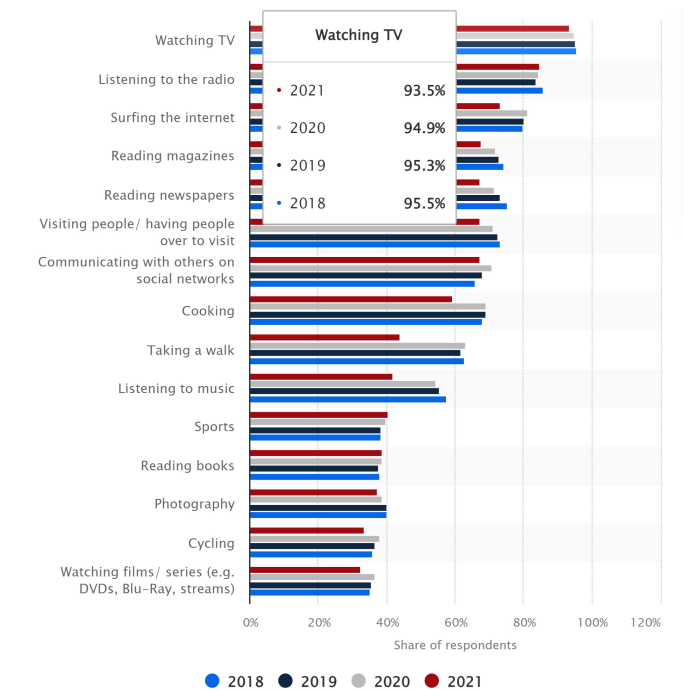
⁸⁵The case study is a perfect example for that: Visiting the WK in the BD series for 16 years now, with over 155 episodes (as of November 2022).

television serves as a communal space, influencing viewers' perceptions and interactions, when watching a famous TV program simultaneously in front of a screen. (cf. *ibid.*, p. 117ff) These shifts in the definition of place witnessed for television continue in digital media, with social media accelerating the process and making it possible to collaborate in the creation of an online space with the various stakeholders in the case study.

New centralities and distance

The strong sense of place in television media does not change the placement of churches and government buildings in the center of our cities, but these old communal centers have to compete with a new center of gravity. It establishes new centralities that often seem more significant and visible than traditional structures. Examples like televangelism (in Germany "Gottesdienst am Sonntag") and C-SPAN channels (in Germany the channel "Phoenix"), television has medialized and overtaken these old centralities. (cf. *Ibid.*, p. 126) With TV series such as the German "Traumschiff" (Tögel 1981) or BD, it is also taking on the challenge of changing another major force in

society - tourism. But what is actually shown on TV is usually distant in real space and far away from the real social status of the viewer. (cf. *Ibid.*, p. 126) But distance is not an obstacle as it could even be the explanation for ST. The allure of these portrayed spaces often stems from their perceived distance to the everyday as well as the distant screen location can be reinterpreted as exotic destination for the next holiday trip. Distance itself could be part of the motivation for television viewers to become STs. As television claimed these central positions as a medium, it offered at the same time a window to distant places and therefore creating a strong allure for viewers.



Details: Germany; IFAK; Ipsos; GfK Media and Communication Research; 2018 to 2021; 14 years and older; German-speaking population; Face-to-face interview

© Statista 2024

Figure 2.18: Most popular leisure activities, hobbies and sports (undertaken at least multiple times a month) in Germany from 2018 to 2021 and the dominance of watching TV (Arbeitsgemeinschaft Verbrauchs- und Medienanalyse 2021).

The dissolution of the TV into life In television we see, writes Solange Davin (Crouch 2005, p. 175), more and more situations that "only almost happened" creating its own "media truths". It is the contemporary TV trend of reality-televisions with the famous genre docusoaps⁸⁶ amongst others⁸⁷. Already in the 90s the truth of television began to decay with faked documentaries scandals, fictional events making real news headlines and US politicians being part of soap operas.⁸⁸ But when actors became politicians⁸⁹, screen products and television started to inherit a key role in the democratic system. What follows after all these developments is the collapse of one into the other: "[...] the 'real' and the 'mediated' [highlights by source], fact and fiction, document and spectacle, irrevocably merge and implodes. It is the 'dissolution of TV into life, of life into TV [...]' (Crouch 2005, p. 175 with citation from Baudrillard)" And this is especially true for television as its close to everyday life and not consumed in an extraordinary environment that moves the fiction further away from the ordinary life like in the cinema for the last 100 years. Which makes these genres of screen products even more potent. In social media and over the smart-phone screen products creeps ever closer to blend with life anytime, anywhere. In the future these traditional poles will collapse into one another and implode in the last order of the Simulacra into Hyperreality. (cf. Crouch 2005, p. 175)

Phase IV: The age of ubiquitous screen products

Marketing tourism in a Global Cities environment

Commercial tourism photos, according to Urry, overwhelm human vision by staging geography to create desire. These photos present a beautiful place aesthetic superior to what one sees in person, enhanced further by digital editing capabilities today. Marketing generates strong visual stimuli, with ST being particularly compelling. And the relationship goes both ways as media is supposed to contribute to 80 percent of tourism's revenue but on the other hand tourism can be accounted for 25 percent of media's revenue streams. (cf. Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 174; Månsson

⁸⁶Screen products like the German "Die Super Nanny" or "Einsatz in 4 Wänden" and the famous American "Real Housewife"s franchise or with reality TV star Kim Kardashian in "Keeping Up with the Kardashians".

⁸⁷To just name a few additional genres: *mockumentaries* like the German film *Fraktus*, *faction* like the 2023 TV show *Jury Duty*, *pseudo documentaries* like Sacha Baron Cohen's masterpiece *Borat*, *scripted reality* like the German mega success show *Berlin - Tag & Nacht* or *docutainment* productions like Michaels Moore's famous movie series *Bowling for Columbine*.

⁸⁸More information on the media examples behind that in Crouch 2005 on page 175.

⁸⁹Like the first prominent example being Ronald Reagan in the USA but also lately Volodymyr Zelensky in Ukraine or the current president of the US Donald Trump, who is not an actor per se but closer to the themes of this paragraph an agent of reality-television.

et al. 2020, p. 208)

Uniqueness through the screen production Tourist destinations are seen as extraordinary, contrasting everyday life. To keep that image they have to continuously offer unique experiences that satisfy escapist tourists. Marketing promotes these unique experiences, often creating or using myths to shape the destination's image. Television can enhance this by making places "hyper-meaningful" (Fletcher, Lukinbeal, and MacHugh 2012, p. 117), a technique few other marketing techniques match. (cf. Ibid., p. 117; J. Chen and N. Chen 2017, p. 3) ST sites effectively label a place as unique and mythical, providing a marketing edge over global destination competitors. It is at this point that the destination is using the screen product to create an appeal for future ST. With social media nowadays even the ST can join in by prosuming this content beyond passive observation. But the uniqueness is not only achieved through the screen product but through creating the physical live experience of becoming a ST.

The power of live events ST and live concerts share four key factors:

1. Devoted fan bases for musicians, actors and their stories.
2. Media products draw people into fandoms, making them STs or concertgoers.
3. Live experience spaces offer proximity to stars and narratives.
4. These venues foster community among like-minded fans.

As ST developed, the relationship to "live entertainment has changed profoundly in recent years (Romano 2023, p. 2)". "The age of streaming media has brought with it increased access to concert footage, front-row fan cams, and highly mobilized fan bases who approach everything about the concert season like it is their job. From buying tickets (good luck) to prepping for the big night by carefully planning the perfect concert outfit, these fans do it all - and many of them do it on camera, sharing the whole experience with other diehards online. (Romano 2023, p. 2)" The Taylor Swift Eras Tour (2023 to 2024) exemplifies this shift, with live streams and movies about the tour, mirroring how BD fans engage with new episodes and social media. The same is true of their behavior at the site, as they both capture the moment with their cell phones and put themselves in the photo to prove they were there. This begs the question, why do we still go? "If we already know what we are getting before we roll up to the stadium, and if we are not present in the moment because we are on our phones filming, is there anything left to the live experience beyond what social media has already provided? (Ibid., p. 5)" Despite knowing what to expect and constantly filming with phones, live experiences "can still retain its power (Ibid., p. 5)". Live streams and social media connect fans but cannot fully replicate the in-person experience. (cf. Ibid., p. 2ff) The WK DMO offers first the screen locations

where fans get close to the narrative and its characters, and second the fan fest where they get close to the actors, bridging the gap between parasocial and real connections. Clips from Taylor Swift's concerts, photos from the BD set are unavoidable anyway, so why not embrace them to enhance your fan experience and make you excited about what you can experience live on site.

Imaginary zeitgeist

The reality behind the boundaries of organized tourism Stijn Reijnders describes a Dracula tour where tourists feel a sense of underworld within a safe tourist bubble: Tourists wear plastic gloves for a fingerprinting activity involving a hired homeless person, experiencing controlled otherness. Reijnders notes that the gloves symbolize the separation of reality and imagination: "ultimately it is this thin plastic layer that keeps the two worlds apart" (Ibid., p. 108). The packaged tour, acting as a barrier, protects tourists from full immersion in imagination in favor of a staged experience. (cf. Reijnders 2011, p. 108) Similarly, tractor tours to the Gruberhof or the BD Fan Fest are artificial, controlled and bundling experiences to serve local and commercial interests. What still keeps reality and imagination apart at the destination is nowhere to be seen in the social networks - Members of the Production, Destination and ST alike are posting to social media with gloves off.

Imaginariness from screen products Movie and TV show imaginaries can create tantalizing narratives with global appeal. As the BD is an Austrian-German co-production inducing mostly Germans becoming STs in Austria can be considered as an international production. With these global media representations and grand stories with generation spanning narratives the imaginary scope of contemporary tourism has become more reflexive and multifaceted. It now is on a continuum that can go far back in time like "Game of Thrones" (Benioff and Weiss, D. B. 2011) with generic high fantasy mythology or go into the far future like "Star Wars" (Lucas 1977) with alternative world building. The BD TV show is with it soap like but grounded current narrative somewhere in between these but it does not lack of cultured allegories like the exalted alps (page 49) or myths of the romantic rural life (page 120 in chapter 3.3.1). It is the power of these kinds of screen product that can transform the screen locations but also the imagination about the whole destination or at least add a new layer which is discussed in chapter 4.1 on page 242. (cf. Månsson et al. 2020, p. 176)

Social media as a place of both worlds In luxury packaged tourism, reality and fiction are separated, but on social media, they merge into a *magical place*⁹⁰. Here, photos of the tourists reality and artists' imagined images coexist, turning barriers into gateways. Social media allows us to witness different layers of worldviews. Similarly,

⁹⁰Tahiti?

ST communication on social media, serves as a magical place where reality and fiction converge as the case study will show with grounded Destination posts⁹¹ and fantasizing STs⁹².

Imagination against the chaos we call reality Reijnders and colleagues argue in "Locating Imagination in Popular Culture (van Es et al. 2021)" that imagination helps us cope with modern life's chaos, channeling "all those sensations [...] into the idea of a coherent and univocal reality (van Es et al. 2021, p. 2)". While universal, imagination is culturally shaped. When it allows immersion in imagined worlds, the line between reality and imagination blurs. Screen and heritage tourism are part of this trend in modern imagination. (cf. van Es et al. 2021, p. 2–3)

A global musée imaginaire Popular culture, along with television and film, serves as a "musée imaginaire"⁹³, acting as a repository for imagination. In post-war Germany, the "Heimatfilm" genre offered familiar narratives of home and family (themes echoed in the BD narrative), aligning with the post-war need for belonging. Globalization has amplified this role, creating a need for familiar stories for people moving globally. These stories, characters and landscapes provide a sense of belonging. (Goethe-Institut 2009; Koll 2012; Höfig 1971) This is why TV shows of certain genres in a globalized world work so well when creating ST, that it is almost a recipe for success. When the commercialized and professional actors (Production and Destination) work together they can create this "musée imaginaire" and ST will search for the landscapes of belonging.

The embodied imagination of screen tourism The embodied experience of ST immerses fans physically in fictional settings, similar to a pilgrimage. "It is often one that fans find difficult to put into words, as it is entirely contained within the body (van Es et al. 2021, p. 289)," writes Abby Waysdorf in her article on "Placing Fandom". This physical immersion allows fans to fully embrace their imagination and another reality, which is part of the fascination of live events explained on page 75. Imagination is experienced both in place and in the body, with these bodily experiences being favored by memory over time. (cf. Ibid., p. 289)

Memory favors imagination Memory plays a crucial role in recalling places of imagination, as Reijnders defines it as "nothing more or less than the imagination of an event from the past (Reijnders 2011, p. 114)". Memory often favors imagination, explaining post-tourism's indifference to authenticity: If physical experiences

⁹¹ A very calm post with a subliminal ST message focusing on the destination in figure 3.39 on page 167.

⁹² A ST re-enacting sitting at the famous Gruberhof garden table in figure 3.30 on page 153.

⁹³ A term coined by André Malraux (1901-76), author, war hero and French Minister of Culture 1959-69, from his book "Psychologies de l'Art: Le Musée imaginaire" (Paris 1947).

in tourism blend real and fictional stories in our memory, making them indistinguishable, then not separating them in the first place is just consistent. And it is, unironically, the physical space itself that helps to "provide the decor for the stories - historical and fictional. Simultaneously, the stories are experienced as 'real' because they are put into place. (Ibid., p. 114)" For instance, Transylvania is remembered as a place of vampire myths and historical violence.⁹⁴ (cf. Ibid., p. 113-114)

Tourism utopia

Safe spaces of fiction Today, holidays are safe spaces for staged pleasure and freedom. This is leading us to smile in vacation photos and present an idyllic image, because we know what it is supposed to look like. What is fictional elsewhere is accepted during vacations (figure 2.19), where staged authenticity and fictional stories become the reality for post-tourists. (cf. Ibid. 16–17 + 48–62; Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 10; van Es et al. 2021, p. 291) Fiction is of course something very close to the ST, so this is a natural match when the screen locations at destinations creates safe spaces for fandoms.



Figure 2.19: (a) Playing with a rag being part of the household in the Gruberhof. (b) Putting yourself in scene by the screen location of the church with the famous BD Mercedes. (c) Making photos with the characters in the destination but they are just made out of cardboard. (Source: Instagram screenshots with post IDs (a) CQVgnCdDiqC, (b) CCSm7iwoyqR and (c) BpGV7gfHujY)

Pseudo-events and artificial screen tourism places Urry describes "pseudo-events" in tourism, where mass tourists, isolated from the local residents and environment, enjoy contrived attractions and ignore the real world. This creates a cycle where

⁹⁴Memory does not distinguish between fiction and reality, similar to how fake news and conspiracy theories influence perceptions in the age of post-truth. More on this later on the page 81.

the tourism industry offers more extravagant experiences, distancing tourists further from reality. Examples for the BD at the WK include the fan fests (figure 3.40), contrived tourist spots like Ellmauer stars (figure 3.72 on page 211) or the Alpeniglu village (figure 2.20) and guided tours designed to mimic the famous lunch scenes at the Gruberhof (figure 3.30). (cf. Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 8)

Post Modern worlds

"To move and to experience the absolute nowness appears to be the road to salvation in post modernity [...] (Wasburn and Meyrowitz 1988, p. 13)." Tourism offers fulfillment and societal mediation, shaping the spaces we visit. However, post-modern tourists feel insecure with too many available choices for the marketed salvation. (cf.



Ibid., p. 13; Aschenbrand 2017, p. 63ff; Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 6) ST offers a way to select destinations through fandom, making it easier to find the personal paradise for everyone.⁹⁵ It is

Figure 2.20: The Alpeniglu Dorf is recreating with ice and snow the BD practice screen location, the Mountain Doctor and production props (source: screenshot from Instagram account [skiweltwilderkaiserbrixental](#) with post ID B8lCsJFjF0v).

like finding the dream destination in the stories first and then the physical space is ready to be discovered. Yet, it can also add complexity by slapping fictional choices on real decisions. Despite this, post-tourists continue to seek out new spaces, because personal fulfillment can only be found in the present and never in a past vacation. (cf. van Es et al. 2021, p. 285ff; Aschenbrand 2017, p. 63)

Symbolic value of mountains As Wöhler puts it: "Goods and services were enchanted in the post modernist times (Wasburn and Meyrowitz 1988, p. 45)." Goods and services are valued for their symbolic meanings rather than their functions or prices. The symbolic meaning is not just what it means to myself, but what it means to others. This shift changes the relationship between media and tourism, making

⁹⁵Over 18 percent of the questioned STs came to the WK only because of the BD. Another 42 percent are there because the BD was one reason many. Overall 60 percent had the Mountain Doctor in mind when booking!

the consumption of places an act of interpretation. Mountains, for example, now symbolize cultural meanings beyond just being a potentially hostile environment and challenging activity. Now the Alps have a culturally embedded meaning of place as exalted and as a protest against everyday life in capitalist Western societies. As marketing can only cite established symbols, DMOs rely on symbols created by art and culture, using these to promote locations. (cf. Aschenbrand 2017, p. 73) This symbiosis works well with screen productions at holiday destinations.

Screen tourism de-differentiation In Goathland, UK, the front stage of the fictional TV series *Heartbeat* merges with the backstage of the real town of Aidensfield, forcing the countryside into progressive de-differentiation. The rural myth⁹⁶, reinforced by TV series, is contested by locals⁹⁷ but in a capitalistic world, the streamlined gaze and the myth are stronger than the inhabitants at the screen location. Lash, in 1990, thinks that de-differentiation is the "fundamental structuring trait of post modernism (Lash 2014, p. 11)". Twenty-first century pop culture and the ST (industry) solidify and ground these myths in reality. Places are culturally performed, with ST playing a major role in these new performances happening in tourism around the world (figure 5.13) in an also de-differentiated manor. (cf. Mordue 2009, p. 336–337 + 342–343) Just like witnessed with the Mountain Doctor at the WK (figure 4.11). Social media further amplifies this effect⁹⁸, similar to TV and film, reinforcing rural myths and de-differentiation.

Life imitates art The postmodern world swiftly allows life to imitate art. Destinations adapt to screen worlds, sometimes with small changes like street furniture or information boards, and sometimes with larger ones driven by a screen product's success. (cf. Reijnders 2011, p. 111 + 121) A large adoption for instance, the TV show "The O.C." (Schwartz, Josch 2003) led to many changes in Orange County (USA), including renaming cities and events, changing official buildings signs to OC and creating the OC Marathon. (Griffin (2008), quoted in Reijnders 2011, p. 121). Residents, however, note that only tourists use 'the OC' (SIC; emphasis in original; Ibid., p. 121)".⁹⁹ Similar rebranding occurred in Goathland (UK) renamed "Heartbeat Country" after the TV series "Heartbeat" (Byrne 1992). This "invites tourists into an immediate, 'real-life' consumption drama that can somehow bridge the fictional world of 'Heartbeat' and the actual sociogeographic condition of the Goathland area

⁹⁶Described in more detail in a paragraph about the development of city and rural.

⁹⁷Nothing similar is known for the Tyrolean residents of the WK against the BD ST.

⁹⁸More on this in chapter 2.3.2 on page 89.

⁹⁹Similar phenomena of changing real place names to fit the fictional counterpart occurred numerous times, to name just a few: "Bond County," "The Home of Middle Earth," or, of course, the case study of this work the "Mountain Doctor town" (figure 3.1). The scientific term for this practice is localization.

and set the epistemological framework through which tourists negotiate and interpret experiences (Mordue 2009, p. 336)." These changes, driven by media, suggest that real life follows a medial logic, rather than merely imitating media. Media mediates life and not life imitates art, which is deeply discussed in Janssons medialization theories in chapter 2.3.1 on page 32.

The everyday and the experience of banality

The banality of everyday life reveals more about our existence precisely because it is routine and omnipresent. Smartphones, as everyday devices, exemplify new banalities that significantly impact others. It can teach us fundamental truths and about life in general because it is so commonplace. (cf. Korsmeier 2007, p. 2) We can transform the banal into something extraordinary: for BD fans, a simple parking lot at the WK becomes significant when branded as "Mountain Doctor parking" (figure 2.21). Similarly, BD STs sitting at the Gruber family's breakfast table turn an ordinary meal into a meaningful experience, re-enacting family life with deep emotional significance stemming from a fictional narrative. (cf. van Es et al. 2021, p. 208) These common places and daily rituals mean something even without exaggerating their importance and that makes them exceptionally interesting for research.



Figure 2.21: Screen tourism post about the Bergdoktor parking lot near the Gruberhof screen location (source: Instagram screenshot with post ID CP829Yfh2Ui).

Age of Post-truth

The truth about facts and meaning Post-truth politics and conspiracy theories predate Trump and Pegida to just name some prominent contemporary examples. The mystification and heroization of certain historical reference points remain resilient despite scientific findings. Fictional and historical narratives are intimately connected, as history essentially serves as a narrative about the past. (cf. Groebner 2020, p. 30; Reijnders 2021, p. 5) Truth in history is often a function of power, because as Nietzsche noted "Whichever interpretation prevails at the given time is a function of power and not truth (Quoted in Weller 2013, p. 24)." Post modernism has made truth relative, with the (social) internet and fandoms influencing this dynamic

among others. In a postmodern context, meaning takes precedence over proof, with virtual spaces prioritizing imagination over facts. (cf. Ibid., p. 24; Albarran 2013)

Fictional stories and journeys offer cultural opportunities for deeper meaning beyond everyday certainties. Even in the spatial humanities, the search for ultimate answers is futile and the focus shifts to asking "new questions and developing fresh perspectives (Weller 2013, p. 35)" to understand the complexities of life. (cf. Weller 2013, p. 35) The age of definitive answers is thought to have passed, or perhaps it never existed, and the ultimate answer may be the recognition that it never did.

Deteriorating photo credibility Photos have an indexical connection to their content, but with easy editing tools, photo credibility is diminishing. Initially used for documentation, photos are now often edited, distorted and remixed, especially by younger generations. Fake news often uses doctored photo references to support its false claims, exploiting our visual fixation and network algorithms. When even the winners of the World Press Photo Award are questioned, the credibility and reliability of the form deteriorates. Photos always suggested ambivalence but this is now professionally abused to fabricate post-truths. (cf. Swaine 2018; Schreiber 2020, p. 204–205) WK Destination posts use similar editing techniques to create a misleading dream destination, driven by marketing in a post-truth era. I would not go so far as to call it fake news, but after all, tourism is a sign industry that is mostly dominated by marketing aspects and they have been working with similar techniques since the beginning of time.

From sets to wonderlands

Throughout the evolution of tourism, movies have always accompanied it. For example, after filming "The Alamo" (Wayne 1960), a Texas farmer bought the sets on his land and transformed the film set into a theme park named "Alamo Village". Similarly, the set of "Arizona" (Ruggles 1940) became a major tourist attraction, described as a "Cowboyland version of Disneyland (Frost 2006, p. 6)". Disneyland itself originated as a way to entertain visitors so they are distracted from being STs at the many California film ranches, with Walt Disney creating a theme park near the studios. These theme parks, have become today significant (tourist) attractions in their own right, embodying a shift towards simulated environments in tourism. (cf. Frost 2006, p. 6) For Baudrillard these places - he even mentions Disneyland in his book "Simulacra and Simulation" (Cunningham 2024) - are prime examples of the world that already is hyperreal. These wonderlands of amusement parks are only distractions from the desert of the reality we reside in, which is further explained on page 28. But in tourism you do not have to go as far as theme parks from media franchises like Disney or Universal to find this new form of consumption of heavily simulated spaces. It is already part of the package as "[...] Center Parcs and Club Med are global brands and are hyperreal simulations in which a person can get lost

[...] (Leather and Gibson 2019, p. 81)".

Destination Disneyland The most excessive example of playing with reality is creating perfect fake attractions like Disneyland, which use their own media to attract tourists for themselves. It is within the Disney Parks themselves that Tourism and Media is not only working together to co-produce ST but they are becoming one indistinguishable from each other. Building fakes is easier and allows for ideal shaping without real-world constraints. For instance, Disney's animatronic animals are always visible, active and happy, unlike real animals of a Zoo. (cf. Fletchall, Lukinbeal, and MacHugh 2012, p. 105) Disney parks are probably old enough now to have developed their own history¹⁰⁰ that was built on fiction with reality following. This trend is likely to grow with increased medialization. The WK is not Disneyland yet, but screen locations like New Zealand with "Lord of the Rings" (Jackson 2001) show the path that many similar destinations' pursuit. The BD TV show is already transforming the WK destination with name changes (figure 3.1), special facilities (figure 2.21) and fan events (page 169).

Everyone is a photographer

Images have permeated every aspect of life, accelerated by cinema, television and the Internet. In 2015, an estimated 1.8 billion images were uploaded daily. It seems that everyone is constantly being photographed or filmed. The ubiquity of digital photos, camera phones and social media has transformed photography's visual and political economies. In tourism, Urry and Larson note, that photo-making and tourism have become a self-accelerating endless loop. (cf. Kratz 2019, p. 323; Munar and Jacobsen 2014, p. 53; Groebner 2020, p. 61) Today the tourist stares at a photo or video on his smartphone screen which he just took. This tourist photo is a second order of detachment moving it closer to Baudrillard's Hyperreality. But this representation of the world on a screen can also reduce "even the most surreal environments to manageable proportions". (cf. Wood 2005, p. 322 + 323) So tunneling the tourist gaze through the apparatus is actually helping the people make sense of the foreign world they only mostly know from the screen anyway. The image making cell phone enabled tourists to produce more, paving the way for a more active role. The tourist moved from a sole consumer of tourism towards a prosumer making a co-production with the Destination and Production, who were all already producers before, possible.

¹⁰⁰Like a recent development surrounding the right of Walt Disney World in Orlando to operate as its own municipal government with all the privileges and responsibilities (Levenson et al. 2022, p. 1).

Photo proof

Photograph it or it did not happen Tourist areas are crowded with people and their cameras. Polish author Andrzej Stasiuk sees it this way: "Onlookers from all over the world tripped around and snapped photos everywhere. They took the photos and immediately sent them to all four corners of the world. There was something hopelessly sad about that. Every thing only really began to exist after it had been snapped (Stasiuk 2008, p. 45)." The sight is experienced through screens and cameras, with photos serving as evidence for others and oneself. The photo often seems more important than the actual experience, as first impressions are made through the lens of the apparatus (figure 5.13 (c)). (cf. Crouch 2005, p. 136; Groebner 2020, p. 63–64) Without photographic proof, an experience feels incomplete. Instagram posts validate tourist experiences, with interactions on these posts serving as a seal of approval.¹⁰¹ Without this validation, the experience feels unreal and so the smart-phone (camera) became now a mandatory part of it.



Figure 2.22: Photos from screen tourists that show the screen location of the Bergdoktor practice with the same perspective (Source: Instagram screenshots from corpus post).

Medialized photo proof

Been there, done that is a postmodern motivation. Tourists arrive with a medialized gaze, reproducing media representations as evidence of having been there (figure 5.13 (b)). Media images drive tourists to find depicted places and present them as

¹⁰¹It was out of the scope of this work to incorporate comment data but it would be very interesting to analyze them under the theories of validation of tourist experiences.

proof of visiting the *real* place. WK STs replicate scenes and stories from the inducing BD screen products, validated by Instagram users identifying screen locations. This validates the tourist utopia that exists absolutely here at the destination for the photographer, and always somewhere else for the viewer. And the positions change when the tourist is back home in his everyday life and other people go on vacation in the endless tourist perpetuum mobile. For STs, the exact place where reality and fiction collide is crucial. Certain perspectives, like the centered photo of the BD practice (figure 2.22), are chosen to stage authentic proof of being there. A staged photo as authentic proofs that you were at the exact place. A postmodern paradox that is amplified when these staged photos are also shared and become part of the cycle that produces more fake proofs. (Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 179)

Central figures When proof is created like "I was here" than the focus is on the I, as Bell writes (cf. Crouch 2005, p. 141): "This place might not even be remembered as Matobo but 'somewhere in Zimbabwe' [highlight by source]." We are the central figure in the "great theatrical drama that is our own lives [...] even when juxtaposed against these rare ancient art works in the caves." The holiday and the place, the photo and the post are secondary to the proof as you are in the center of it all: The proof (i.e. figure 3.25 (d)) is that *you* are at the place, *you* are in the photo and *you* publish it on your account making it part of your fluid personalities.

Sharing impacts the image production

The logic of sharing has influenced image production, with photos often created for specific Web 2.0 platforms. For instance, Instagram stories are shot in portrait mode, while Youtube videos are in landscape. Different platforms also dictate video length (TikTok short vs. Youtube long), timing (live stream on Twitch vs. VoD on Facebook) and content genres (funny videos on TikTok vs. beautiful vacation photos on Instagram). ST communication suits photo-centric platforms like Instagram, aligning with the BD series' aesthetic (page 22ff). Your perceived audience also impacts photo-taking and editing behavior, as photos are crafted to reflect the desired experience. (cf. Pink and Hjorth 2012, p. 151; Schreiber 2020, p. 208) "Was von wem wo und wie gesehen werden soll, ist die ständig im Hintergrund schwebende Frage jeder Praxis des Teilens und Zeigens von Bildern, [...]" (Ibid., p. 207)."¹⁰²

The feedback of spreadability Sharing photos is just the first step; getting feedback is the second. This feedback influences what you upload and the photos you take. While it is not the primary reason to visit a sight, it affects your choice of motive and the number of photos taken to get the best shot as people strive for good

¹⁰²"What is to be seen by whom, where and how is the constant background question of any practice of sharing and showing photos, [...]" (Translated by deep1.com)."

feedback. Sharing and feedback fundamentally change our behavior when taking photos, encouraging the post-tourist process of de-differentiation resulting in difficulties to unique self-expression. (cf. Jansson 2018a, p. 105–107)



Figure 2.23: (a) to (f) photo frames in different tourists spots in Europe (France, Luxembourg, Germany and Sweden) (Source: Own photos).

The photo frame

Photo frames in tourist spots are pop-up places designed for social media photos. These frames have gained popularity over the last decade, with just a few examples in figure 2.23. Unlike the new phenomenon of pop-up museum, they are not the objects of the gaze, but try to help find the right subject. DMOs install frames in popular places, recommending the best photo motives, sometimes even imitating iconic screen product shots. These frames continue the tradition of framing views seen in trains, hotel windows (theory on page 55), postcard (page 2.3.2) and movie

projection borders. The display of media within a square is inherent to these types of media, and chapter 2.3.2 showed that tourism has always been closely linked to them. In one post and the trace interview response, a WK DMO account (page 164) explicitly shows and mentions a photo frame. The Hexenwasser Alp does not have its own screen location, so it cannot be the motive, but with the photo frame (figure 3.37) looking towards the popular screen location of the BD, it can at least take part in ST as the photographer's position. The photo frames on beaches, hills and cities are reminiscent of postcard motifs that are still very popular today, literally everywhere you look in tourist destinations.

Screens in our world

Face-to-face services are declining, replaced by face-to-interface interactions, with screens as the primary interface. Screens, strategically placed in elevators, airports, gyms, shopping malls and of course tourist hot spots, are prevalent in all life situations. (cf. Ibid., p. 57; Andersson and Webb 2016, p. 143–146; Fletchall, Lukinbeal, and MacHugh 2012, p. 16) In mass transportation, screens are ubiquitous, providing information, advertising and entertainment. In long-distance airplanes, in-flight entertainment screens distract passengers and could even induce ST for the current destination. This widespread use creates a face-to-screen sociality, argues Urry, impacting human interaction significantly (cf. Ahmad 2017, p. 1–2; Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 186) This face-to-screen sociality is behind every post tourist using a smartphone at the destination. It is the baseline of how interactions with the destinations look like in post modernity when tourism is communicated via social media. Especially STs are already screen induced when they arrive at the destination and the smartphone screen usage just extends their already heavily medialized gazes. This leads to that influencing and colluding is not anymore done face-to-face but more and more digitally via screens as this paper is looking into with the ST communication via Instagram.

Smartphones and technology

By 2018, 40 percent of the world's population had a smartphone, with over 3 billion devices globally, greatly changing the visual landscape.¹⁰³ (cf. Taylor 2018, p. 1) Smartphones have evolved significantly since 2000, with advanced input and communication capabilities, large touch screens and stable mobile internet access. These features provide powerful "location awareness functions (D. Wang, Park, and Fesenmaier 2012, p. 371)", crucial for tourists in often unfamiliar destinations. Alongside

¹⁰³How much it has actually changed can be perfectly demonstrated in Alan Taylor's great article in The Atlantic 'The Ubiquity of Smartphones, as Captured by Photographers'.

hardware advancements, millions of apps extend smartphone capabilities, adding social network features, transforming navigation and photo editing. Apps have also changed the representation of the landscape, when you think of Snapchat filters, Photoshop edits or Instagram geotags. (cf. Ibid., p. 371)

Digital peer group Mobile devices shape our habits, replacing liminality¹⁰⁴ with "digital elasticity" (Pearce 2011, p. 41). Tourists stay connected to their peer group and home world, losing the liminal experience of foreign cultures. High-quality (camera) smartphones, editing software and social media create a new co-present sociality and visuality. (cf. Pearce 2011, p. 40ff; Ayeh 2018, p. 4-5; Tanti and Buhalis 2017, p. 123; Pink and Hjorth 2012, p. 145) This private media connection from the tourist to the peers at home is possible via smartphones and distinct from the public sphere created by cinema and television¹⁰⁵. The co-presence of the peer group (as well as accounts from the Destination and the Production) over social devices like the smartphone makes room for a new plane of co-production. Digital elasticity also influences production, making it adaptable in the new digital plane, where STs can simply switch to it or out of it again.

Connectivity of tourism

Connectivity is a crucial aspect for tourists, constantly fluctuating between being connected and disconnected. Questions like roaming costs, trail connectivity and wireless availability in accommodations are often unpredictable and felt at the moment. This dynamic state highlights the impact of connectivity on travel and the question most tourists ask themselves: Do you just want to be always connected on vacation?¹⁰⁶ (cf. Tanti and Buhalis 2017, p. 138) Rodanthi Tzanelli further argues that "the internet has the power to erase the boundaries between leisure and work [...]" (Tzanelli 2007, p. 18)", creating a space where physical and virtual mobility interact. The digital has inserted itself into many social interactions and the boundaries maintained in tourism longer than in other social spheres are crumbling now too. This connectivity bridges previously separate social spheres, leading to digital tourism, as demonstrated in the case study of BD ST. (cf. Ibid., p. 18) The connectivity to other worlds is also bringing the digital Matrix closer to our carbon spaces and by that simulating it more and more as will be further explained in Baudrillard's philosophies in chapter 2.3.1 on page 25.

¹⁰⁴Explanation: the transitional phase between rituals where the person has no fixed social status.

¹⁰⁵For television this is discussed on page 72.

¹⁰⁶Which can be read as evidence for a clash with forced mediatization. More in Jansson 2018b, p. 16 and in the mediatization paragraphs on page 29 in chapter 2.3.1.

The social medias

67 percent of Germans (Statista 2018) use social media on their phones and are online most of the day. A study predicts increased social media use by travelers in the coming years. (cf. Globetrender 2020, p. 4) It is "the informational archive of the everyday lives that draws people into the networks (Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 59)" and it is this information that is also interesting for science. Since tourism is also closely connected to everyday life - either as an escape from your own life or as subject the tourist's gaze - it has a thematic overlap with social media content. This is why the method of observing the ST communication on Instagram substance wise connects easily to the themes of (screen) tourism. This makes it perfect as an opportunity to analyze these latent phenomena. Networked communication has not radically changed sociality but has intensified it, making private behaviors of everyone more noticeable and of some even front and center of their networked presence. (cf. Schreiber 2020, p. 217)

Visual based communication Much of social media communication is through video or photos. In 2013, 350 million photos were uploaded daily to Facebook and Flickr had 1.6 million photos uploaded, about 19 per second (Eberle 2017, p. 118). Often, photos are accompanied by descriptions, though some platforms like Instagram require an image or video with optional text. (cf. Ibid., p. 118 + 119)

(Screen) tourism and Instagram's visual drive Instagram is a common tool for millions of Western travelers, who document their experiences with photos, videos and stories and participating in networked communication. (cf. Globetrender 2020, p. 1) ST is deeply visual because it is combining the screen's visual stimulus with tourism's practice of gazing. Tourism stakeholders can juxtapose screen product visuals with destination images in social media like Instagram. Social Media even more like in the dream destinations itself provides the opportunity of the screen product coming together with the landscape of the destination to create a visual amalgam. Social media and ST are a match made in postmodern heaven, which brought them to be part of the setup of this case study.

Fluid personalities We are constantly compelled to make ourselves the subject in photos and videos, a key part of networked communication. This constant self-expression and always-on mentality reflect the fluidity of knowledge and identity in late modern societies. (cf. Rosa 2016, p. 240; Schreiber 2020, p. 10) So our personalities are repeatedly pushed to co-create as we are constantly connected and use dialectic communication: Techniques like selfies (figure 3.57) are driven by the need to negotiate identity through social media interactions. As tourists, we include ourselves with a selfie in the vacation photo (figure 2.24) to partake in the dialectical space of social media. Social media platforms, while offering space to nego-

tiate identity and knowledge, are not neutral. They shape identities and empower users, but also threaten self-expression through social control. (cf. Ibid., p. 55)



Figure 2.24: Selfie of a screen tourist at the screen location of the Hintersteiner lake (Source: Instagram screenshot with post ID CQbZxDksIbU).

Defining context In a Baudrillardian world, simulacra shift focus from content to form, moving away from the material world. (cf. Lukinbeal and Zimmermann 2008, p. 19) Social media is defined by form rather than content, with context being crucial. The BD actor's influencer-style posts (page 185 and 213), WK's marketing (page 210) and induced STs' content mimic what they see on the BD show and Instagram (chapter 3.4.1). The BD narrative adds an invisible layer to screen locations, which social media can reveal through context. Thus, social media can uncover content by highlighting its form and context.¹⁰⁷

Daydream filters According to Anthony Turner, today's media use does not allow for downtime or daydreaming. (cf. Turner 2015, p. 110). However, I argue that social media enabled it: daydreams have moved to screen products like Instagram photos and TikTok clips, integrated with filters, stickers and emoji. Daydreams are now visible on social media, working perfectly with fictional narratives, especially at screen locations like WK. Filters on social apps alter photos to reflect feelings rather than reality, capturing the atmosphere of a place as influenced by personal mood. In ST, fictional atmospheres enhance this effect with the narrative, the characters, your head canon¹⁰⁸ and STs connection to them. Photos on social media are more about the photographer's perception than the destination itself, which can be used by researchers to investigate more than what is immediately visible about the destination. So the photos are not authentic of the destination, but more of yourself. All digital features like a filter are built to preserve your situational subjective experience. (cf. Eberle 2017, p. 14ff + 44 + 127ff) Professional photographers and the marketing

¹⁰⁷A principle science can use to identify new phenomenon or find answers to questions hard to answer without this.

¹⁰⁸The concept refers to a fan's personal interpretation, belief, or backstory about characters or events in a fictional universe, which is not explicitly stated or confirmed in the official source material.

industry also use these digital tools, as seen in the case study where Destination accounts often used staged photos from professional photographers

Crossing networks Social media networks, which once promised freedom but now seem chaotic, follow the "small world" property or "six degrees of separation: "[...] the uncanny rapidity with which one can reach any vertex in the network from any other vertex (Levine 2015, p. 112)." This principle connects each ST digitally and in real life to Production accounts or people at the WK. (cf. Ibid., p. 112-114) Networks can also overlap: Fan communities - online on Instagram or offline at the BD Fan Fest, for example - are networks that include all kinds of people through the shared worship of a screen product (page 19). But also on social media BD actors and fan accounts are intertwined, as well as fictional characters connected with screen locations at the destination. STs aim to change these networks through ST (re-enactment) posts on social media, as they stage themselves to become part of them. The screen product creates the narrative world, the destination the background and the STs becomes an actor in both - At the end ST communication on social media is a blend of all of these. This example shows that some networks have the ability to cross other networks. The internet and social media transcend traditional boundaries such as nations, continents, peer groups or work. This can also work across into the imagination. This reflects the idea that "technology is society (Levine 2015, p. 114)" and that digital networks are pervasive in our lives. (cf. Ibid., p. 117; Reijnders 2011, p. 108)

Social medias impact on the destination

Post tourism and social media Social networks like Instagram often intersect with tourism. Jansson calls them "spreadable media" (Jansson 2018a, p. 101), noting their advantage in personalized communication but a disadvantage in eroding cultural distinctions and boundaries. The social transformation of tourism following the trends of packaged tour in the 19th century and mass tourism at the beginning of the 20th century was first noted in the 1980s. More people had access to tourism and the circulation of tourism media increased. The rise of the Internet, with ubiquitous mobile connections and devices, further transformed tourism, blending useful information with emotional "phantasmagoria" (Ibid., p. 101). Web 2.0 and social media have established new ways of navigating, interacting, creating and distributing all kinds of content with visuals at its core. This new tourism trend accepts the staged nature of mass tourism and in a playful mode performs tourism along the media images rather than searching for the authentic destination. The post tourism image of space undermines mainstream tourism. However, the widespread success of tourism content production and consumption on social media risks cultural infla-

tion, diminishing the uniqueness of these experiences. (cf. Ibid., p. 101–104)

Social media impact on the tourism experience

The abundance of information lead to a battle of attention in modern media, especially online. Within the era of mass media and digital communication tourism is now more than ever Mediatized. Tourism is a negotiation between people and places, done mostly through a media intermediary. This mostly computer controlled digital infrastructure provides the representations of the destination. Official DMO websites or accounts on social media became in recent years an important part of that. The logic and dynamics of the digital media has influenced tourism and its communication profoundly. (cf. Månsson et al. 2020, p. 121 + 122) 21st-century communication technologies also impact the destination experience and social media is just one of many: "As social posts start to become a new form of postcards, the reaction of other users to the content uploaded can shape the travel experience of the uploader (Tanti and Buhalis 2017, p. 123)."¹⁰⁹

This increased visibility and immediate feedback possibilities pushes tourism towards making travel a competition for status and driving destinations to create and market spectacular attractions¹¹⁰. ST communication thrives on social media for the Destination due to ready-made motives (table 3.2), possibility for subliminal messages (page 210), an existing fan base (chapter 3.4.1) and support beyond traditional DMO marketing budgets (chapter 3.4.3).

Tourism impact of geolocated social media posts

Social media posts with geotags are locative media that embed place into photos (like in figure 2.25), making movement and context visible in networked maps. Mobile media's affordances show how place-dependent social media is, with options like geotags and hashtags enhancing locatability. (cf. Pink and Hjorth 2012, p. 150; Schreiber 2020, p. 59)



Figure 2.25: A prime place for the geotag on Instagram (source: Instagram screenshot).

¹⁰⁹This field of stress was already discussed on page 85.

¹¹⁰Like the installation of summer toboggan run here in Tirol or the WK himself with the Fan Fest and the Alpeniglu village (see page 78).

Geotagging options Geotags, prominently placed on Instagram (figure 2.25), link posts to locations and shape tourism by reinforcing sense of place. (cf. Pink and Hjorth 2012, p. 150) Although geotags were actively discarded in the case study (reasons on page 111), photographer and motive data still reflected similar patterns, so some of the findings in chapter 3.5 can be maybe transferred.

Globalized trends through geolocated networked media content Place hashtags also highlight globalized postmodern tourism, as seen in Hallstatt (Austria) and Hobbiton (New Zealand), where fictional or mediated views drive real-world tourism demand. (cf. Globetrender 2020, p. 7) However, geotags can fuel overtourism, as at Horseshoe Bend (USA), where repetitive Instagram shots triggered massive influxes (figure 5.13 (e)). Geotags connect digital sharing to physical destinations, often overwhelming them. Tourists perpetuate this cycle of posts and visits - to put it in one word they become *Prosurist*¹¹¹. ST is just amplyfing the circle. When these mighty engines generate STs for destinations than a screen product might be the original that started it but it is the mass of Prosumers creating de-differentiated content of the same place that fuels it. The geotag is here just a technical pointer to a specific space on the map directing tourist to it. Communities struggle to predict viral geotag-driven tourism, which can harm local environments (figure 5.12). (cf. Djossa 2019, p. 1ff) The examples shows the impact not only on western cultures but the global impact of post tourism on medialization and hyperreal tendencies.

¹¹¹Pro-su-rist is a combination of a PROducer (of media content) a conSUMER (of media content and destination experiences) and a ScreenshotURIST (as visiting these mediated palces).

2.4 Inspiration, approach and demarcation



Figure 2.26: The LA Union Station is still a cinematic star (source: own photo from 2016).

Inspirations, ideas and continued tracks

As mentioned in the introduction (page 1), this work draws heavily from Lynne Kirby's "Parallel Tracks" (Kirby 1997), which examines the parallel development of cinema and railroad technology. Kirby's insights were crucial for our study (Böcher and Pasternak 2017) on Los Angeles Union Station (figure 2.26) as a cinematic icon, conducted during a field methods course¹¹² led by Professors Chris Lukinbeal and Elisabeth Sommerlad. This research paper builds upon the studies conducted in Los Angeles, Kirby's ideas and transports them into the post-modern era. The mentioned course also included a habitat analysis, refined in this work using geolocated photos and heat maps. Inspired by Lukinbeal's work (e.g., Lukinbeal and Sommerlad 2022), this study

incorporates the Production as agent in ST co-production.

Case-study approach The case study approach is common in ST research.¹¹³ This paper uses the TV show BD as its case study (chapter 3.3.1) to narrow down possibilities. In ST research, choosing a suitable case study is crucial due to the variety (decade, genre, space etc.) of screen products and their differing impacts. "Research into such individual cases has yielded a great deal, but I think it is time to enrich the field with more case-transcending research (van Es et al. 2021, p. 29)," writes Reijnders in his opening chapter to the book "Locating imagination in popular culture". (cf. *ibid.*, p. 29) Reijnders and I also believe that we now need to look in ST research now on how the "cases relate to each other, both in space and in time, and together form networks scattered around the world (*ibid.*, p. 29)". The case study of

¹¹²The work of another graduate student Julian Zschocke was later publicized in the GeoJournal Special Issue "Film Geography" as an essay (Zschocke 2022) that focuses on another famous screen location in Los Angeles, the Nate Starkman Building in the LA Arts District.

¹¹³Over 25 ST case studies were part of the sources used for this work like Beeton (Beeton 2001), Busby & Klug (Busby and Klug 2001) or Mordue (Mordue 2009) to just name a few.

this work includes Instagram looking at another plane where ST communication and co-production can happen in the mentioned networks. To avoid the limitation of isolated examples, this work incorporates big data from Instagram, aiming for broader insights from the abstract level of the digital follow-up communication. As the case study approach is limited to a specific space (the WK) this work is moreover looking into the path dependencies that started with something like proto cinema and developed into modern ST. Unlike typical ST studies that focus on a case study and its conclusions, this research starts with media-tourism history and ends with theory, using the case study to substantiate these deduced findings.

Continued theories The theoretical foundation in chapter 2.3.1 of this study operates across three levels of detail. It moves from broad philosophical (Baudrillard) concepts to concrete stakeholder categories (Reijnders). This work draws from the mediatization process from Jansson, the Post Tourist classification from Urry and Jansson and at the most concrete level, it uses Reijnders' co-production categories.¹¹⁴ Together, these cited publications and used frameworks reflect current approaches from established researchers. With the advancement of Mediatization and the co-production categories this work tries to move beyond the currently established frameworks by coupling different concepts (page 32) and adjusting category layouts (page 41). Also, Baudrillard's concept of hyperreality has gained renewed relevance in an age of digital media, social networks and generative AI.¹¹⁵ Recent papers by Morris (Morris 2021), Silvestri (Filippo 2022) and Cunningham (Cunningham 2024) have applied these ideas to contemporary phenomena, demonstrating the continued usefulness of Baudrillard's theories for current research questions. As a result, hyperreality provides a relevant framework for understanding Post Tourism today.

Institutes focus on film geography The University of Mainz's Institute of Geography¹¹⁶ focus on film geography at the time, inspired my master's thesis (Böcher 2018) on "Game of Thrones" (Benioff and Weiss, D. B. 2011) ST in Dubrovnik. Influential works by (Lukinbeal and Zimmermann 2006), Escher (Escher, Riempp, and Wüst 2008), Lukinbeal (Lukinbeal and Zimmermann 2008), Beeton (Beeton 2016), Kim (S. Kim 2010) and Macionis (Macionis 2004) provided the theoretical and methodological foundation.¹¹⁷ The master thesis evolved into a Ph.D. project, analyzing the BD screen product's impact on ST communication and the WK destination, using film geography amongst other methods. Escher's text "Naturaneignung durch Hollywood?" (Escher 2012) highlights media's role in shaping perceptions, paralleling

¹¹⁴Among other important sources on page 94.

¹¹⁵Why it is especially relevant for this work is explained on page 25.

¹¹⁶at the time led by Prof. Anton Escher

¹¹⁷Escher, Zimmermann and Lukinbeal all were once lectures or Professors at the Institute at the University of Mainz.

this study's ideas and findings.

International influence Paul C. Adams' "Television as Gathering Place" (Adams 1992) and Lukinbeal's "Cinematic Landscapes" (Lukinbeal 2005) shaped the understanding of place and space. Sangkyun Kim's work on ST re-enactments (S. Kim 2010) and Macionis' continuum of film-induced motivation (Macionis 2004) contributed to the development of the study design (13) and a new definition of ST phenomena, addressing gaps identified in Connell's 2012 overview (Connell 2012).

Additional techniques First, combining quantitative and qualitative data through the trace interview method created *thick data* (page 103). Secondly, separating geolocated photos into photographer and motive points added depth to the data quality and insights. This approach, enhanced by privileged access to production data, provides new insights for film geography research.

Demarcations, differentiation and turn arounds

Lukinbeal and Sommerlad outline key research approaches in film geography (Lukinbeal and Sharp 2022): 1. Film as Text, 2. Cinematic Cartography, 3. Film Industry Geographies and 4. Videography & Documentaries. This work does not use film as analysis method (4.) so no moving pictures were harmed in the process. Film Industry Geographies (3.) were addressed through Instagram data from Production accounts (chapter 3.4.3) and collaboration with the broadcaster (page 5) as setup of this research. However, it lacks a comprehensive understanding of the screen product's creation, unlike for example Parmett's work on New Orleans (Morgan Parmett 2019). Cinematic Cartography (2.) methods were limited but used to analyze screen locations from the first ten seasons for narrative importance and appearance in posts, mapping major screen and post locations with GIS. Film as Text (1.) was minimally applied, mainly viewing the BD TV show as an influence on the ST phenomenon, noting themes of family and the exalted. This research overall incorporates elements from most of these approaches but is not confined to one.

Delimitations of this research paper This study focuses on on-location screen tourism where screen locations are preserved and visitable, such as the Mountain Doctor practice (figure 2.22), rather than on off-location spaces (figure 2.20) in the narrow definition of screen tourism. The empirical case study is delimited to Mountain Doctor screen tourism at the Wilder Kaiser to assure focus. Within the WK STs, Destination and Production groups were defined (page 17) as the most important agents in co-producing ST, while others were completely ignored. The study deliberately explains the case study research questions mainly through communicative Instagram posts and subsequent trace interviews in order to follow an online-first angle on screen tourism research. Little on-location research at the WK was con-

ducted to support the Instagram-focused research design with verifying, visualizing and operationalizing online and secondary data. You could not call these trips field research because no firsthand data was created in the field but it still underpins the outcome of the study. Instead of relying on available Instagram geotags, the study used assistance from DMO and fan club members to localize photos and distinguish between photographer and motive positions adding to the depth of the data. Other screen products, stories and media connected to the WK were used to understand the background of the medialized region but were not part of the case study in chapter 3 or the main contemplation of ST development in chapter 4.

Case study supports theory development The theory chapters 2.3 and 4.1 connect observations about tourism and media, building on Kirby's work (Kirby 1997). Using deductive reasoning, the paper draws conclusions from established theories and path dependencies on the tourism-media nexus established in the 19th century.¹¹⁸ To avoid the pitfalls of correlation, causation and convergence in deductive reasoning, case study findings verify the continuation of the tourism-media nexus in a postmodern context. The case study itself can deliver good evidence but "generalizations should not be made", conclude Skoko and Milicevic (in Månsson et al. 2020, p. 211). Here the broader meta trends and philosophies of the world come in to play to transport these individual findings at the destination of the WK to everywhere and explaining the state of the post modern world. This approach differentiates this work from others like Escher, Riempp and Wüst (2008) or Kim (2010), situating the case study within the broader historical (page 45ff) and postmodern (page 226ff) contexts of media-tourism relationships.

Technology driven data acquisition The researcher employs the latest digital analytics tools and platforms, leveraging media data expertise for data collection. Using social media photos to gain insights about photographers and quantitative interaction data, which provides meta-information that captures life snapshots (page 107). This tech-driven method allows for comprehensive data acquisition, processing and analysis, distinguishing it from traditional data collection methods in ST research.

Schematic maps and geo location data The technical visualisation of the acquired data was mostly done automated creating unique figures to crasp details of ST communication. The schematic maps like 3.44 on page 173 use the geo location data in a mix of map and graph. The abstract placement of the photographer and motive points on an x-y-grid keeps the focus on the placements and connections of the points. It also allowed for the calculations of regression lines (kind of mean) and a confidence interval making it more a mathematical analyzis than a visual one. Also

¹¹⁸For example, Kirby connected trains and silent cinema; today, planes and cars succeed trains as well as screens continue cinema projections, suggesting their connection.

the underlying data of these graphs, which is also used in the maps (example map 5.2), created unique opportunities for a detailed analysis of not only the locations but perspectives of the co-production of ST communication (page 18). The level of detail in this work sets it apart from others, which mostly opted for single locations and unreliable geotags.

Discovering screen tourism co-production on social media That the case study is foremost analyzing the screen tourism communication on Instagram is not a disadvantage but an explicit demarcation to other works in the field. Exactly the concentration on the digital network as a plane of co-producing screen tourism (page 252) is one of the unique selling points of this research. Social media also feels like a natural fit into the wider screen tourism phenomenon (page 89) and offers some additional advantages to research (page 2). Chapter 4.2 shows how connected to the screen location the co-production communication online still is but also that it developed beyond with what I call *co-prosumtion* (page 255). Social media offers a new plane where co-production is happening and reveals new aspects of the phenomenon. As this is the first endeavor into this neglected side of the field, the outcome of the case study is typically descriptive to provide an introduction into the opportunities of future screen tourism research with social media.

Not one but many boxes This work integrates approaches from film geography, cinema science, mass media, cultural geography and data science. It aligns with Lukinbeal and Sommerlad's view of film geography as a multi-layered field: "[...] consider film geographic perspectives [...] not as separate approaches, but rather as interrelating spheres that can be creatively combined (Lukinbeal and Sharp 2022, p. 6)".

Chapter 3

Case study: Bergdoktor screen tourism at the Wilder Kaiser

Connecting geographies Lukinbeal and Zimmerman wrote in 2006 (Lukinbeal and Zimmermann 2006) about the emerging film geography as subfield of cultural geography in human geography: It is a research arena that connects the "spatiality of cinema with the social and cultural geographies of everyday life (cf. *ibid.*, p. 316)". So ST is right in that arena where cinema and sociality collide in the geographies of the holiday destination. As social media is another plane to the material geography in the destination (figure 4.8 on page 252) it demonstrates this connection film geography wants to uncover. Social media is also used by many post tourist and other stakeholders. As ST and social media are part of the same meta processes of mediatization it makes sense to couple them in a study design like this. Social networks not only connect the everyday life and cinema, but also the different groups (ST, Destination and Production) to co-produce ST in material and digital geographies.

Describing the screen tourism co-production on the digital network plane This chapters purpose is to solely describe along the research questions 2 and 3 how the different groups communicate the screen tourism on Instagram. Therefor many of the analytical observations derived from the social media data and qualitative interviews thus remain at a descriptive level: For example, the examination of camera angles, image content or communication practices are discovered with the content analysis or described from the trace interviews. Further interpretive explanations are only provided as to why, for instance, certain perspectives are adopted, certain locations are used more frequently than others, or why accounts do (or do not) co-operate in their posts in the following chapter 4.

The support case study As in so many other books and papers in ST research this work also has a case study to show definitive impact of theories in a real scenario. This case study chapter 3 is solely dedicated to the BD ST at the WK and could be

compared like that to other case study's of the field. This case study chapter with research question 2 and RQ 3 can be read as its own study isolated to the rest of this thesis. The other chapters and sections of this work are setting up the situation found at the case studies destination by looking into the development and path dependency's of ST (chapter 2.3.2) as well as giving it context in the philosophy of the world and the ongoing meta processes (chapter 2.3.1). Reijnders and van Es already argued in 2022 that it was "time to enrich the field with more case-transcending research (Reijnders, Boross, and Balan 2022, p. 104)". We should look more at what cases have in common or how ST relates to other theories. The first research question (chapter 2.2) is not part of this case study chapter. It is inquiring on the connections to the meta processes and the philosophy of the world. To acquire a better understanding of screen tourism the case study findings are further used in relation to current phenomena and connect them to contemporary culture in the chapter 4.1.

3.1 Descriptive research questions for the casestudy

3.1.1 RQ 2: What is the connection, difference and similarity of screen tourism communication?

The full research question two is: *What is the connection, differences and similarities between the involved agents in their communication of screen tourism over the social networks?* Research question two is the overarching question answered in chapter 3.4.4 on page 188. The individual stakeholder groups have each their own sub research question 2.1 to 2.3. This research question is about all of them and their similarities and differences. Some small hints to research question two are already given in the answers to research question 2.1 to 2.3. If a clear difference or similarity could be found between at least two groups of agents in the corpus, it was included in this chapter. It aims to show connections and patterns that are stronger than the single stakeholder group and point us towards co-production or broad conclusions about ST. This is why it can work as a summary of the findings in RQ 2.1 to 2.3 as well as RQ 3 and could be a discussion chapter in its own right. The second research question covers all data sources, from the quantitative Instagram data to the qualitative trace interviews, as well as the geolocation and post description analysis. The sub questions are primarily concerned with ST communication on Instagram of individual agents.

RQ 2.1: How and why are Tourists Communicating their Screen Tourism over the Social Networks?

This research question deals with the tourist who becomes a WK ST induced through

the consumption of the BD screen product. The Screen Tourist is defined in chapter 2.1 on page 17. It is answered in chapter 3.4.1 on page 136ff. The how is answered with the amount of quantitative data from social networks: Social media metrics, description text and geolocation of the photo. The why is answered with the qualitative trace interviews with some of the ST accounts behind specific posts in the corpus. For this work, this is probably the most interesting group, which translates into a lot of pages in the final document.

RQ 2.2: How and why is the Destination Communicating the Screen Tourism over the Social Networks?

This research question deals with the Destination accounts in the WK. They are the most difficult group to define, which is explained in detail in chapter 2.1 on page 17ff. This question is answered in chapter 3.4.2 on page 156. Here the distinction between ST communication and regular tourism content is more difficult than for the other groups and could be not selective enough as for example when it comes to subliminal messaging. The destination is often analyzed together with the ST in film tourism research, but these questions are still relevant because they remain the main protagonists of the ST in the destination. With the additional participants of various tourism beneficiaries such as restaurants, hotels or a ski shop, research question 2.2 opens up to more than the usual Destination subjects such as DMOs or other political or governmental organizations serving tourism. The how and why are answered similarly to research question 2.1.

RQ 2.3: How and why is the Production Communicating the Screen Tourism over the Social Networks?

This research question looks at the ST communication of the accounts directly or indirectly involved in the Production of the BD at the WK. Who is part of the Production is defined in chapter 2.1 on page 18. It is answered in chapter 3.4.3 on page 174ff. The how and why are answered similarly to research question 2.1 and 2.2. The Production is an agent that is not considered in most ST research. Research question 2.3 attempts to shed light on it, to show its role in the medialization processes of this phenomenon. As the agent groups in research questions 2.1 and 2.2 have a more established base in the academic literature, the outcome of these research questions seems more predictable than that of 2.3. The group of Production accounts becomes a wild card.

3.1.2 RQ 3: How is screen tourism co-produced?

The full research question three is: *How are the involved groups co-producing screen tourism?* This question is operating on the basis of Reijnders media tourism co-production categories (explained on page 37ff) with my own additions (page 41ff). I look at the agents in the groups of ST, Destination and Production and try to uncover where individual action results in co-production or co-production is part of ST communication. All the groups are independently researched in RQ 2.1 to 2.3 but are ultimately part of co-production of ST (on social media). It takes into account that the process of ST is not static but full of moving parts and various point of views represented through the different agent groups mentioned. Together they create ST, that becomes clearly visible on the social network plane. The research question is answered partially in chapter 3.4.4 as well as 3.5. Finally, the findings of the case study are discussed together with the development of screen tourism in chapter 4.2

3.2 Retrieval method and modality of the acquired data

Focus on quantitative data

This study primarily focuses on quantitative data from Instagram, post geolocations and operationalized film-geography data. It draws on my data analysis experience and the resources of the ZDF media research department and ZDF Digital analytics tools, advancing screen tourism research. Although qualitative data is also included, the quantitative approach distinguishes this work from much of the existing screen tourism studies. This study has the potential to contribute to both the methodological development and the broader knowledge base of screen tourism research.

Deductions from case study data

As explained on page 97 the case study serves the theoretical considerations in chapters 2.3.2 and 4.1. As chapter 4.1 is the consequence of the path-dependencies in chapter 2.3.2 it does not need to be fully substantiated by the case study data. Though, the different findings in the case study are part of the discussion and interpretation of the joint development of tourism and media. Another way to look at it is that the data and information compiled in the case study is not of limited sufficiency to completely explain the conclusion in chapter 4 but they are the other way around selectively showing what the theory looks like in a case study context.

3.2.1 Approach to data retrieval

From big data to thick data

Thick data merges qualitative and quantitative research to address their limitations — quantitative data lacks insight into motivations, while qualitative data struggles with broad applicability. This approach combines statistical trends with detailed human experiences, offering rich, contextual insights that go beyond aggregated numerical data. Thick data, as pioneer Tricia Wang explains is "precious data from humans that cannot be quantified (T. Wang 2016, 00:11:40)". (cf. Latzko-Toth, Bonneau, and Millette 2016; Jemielniak 2020, p. 41–47, 86–92) The thick data approach is necessary because touristic media rituals in social media are very hard to separate from every other heuristic to post or interact online. (cf. Jansson 2020, p. 398) This is where data from a sizable amount of people can reveal patterns that go beyond the normal behavior and in trace interviews that filter for the motivations and circumstances behind it with tailored questions.

Quantitative versus qualitative data Quantitative insights offer the advantage of broader applicability. In this case study, numerical data helped identify impact-

ful screen tourism communication and compare the different co-producing groups. The data also showed how screen tourism posts performed relative to other content and revealed patterns in photo locations. Some conclusions in chapter 3.5, however, were only possible through trace interviews with tailored polls and open questions. These provided for example demographic insights and allowed comparisons between screen tourists and the television audience. Destination accounts explained their hashtag use and clarified the role of specific COVID-19 hashtags (page 220). For Production accounts, it became clear that no formal social media guidelines existed and posting decisions were left to individual account owners. These example findings show insights that would not be possible with automated quantitative data. Combining qualitative and quantitative data provided a richer understanding and captured the strengths of both approaches.

Enrich the data with trace interviews To enrich quantitative Instagram data, trace interviews are used. These follow up with users to understand their motivations and behaviors, creating a meta-discourse that evaluates digital ST communication. Different posts were identified and the accounts and people behind them responded to a survey about their digital traces in the case study corpus. (cf. Sloan and Quan-Haase 2016, p. 203–237) The qualitative like questions in the trace interview are open-ended allowing for opinions, experiences and ideas that cannot be directly quantified. It is a mixed method approach as the trace interview does not just have open-ended questions but also selection, ranking questions with Likert scales or multiple-choice answers. It is not a qualitative method with traditional in-depth interviews, focus groups or field observations but it is not pure quantitative method either as most of the questions cannot be quantified, either on an ordinal level or because the sample size is too small to allow for statistical analysis (such as regression analysis or more complex methods). For the sake of clarity the trace interviews will be labeled as qualitative method to distinguish them from the clearly quantifiable data gathered on Instagram or audience research, that is numeric. The trace interviews not only increases the complexity of the answer, but also captures many boundary conditions that one would not otherwise have recognized as a researcher. The questions are in German and can be found in the appendix of this paper (page 296) and as code for SoSciSurvey in the GitHub repository. Trace interviews offer deeper insights into the context and reasons behind Instagram posts, revealing the emotions and experiences what results into the published social media post the study identified. For example, the trace interview could explain why users decide to post a particular photo or message as the quantitative social media data could just show the reactions of others to the final post. By combining Instagram data analysis with qualitative trace interviews, I can gain a more complete picture of the social and cultural factors

that shape co-production behavior in relation to the phenomenon of ST.

Using a saved search boolean filter

The Crowd Tangle analytics and dashboarding tool was used to identify ST communication. This used a feature called *Saved Search* to filter out ST communication about the BD from millions of potential posts. Here is a list of keywords used:

- **Series:** Bergdoktor, derbergdoktor, der Bergdoktor, zdfbergdoktor, ZDF Bergdoktor, orf Berg-doktor
- **Roles:** Martin Gruber, martingruber, drmartingruber, Hans Gruber, Lilli Gruber, lilligruber, Elisabeth Gruber, elisabethgruber, Susanne Dreiseitl, Roman Melchinger, Alexander Kahnweiler, drkahnweiler, Linn Kemper, Franziska Hochstetter
- **Actors:** Rebecca Imanuel, rebeccaimanuel, Andrea Gerhard, Simone Hanselmann, Mark Keller, markkeller, Monika Baumgartner, monikabaumgartner, Natalie O'Hara, natalieohara, Ronja Forcher, ronjaforcher, Heiko Ruprecht, heikoruprecht, Hans Sigl, hanssigl
- **Screen locations:** gruberhof, bergdoktordorf
- **Spaces:** Wilder Kaiser, wilderkaiser, Skiweltwilderkaiser, Brixental, Ellmau, ellmauer, Söll, Koasamandl, hintersteinersee, Österreich, austria, Alpen, rübezahlalm, going (-going to)¹, tirol, hexenwasser
- **Destination marketing:** visitaustria, visit austria, inechnochschöner, in echt noch schöner, lovewilderkaiser, lovetirol, visittirol
- **Miscellaneous:** tourismus, film tourismus, bergdoktorfantage, fantage

The posts on Instagram were searched for these keywords using a Boolean search. This stored search looked for tourism keywords from the WK linked with an AND variable to keywords from the fictional TV show of the BD. So every post found should have at least one tourism keyword and one from the BD.

Keyword and account bias in the data Due to the nature of identifying posts by keywords, these keywords are likely to be more prevalent in an analysis of the words and hashtags used in the posts (table 3.1). Words about spaces (345) and the BD series (262) dominate the keyword list. 703 keywords were found in the corpus posts by the Quanteda analysis². As Crowd Tangle does not represent all posts on Insta-

¹As the word of the small town *Going* in the WK is too close to the English word *Going to sth.*, it was excluded by a negative search.

²The Quanteda text analysis is done without the hashtags, so something like #wilderkaiser or #bergdoktor is not included. This makes the sum of words in the description analysis smaller than the actual keywords found with the Saved Search boolean filter on Crowd Tangle. This is also why the total number of documents is only 567 and the actual number of analyzed posts is 1,432.

gram, the extracted data could potentially be skewed towards accounts with more followers, as they are more likely to be included in the Crowd Tangle database in the first place.

Keyword Group	Word Count
Spaces	345
Series	262
Actors	37
Screen Locations	34
Roles	25
DMO	-
MISC	-

Table 3.1: Groups of Saved Search Keywords used in Crowd Tangle

Expected post performance

The data analytics tool Crowd Tangle calculates an expected number of interactions (the so called Crowd Tangle Score) by looking at the last 100 posts of a certain type (in our case photo posts) with the same post age. The top and bottom 25 percentiles are dropped and a mean is calculated from the middle 50 percent of posts. To get the (performance) score the actual number of interactions of each post is divided by the expected number. In other words, the score shows whether the post is performing better than the other posts on the account. (cf.

crowdtangle.com 2024, p. 1; crowdtangle.com 2023, p. 1)

Using scraper technology for additional data

This study used *web scraping* alongside official Instagram data from Crowd Tangle, employing the tool Instaloader³ for large-scale social media analysis. Additional data was only downloaded for posts already identified through the boolean filter. Instaloader automates data collection from Instagram, extracting data like geotags and photos not available through Crowd Tangle. This data is seamlessly integrated into the existing quantifiable corpus data.

The content analysis as overarching method

Content analysis allows a quantitative, objective examination of communication content and helps to identify themes in ST. It is a non-reactive method, meaning the corpus posts remain unchanged regardless of the frequency of analysis and can analyse past communication systematically and transparently. (cf. Merten 1983, p. 59ff) This method was applied to corpus posts from Instagram and 10 seasons of a BD TV show, examining text, photos, hashtags, mentions and screen locations in the show. All identified ST communication posts and the episodes of the BD TV show are public and reviewable⁴. The content analysis focuses on the kind of content

³More information on the GitHub page of the Instaloader developers.

⁴If not deleted by the owner.

published and user interaction with that content. The trace interviews that follow only add personal insights from the creators to their corpus post.

Focus on the photo and Instagram The tourist was since its emergence at the mid of the 19th century driven by images but also increasingly producing new photos on their journeys. Economic growth in the late 20th century, affordable reflex cameras, and the digital revolution popularized photography worldwide, turning us into image prosumers, with smartphones playing a key role. (cf. Eberle 2017, pp. 11–13 + 17–21; Groebner 2020, p. 20) Photos reveal more about the photographer, and to some extent the viewer, than about the subject. They reflect the photographer's dreams, perceptions and, as Groebner philosophically writes, "That's the way it will have been" (translated by deep1.com; Groebner 2020, p. 65). In the sharable environments of social networks, photos shed light on the viewer when interacting. Photography follows the logic of a message. A message that is amplified when uploaded to social media. (cf. Ibid., pp. 65–76) Uploading makes the photo available for everyone to see, even for research. Photos are key in this study, and Instagram was chosen because of its prevalence and focus on photographic aesthetics. As Instagram photos are at the intersection of social relations and practices, they help us understand how they are made in the destination. These snapshots of life can be used to capture social reality, which is procedural and ephemeral, and the sociological community has always had the problem of its methodological fixation. (cf. Eberle 2017, p. 11–21; Månsson et al. 2020, p. 168) The Instagram posts provide a unique perspective on ST and offer methodological advantages that were previously unavailable.

The text is giving context In postmodernism, where context and form are increasingly important, the descriptive text of social media posts complements the photos. As photos show us reality, language tells us about reality.⁵ Language plays a crucial role in comprehend everyday reality because only the words we know can explain it to ourselves and others.⁶ Social media highlights the synergy between visual and textual content in shaping users' perspectives and contains overlooked knowledge that can also be used by researchers. Images become more powerful when words are insufficient to convey complex scenarios or emotions, and this is the strength of visual media in general. (cf. Ibid., p. 50; Berger, Luckmann, and Plessner 2018, p. 39; Senouci 2019, p. 2; Haase and Martin 2008) Instagram, chosen for its mix of imagery and narrative. The post descriptions were analyzed using Quanteda to explore these dynamics.

⁵A similar connection and relationship that quantitative and qualitative data have: While photos show *how*, texts explain *why*.

⁶What George Orwell once called *Newspeak* in 1984 is now a subliminal tactic of politicians and capitalists. Language shapes our perception of reality, a concept explored in the work of Martin Haase.

Using text plus images for analysis While images and videos are key in social media, text remains essential for communication, often in conjunction with visual content. Analyzing both linguistic and non-linguistic content together enhances sociological insights. (cf. Sloan and Quan-Haase 2016, p. 247) However, the evaluation of images on social networks is challenging due to the sheer volume and the resulting problems in selecting a representative sample. (cf. Sloan and Quan-Haase 2016, p. 247; Öz 2015, p. 1011) Textual content, which is more accessible to various research methods such as R and ChatGPT or even simple text searches, compensates for the difficulties in analyzing images.

Median vs. average Why did I choose the median rather than the average to represent the mean? In the English language, there are different terms to describe the middle in a set of numbers: The mean can be either average or median.⁷ In this study, we differentiate between "mean" as a general term and specific calculations like "average" and "median," which are mathematically distinct methods⁸ for determining the mean. We primarily use the median for calculations due to its robustness against outliers. The median provides a more accurate representation of typical data, avoiding the skew caused by unusually viral⁹ social media posts. While the average could be influenced by these outliers, the median remains stable, offering clearer insights of regular post interaction.¹⁰ In certain situations, other methods are used if more appropriate, with each choice clearly marked.

Quanteda textual analysis The content analysis of the text data in the description of each Instagram post was mainly done with the package Quanteda for the statistical language R. It works with tokens, corpus's, dictionaries and similar tools.¹¹ This is not the most modern method but is considered sufficient for the purpose.

Cleaning the data Prior to the analysis, the description texts were cleaned to remove social media features such as hashtags, mentions, emoticons, stop words, URLs, etc.¹² The plan was to analyze hashtags and mentions separately, but this was later dropped due to time and volume constraints. Mentions of actors with established social media accounts were filtered out, leaving only textual mentions of people or

⁷and also modus but this last option does not matter for this work

⁸An explanation of the differences can be found here: vocabulary.com/articles/chooseyourwords/mean-median-average

⁹The tool crowd tangle even has a metric called Score that can actually measure the virality of a post and is explained on page 106.

¹⁰As the work will show there is a skew in the data between different subgroups of the corpus agent groups as shown on page 214.

¹¹More information on the functionality of the R package can be found on their website: <https://quanteda.io>.

¹²See the script `clean_text_function.R` in the git repos for a complete overview of the detailed cleaning process. You can also find there the extended ETL process in R.

fictional characters without Instagram accounts. Monika Baumgartner is part of the main cast and remained in the analysis as a distorted artifact because she can only be mentioned in text due to her lack of an Instagram account.

Field trip to the Wilder Kaiser geography

With field research I did not intend to gather in-depth knowledge of the screen locations and landscapes under study or contact any of the co-producing groups as most of them are anyway not present. For example face-to-face-trace-interviews with STs at the WK destination would not be feasible this way, also a request to the BD production company was also declined and access to the Production group was denied. Visiting the WK was still crucial to this research, going beyond the Campus Mainz to understand first-hand the perspectives (literally!) of the STs and the geography at the screen locations. Fieldwork provided a nuanced view of the WK region, emphasizing the importance of geographical context in research and comprehension. Experiencing the destination in person enhanced the validity and reliability of the medialized data gathered online and through interviews for richer analysis. Photos taken during visits to the WK helped to identify screen locations and BD-related attractions, such as a BD-themed car park, merchandise shops or a large Mountain Doctor banner¹³ across the road. (figure 3.1) In geographical research, field research provides unique insights that cannot be achieved with remote research tools such as Google Earth - which this works lacks to an extent. On the other hand I deliberately exclude information and data from outside the internet and explain my case study questions almost exclusively through findings in the Instagram posts and their trace interviews to present



Figure 3.1: A banner over the road welcoming visitors to the BD town of Going at the WK, designed by the DMO. (Source: Own Photo).

tion in person enhanced the validity and reliability of the medialized data gathered online and through interviews for richer analysis. Photos taken during visits to the WK helped to identify screen locations and BD-related attractions, such as a BD-themed car park, merchandise shops or a large Mountain Doctor banner¹³ across the road. (figure 3.1) In geographical research, field research provides unique insights that cannot be achieved with remote research tools such as Google Earth - which this works lacks to an extent. On the other hand I deliberately exclude information and data from outside the internet and explain my case study questions almost exclusively through findings in the Instagram posts and their trace interviews to present

¹³The banner was actually never photographed in the corpus of this case study, so this was a valuable insight only possible with field research!

a new angle for screen tourism research. This is not a flaw but by design¹⁴ and the field trips were only conducted to varify, visualize (figure 3.1 for example) or to operationalise secondary data (page 111).

Stakeholder questions in the trace interviews

The trace interviews were divided into three parts, targeting different co-producing groups in ST communication. The trace interviews as a method is designed to target specific agents to ask them about previous recorded behaviour (their corpus post and photo from Instagram). So the actual number of fans of the BD or STs at the WK is irrelevant as these were not identified as having a ST communication on Instagram. The focus was on the ST with 41 questions, as they are at the centre of this phenomenon¹⁵, with fewer questions for the Destination accounts (35) and Production crew (23). Some questions were common to all groups but tailored to their perspectives, such as for example favorite screen locations from the ST or the Destination. The questions in the trace interviews were aimed at addressing the research questions from case study chapter 3 (with RQ 2 and RQ 3). A smaller set of questions sought demographic information to contextualize responses and aid data analysis as a possible independent variable. The questions are detailed in the appendix in chapter 5 on page 296.

The timetable of data aquisition

The Ph.D. project started in June 2019, with the corona crisis affecting tourism and research capacity. This could have provided a unique perspective on ST at the WK as it was out of scope of the choosen research topics. A visualisation of the data funnel can be found in figure 3.2. Initial Instagram data collection began in September 2019, with monthly downloads until July 2021. Additional data was downloaded from the scraper around September 2021 for Destinations and Production, and February 2023 for ST. Posts that were deleted between the initial collection and the addition of the scraper were removed from the sample. Trace interviews were conducted from November 2021 to July 2022, starting with Destination accounts, followed by ST and finally Production, who were expected to be the most difficult group to engage¹⁶. Ad-

¹⁴All the approaches I have chosen are guided by the *online first* philosophy. After all, my employer is “ZDF Digital”! This applies to the structure of the work (e.g., as a kind of Wikipedia page), as well as the data (with a focus on social media posts) and the methods (standardized online interview questionnaires).

¹⁵We could probably borrow the terms of the gentrification model from urban geography to describe the ST as the gentrifiers of screen tourism.

¹⁶Which was absolutely true, as only one actor responded and the production company did not make any effort to disseminate the survey within the Production staff.

ditional geolocation data was collected from July to September 2022 with the support from the DMO and the Mountain Doctor fan club.

Geolocating the corpus photos

In this study, original Instagram geotags were not used. Instead, the photo spaces were redefined, distinguishing between the photographer's and the photo's subject, called motive. This data was gathered through SoSciSurvey interviews completed by the WK DMO, Mountain Doctor fan club leaders and myself. Incorrect geolocations were identified and excluded, leaving 474 photos with correct dual coordinates. Vector calculations were done in an R script¹⁷ that generated a viewpoint triangle for each photo (figure 5.1).

Operationalising the BD locations

I also analyzed the first 10 seasons of the BD show and associated winter specials, recording individual scenes and their locations in an Excel table. Added locations in later seasons of the show, noted with their season of appearance. To detail screen location usage, frequently used locations were later divided into categories, such as inside vs. outside sets or various hospital sub locations. This leading to discrepancies in total location counts, however, these distinctions were not compared or used together in analysis, avoiding potential issues.

Narrowing down the dataset

The focus on the BD series and the WK region was chosen to create a manageable case study, limiting data and variables. Instagram was chosen because of its visual nature (explained earlier) and significant user base (Statista 2023a, p. 1). Also, the amount of travel-motivated and inspirational content on Instagram makes it ideal for analyzing travel content. In this study, only Instagram photos - specifically the first photo if it is an album-post - were considered for trace interviews. The data was narrowed down to ST posts from three groups: STs, Destinations and Production. Local accounts and numerous fan pages were excluded. The interaction data of the posts and the crowd tangle score were used to filter the posts to only discuss the top posts. These were assumed to have the biggest impact on screen tourism co-production. Trace interview questions and SoSciSurvey metrics further refined the data into a validated sample.

¹⁷The precise vector calculations and the coded steps can be found in the R-Scripts in the Git repository under the file name `vector_functions.R`, with detailed mathematical procedures in the appendix chapter 5 on page 305

3.2.2 Mode of tranformation

The mode of the data

The origin of the data The source of the data is the social network Instagram. Only photo posts were allowed for this study. All quantitative data and photos come from the network. The TV show itself was another major source of data providing information on the screen locations used on the BD. The last major source of data is the respondents themselves from the trace interview about their individual post. Smaller sources where screen plays of the BD, additional data from the media bi department of ZDF and the BD production company Neue Deutsche Film (NDF).

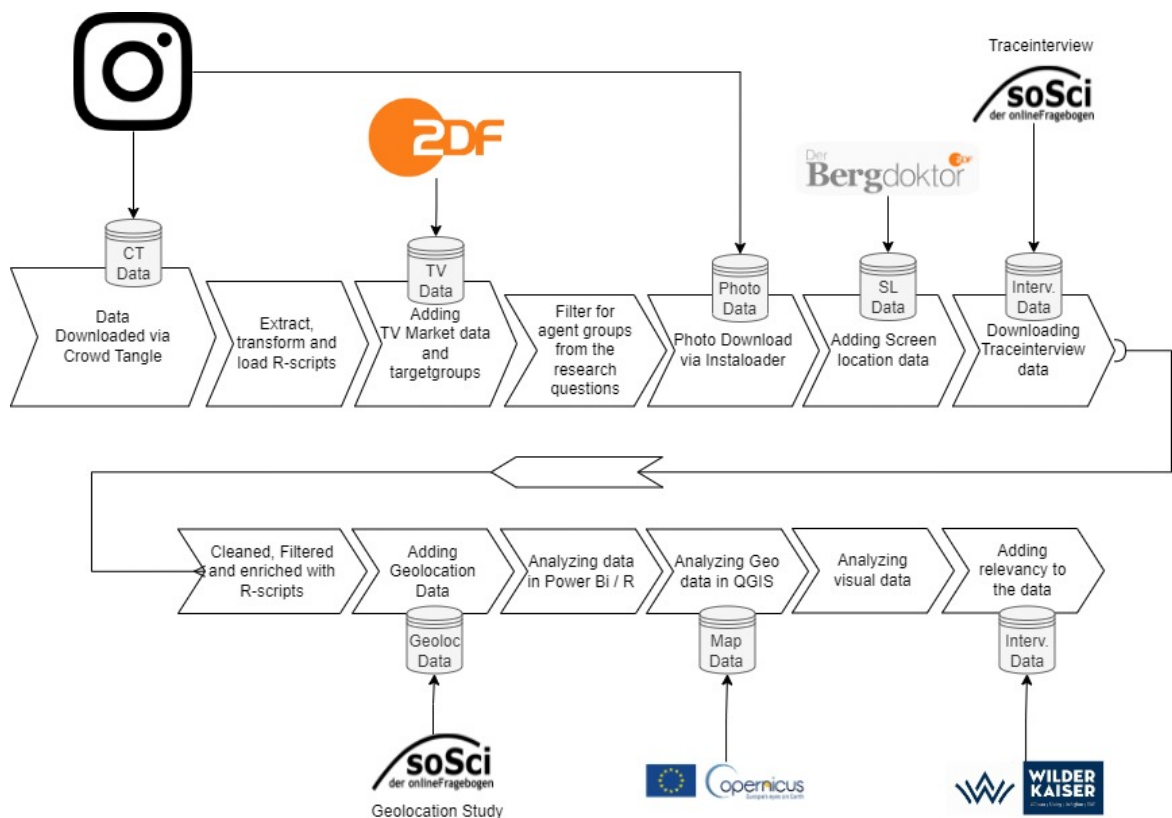


Figure 3.2: The data funnel from downloading over thickening to analyzing (source: own graphic).

The data funnel Access to the data was provided by ZDF Digital and its Crowd Tangle account. With a saved search (page 105), the tool already filtered for ST communication. This data was downloaded and saved to local storage. Several R scripts were used to extract, transform and load the data after it was acquired. The data was then cleaned and filtered for good quality responses. At this point, the data was already enriched with qualitative metadata about which group the account belonged to: ST, Destination, Production or something else. This was necessary because only posts from these groups were retained. The filtered CT data by group was the in-

put for the next two steps. First, it was fed into the Instagram scraper. For each identified ST post, it scraped a JSON file with additional geodata and the photo(s) associated with the post. Secondly, the filtered data was used for the SoSciSurvey trace interviews. But if an account had multiple posts, these were randomly filtered down to just one to be used as the subject of the trace interview. SoSciSurvey as an online questionnaire tool was the perfect way to ask people and institutions about their posting behavior. In a secondary study via SoSciSurvey, the photos from the posts were localized by me and with people who knew the Wilder Kaiser destination: People working at the DMO and members of the official BD fan club supported to locate the photos on a map of the WK. Both the trace interview and the geolocation study were downloaded to local storage after the survey periods had ended. Some of the trace interview questions acted as filters on the Instagram data to ensure data quality. Additional data was generated by operationalising the screen locations seen in seasons 1 to 10 of the BD. This film geography data was merged with the geolocation and trace interview data, as well as the quantitative data from Instagram, in multiple R scripts. The quantitative data from Instagram was enriched with the interview data and is now in a state of *thick data*. Finally, the data was analyzed in R, specifically Quanteda and ggplot, and visualized in Power BI. The R scripts used vector maths to evaluate the viewpoint triangle between the photographer's and position the subject or motive point. An overview of the data funnel and the sources is visible in figure 3.2.

The data wrangling packages The data wrangling is done entirely within the R statistical language, the R-Studio IDE and its packages (mostly dplyr). A list of the packages used for this work:

- General: tidyverse, dplyr, tibble, stringr, tidyr
- Utilities: httr, jsonlite, rjson, reshape, openxlsx, stringi, lubridate, utils, textclean, janitor
- Statistical analysis: tidycomm, quanteda, quanteda.textplots
- Vector calculations: pracma
- Plotting: ggplot2, plotly

The code documentation can be found on the Git Hub¹⁸. Only minor adaptations were made for data visualization purposes later in the Power Bi dashboarding tool.

Software and tools used

Disclaimer: Most of the tools and software used in this project comes from ZDF

¹⁸The link to the GitHub repository containing the code, chapters, documentation and more: https://github.com/bergdoktorarbeit/bergdoktorarbeit_public

Digital who generously supported this research. The Instagram post data was accessed through Meta's own analytics tool, Crowd Tangle, using a boolean saved search.¹⁹ Additional data was scraped directly from Instagram using the tool instaloader²⁰. The trace interviews and the additional request for location data were conducted using the online tool SoSciSurvey.²¹ The visualizations are mainly done with the Microsoft dashboarding tool Power Bi. Additional visualizations are done in R and R-Studio using the packages ggplot2 and plotly. The text, visualizations and images for the final pages were written and compiled in LaTeX within Visual Studio Code. Microsoft Excel was used as the input tool for the screen location data from the BD series. Deep1.com was used for the translation of german quotes and answers from the trace interviews. For the proofreading of the work (abbreviations, error correction, consistency and formatting), deepl.write and Karen X Chengs custom Chatgpt Be Concise were used to avoid paid lectorship.



Figure 3.3: A post from @andreagerhard_tall_area from the WK destination with the geotag "Austria" (Source: Instagram screenshot with post ID BzaI1ZfIX8l).

The quality of the geodata

Challenges with geotags

Usually people geotag a place like a town or more specifically a tourist attraction like the Gruberhof. It is also possible to geotag whole regions like the WK or states like Tyrol and even countries like Austria. Where these higher level geotags are placed can sometimes feel random as the tagged place of the photo is sometimes far from the actual geographical location of the photo. Where should a geotag of Austria be placed any-

way? One of many answers to this question can be found in figure 3.3. The location quality of some of these geotags can also be questioned: A geotag named "Ellmau,

¹⁹Unfortunately the tool is no longer available due to metas policy changes towards open access to data.

²⁰Documentation on the third party tool can be found on GitHub: github.com/instaloader/instaloader

²¹The code is also available on the GitHub repository. The XML files can be used to recreate the trace interview within SoSci Survey. You can also find the XML files for the additional surveys for the photo positions.

Salzburg, Austria" (post ID: CHsnVRxhXfk) links to a location over 74 kilometers from Ellmau in the WK and 52 kilometers from Salzburg, inaccurately placing it near Sankt Johann im Pongau. Putting a town and a city together that are 78 kilometers apart does not make sense as well as placing the attached geotag in a third place. Similarly, a geotag for "Eifel" (post ID: CP-GAl4F1_4) in Albania is misplaced, as it refers to a region in Germany, not Albania. The reasons for these geotag discrepancies are unclear. The proportion of totally displaced geotags does not seem overwhelming²², but the precision cannot be guaranteed. Geotags like "Going, Tirol, Austria" and "Going am Wilden Kaiser" refer to the same place but appear in separate locations on the map, a common issue with popular places due to various accounts creating differently located geotags. The geotag "Ellmau/Going" tries to merge two WK towns into one (just like the first example in this paragraph). This illustrates how virtual and actual geography can diverge, with social media geotags not accurately reflecting real-world places.

Discarding the geotag data

Challenges with geotag accuracy led to excluding them from the case study analysis. Despite potential insights from geotag discrepancies, these were set aside for possible future research. Instagram's geotag data, easy to collect and suited for large-scale studies, was not utilized. Instead, with assistance (details on page 111), 474 photos were analyzed, assigning two geolocations each. This approach allowed differentiation between subject/motive and photographer positions. A depth never achievable with Instagram's single point geotags. This approach is enriching the study with generated data and steering it towards thick data.

3.2.3 Modality of the data

The data in numbers

This research compiled 3.29 GB of raw data across 8,312 files. The quantitative data has 4,801 posts from Instagram, covering a timespan from January 2017 to June 2021. I analyzed the first 10 seasons and 96 episodes from the BD TV show. Post-filtering, 3,376 photos from Instagram were identified, many within albums and not all detailedly analyzed. SoSciSurvey facilitated 59 interviews with STs, Destination representatives and Production members.²³ Only one Production interview was usable at the end unfortunately. Additionally, over 225 photos were enriched with qualitative geolocation data for both motive and photographer positions. The cleaned

²²But of course not all geotags can be checked

²³Comparable studies in the field like Mannheimer, Reijnders, and Brandellero 2022 (p. 559) has 10 interviews and Reijnders and van Es 2022 (p. 26) has 17, so the number of interviews conducted for this case study is respectable.

group that has tourists from all these major classifications.

TV watching habits BD fans enjoy besides the obvious TV series, movies and documentaries and dislike sports and live events (table 5.7). "Die Bergretter"²⁵ another ZDF series filmed in a neighboring valley, was the most frequently mentioned. It shares similarities with the BD show, such as aesthetics



(figure 3.5), setting, narrative style and a mountain rescue theme.²⁶ Fans often follow both shows²⁷, highlighting a preference for soap-like mountain-set series. (cf. ZDF n.d., p. 1) Apart from the mentioned German TV soaps, "Babylon

Figure 3.5: The aesthetic of the TV show "Die Bergretter" (ZDF n.d.) is similar to Mountain Doctor up to the naming of the two shows (Source: ZDF screenshot from Episode "Verbrannte Erde (1)").

Berlin" (Handloegten, Tykwer, and Borries 2018) and "Grey's Anatomy" (Rhimes 2005) were notable exceptions, indicating some interest in high-quality (US) productions. Overall, this suggests that BD fans value public television and stories about family and relationships set in the Alps, reflecting a wider appeal for such themes.

Demography of the screen tourists The median year of birth of the respondents was 1976²⁸ with a range of 36 years between the youngest and the oldest (table 5.8). The Destination also estimated the STs in a range of 16 to 80 years making them an average of around 48 years old (table 5.9). This matches the reported number of the actual ST in the corpus and can now be assumed for the entire demographic of BD STs at the WK. This age puts BD ST on the edge of the boomer generation. But with a range of 36 years this is also more than just one generation spilling out into other demographic groups like Millennials or Gen Z. STs come from all over Germany, but most of the small case study sample come from western and southern Germany, which is closest to the WK and Austria.²⁹ Only three ST out of 15 live in big cities,

²⁵ZDF.de: "Markus Kofler and his team from the Ramsau Mountain Rescue Service go to their limits to save lives. The heroes also experience ups and downs in their private lives. Rescue missions in breathtaking mountain scenery. (ZDF n.d., p. 1; translated by deep1.com)"

²⁶The similarities do not end there: "Die Bergretter" (ZDF n.d.) can be seen as a kind of companion show to BD. It is scheduled to be shown on ZDF in the same time slot as BD. The two TV shows have the same duration of more than 15 seasons and have a similar naming convention, with one being called "Die Bergretter" and the other "Der Bergdoktor".

²⁷The fandom recognizes this by creating Instagram fan accounts that incorporate both TV shows, such as @bergdoktor_bergretter_fangirl

²⁸Which would make them about 46 years old at the time of the interviews in 2022.

²⁹The answers of the STs are not visualized as table data because its sensible personal information

most in small towns, rural communities and one even responded in a single building without connection to a settlement (table 5.11). The BD ST mostly live like what they see on the screen and later find at the destination of the WK. Only four out of 15 ST have a university degree, with most of them have received vocational training on the job (table 5.10). Interestingly, the most common job sector is "Advertising, marketing, commercial and editorial media professions", which shows that a few people in the media sector also enjoy ST and communicate about it on social media. The other professions are divers, from medicine to hairdressing to tourism³⁰, as well as textile and leather professions. 13 out of 15 are married or in a relationship (table 5.12).

The connection to the Bergdoktor TV show ST respondents typically watched nine seasons of BD (table 5.13), with over 55 percent identifying as super fans. When asked about their fan status, most rated themselves as "definite fans" (table 5.14). Despite this enthusiasm, about half acknowledged being part of the fandom, while the rest did not (table 5.14)! This could suggest that many travel with partners or friends who might not share the same level of fandom.³¹ Destination respondents have watched at least one BD episode, but STs are more engaged, with 50 percent viewing over 50 episodes.

Instagram usage ST and Production were asked how much time they spend on Instagram on an average day: 17 out of 21 people use Instagram for an hour or more a day. During this hour, they are most interested in the topics "Traveling and destination" and "Friends and family" (table 5.15) which ofcourse perfectly matches ST and the themes of the BD show. "Stars and starlets" is the least popular topic among the BD STs. This seems interesting as its possible that they interact with accounts of BD actors who are among the ST communication on Instagram.

but still can be presented on an aggregated level.

³⁰Also people who work for tourism are tourists themselves and probably hate tourists in their everyday life at work and on holiday :-)

³¹But even when some said they were not fans and not part of the fandom (like in this example on page 148), they still posted about the ST experience at the WK on social media for everyone to see. This discrepancy highlights that even non-fans recognize the social value of the show.

3.3 Case study basics

3.3.1 Essentials about the Bergdoktor screen product

The content of the Mountain Doctor

The genre of the Mountain Doctor "Der Bergdoktor" (eng. Mountain Doctor, Barth 2008) is a German television series as part of the public service broadcaster ZDF. A new season with eight episodes and around 90 minutes of runtime airs every year from December to April on the channels of the ZDF (Germany) and ORF (Austria). It falls primarily into the drama genre and typically combines elements of medical and family drama. The semi high gloss aesthetic and use of rural outdoor location is an often used drama aesthetic in German television. It can be also considered a prime-time soap due to its ongoing episodic nature, focus on personal relationships and dramatic plots. The picturesque setting and the medical context add unique elements to the typical soap opera formula, but the core focus on drama and character development aligns well with the primetime soap genre. It is focusing on the life and work of a doctor in a picturesque rural Alpine town of Ellmau at the WK in Austria. The show explores complex relationships, ethical medical dilemmas and rural medical practice challenges. The show fosters ideas of the countryside as a central feature of their dramatic repertoire.³²

The Mountain Doctor is coming home The BD coming home is the central theme of the BD series' pilot³³ in 2008. Dr. Martin Gruber, a successful surgeon with a global career, returns unannounced to his rural childhood home from New York, marking a pivotal change in his life. (cf. Schulze 2023) This dilemma of choosing between his rural roots and a prestigious urban career recurs throughout the early seasons, reflecting the character's ongoing internal conflict.

The Bergdoktor show as continuation of the Heimatfilm The BD series explores themes of *homecoming, family, love, rural community, farm life* and *nature*, resonating with the Heimatfilm genre that became popular in post-WWII Germany. Initially, these films provided an escape from wartime atrocities, evolving over the years into modern TV series, albeit sometimes seen as quaint. (cf. Höfig 1971) BD reflects this evolution, incorporating horizontal storytelling³⁴ into traditional Heimat themes.

³²This was also in the focus of Robert Fishs research "to shed light on the constructions of popular content and form (Crouch 2005, p. 120)".

³³An excerpt of the episode from the BD fan club.

³⁴Horizontal storytelling is a narrative technique in TV productions where the plot unfolds over several episodes or seasons, allowing for detailed plots and character development. This contrasts with vertical storytelling, where each episode is a standalone story. This approach is beneficial for creating complex, engaging narratives and can also be applied to branding and online marketing efforts, including those by the ZDF. (cf. Ferrari 2021)

The storytelling changed but the themes stayed the same and these are still fitting well with the enduring allure of the Alps.



Figure 3.6: The BD countryside ideal with sunny days, farm romantic and alpine outlooks (Source: ZDF screenshot from Episode "Die große Kälte (2)")

Medialized rural realities Just like the BBC TV show *Dangerfield* the BD is set in "nice and beautiful surroundings" and is about "a handsome doctor who lives in the country (Dangerfield Production Team quote found in Crouch 2005, p. 131)" - A narrative formula that probably holds true globally. For Robert Fish it is these nice and beautiful surroundings that are an alternative set of rural reality which the viewer becomes seduced to. (cf. Crouch 2005, p. 131ff)

This countryside ideal of the BD screen product (figure 3.6) praises the WK destination as part of the narrative structure making it the perfect holiday destination inducing ST.

The countryside ideal as critique on the city life Tourism has always critiqued modernity, from its Romantic Age beginnings to neoliberal times. Aschenbrand found that historical sights externalize critiques of modernity, connecting them to landscapes that evoke a "genius of great and past times (Aschenbrand 2017, p. 105)". Historical tourism spaces and pre-modern lifestyles often symbolize an alternative to capitalist life, with landscape like the Alps becoming a medium of critique against modernity. With their chalky and beautiful alpine pastures, small wooden huts and wide views of mostly untouched, rugged alpine nature the (WK) Alps are serving as an ideal backdrop. (cf. Aschenbrand 2017, p. 105) The often used example of the TV series "Heartbeat" (Byrne 1992) portrays rural life as both romantic and modern, suggesting "the feeling that life is better, the people are kinder, and the existence 'truer' [...]" (Mordue 2009, p. 333)." This western pattern of the "countryside ideal" (Bunce 1994) critiques capitalist urban lifestyles. The first episode and season of the BD TV show explores this theme, with the main character returning to his rural WK home and grappling with urban-rural tensions, represented via his ex-girlfriend from the world metropolis of New York. Such narratives and many more make rural vacations appealing to city dwellers, as they criticize their own perceived inferior living conditions compared to an ideal of the countryside. (cf. Mordue 2009, p. 333)

Wilder Kaiser landscape as metaphore Like Lukinbeal explained in his article "Cinematic Landscapes" that when landscapes become metaphors "they exceed the bounds of the image (Lukinbeal 2005, p. 13)". The landscape is naturalized in the BD TV

show, "where a narrative seeks to pass off that which is cultural as natural (Lukin-beal 2005, p. 13)". The landscape of the alps is shown (figure 3.9 (f)) as exalted and lovely (page 49) sitting above the problems of the human tensions in the BD drama narrative. They are shown as majestic mountains but with these metaphors attached to them they exceed what they are and become signifiers in the TV show, the ST communication on Instagram of course as well as in the WK destination.

Genre of nostalgia Different aspects of the Mountain Doctor like its rural setting, the prominent themes of coming home and the presented family values together with the exalted backdrop of the WK alps are as nostalgic metaphor a critique on modern live. Robert Fish also found this in other countryside TV shows like the already mentioned Heartbeat (Byrne 1992; page 80) or Peak Practice and Dangerfield. (cf. Crouch 2005, p. 131) The show is from the beginning produced to evoke these kind of feelings and emotions towards characters, story and the setting which is all transported by mediatization and within the post tourist to the destination.

Mountain doctor by the numbers

The BD TV shows broadcasting environment ZDF's streaming portfolio reached over 21 million unique viewers per month in the first quarter of 2025. Within that total, "Fiction without crime"³⁵ and "Information" formats each attracted about 10 million monthly viewers, yet fiction accounted for a far larger share of total watchtime, highlighting its bingeworthy appeal and longer runtimes. Women made up 57 % of ZDF's streaming audience, while only 35 % fell into the key 14–49 years demographic, confirming the network's older-skewing profile despite its digital success. (ZDF Medienforschung 2025)

Mountain doctor specific analysis The BD TV show is one of the most successful shows of the ZDF and reached over 2.5 million unique viewers per month in the first quarter of 2025. The show created over 1 billion minutes of watch time in the quarter 1 of 2025. The viewers are slightly younger and slightly more feminine than the general ZDF audience - still most of them are above 60 years old. Lifestyle segmentation by Sinus shows Post-materialists and Nostalgic-Middle-Class clusters with the highest watch times.³⁶ The Precarious milieu as well as Consumer-Hedonists and Traditionals are the clusters with the lowest percentage of watchtime. These numbers are only slightly different from the overall numbers from the ZDF.

³⁵Because crime shows are the dominating genre for prime-time shows in Germany and especially for the public broadcasters it gets its own mention outside the fiction genre the BD TV show belongs to.

³⁶Post materialist tendencies in Post tourism (page 32) and Simulations theories (page 25) as well as the phenomena of the nostalgic rural destination (page 48) can be found in different explanatory approaches in this work.

The BD shows a slight conservative lean with over-indexes among the Conservative Upscalers and the Nostalgic-Middle-Class milieus, confirming its appeal to viewers who value traditional norms and family-oriented narratives. The show also attracts a marginally higher share of Neo-Ecological viewers, hinting that the Alpine-nature setting resonates with environmentally attuned audiences despite the show's classic storytelling. Overall the Milieus are fairly evenly distributed with a skew towards upper middle-class and modernization but without alienating the lower class and people in re-orientation. With the central lifestyles the BD TV show is appealing to viewers that have a *sense of duty* and like order but also live individualization (page 70) and enjoy pleasure which are all traits that can be found in the case study. (ZDF Medienforschung 2025)

Movement in the cuts of the bergdoktor series

The BD series creatively addresses the potential disconnect in space and time between scenes. Transition shots showcasing the Alpine landscape, including time-lapse views of mountain panoramas or sunsets, offering viewers a sense of complete geography. These transition shots are so much part of the Mountain Doctor screen product that they themselves became a topic of the screen tourism communication.³⁷ Additionally,

scenes with the protagonist driving or using a mobile phone to call other people serve to connect different places, help maintain geographical continuity. While cuts still exist, these techniques effectively represent journeys or time passage, enhancing the narrative's cohesion.

The Mountain Doctor on the streets of the Wilder Kaiser The BD series features 150 scenes with cars, making it a significant recurring location (table 3.2). Often with the protagonist, Dr. Gruber, driving and frequently involving phone conversations on a speakerphone to various stationary characters (figure 3.10). While the BD moves between locations in his car, other characters typically remain static.³⁸ These



Figure 3.7: The thumbnail of the BD TV show on the VOD-platform of the ZDF shows the importance of the car as a prop (Source: ZDF Mediathek).

³⁷This peek behind the curtain shows how the transition shots are created: From the same perspective that a ST would have standing at the screen location. This makes it easier for the ST and other stakeholders to copy the perspective set by the BD screen product.

³⁸See page 125 for more details on other characters and their connection and relation to various

transition scenes vary in location but always feature the same old green Mercedes (figure 2.19 (b)), affectionately nicknamed *Ranzbimmel*³⁹ and is famous amongst fans and the actor Hans Sigl (figure 3.7). These car scenes serve as transitional elements, bridging different screen locations and contributing to the narrative flow.

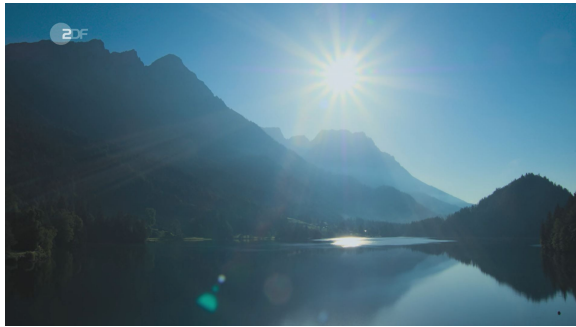


Figure 3.8: Panorama of the Hintersteiner See is still without people in the 16th BD season (Source: Still from The Mountain Doctor episode 3 of season 16).

Creating empty landscapes

Other tourists are often problematic for travelers. Tour companies even advise customers on how not to appear as tourists (page 87), adding to post-modern paradoxes. Social media exacerbates this by showing empty, idyllic destinations, creating a false sense of solitude that fuels overtourism. As a result, 24 percent of tourist photos show empty landscapes and 40 percent depict tourists in, what Urry calls "tourist ghettos" (Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 175). (cf.

Ibid., p. 175; Groebner 2020, p. 44; Miller 2017) The BD series also portrays this illusion in their transition shots (figure 3.8) with empty, serene shots of the WK in contrast to the reality of a popular, crowded destination. Tourists end up frustrated, often directing their annoyance at other tourists, i.e., themselves. The cognitive dissonance between screen product and destination requires a "suspension of disbelief (Reijnders 2011, p. 105)" to accept the simulated reality they encounter. STs in the case study had mixed experiences (page 208), with some finding it empty but others were frustrated by crowds, supporting the idea that tourists are irritated by their own presence.

The outside TV show

In the BD series, outdoor shots dominate the most locations like Gruberhof and the WK guesthouse, with quantifiable more exterior than interior scenes (table 3.2). The exception is the BDs practice, where interior scenes prevail (140) due to the nature of medical examinations. However, even typically indoor locations include exterior shots, as evidenced by 97 exterior scenes in the BD practice (figure 3.9 (b)). The (mountain) panorama contributes to the outdoor setting with over 900 scenes

screen locations.

³⁹More information about the car in the TV magazin article "The Mountain Doctor: What Dr. Gruber's car means to Hans Sigl".

across 10 seasons (figure 3.9 (f)). These various panoramas are used as transition shots between themes, making them a very common recurring visual theme. In total, there are 1,401 exterior to 365 interior scenes, highlighting the series' preference for outdoor environments at a ratio of 5:1 (figure 3.9 and table 3.2). And it is clear why the Production of the BD is preferring outside scenes: "An audio-visual exploration of landscape appears to have the power to 'express what is otherwise inexpressible' (Månsson et al. 2020, p. 176 with a Quote from Lefebvre 2006, p. 12)." The emotions of soap can be perfectly transferred to the audience with dramatic cloud movements over the exalted alps (figure 3.9 (f)). These emotions can go as far as feelings of nostalgia to the themes in the Heimatfilm genre on page 119. (cf. Månsson et al. 2020, p. 176)



Figure 3.9: Screen location (a) Gruberhof, (b) BD practice, (c) WK guesthouse, (d) Hintersteiner lake and not a location but the recurring theme as transition shots (e) car on street and (f) mountain panorama.

Source: ZDF/Mediathek screenshots from the episodes (a) "Heimweh", (b) "Zwei Väter (1)", (c) "Der schlimmste Schmerz (1)", (d) "Dunkle Wolken", (e) "In der Falle (1)" and (f) "Zwischen den Stühlen"

The locations of the Mountain Doctor

The narrative importance of screen locations If I had to rank the locations after watching ten seasons in order of importance for the fictional story of BD, then I would choose 1. the Gruberhof (near Söll), 2. the BD practice (in Ellmau) and 3. the town square (of Going) with the affiliated locations of the WK Guesthouse, church and pharmacy. Hospital is 4th place and Hintersteiner Lake comes in at 5th. The rank-

ing is qualitative and consists of subjective but careful considerations of the scientists about the narrative plots and the stories told at these locations. The official BD fan club had a slightly different top list (Schulze 2023, p. 1):

1. BD Practice
2. Gruberhof
3. Town square Going
 - Church
 - WK Guesthouse
 - Pharmacy
4. Hospital
5. In the BD car
6. Hintersteiner Lake
7. Lillis School
8. Train station



Figure 3.10: The Mountain Doctor is driving between story locations often calling people (source: ZDF/Mediathek screenshots from the episode "In der Falle (1)").

The hospital's prominence in the BD series, ranking fourth among locations, is justified by its narrative significance. However, this does not translate to it being a frequently visited screen location. Unlike other locations, the hospital's narrative importance and its mention in posts vary, possibly due to its real-world geography. Filmed outside the WK region (map 5.3), the hospital's location contrasts with the alpine setting of other locations. While the series uses a real hospital within Tirol close to the WK valley for some scenes, the main hospital setting is external, and the intensive care unit scenes are shot on a set (See page 130), further disconnecting it from the WK valley's immersive environment. These geographical and narrative distinctions might explain why its on-screen prominence does not lead to increased visitor interest. The scenes in the car like figure 3.10 have a similar effect, because they cannot be summarized in a coherent place that can be visited at the WK. This is why it is not comparable, because the narrative meaning cannot be focused on a single screen location in the way that the Gruberhof, for example, can.

Characters for locations The BD is the most mobile character in the show, frequently seen in changing locations and driving (table 3.2) So the character if the Mountain Doctor is solely responsible for most of the 150 car scenes of the show. In contrast, other characters are often anchored to specific locations, resembling part of the interior design. For example:

Screen location	Inside and outside	Inside	Outside
Gruberhof	565	133*	129*
Gruberhof Eating Table			83*
BD Practice	457	140*	97*
Church	27		
WK guesthouse	239	37*	77*
Hospital	616		
Hospital Forum		59*	
Hospital Intensive care unit		112*	
Hospital Heliport			3*
Hospital misc	141		
Hintersteiner Lake			18
Panorama Mountains			748
Panorama Town			99
Panorama City			60
School			43
Train station			6
Car in the street			150
Town center			28
Ellmau	29		

Table 3.2: Scene count of the main locations of the first ten seasons of Mountain Doctor TV show. *The distinction between inside and outside shots was started later in the operationalizing process, so early seasons are not differentiated on this dimension - so summing up "inside" plus "outside" does not add up to the numbers of the "both" row of the location.

- Susanne Dreiseitl is usually at the WK Guesthouse.
- Dr. Roman Melchinger is found in his former, now the BD's, practice.
- Elisabeth Gruber, the BD's mother, is the heart of the Gruberhof.

These characters are portrayed as almost *living* at these locations, while others, like hospital doctors Dr. Vera Fendrich, Dr. Alexander Kahnweiler, medical assistant Linn Kemper or pharmacist Franziska Hochstetter, are almost shown exclusively at their workplaces. They are depicted in their personal or professional spaces within the WK, seldom seen elsewhere, emphasizing their roles within these fixed settings.

The summer TV show

The production for the TV show at the destination usually starts around the end of April and lasts through the year into the start of the winter season.⁴⁰

The BD winter drought Most of the screen locations are closed in winter, but there is a special BD hiking tour that you can do in winter. (cf. Wilder Kaiser Destination 2024) Destination trace interview responses also indicate that summer and spring are the seasons in which ST predominantly occur (table 5.6).

The winter special The word *Winterspecial* is coined by the BD production as they have every season one very special episode called the Winterspecial.⁴¹ It is always set in the winter season of the WK and not like the rest of a regular season mostly in a sunny summer. This allocation of episodes towards winter and summer reflects the tourist season of the BD ST at the WK. The so-called winter special does not have a strong and lasting influence on the ST to be pushed further into a winter activity at the WK - Skiing is the traditional winter focus of this alpine destination and the BD tourism is not really touching this.

⁴⁰One of the first Instagram posts about the start with post ID CrdA-LbNC94 and of the end with post ID ClyfCAIPWRL.

⁴¹Here is an example for the use of the word *Winterspecial* on Instagram with post ID CloGvJVt3QQ.

3.3.2 Situation of Wilder Kaiser as screen tourism backdrop

Screen tourism travel to the Wilder Kaiser

The trace interviews tell us STs who follow the BD series typically organize their own trips, but still balancing between exclusive and mass tourism, according to Destination respondents. The STs mainly come from German-speaking countries, notably from around Munich, which is close to the WK region. As the BD is a very popular program on German television and is also part of the Austrian public broadcaster ORF, it makes sense that the BD fans are split between domestic and international. Despite that the BD drives significant German-speaking viewers to visit, marking it a mass tourism event. STs prefer traveling by car, with public transport as the second choice, while flying is less common for this group, suggesting a more regional draw.



Figure 3.11: The Wilder Kaiser DMO is presenting the geographical localization of the region on an Austria map (Source: www.wilderkaiser.info).

The 100 km circle

The WK region is close to Germany's border (map 3.11) near the German metropolis of Munich (Germany) and the Austrian cities of Innsbruck (capital of Tyrol) and Salzburg. It benefits from proximity to these major cities and airports, enhancing its accessibility via motorways and railways (map 5.4). Although it lacks a direct railway through the valley, nearby lines in the valley west and south facilitate access.

The proximity to a global city Advancements in camera technology and global incentives have made screen production as mobile as tourism, with cities like (Vancouver, Canada), regions like (Tirol, Austria) and governments like (Korea) vying for both film projects and tourists. (cf. Andersson and Webb 2016, p. 6–7; Vancouver Film Commission 2023; Cine Tirol Film Commission 2019; Korean Film Council 2011) The attraction to a few selected global places is strong and even visible in the case study of the BD, as the global city of Munich is just around the corner. A quote from ZDF for the production of the Mountain Doctor supports this, as the proximity to Munich (attractive metropolis, airport and the Bavaria Film Studios) was a decisive factor in the choice of WK screen locations. (cf. Rademacher 2018) A location to the big hubs and studios still matters but mostly personally now, for the people involved and not decisive by the screen production overall.

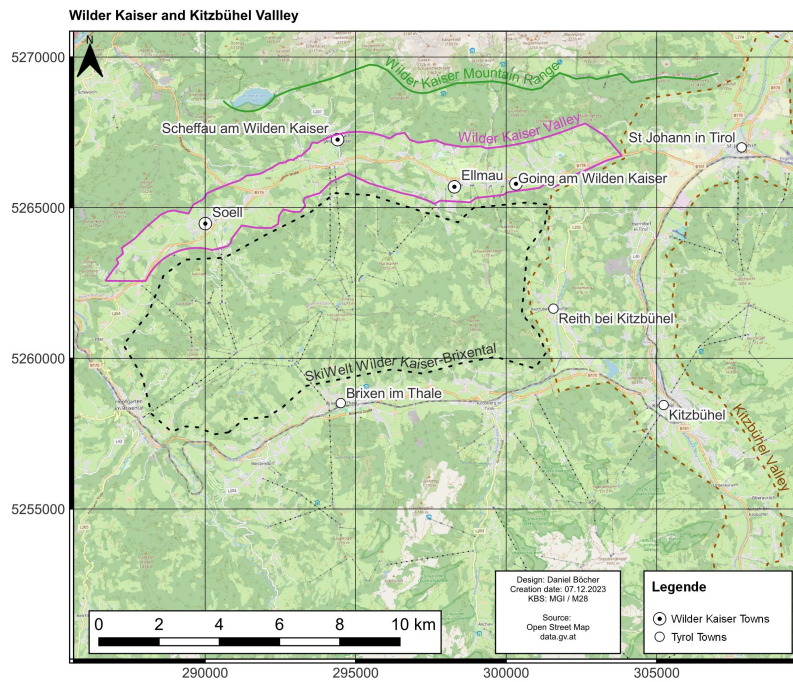


Figure 3.12: Map of the regions around the Wilder Kaiser with important towns and geographical features (Source: Own Map).

The region of the Wilder Kaiser

The region divides into the Kaiser Mountains in the north (map 5.4 in green), four valley communities (Söll, Scheffau am Wilden Kaiser, Ellmau and Going am Wilden Kaiser) in the middle (map 5.4 in purple), and the smooth ski hills in the south (map 3.12) offering a mix of natural beauty and cultivated landscape in the hills as well as rural town life in the valley below.

These three areas define the boundaries of the WK's destination. The famous Kaiser Mountains are sparsely populated and more an area for hikers, climbers and mountain farmers, as well as flora and fauna. The WK communities in the valley are where the majority of the population lives. The Wilder Kaiser-Brixental ski area⁴² to the south of the WK valley (map 3.12) is managed together with they neighbouring valley to the south. These hills are not as rugged as the WK mountain range in the north and are mostly covered with trees and mountain pastures. To the south and west of this hilly ski region are the Brixental and Kitzbühel valleys with the towns of Reith, Kitzbühel and Aurach, which are not part of the WK destination.

Marketing strategy It is part of the DMO's strategy in the area to focus exclusively on the four towns of Söll, Scheffau am Wilden Kaiser, Ellmau and Going am Wilden Kaiser (map 3.12). In promotional material, on their website and in the tourist information (map 3.13) they focus on these towns. (cf. Tourismusverband Wilder Kaiser 2026). The Destination accounts have a strategy on Instagram to provide active, interesting, casual and honest content about the destination as they stated in their trace interviews.

⁴²A 3D-panorama view of the geography and the tourism amenities can be found on the website of the skiwelt.at.



Figure 3.13: Panorama map of the Wilder Kaiser valley that highlights the towns and as well as mountain peaks by the DMO for tourists (source: Screenshot of Panorama map (hoeretzeder grafische gestaltung 2015)).

Screen locations in the broader region

Most screen locations are in the WK region (map 3.18), with a few in larger towns outside (map 5.3). With the hospital shown in over 600 different scenes across 10 seasons (table 3.2) it is one of the main locations in the show with a complicated background at the WK. First of all the main hospital building (exterior) is 50 minutes away from Ellmau by car, in a different valley towards Innsbruck. The hospital's exterior (figure 3.14) and entrance hall (figure 3.16) are filmed at different places. The intensive care unit (figure 3.15) however is set in a tennis hall in Ellmau. Unlike Gruberhof and the BD practice, these screen locations have an important regional function as a hospital or tennis court. Despite its prominence in the show visitors are seemed to be mindful not to disturb patients, doctors and athletes as the study will suggest.⁴³ The interdependence to other screen locations in the region is not analyzed in detail but is further touched upon on page 131.

Screen locations within the Wilder Kaiser destination

The three main locations of the Bergdoktor The Gruberhof, a key series location, is not easily reached as it is on a mountain, accessible only by a narrow road, unlike central WK valley screen locations. It also remains private, with entry limited to paid and official tours. The BD practice or the town square are near or the actual center of the towns in the valley allowing easy access.

Hintersteiner Lake vs smaller screen locations Hintersteiner Lake is 1.4 km across, offering hours of varied views, while the town square's sites are within a 75-meter range, seen by simply turning around. The town square features the church, WK

⁴³Page 147ff are talking about the findings in the corpus data.



Figure 3.14: Screen location of the hospitals exterior shots at the district hospital in Schwaz (source: Bergdokor Fanclub).



Figure 3.15: Set build as the intensive care unit in a tennis hall in Ellmau (source: Bergdokor Fanclub).



Figure 3.16: Screen location of the entrance at the district hospital in Schwaz (source: Screenshot of season 7 ep. 6).



Figure 3.17: Set build with Dr. Kahnweilers office in a tennis hall in Ellmau (source: Screenshot of season 7 ep. 6).

guesthouse and pharmacy, allowing for quick visits to each.⁴⁴ You spend more time seeing every individual screen location at the town square but probably less time on each one individually. The Hintersteiner Lake screen location can individually take more time to be completed as you could for instance take scenic walk around the hole lake.

The Wilder Kaiser as media backdrop

Interdependence to other images, stories and screen products Of course is the BD not the only media production and story told at the WK. The region and state of Tirol has a rich history and vibrant current activities of screen productions. (cf. Tirol Werbung n.d.) At first there is the spiritual predecessor of the German "Heimatfilm" genre explained on page 119. Slightly before that the legendary film "Der weiße Rausch" (Arnold Fanck 1931) with infamous Nazi movie star Leni Riefenstahl was filmed at the region: It was romantically set in winter of the German alps with a simple story but spectacular scenes with hundreds of skiers, stunt action and moun-

⁴⁴Beyond this, Going's town square offers little else, except a hidden shop with BD merchandise a street away.

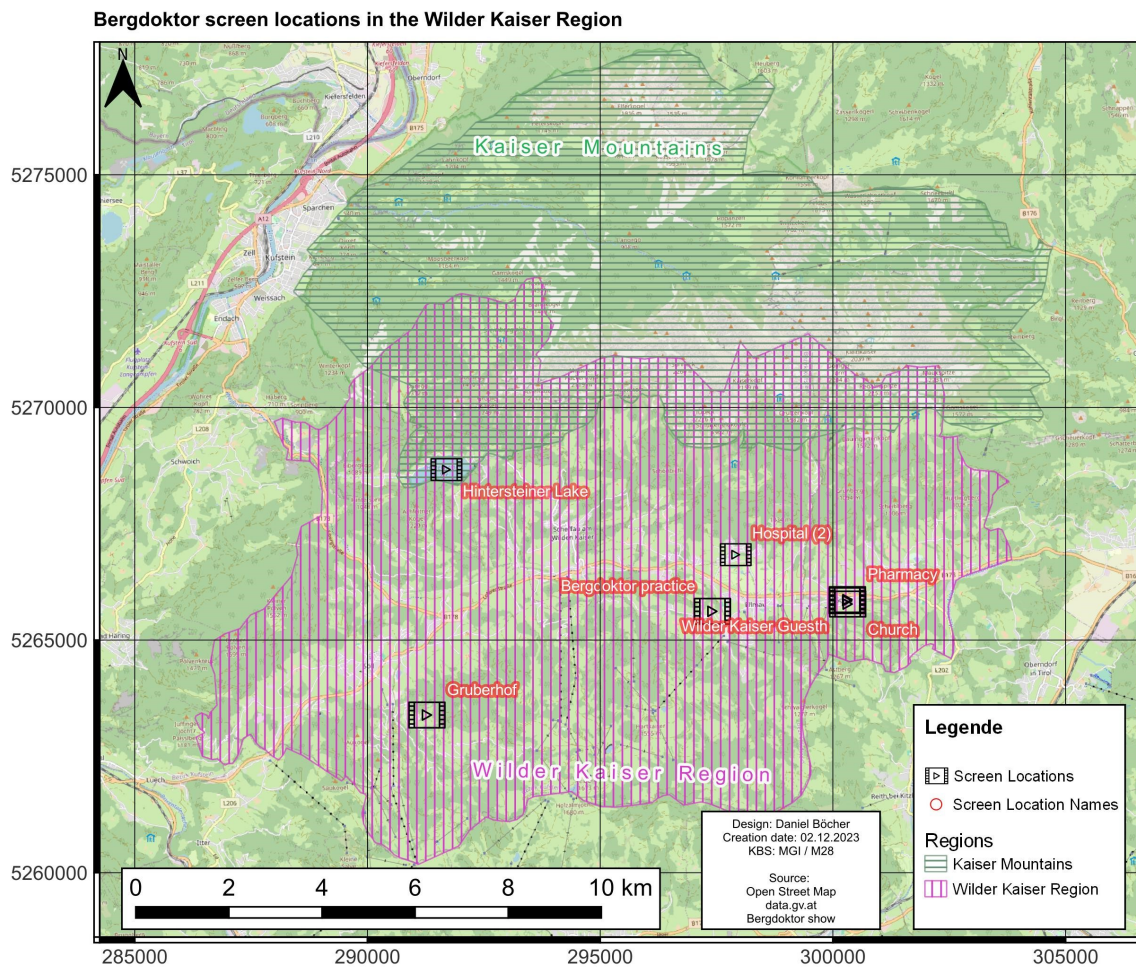


Figure 3.18: Major recurring screen locations in the region of the Wilder Kaiser and the Kaiser mountains (source: own map).

tain panoramas. The current run of the Mountain Doctor analyzed in this case study was not the first installment of this particular story as it is based on books and was first adapted for television in 1992 (broadcaster SAT.1). The story and images were similar (figure 5.10) but the success is nothing compared to the current TV run of the BD show on the public broadcaster ZDF and ORF. Other screen productions in the region of tirol are ranging from popular TV shows like the "Tatort" (Griesmayr et al. 1970) to classics like Kästners "Das doppelte Lottchen" (von Baky 1950) and franchise installments like James Bonds "Spectre" (Mendes 2015). (cf. Tirol Werbung n.d.) After the phenomenal success of the BD the ZDF was fast to establish a companion show called "Die Bergretter" (eng.: mountain rescue, more on page 117). It was developed with a similar aesthetic as shown in figure 3.5. Both shows are successful - with the BD in the lead - and are among the most watched German TV shows shaping the image of the alps in at least a decade. It is also worth mentioning that

the region is very popular for Bollywood movies⁴⁵ who favor the alpine landscape as perfect backdrop for their love and action movies. (cf. Österreich Werbung n.d.; Cine Tirol Film Commission 2017) With the cultural power of the BD TV show the fandom is strong enough to create fan fiction and its own literature like for example the book series from BD super fan and ST Angela Bardl (Bardl 2019). These screen tourism diaries of Bardl are not sophisticated literature and just simple holiday experiences, encounters and observations in the Wilder Kaiser region. Most of these stories, images and screen products were part of my hands on research to develop an understanding about the medialized WK! But in the end these media products were not part of the scope of this work so they are not part of the case study in chapter 3 as well as the contemplation of screen tourism development and its co-production in chapter 4. They are just relevant in chapter 2.3.2 to understand the path dependencies and the environment of the meta processes (page 29) behind the individual case study.

Better than medialized images A scenario imagined by a tour guide of Game of Thrones fans becoming STs: "[It] came on the TV and everyone was like, 'Whoa! Look at that CGI!' And we're like, 'That's not CGI, that's Northern Ireland.' And you guys all went, 'We must go there.' And here you are. (Mannheimer, Reijnders, and Brandellero 2022, p. 561)" It shows how engrossed the medialized world view of fiction really is. Similar things happen within the case study: The WK DMO hashtag and slogan, "In echt noch schöner" ("Even more beautiful in real life"), implies that the medialized representations in the BD TV show differs from what you can experience at the WK destination. It shows the delicate balance between media representations and the real local landscapes (page 65). For the WK the balance is just right, as the slogan states, confirmed by STs in trace interviews (page 209): The WK is actually more beautiful when visited in person and experiencing the landscape as (screen) tourist rather than through medialized images.

Landscape as its own actor Chapter 3.3.1 already demonstrates why the WK mountain range and the alpine backdrops of the BD TV show could be considered to be an actor in their own right, with a powerful influence on the tourist gaze⁴⁶ as proven in chapter 3.4. But also secondary content like the documentary "At home with the Mountain Doctor - En route at the Wilder Kaiser (Ulrich 2021)" emphasizes the scenery's importance beyond mere background: "Diese Mini-Doku wirbt weniger für den 'Bergdokter' selbst als für den Hintergrund der Serie. [...] Die zahlreichen Kameraschwenks über Berggipfel, Bergsee und grüne Almen könnten direkt so auch in der Serie versendet werden: 'Zuhause beim Bergdokter' sieht es offenbar genau

⁴⁵This gave the region the name *Tirollywood*.

⁴⁶Urry's theories of the tourist gaze already discussed on page 66.

so aus wie beim 'Bergdokter'. (Focus Online 2021)"⁴⁷ After Lukinbeal a landscape can be presented differently and the WK mountains in the background of the BD show their ambition to something more than just a mere backdrop.



Figure 3.19: A touchscreen terminal at the tourist information at the WK with information about the Bergdoktor (source: own photo).

Relevancy of the Mountain Doctor screen tourism

Changing the destination The WK destination has adapted to the success of the BD TV show with tangible changes and (literal) signs. The BD ST has its own subdomain on the official WK DMO website, offering themed hikes, guided tours, and more. At WK, BD is present in tourist information (figure 3.19) and banners welcoming tourists to the BD town of Going (figure 3.1). At the BD practice screen location, a sign indicates the fictional practice rooms (figure 4.5). Infrastructure for BD ST, like a themed car park, has been built (figure 2.21). The show's success led to an established fan fest for the most "specific

film tourist", to stay in the terminology of Macionis (Macionis 2004). The fan fest is organized by the production company of the BD⁴⁸ and has led between 3000 and 5000 fans coming to the WK twice a year. (cf. Walther 2025) These are already qualitative signs and clues of the relevance for BD ST.

Screen tourism relevancy for the destination Public numbers about the success of the BD ST are unavailable at the moment of this work.⁴⁹ However, a 2021 WK DMO survey (Krösslhuber 2024b) of over 600 tourists revealed⁵⁰ 98 percent knew the BD TV show, 36 percent discovered WK through it, and 12 percent visited mainly because of it. Additionally, 44 percent visited BD screen locations even if not initially

⁴⁷"This mini-documentary promotes the background of the series rather than the Bergdoktor itself. [...] The numerous camera pans over mountain peaks, mountain lakes and green alpine meadows could have been used directly in the series: 'At home with the Mountain Doctor' it seems to look exactly the same as with the Bergdoktor. (Translated from deep1.com)"

⁴⁸Also, the companion show "Die Bergretter" (Pientka et al. 2009) from the same company has with around 1500 fans a similar success and the hotel bookings are usually 50 % higher than on average around that time. Some chosen and very lucky fans can go on special hiking tours with the main actor of the Bergretter show just a couple of valleys away from the WK. (cf. Walther 2025)

⁴⁹Because of giving the impression that the WK profits too much from a public broadcaster screen production. The fear is that the WK in the BD TV show could be regarded as *location placement* (Krösslhuber 2024a).

⁵⁰These information were exclusively shared by the DMO for this work!

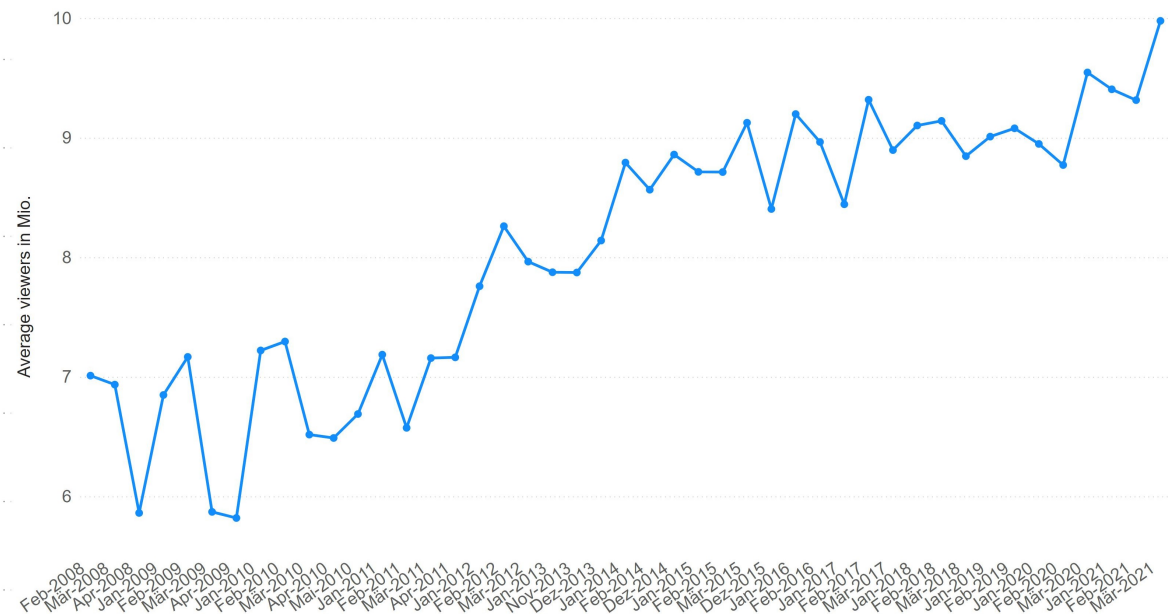


Figure 3.20: The average Bergdoktor viewer development between 2008 and 2021 (source: own graph, ZDF Medienforschung data).

induced by the BD TV show. This indicates nearly every second tourist is a BD ST when she leaves the WK destination. (cf. Krösslhuber 2024b) Already in 2013 the WK won a prize for the DMO concept for BD ST: "Die Jury begründet die Auszeichnung damit, dass die zwei Bergdoktorwochen die Nebensaison in der Region Wilder Kaiser beleben würden. Durch die hohe Fernsehpräsenz mit Originalnamen der Region würden sich immer mehr Menschen dazu entscheiden, ihren Urlaub in der Bergdoktorregion zu verbringen. (ORF 2013)"⁵¹ The relevance for the WK at this time was still growing alongside the popularity of the TV show - visible in the market share of the TV show (figure 3.20). The show's popularity, shown by high ratings and viral ST posts, extends its relevance beyond WK and for a wider audience in front of the screens.

⁵¹"The jury justified the award by stating that the two Bergdoktor weeks would revitalize the low season in the Wilder Kaiser region. Thanks to the high television presence with original names of the region, more and more people would decide to spend their vacation in the Bergdoktor region [...]. (translated by deep1.com)"

3.4 Data analysis and outcome of the case study

This chapter 3.4 could be seen as the heart of this research but it is more like the body! It is holding the other chapters 2.3 and 4.1 that function as its coat: Chapter 2.3 is what happened before and led to the discovered phenomena of the co-production of screen tourism (communication) in the case study. Chapter 4.1 shows the current state of these developments with the help of the findings in the limited case study. The data analysis in this chapter produces findings that can serve as a starting point for further contemplation about the meta processes and the current state of tourism in front of a hyperreal philosophy in chapter 4. The value of the raw data (interactions, tag mentions, geolocations or the juxtaposition of images and aesthetics) is not always apparent in this chapter but only becomes effective for media-geographical analyses together with the coat chapters 2.3 and 4.1. The final corpus contains over 1,400 Instagram posts. I focus on the most successful ones based on social media metrics, such as favorites, comments and overall interactions. This focus is due to time and space constraints, but is justified by the assumption that more successful posts have higher visibility. This makes them more likely to have a greater impact on ST communication and generally speaking is this the mechanic of most social media algorithms pushing posts to more users. Their influence is already evident through significant more likes and comments directly on the posts.

3.4.1 Social Media Communication of Screen Tourists

Analysis I: Instagram descriptions

Top 100 most used words

As figure 3.21 shows, the BD is clearly at the center of the STs' conversations. Of course this was to be expected, as it was part of the search terms that identified the posts, and it is the inducing factor for the STs to be at the WK in the first place. But when you look at the other groups⁵² it shows that it is not that simple, because the variation cannot be explained by these initial factors alone.

Screen product terms Other words in the top 100 (figure 3.21) show the devotion of fans to their favorite series: "Der Bergdoktor", "Praxis", "Grubert", "Dreh", "Serie", "Staffel" and "gedreht". These posts are primarily a conversation about tourism, but it is the use of these words in the description tends to make them ST posts.

Destination terms: places, towns and regions

The region "Wilder Kaiser", along with names of places and towns like "Ellmau",

⁵²See chapter 3.4.4 on page 188 for the difference.

"Going", "Kaiser", "Hintersteiner See", and "Wilde" (as an inflection of "Wilder"), features prominently in the top words of figure 3.21.⁵³ Broader than the WK come geographical references such as the country "Austria" and the province "Tyrol," with adjacent notable places like "Kitzbühel" and "Reith" (visible on map 3.12). These numerous and diverse mentions underscore the region's significance in ST communication.



Figure 3.21: The top 100 words used in the descriptions of STs posts. The bigger the word, the more it has been used. Same color means similar number of words. (Source: Own Data)

to produce entertainment and provide relaxation for the viewer, and Covid simply does not fit into that (Hans Sigl quoted in Weber 2022)." For a few (screen) tourists this was a notable event anyway. An example post describes a return to the Tyrolean mountains for a break from Corona-related topics, emphasizing relaxation and nostalgia for pre-pandemic times: "Heute Abend geht's wieder in die schooene Tiroler Bergwelt. Einfach mal ein bisschen leichte Fernsehkost und Corona-Themen fuuer 90

The covid crisis in the posts

The term "Corona"⁵⁴ ranking in the top 100 words is notable (figure 3.21), especially since the corpus analysis started well before the pandemic and extended into the summer of 2021 (explained in chapter 3.3 on page 115), which was the second season of the pandemic. Despite being mentioned in only seven posts, its presence highlights its impact on ST communication at the WK. This is even more remarkable as Covid was never part of the BD narrative despite being a show about a doctor. This has a simple reason as the actor of the BD explains in an interview: "[...] we want

⁵³You could probably add the names of the screen locations discussed in the paragraph above to the list of places in the WK region but they half fiction which excludes them from strict definition of destination locations.

⁵⁴The generally used term for the covid 19 crisi in the DACH countries.

Minuten mal vergessen. Entspannung pur! (post ID CKCHI1AFuYK)"⁵⁵ This type of post can be considered a tbt (#Throwbackthursday) post. The post features a collage of photos from previous visits to the WK, serving as a throwback to better days, untainted by the pandemic. In these strange uncertain times of a global pandemic the already present nostalgic feelings get the additional touch of lightheartedness.

Advertising in posts

Unexpectedly, the term "Werbung" (Advertising) is among the top 100 words of the STs. The STs were assumed to be the private group in the corpus, just posting about their holidays. But these accounts and the use of the word suggest that there are professional influencer accounts among the STs, who tag their posts as #add. Posts similar to this: "Es gibt zwei Drehorte für die Serie 'Der Bergdoktor': Die Außenaufnahmen entstanden vor dem alten Dorfkrämerhaus auf dem Stadtplatz in Going, die Innenaufnahmen wurden im renommierten Restaurant 'Föhrenhof' im Stadtteil Auwald in Ellmau gedreht. Going hat noch mehr zu bieten: naturverbunden, beschaulich, bodenständig – eine echte Stadt, die Ruhe ausstrahlt, mit einer einzigartigen Landschaft, die das Herz höher schlagen lässt (unbezahlte Werbung). (post ID CGfKex6q0dh)"⁵⁶ Of course it is not useful and unnecessary to mention "unpaid advertising", but this regular account of a would-be influencer and ST feels it has to when talking about screen locations and WK places.

Analysis II: Instagram metrics

Instagram interactions

This section looks in more detail at Instagram likes, as they are the most present metric and interaction feature of social networks. The Instagram likes on STs' posts range from 3,642 to a minimum of only one, with an average of 182 per post. The median is more than half the mean, which means that there are more posts with a lot of likes than with only a few, in other words that there are more positive outliers⁵⁷ than negative ones. The different posts fluctuate around the mean of 363 likes.

The long tail of regular tourists Only a few accounts can generate a lot of interactions with their ST posts. The long tail (figure 3.22) shows that there are signifi-

⁵⁵"Tonight we're off again to the beautiful Tyrolean mountains. Just a little light TV and forget the Corona topics for 90 minutes. Pure relaxation! [...]. (Translated by deep1.com)"

⁵⁶"There are two filming locations for the Bergdoktor series: the exterior shots were taken from the old Dorfkrämerhaus on the town square in Going and the interior shots were shot in the renowned Föhrenhof restaurant in the Auwald district of Ellmau. Going has even more to offer nature-loving, serene, down-to-earth - a real town that radiates tranquility, with a unique landscape that makes hearts beat faster (unpaid advertising). (Translated by deep1.com)"

⁵⁷In the social media world we call these posts *viral hits*.



Figure 3.22: The long tail of the number of interactions per post in the ST group (source: own data).

cantly more posts with few interactions than many. Even in the top 95 percentile, the number of interactions drops very quickly after the first four posts. This shows that most accounts are smaller, and this suggests that the people behind most of these accounts could be considered regular WK tourists. Another clue that they are regular tourists might be that the median number of posts of the ST accounts is 1. This makes sense, as most people just make one topic-related post (about their holiday) and then immediately move on (with their daily lives). Possible influencers would have a different pattern.

Popular accounts and posts

The most popular accounts according to median interactions with ST content from the BD at are:⁵⁸

- @mutausbrueche
- @its_l_i_s_i__
- @imhof.peter2018
- @fsefoxy
- @piecesofmara

The account of @its_l_i_s_i__ makes a total of over 13,000 interactions with her seven ST communication posts (all in figure 3.23). With a median of 1.6k, she has more than 20 times the median interactions of all ST posts combined. This explains the large sum of interactions.

The Bergdokter practice as prime screen location The Instagram account @its_l_i_s_i__ posted six⁵⁹ photos (figure 3.23), all taken at the popular screen location of the BD practice. These photos were shared over a period from December 2019 to January 2021, suggesting the ST user visited the screen location on four separate

⁵⁸These ST accounts will be shown with clear names because they are big enough to be considered influencers.

⁵⁹The seventh has been deleted.

occasions⁶⁰ — twice in summer (figure 3.23 (c), (d) and (e)) and twice in winter (figure 3.23 (a), (b) and (f)). Trace interviews with STs confirmed that this site is a favorite, often visited and where they spend significant time. These answers as well as the several photos from different trips underscores the screen location's significance within the BD fandom and its attraction to STs.

Outlier posts from the winter ST at WK is usually considered a summer activity, but photos (a), (b), and (f) in figure 3.23 are the exception to this rule. For an account that feels like a typical influencer⁶¹ it probably does not matter if an attraction is considered a winter or summer activity, as content needs to be published every day.

Throwback posts The posts (e) and (f) (figure 3.23) are #throwback posts, as the description says. This is a common behavior on social media with vacation photos. STs want to remember their good times at the destination, and influencer accounts like @its_l_i_s_i__ try to tap into these feelings of nostalgia to create compelling content and connect with their audience.

Special access to the screen location Finally, but certainly very interesting, is the special access of the account to the balcony (figure 3.23, photo (d) and (e)) of the BD practice. The normal perspective of most STs is the perspective of photos (a) to (c) and (f), but having access to the balcony of the BD practice screen location is unique in this corpus.⁶² Since photo (e) is just the cover of an Instagram album post, the second photo and the mention of the DMO on the photo itself provide evidence that this post may have been sponsored by the DMO.⁶³ While this set of photos has some unique aspects, one crucial thing is the same: Like most of the other posts by the STs, the photos @its_l_i_s_i__ are also taken from the outside, looking at the main entrance door of the BD office (except (d)).

Most successful posts

Posts with no screen tourism communication When looking at all the corpus posts most popular posts from ST accounts come in at 48th place after Production and Destination. It has 4,156 interactions and belongs to the account @mutausbrueche. Looking at the photo of the post, it has nothing to do with ST Communication (Post

⁶⁰Photos (b) and (f) as well (d) and (e) in figure 3.23 were taken on the same trip.

⁶¹This can be seen in the standardized aesthetic of the subject as the persistent content of a photo with recurring poses in front of changing backgrounds. An aesthetic that fits well with regular vacation photos.

⁶²The DMO of the WK confirms that the balcony is usually closed for safety reasons. (cf. Krösslhuber 2023, p. 1)

⁶³The local DMO of the WK denies any involvement, but perhaps this was done by the state or country DMO or directly by the owners of the set. The local DMO also gives a hint at what actually might have happened: "[...] Sie wissen ja, was Influencer alles für ein spezielles Fotos tun" ("[...] but you know what influencers do for a special photo", translated by deep1.com). (cf. Krösslhuber 2023)



Figure 3.23: Collection of all available photos (album covers) in the corpus of the account @its_l_i_s_i__ (Source: Instagram screenshots).

ID Clcx24RBQKS). Only on the second photo of the Instagram album is the actor Ronja Forcher, who is part of the main cast of the BD series. Looking at the description, the boolean search filter just picked up on the keywords (see page 105) so it ended up in the corpus, without a deeper connection to the BD ST at the WK. The post is ST communication by definition, but for the research question nothing substantial can be added except that people are using the hashtags, mentions and names associated to the BD and WK to push their own content. Only a few of them ended up in the corpus as for a thorough cleaning and filtering process (page 111). They will not be mentioned in the rest of the chapter because they are not related to the research question.

Background actor At the end of the description of the post by the ST account @mutausbrueche (post ID CDB-NK_B96B), she makes a statement about how she

wants to be part of the BD: "Und ich sag's euch, irgendwann bewerbe ich mich als Statistin - selbst wenn ich nur einen Baum oder Stein im Hintergrund spiele (post ID CDB-NK_B96B)"⁶⁴ It is interesting that she emphasizes that it does not matter what additional roles she could play and offers to play the literal background. Looking at the BD series (as in following chapter 3.3), it is clear that the background and environment play an important role in the aesthetic and tone of the series. The background could be considered not a real actor, but a separate entity in the BD universe. The fans recognize this by traveling to the screen locations at the WK, but also by these kinds of statements. For them, the nature and environment of the WK is without question a part of what they love about the TV show. As they try to become a part of it, they offer to be the literal background.

The tokens of the most successful posts The top 100 posts by interactions include 108 words with more than four uses. The words and posts come from 19 different ST accounts, with a median of 491 interactions. "Heute" (today) is the most used word. Most prominent in the top ten after the first place are: "Tag" (day), "Bergdokter", "Abend" (evening) and "Wilder Kaiser". Why people use BD and WK terms so often should be clear when you analyze data of BD at ST communication at the WK. It could also be explained simply by the fact that the corpus was technically filtered for these keywords. But the question that remains unanswered is why they use time descriptions like day, evening, or today⁶⁵.

Time tokens That people use these words a lot is well established, but the interaction data shows that they are also successful. Each word explaining time was used an average of 11 times in the top 100 posts. For example, "today" was used 40 times in 34 different posts by 7 different ST accounts. The average number of interactions of the posts using these words is 560 (figure 3.24) - which is above the already high interaction count of all the top 100 posts. So even among the top words, the time terms are performing stronger than others.

Screen production tokens Consider the three groups of tokens defined in other paragraphs: Destination (page 136), Production (page 136) and Time (page 190). There is a clear winner in terms of interactions! Posts using screen production terms receive over twice the interactions compared to other terms. The top 100 posts discuss the BD and its production processes, highlighting their popularity. This interest likely stems from the BD's broader recognition outside the ST bubble, making it more familiar than the WK destination. The BD's screen product is a highly successful TV show, whereas the WK destination lacks similar popularity.

⁶⁴"[...] And I tell you, one day I'm going to apply to be an extra - even if I'm just playing a tree or a rock in the background. [...]" (Translated by deep1.com)

⁶⁵An attempt to explain this was made earlier on page 190.

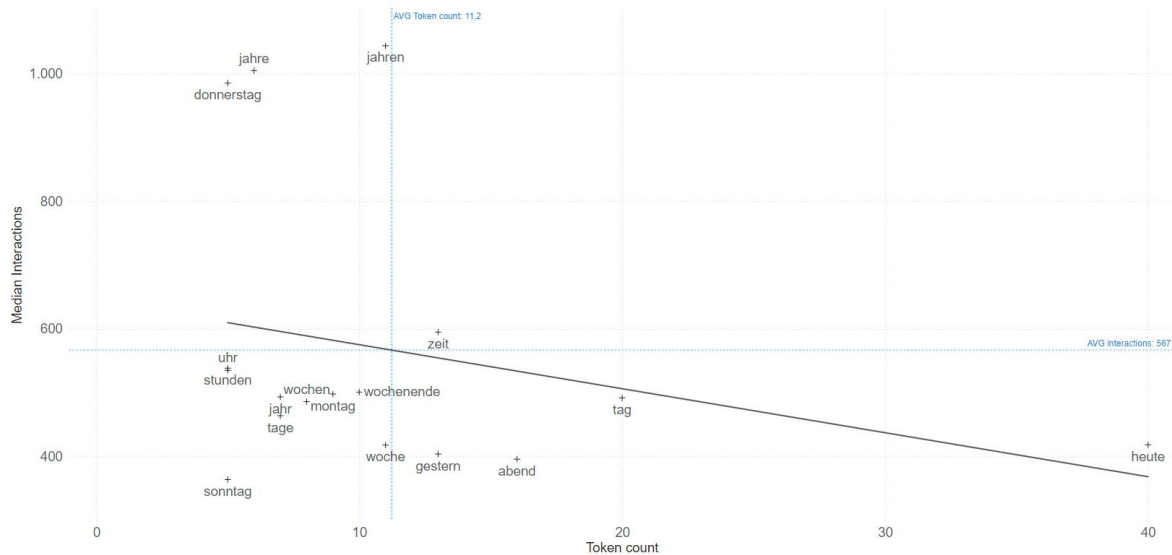


Figure 3.24: Comparing the amount of time-tokens to the median interaction of the post they were written in. Filtered for the top 100 posts by interaction and more than three uses of the token (source: own data).

Expected post performance

Looking at the difference between the median of the expected interactions⁶⁶ and what the posts ended up getting, the STs' communication is performing better than expected. The STs posts get higher scores than posts with other topics. They have a median difference of 39 interactions per post and gather an additional 15,000 interactions above the median of comparable posts. For STs these posts are very successful and for their followers apparently interesting, showing how widespread the themes of ST are in society.

Analysis III: Trace Interviews

The influence on screen tourists

The interview revealed that STs felt they were not influenced (as expected) by other tourist groups, likely due to the common negative views tourists have about each other⁶⁷. They felt more influenced by Production accounts over other tourists and the Destination accounts, but not by very much more. They also stated that when preparing for the trip they also looked at posts from the WK or Production members over the group of STs. But also a lot would not use Instagram at all to prepare. It suggests that the Production primarily inspired the choice for the WK and also significantly impacts the preparation phase of the trip. The Destination might

⁶⁶An explanation of how the expected post performance is calculated can be found in Chapter 3.2 on page 106.

⁶⁷Described in chapter 2.3.2 on page 67.

be slightly ahead on the trip preparation against accounts of the Production. While selecting a destination feels like a major decision, the numerous smaller decisions made during trip preparation may cumulatively have a greater impact on the travel experience.

Situation of the photo and post

Family first Some STs in the interview link the photo's context to "Family", suggesting they were with their families, portraying the WK as a family-oriented destination⁶⁸ and/or gives the impression that BD ST is a family activity. Family themes dominate the BD show (page 119) and it is often viewed with families (post ID CDB-NK_B96B), influencing similar vacation group compositions. Descriptions explicitly confirm this family focus, as shown in one example: "Familie bedeutet für den Rest deines Lebens nie wieder allein zu sein. #familytime #wilderkaiser #holiday #bergdoktor #gruberhof #inechtnochschöner #söll #austria #happyfamily (post ID CHuRXBPn3Al)"⁶⁹



Figure 3.25: Photos of an empty Bergdoktor practice screen location with different subjective opinions about the crowd. Post ID (a) CHU-pLyM0pk Quote: "no visitors", (b) CEuAlz3pKk4 Quote: "a few tourists", (c) B24EWo4ihK1 Quote: "a lot going on" and (d) CDataSXBhvF Quote: "many tourists" (Source: Instagram screen-shots)

Different experiences of the other tourists Interestingly, there is a dichotomy in the description of the situation at the WK in the interview answers. One side writes that it was "Super Wetter, **viele Touristen** (connected to post ID CDataSXBhvF)"⁷⁰ or

⁶⁸From my own history of vacationing in Austria and the experience of traveling to the WK I can confirm that a vacation in Austria is predestined as a family destination for several reasons.

⁶⁹"Family means never being alone again for the rest of your life. #familytime #wilderkaiser #holiday #bergdoktor #gruberhof #inechtnochschöner #söll #austria #happyfamily (Translated by deep1.com)"

⁷⁰"Perfect weather, many tourists "

"Es war im Sommer, **es war viel los!** (connected to post ID B24EWo4ihK1)" ⁷¹ (Emph. D.B.). The other side writes: "Kaiserwetter, **wenige Touristen,** still (connected to post ID CEuAlz3pKk4)" ⁷² or "War mit einer Freundin vor Ort, [...] **Sonst keine Besucher** (connected to post ID CHU-pLyM0pk)" ⁷³ [highlights by D.B.]. Tourists experience the WK differently, influenced by factors like visit timing, chosen attractions, weather and personal perceptions. All the mentioned STs visited the BD practice during fall, as indicated by their photos and post dates. All photos (figure 3.25) intentionally exclude other tourists, showcasing settings without any people ((a) to (c)) or just family members (d). The tendency to exclude other tourists is obvious and the fact that people have different subjective opinions about what many and few tourists are. Based on experience in the field, what is present in the photos can objectively not be called crowded, but actually empty. Situations at the WK are not uncommon in which the BD practice forecourt was packed with people waiting to go inside (figure 3.73 on page 215).

Inside and outside One particular post (post ID CF45-iyIHIL) describing the situation talks about the relationship between the inside and outside of a screen location: "Man konnte gegen 8 € Eintritt den Gruberhof besichtigen. Wir waren aber nicht **drin**. Fotos sind von **außerhalb** entstanden. Es waren aber einige Besucher **drin**." ⁷⁴ The fee must be very important to the respondent since he mentioned it first and specifically, which

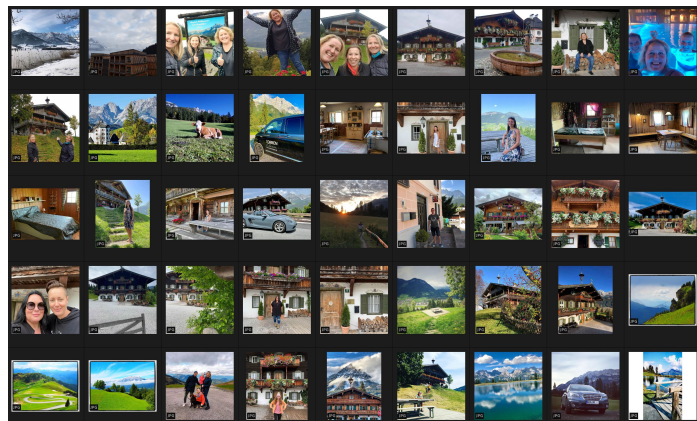


Figure 3.26: Of the last 45 photos (in alphabetical order) of the ST group, only four photos were taken indoors. (Source: Instagram screenshots of corpus posts).

could indicate that the fee might be the reason he did not go inside. The photos were taken outside and that was apparently enough for them. Looking at the corpus for more evidence: The random sample of photos collected in figure 3.26 shows that the focus of ST communication is outside ⁷⁵ - 91 percent of the sampled photos to be

⁷¹"It was in the summer, there was a lot going on! (translated by deep1.com)"

⁷²"Imperial weather, few tourists, quiet (translated by deep1.com)"

⁷³"Was with a friend, [...] Otherwise no visitors (translated by deep1.com)"

⁷⁴"One could visit the Gruberhof for an 8 Euro entrance fee. But we were not inside. Photos were taken from outside. But there were some visitors inside. (translated by deep1.com)"

⁷⁵Which is a similar dominance of the outdoors than in the BD film geography data in table 3.2 on

	Spend the most time	Number of Visitors	Felt closer to BD	Number of tokens	Number of photos on locations
Square and church*	2	21	82	31	*68
Hintersteiner Lake	3	19	34	12	14
BD practice	3	22	97	44	123
WK Guesthouse*	3	19	51	13	*68
Gruberhof	4	17	101	50	92
Pharmacy*	5	19	16	3	*68
Hospital	6	9	13	1	0

Table 3.3: Time spend and visited screen location by the ST
(* Location of the town square)

exact. The outside as the object of the gaze is first psychologically primed⁷⁶ by the inducing screen product, which also prefers outside shots, as shown in chapter 3.4 on page 123. This choice of the quoted account reflects broader trends rather than personal affordability or fan dedication. Since most of the photos in this corpus are from the outside, the trace interview answer above seems to fit and speak for the majority of STs.

The familiar image of the WK On Instagram, the WK seemed as expected to many interviewees, but surprisingly, most found it more beautiful in person than the photos on Instagram suggested.⁷⁷ This goes against the tendency of photos in Instagram being filtered, edited and enhanced representations of life. The reason why the WK exceeded the expectations formed by the social media platform could be maybe explained by another question in the trace interview: "What were your reasons for visiting the locations of The Mountain Doctor in the WK?" and one of the statements they could agree on the most was "I have the feeling that I know the WK through the series" (table 5.5 on page 313). The expectation were never set by Instagram in the first place but by the screen product before.

The screen locations at the Wilder Kaiser Screen locations in the WK are grouped by token frequency (table 3.3 column 5): the pharmacy (3 tokens) and hospital (1) are least mentioned; Hintersteinersee (12) and the WK guesthouse (13) are mid-range; the BD practice (44) and Gruberhof (50) are most mentioned. Mention frequency does not correlate with time spent (column 2) or visitor numbers (column

page 126

⁷⁶More on priming and the social psychology behind it in source Bargh and Chartrand 2024 on page 1–39

⁷⁷Also, the disagreement with the control statement "my expectations from the Instagram posts could not fulfill the WK on site" supports the result.

3). It is the best indicator on how strongly connected STs feel to the BD series at each screen location (column 4). The number of mentions closely matches the number of photos posted (column 6), reflecting the usual combination of photos and accompanying description in each posts.

Bergdokter practice vs Hintersteiner lake People spend most of their time at the town square, the lake, and the BD practice (table 3.3 column 2). The BD practice is the most visited screen location by counting different STs (table 3.3 column 3), but it is not where people spend the most time. The explanation for this discrepancy is probably that the lake is just a huge place (as explained in chapter 3.5 on page 130). This suggests that the STs who come to these places do not simply see it as a check mark, but stay if the place offers more than just the screen location of BD. This shows that within a ST there is always an interested regular tourist.

The ignored hospital screen location While most of the other major screen locations are visited regularly (table 3.3), the hospital is not. Not many people visit the hospital (9 STs), spend much time there (less than any other screen location), write about it in their description (1 token), or even take a photo of it (actually 0)! This was expected because the screen location of the hospital is the least important of the big three (page 124), less coherent portrayed⁷⁸ and not as stunning of a screen location compared to for example the Hintersteiner lake.

The geographical problems of the Gruberhof and the hospital screen location Visit differences at WK screen locations are due to geography and accessibility: The Gruberhof, though very important in the narrative (page 124), had only 17 visits, fewer than the pharmacy, because it is privately owned and only easily accessible by car or foot but mostly via an official BD tours (page 130). The hospital, similarly less accessible and private, has in addition various indoor and outdoor shooting locations (table 3.2). It attracted fewer visitors - highlighting the importance of accessibility and social acceptance if ST at certain spaces - who also spent less time and posted no photos - showing that vicinity is important. Normal building usage also affects visitor behavior, as decent tourists typically avoid disturbing inhabitants, workers and operations (page 130).

Closeness as indicator for published posts The connection between how close interviewees felt to the fictional world of BD in various screen locations (table 5.16 on page 317) and their Instagram posts is clear: The Gruberhof, the doctor's home, is where people felt most immersed in the TV series (Median 101 out of 101; table 3.3 column 4). Many photos show this screen location, and it has the most tokens in the description. The sense of closeness is similar for the BD practice, with a median score

⁷⁸The hospital actually has the most scenes in 10 seasons (table 126) but has many different looking sets and screen location as will be further explained in the next paragraph.

of 97, but the practice consistently engaged even those who felt less connected, which was only 21 (table 5.16) at its lowest. The hospital was the least connected screen location, scoring only a median of 13, with a narrower range of closeness, indicating a general agreement with its lower level of engagement. These feelings of closeness significantly influenced what visitors chose to post. Narrative salience drives feelings of closeness in a given screen location, and this in turn influences how much people write about it and visually document it on a social network like Instagram.

Text Analysis

A strong link to the BD Five description texts of the STs interviewed had a strong connection to the BD. They make a connection to the BD mostly through the screen locations, once to the main character of the show or their own fan relationship like this example: "Ich muss ja gestehen ich bin ein großer Bergdoktor Fan aber ich liebe auch die Gegend.. [SIC] Wir fahren jedes Jahr nach Österreich mit unserem Wohnwagen und jedes Mal sind wir an einem anderen Ort. (post ID B24EWo4ihK1)"⁷⁹ In the trace interview, the user repeats the statement from the public description that she wrote the text because she is a big fan. Other ST posts mention the involvement of fellow travelers: "Der Blick von unserem Ferienhaus in Itter, Österreich. Ganz in der Nähe von Ellmau und **dem von meiner Frau so geliebten Bergdoktor**. Natürlich nur in der Serie. (emphasis D.B.; post ID CJHhDPEJI3Y)"⁸⁰ These posts seem to be directly triggered by the ST experience and the proximity to the screen locations. This opens up emotions and a closeness groomed through the fictional world of the BD.

Hashtag Analysis

Some choose hashtags based on simplicity: "Passt zum Bild (post ID CGw14x-hST1)"⁸¹ or "Weil mir diese hashtags eingefallen sind (post ID CB_YtMmqjah)"⁸². Others understand hashtag mechanics: "Um viele Menschen zu erreichen die diese Landschaft auch lieben (post ID B1g4Eh8ijwp)"⁸³ or "Damit viele Bergdoktor-Liebhaber diesen liken (post ID CF45-iyIHIL)"⁸⁴. Similar as the motivations above STs mention

⁷⁹"I have to admit that I am a big fan of the Mountain Doctor, but I also love the region.. We go to Austria every year with our caravan, and every time we are in a different place. (translated from deep1.com)"

⁸⁰"The view from our vacation home in Itter, Austria. Very close to Ellmau and the by my wife, so beloved Mountain Doctor. Only the series, of course. (Translated from deep1.com)"

⁸¹"Goes with the photo (translation by deep1.com)"

⁸²"Because I thought of these hashtags (translation by deep1.com)"

⁸³"To reach many people who also love this landscape (translation by deep1.com)"

⁸⁴"So that many Mountain Doctor lovers like this (translation by deep1.com)"

"other people" as motivation: "Um viele Menschen zu erreiche (post ID CEuAlz3pKk4)"⁸⁵ or "Um andere zu inspirieren (post ID CDataSXBhvF)"⁸⁶. Destination ties also motivate: "Verbundenheit zur Region (post ID B9Ri2GSo_9J)"⁸⁷ or "Um zu zeigen warum wir vor Ort sind (post ID CJHhDPEJI3Y)".⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ One response links back to the motivation for choosing the hashtags to the one of the photos (mentioned in the paragraph above): "Weil ich anderen Menschen zeigen wollte, wie schön es am Wilden Kaiser ist (post ID BjFpI0CgwTl)".⁹⁰ Some use the automated suggestions from Instagram: "Unter #bergdoktor wurden weitere Vorschläge gemacht. Hab ich einfach übernommen (post ID CHU-pLyM0pk)"⁹¹ ... A few themes emerge, but no clear strategy is evident. What is clear is that everyone uses hashtags, even if the motivation is "Aus Spaß (post ID BSeBTgLDNCy)"⁹², and most understand the technical function and how to use them properly in a social media context. As there is no overarching strategy for STs to choose hashtags based on motivation but it is clear that they use it mostly strategical to reach others in general or a bigger audience.

Photo Analysis

In contrast to the motivations for the other parts of a post (hashtags, mentions, post overall) that were all over the place and not congruent, the one for selecting photos, however, has a pretty clear answer. 9 out of 16 wrote that it was just beautiful and great:

- "Tolle Eindrücke, anderen Menschen zeigen **wie schön es dort ist** (figure 3.27)."⁹³
- "Weil es dort **schön** war"⁹⁴



Figure 3.27: An example of ST photos of the beautiful landscape at the WK (Source: Instagram screenshot with post ID B1g4Eh8ijwp).

⁸⁵"To reach a lot of people (translation by deep1.com)"

⁸⁶"To inspire others (translation by deep1.com)"

⁸⁷"Ties to the region (translation by deep1.com)"

⁸⁸"To show why we are here"

⁸⁹The latter motivation for hashtags can be interpreted as proof of being there, discussed in theory chapter 2.2 on page 65.

⁹⁰"Because I wanted to show other people how beautiful it is at the Wilder Kaiser (translation by deep1.com)"

⁹¹"More suggestions have been made at #bergdoktor. I just took them over. (translation by deep1.com)"

⁹²"just for fun (translation by deep1.com)"

⁹³"Great impressions, showing other people how beautiful it is (translated by deep1.com)."

⁹⁴"Because it was beautiful there (translated by deep1.com)"

- "Das gefiel mir am besten. Gerade der Hintergrund **sieht so toll aus**"⁹⁵
- "Weil ich es anderen zeigen wollte, wo ich war und **dass es schön war.**"⁹⁶
- "Wegen dem **schönen Moment**"⁹⁷
- "**Schöne Kulisse**"⁹⁸
- (HIGHLIGHTS BY D.B.)

Sometimes the motivation for the photo even becomes its description: "Ist einfach zu schoen das Panorama des #wilderkaiser #bergdoktor #wunderschoen #nature #naturephotography (post ID BjFpI0CgwTl)"⁹⁹ To communicate the "beautiful scenery" is an important motivation for the photo as the agent of figure 3.27 answered in the trace interview.

Analysis IV: Geolocation

Heatmap of the overall photo data

The heatmap analysis (map 3.28) shows three visible circular clusters in the south of the valley: Gruberhof, BD practice and the town square in Going. These three clusters with a radius of one kilometer, account for 169 out of 246 photos (54 Gruberhof, 73 BD practice, 42 Town Square). Another spatial cluster is visible above the WK mountains to the north (map 3.28), from (left to right) the rock slide slope Tuxeck over the Ellmauer Tor in the center to the peak of the Ackerlspitze. This cluster contains 74 photos within a one-kilometer buffer zone. The highest density is near the Ellmauer Tor and the western flank of the Ellmauer Halt. These mountain features mentioned are high and visible from many points, making them frequently photographed. The Ellmauer Tor (figure 5.14) is a major geological feature and visually concise. It is easily recognizable by most STs and probably fans of the Mountain Doctor or the Wilder Kaiser.

Heatmap of the photographer

Isolating photographers from motive positions changes the clusters' appearance.

⁹⁵"I liked this one the best. Just the background looks so great. (translated by deep1.com)"

⁹⁶"Because I wanted to show others where I was and that it was beautiful (translated by deep1.com)."

⁹⁷"Because of the beautiful moment (translated by deep1.com)."

⁹⁸"Beautiful scenery (translated by deep1.com)"

⁹⁹"Is just too beautiful the panorama of the #wilderkaiser #bergdoktor #wonderful #nature #naturephotography (translated by deep1.com)"

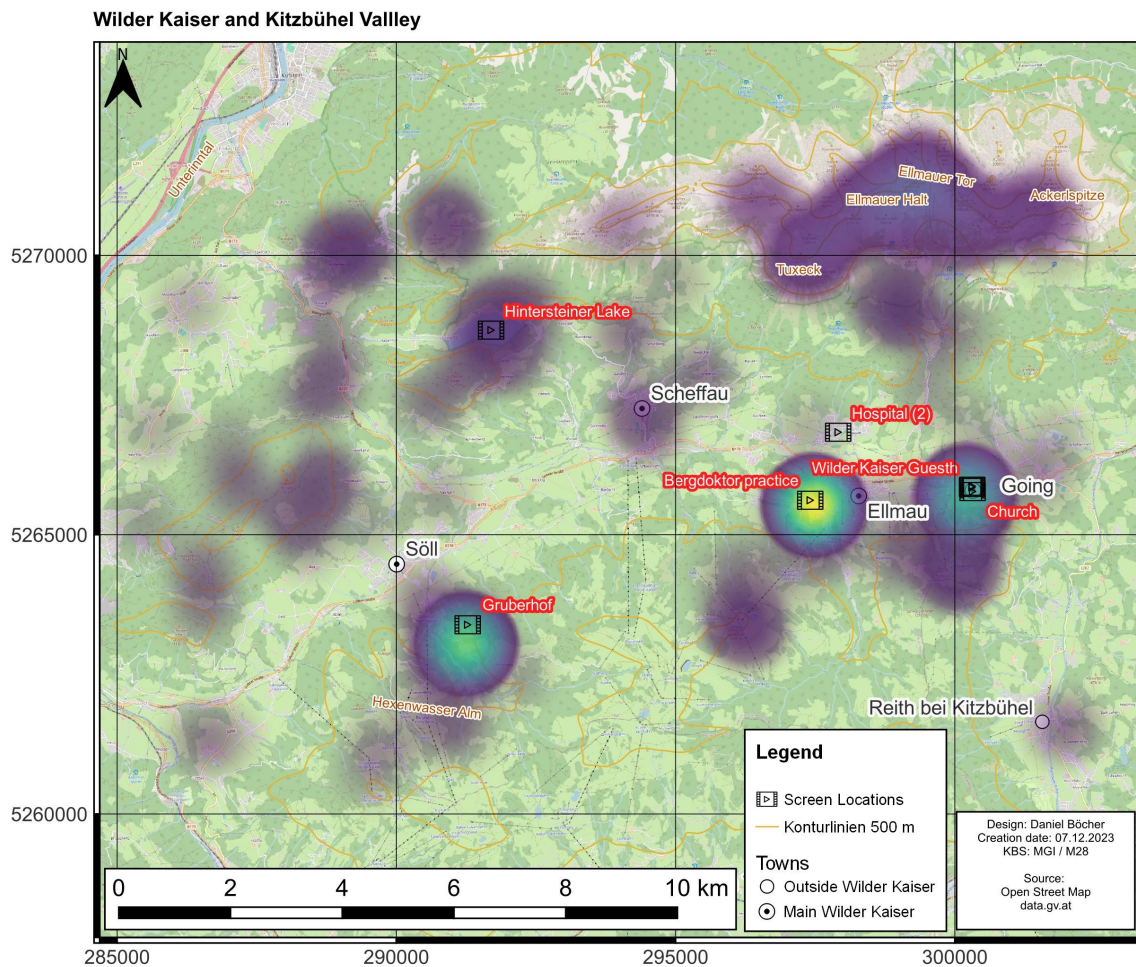


Figure 3.28: Heatmap of screen tourism posts at the destination Wilder Kaiser (Source: Own Map).

The aerial cluster above the WK mountain range has almost¹⁰⁰ completely disappeared (map 3.29 top). Circular clusters around the three major screen locations remain unchanged. Most STs photograph the WK mountain range from main screen locations, rarely the other way around. Photographing from the WK mountains into the valley is unpopular to none existing. When scaling down into the remaining major clusters the distribution follows no rules except in its density: They are densely packed in the major screen location, up to 300 meters in diameter. At the minor screen location of the *Hintersteiner lake* for example, points are 200 to 1000 meters apart (map 3.29 top). This is simply due to size differences between a lake and the other clusters tied to just a few small town buildings.

¹⁰⁰Some points (10) still remain that look like hikers on different altitude levels on the way to the *Ellmauer Tor*.

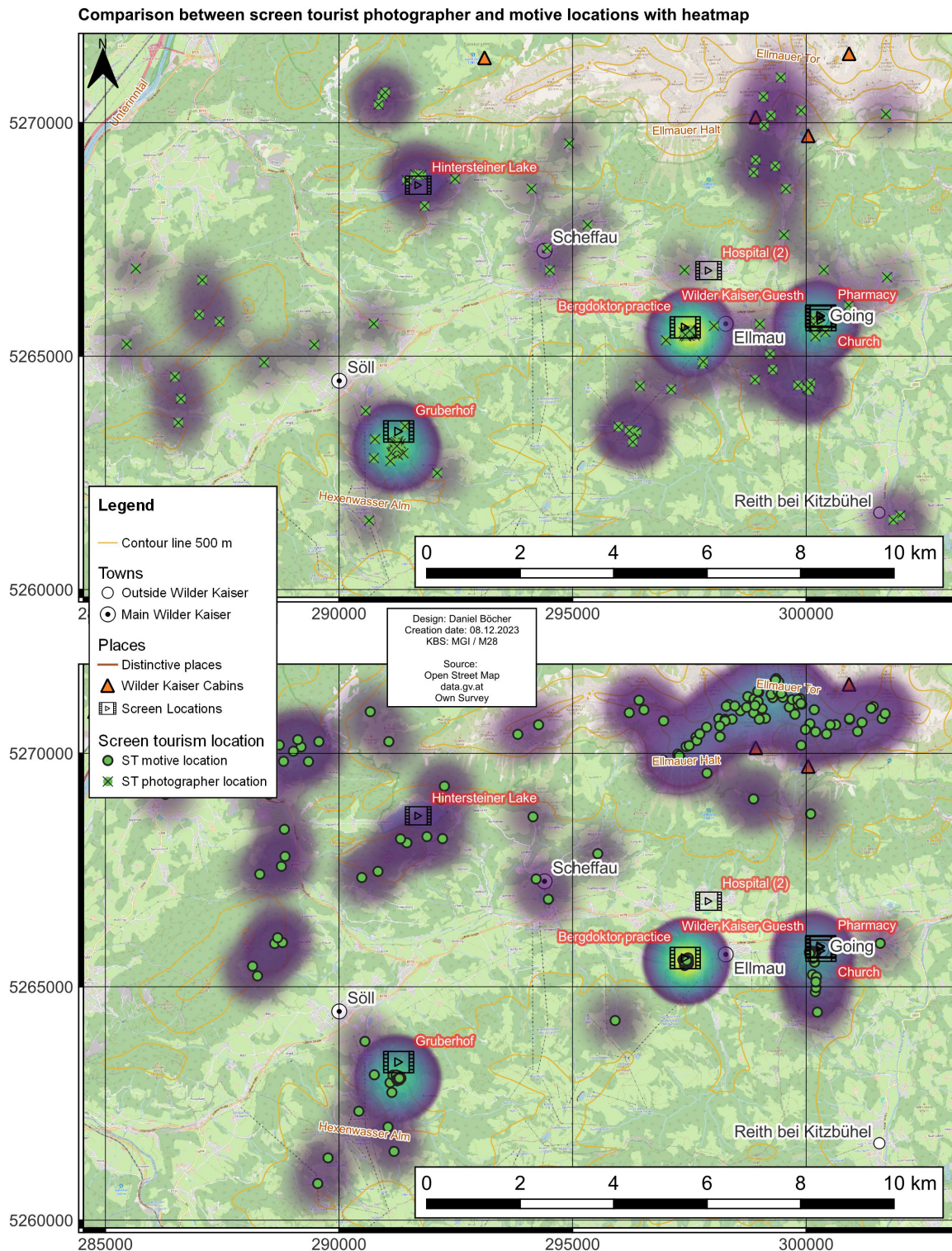


Figure 3.29: Top map: Screen tourist photographer positions. Bottom map: Screen tourist motive points. (Source: Own Map)

Heatmap of the motive

Isolating the motives of Instagram photos (map 3.29 bottom) brings back all clusters from the overall map 3.28. Comparing motive geolocations with photographer positions shows motives have more clustered and are further spread out. The Gru-

berhof and BD practice screen locations remain densely clustered. The WK mountain cluster has the majority of motive points when looking at total dispersion. Only two points in the one-kilometer buffer zone (heatmap circle) belong to a photographer point. Few people hike up to the WK mountain range for photos but most STs prefer photographing it from the valley, especially the three major screen location.

The motive of the Wilder Kaiser mountains

The WK mountain motive cluster leads to perspective analysis: Connections between photographer and motive are plotted on an x-y axis (figure 5.7). The area beneath the line has the three circle clusters around screen locations (f.l.t.r Gruberhof, BD Practice and Town Square) again and a spatial motive cluster in the upper right quadrant. The blue line represents the smoothed rolling average of points with variation.¹⁰¹ The lines between the dots show the photographer's perspective (cross) on the motive (circle). The WK mountain cluster

is mainly photographed from the town square and the BD practice screen locations. The rugged mountains that gave the destination its name "Wild Emperor" support the dramatic scenes (as silent actor) that often begin at the BD practice or town square screen location. The situation is similar at the third screen location, Gruberhof. The higher screen location of the Gruberhof offers spectacular views to the other side of the valley. The western WK mountains in Söll are less rugged, appearing peaceful like alpine pastures, which fits the intimate family setting of the Gruberhof screen location. Photos typically show a screen location in the foreground with the opposite mountain range in the background (example in figure 3.30), representing a typical mountain panorama found in many alpine and tourist visuals.



Figure 3.30: A ST is recreating the scene of the Grubers sitting at the garden table. (Source: Instagram screenshot with Post ID CDMyx-sFLBx)

View is not everything

Great panoramas are not everything. Some photos at the screen locations show another pattern. Zooming in, some photos ignore the views, focusing on one element

¹⁰¹This shape almost looks like a river in the valley of the WK valley, which it is not, but it shows how the motive and photographer points are distributed on both sides and along the valley.

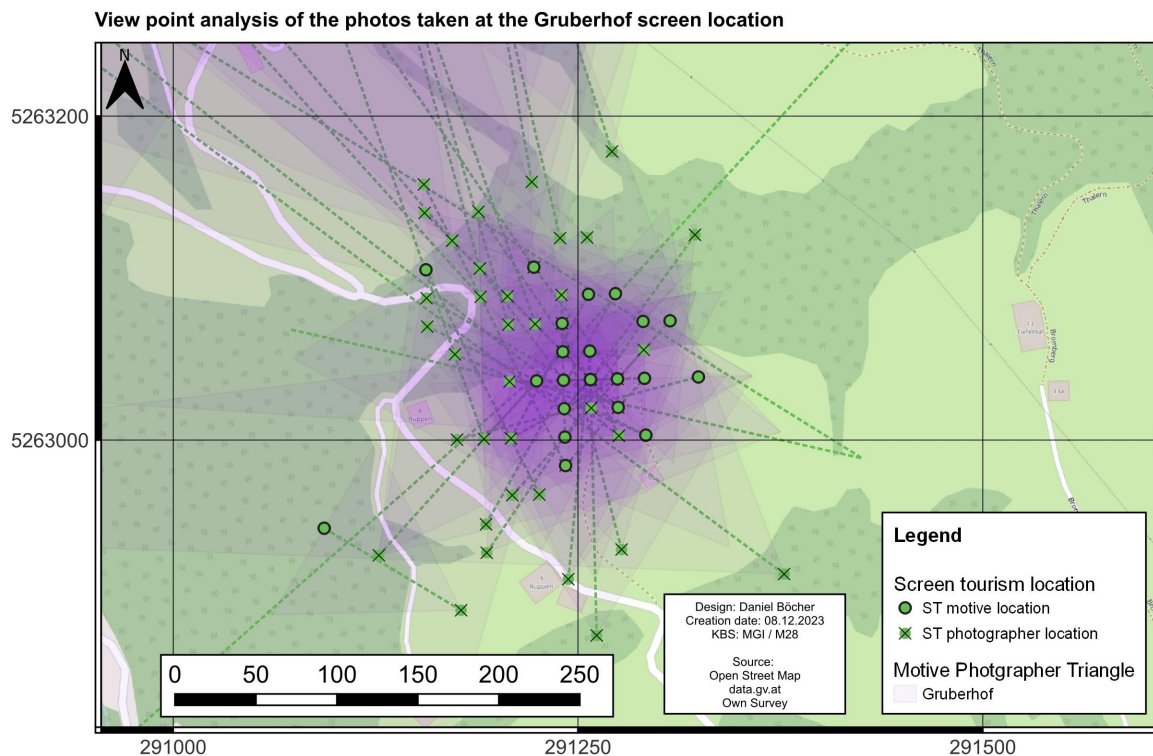


Figure 3.31: Perspective of each screen tourist photographer position at the Gruberhof screen location (source: own map). The stronger the purple, the more perspectives overlap and show the same place.

(map 3.31), often the screen location or fellow travelers. The stunning Gruberhof view sometimes takes a backseat to its architecture. This is evident at the Gruberhof screen location in map 3.31. The screen location has also mostly and obstructed view on the most famous part of the rugged WK mountain range so it turns in itself towards fiction. A similar shift occurs at the town square screen location, especially with the church (map 3.32). It is less photographed with the WK mountain panorama due to its architecture (entrance in the north) and position (south of the town square). Photos of the church mostly have the green hills of the ski slopes at the opposing side in the background (figure 5.11). This might explain why the church appears less frequently in photos and clusters compared to the WK Guesthouse just meters away. The church's potential could be improved if it were more accessible for panoramic photos but you cannot change the architecture. The small examples show that view is not everything, but it ofcourse helps a lot!

The Scheffau-gap

Scheffau am Wilden Kaiser, one of the four major WK towns (page 129), has minimal presence. Within a two-kilometer radius of the town center, there are only eight points, and only six in the mountain range north of Scheffau (map 3.29). The per-

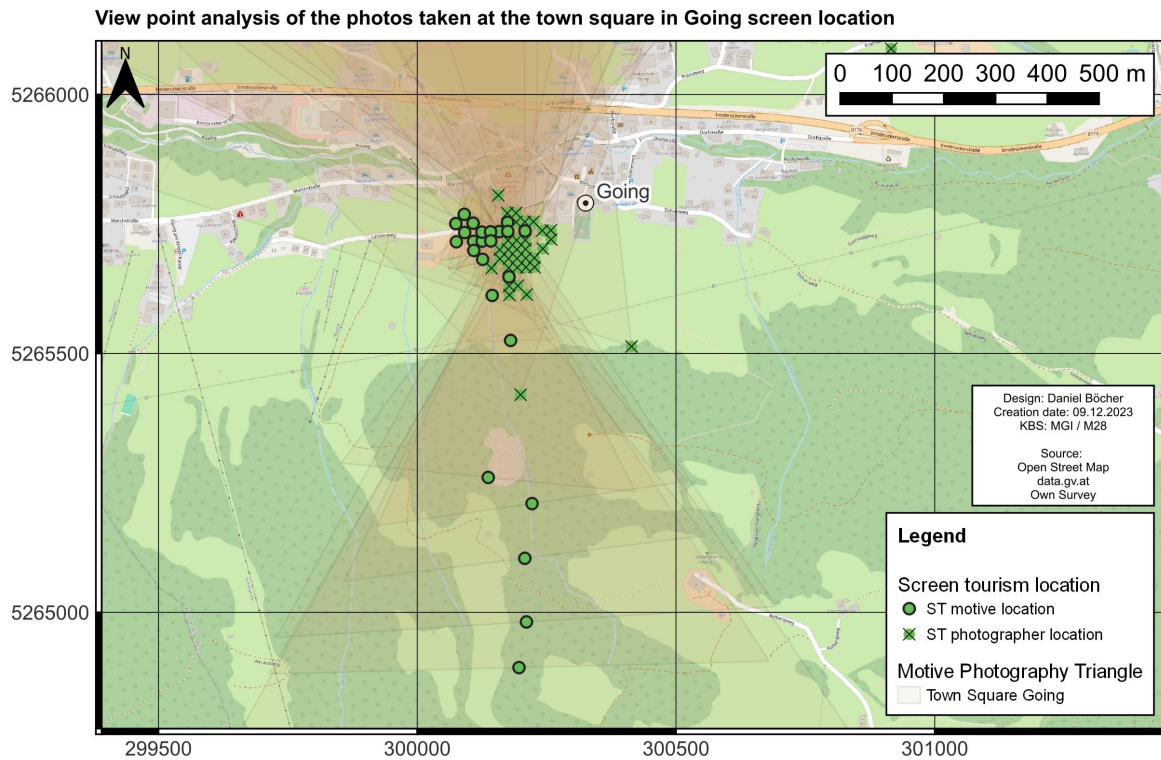


Figure 3.32: The Screen tourist perspective of every photographer at the screen location of the town square in Going (source: own map).

The stronger the color, the more perspectives are overlapping and showing the same place.

spective analysis (map 5.2) just shows a gap between the Gruberhof and the BD practice screen location cluster. Scheffau is rarely photographed from or chosen as a central motive, and it is mostly not even visible in the background of other shots. It barely features in ST's Instagram communication. With good will the Hintersteiner Lake points can be counted towards Scheffau, but it still lacks the activity of the other towns, likely because the other towns have screen locations within their borders.

3.4.2 Social Media Communication of the Destination

Analysis I: Instagram descriptions

Words of destination places

"Reith" (and inversions like "Reither"¹⁰²) is the most prominent word for the Destination group, followed closely by "Ellmau" and "Wilder Kaiser" (figure 3.33). The town of Reith is not part of the Wilder Kaiser region and associates itself with the also prominent Kitzbühel valley nearby. The account mehr_reith has 110 posts in the corpus, accounting for over 90 percent of mentions of the term "Reith". As the promoted town of the account is not part of the Wilder Kaiser region (map 3.12) and not one of the post shows or writes about BD ST

they are filtered out¹⁰³ and are not analyzed any further at this point (more info about highjacking ST communication on page 218). Geographical words are among the top words used. Other words in the top 100 word cloud (figure 3.33) related to places and towns in the area: "Kitzbüchel", "Going", "Auwirt" (name of a hotel), "Ellmauer", "Gruberhof" (screen location), "Bergdoktorhaus" (same screen location). The Destination accounts generally write more about real places and place names at the destination than about the fictional screen locations. The screen location terms are on the same level as general places like "Region" (Region), "zu Hause" (Home). This suggests that the Destination accounts do not talk about screen locations as much as expected. This is counterintuitive, because it is the only thing that connects their destination to the fictional universe of the BD series. And going further down the



Figure 3.33: Word cloud of the top 100 words in the Destination group (source: own data). The larger the word, the more it was used. Same color means similar number of words.

¹⁰²The term "Reither" means a number of things across the 22 posts it appeared: It can represent the towns residents, but it can also be the name of the community newspaper or even a preschool class as in the example in post ID CLZvxg6Cs14.

¹⁰³They slipped through the cracks of the initial filtering process described on 111 because they used all the keywords and were picked up by the boolean search (page 105).

chain, it is the thing that brought the STs to the WK in the first place. But maybe they just know their customers, as the fans already know everything about the BD, but have gaps about the real destination spaces.

Tourism communication

As a Destination, it is logical to use tourism communication jargon such as "Gäste" (Guest), "Besuch" (Visit), "Aussicht/Ausblick" (View), "Woche" (Week), "Tour", "Foto/Photo", "Infos" and "Urlaub" (Holiday) (figure 3.33). These words are normal tourist communication and this does not change in ST Communication.

It is all about the photo

It is quite obvious how much the Destination accounts use terms around the topic of photos (figure 3.33): "Bild", "Bilder", "Bildes" (picture with different inflections), "Foto/Photo" and a "Fotowettbewerb" (photo contest). They use it in different situations and in different languages, with a count of 163 times in 155 different posts. The Destination is the only group that uses the word "photo" in its English spelling. The word "Fotowettbewerb" is even more exclusive, as it is only used by the account @mehr_reith. This specific term is accompanied by the words "Einsendungen" (Transmittal), "Geldpreise" (Money prizes), "Gewinner" (Winner). Photos must be very important to the Destinations posting strategies in either a general description (probably to induce photo making by tourists), to credit the photographer or a community call-to-action for UGC-content.

Screen tourism in the winter or summer?

The interview responses indicate that ST primarily occurs from spring to fall, with summer being the peak season. It is surprising that "Winter" appears frequently in the Destination group's top 100 words (figure 3.33), mentioned 20 times alone as well as 20 in combination phrases like "Winterspecial"¹⁰⁴ "Winterstimmung" (Winter mood) or "Wintersportlerin" (Winter athlete). However, most posts mentioning "Winter" are not related to BD, using BD hashtags for more reach (page 218). Only official DMO accounts provide substantial BD content without just exploiting hashtags.¹⁰⁵ Despite these few examples it is clear that the corpus is dominated by summer posts evident in the photos (example figure 3.74) and their descriptions (table 3.11).

¹⁰⁴This is related to BD screen production. More info in chapter 3.4 on page 127.

¹⁰⁵e.g. the Instagram posts from the DMO account @koasamandl with post ID BvMgXjgB6ed or from the ski area operator @skiweltwilderkaiserbrixental with post ID B8lCsJFjF0v.

Accounts	Sum of Likes	Median of Likes
@visittiroil	13,773	3,574
@discoveraustria	2,566	2,566
@wilder.kaiser	162,049	2,544
@stanglwirt	4,806	2,403
@skiweltwilderkaiserbrixental	2,216	487
@bezirk.salzburg	336	336
@hotel_leitenhof	945	218
@engelvoelkerstirol	207	207
@hotelderbaer	413	207
@sport_hotel_ellmau	181	181

Table 3.4: Top ten Destination Accounts by median likes

Analysis II: Instagram metrics

Instagram interactions

Likes and interactions 54 different accounts produced over 643 ST communication posts. These collected over 228,000 likes with a mean of 355 per post and a median of 72. The large gap between the mean and the median indicates that there are a few strong posts that push the mean up. The maximum number of likes confirms this with a maximum of 6,779 and a minimum of 5. The standard deviation from the mean is only 916 likes. The top Destination accounts ranked by median likes (figure 3.4) are one national (@discoveraustria), a state (@visittiroil) and three regional (@wilder.kaiser, @skiweltwilderkaiserbrixental, @bezirk.salzburg) accounts. The rest of the accounts are local hotels (like @stanglwirt) and one real estate agent. What is immediately obvious is the enormous amount of likes the DMO account of the WK has collected. With over 162 thousand likes it leaves a big gap to the next account of the state DMO account @visittiroil. The high amount of likes is relatively easy to explain with the sheer amount of additional posts the WK DMO makes: With 60 posts in the corpus it is the most active, @visittiroil comes in second with only four different posts.

Comments The Destination posts collected 6,336 comments, with a mean of ten and a median of one. This suggests that there are a few posts with a lot of comments that push the mean up to ten, and a long tail of posts with only one comment or even less. ST communication posts have the potential to reach high numbers, but many of them do not produce a response from people who want to express themselves below the post. The maximum number of comments per post is 750, with a mini-

mum of 0. The standard deviation of comments is 40. Only three accounts are in the 95th percentile, which represent the majority of the Destination accounts' comments: @wilder.kaiser, @hotel_leitenhof and @jodlhof.

Popular accounts and posts

The key factors of success of @visittirool The four posts that boosted the DMO account @visittirool to the top of the interaction ranking are shown in figure 3.34. Their success is largely due to Instagram's follower-based algorithm. With over 182k followers at the time of the study, @visittirool has a higher reach and interaction potential than the @wilder.kaiser had at the time. Other key factors for their success include high-quality photos (Which is perfect for Instagram) and direct engagement with ST themes, such as showing BD screen locations (figure 3.34 (a) and (d)) and providing additional ST information in the descriptions. For example, a story (figure 3.34 (d))

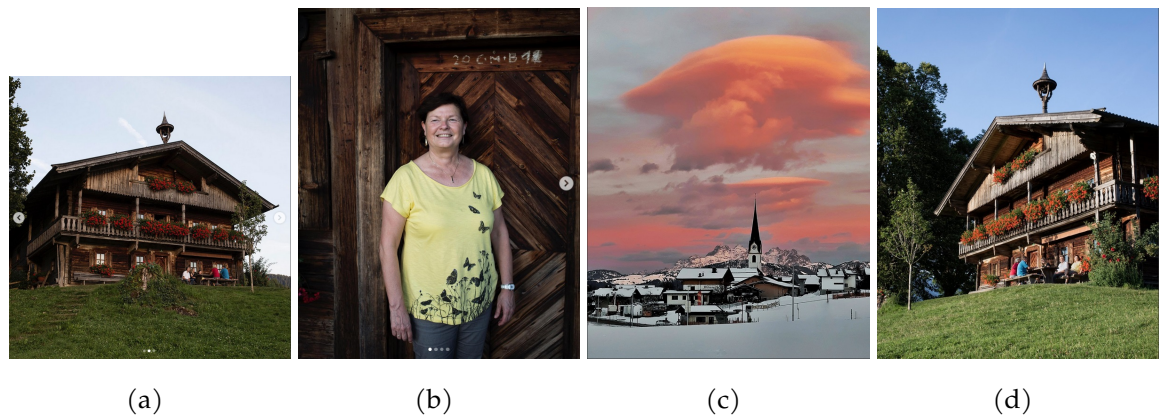


Figure 3.34: The four successful posts of the DMO account @visittirool: (a), (b) and (d) are posts about the screen location of the Gruberhof and a story about its real life owner. (c) A post about the Bergdoktor practice.

Source: Instagram screenshot with post IDs (a) BijlBTpAt1F, (b) B1x7zi-glF6, (c) CM2rXpIgYAj, (d) COa1NH5I2mG

that perfectly illustrates the power of ST: "Als Familien Ferdigg und Wohlschlager den 'Gruberhof' [...] für Dreharbeiten zur Verfügung gestellt haben, hätten sich [SIC] nie erwartet, dass die Serie einmal so erfolgreich werden wird. Dann sind die Einschaltquoten in die Höhe gegangen und man konnte es nicht mehr stoppen. 'Mit dem Tourismusverband haben wir uns die Lösung mit Führungen und fixen Öffnungszeiten überlegt. Die Alternative wäre ein Drei-Meter-Zaun ums Haus gewesen', so Margit Ferdigg. 'Einmal kamen sechs junge Mädels, etwa 20 bis 25 Jahre alt. Jede konnte ein bisschen Deutsch. Nach der Führung haben wir erfahren: Die sind aus Hawaii. Wir haben schon gedacht: Sind wir im falschen Film? Die Frauen sind

für vier Tage eigens nach Tirol gefahren, um sich die Serien-Umgebung anzuschauen. Sie schauen auf Hawaii jede Folge übers Internet. [...]’ (post ID COa1NH5I2mG)”¹⁰⁶ It demonstrates everyone’s awareness of the powerful inducing qualities of screen products. The audience of the account obviously (literally) likes these stories that give a little peek behind the curtain.

Best practice posts The regional DMO account @wilder.kaiser dominates the top five most successful posts. Only one post is from the state account @visittiro (post ID CM2rXpIgYAj). The most successful Destination post has 7,135 interactions and is from @wilder.kaiser. It is an album of the town square of Going am Wilden Kaiser (post ID CLrdQ4xl1wV). The album post is not just a regular collection of photos but a 360-degree photo divided into five overlapping, swipeable photos, showcasing a professional best practice technique. The description reads: "Der berühmteste Dorfplatz Tirols?"¹⁰⁷ This is only indirectly referencing the BD series where the square appears in almost every episode, which is the reason for its popularity among STs. This technique, combined with the screen location’s fame, makes for a calculable highly successful post. Two other top-five posts also feature this town square.

Off-location posts The other successful posts show the town of Ellmau (post IDs B7To0xAqbfm and CM2rXpIgYAj). They do not directly show a screen location, but with Ellmau they probably have the town name that is most closely linked to the fictional narrative of the BD, out of the four real towns at the WK. These posts about Ellmau demonstrate that you do not have to show a direct screen location to make a successful post, although Ellmau is definitely linked to the fictional universe of the BD. The transition shots in the BD series mentioned earlier (page 122) look similar to these photos. The question now is whether the DMO accounts modeled these posts after the aesthetics of these transition shots in the TV show. And do viewers recognize the motifs?

The true past amidst overlapping fictional narratives The only post from the DMO account @visittiro (post ID Ibid.) in the top five is about Ellmau and tries to solve something many destinations with famous screen locations struggle with. It tries to show the real history of the place, which is in danger of getting lost behind the

¹⁰⁶"When the Ferdigg and Wohlschlager families made the 'Gruberhof' [...] available for filming, they never expected that the series would one day be so successful. Then the ratings skyrocketed and there was no stopping it. 'With the tourism association, we thought about the solution with guided tours and fixed opening hours. The alternative would have been a three-meter fence around the house,' says Margit Ferdigg. 'Once six young girls came, about 20 to 25 years old. Each one knew a little German. After the tour, we learned: They are from Hawaii. We were already thinking: Are we in the wrong movie? The women went to Tyrol especially for four days to see the series environment. They watch every episode on the Internet in Hawaii.' [...] (translated by deep1.com)

¹⁰⁷"The most famous square in Tyrol? (translated by deep1.com)"

fictional stories of the place.¹⁰⁸ @visittirool tries to use the BD content to show the history of the town and its families: "Ellmau ist wortwörtlich ein malerisches Dörfchen am Wilden Kaiser. Neben dem Blick auf den Wilden Kaiser gehört auch Hans Sigl mittlerweile fix zum Ortsbild von Ellmau. Sein 'Bergdoktorhaus', der Hinterschnabel-Hof, stammt aus der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts und hat sich zu einer Art Wahrzeichen von Ellmau gemausert. Ein reger Austausch von Menschen, Waren und Informationen hat Ellmau am Wilden Kaiser immer schon geprägt - nicht etwa erst seit dem der Bergdoktor in Ellmau gedreht wird. Das Dorf liegt an der Strecke zwischen Innsbruck und Salzburg; schon 1616 gab es hier eine Poststation. Das 'Hotel Alte Post' wird heute noch von jener Familie betrieben, die über lange Zeit die Ellmauer Postmeister stellte. [...]" (post ID Ibid.)¹⁰⁹ The photo is a re-post from a local Tirolean.

The description tells the story of how one of the main BD screen locations became part of the *townscape of Ellmau*. The screen location of the BD practice is linked to the real history of the 17th century building called Hinterschnabel-Hof. But it is not this historical background that makes the building a landmark, but rather its current use as a screen location! In the next sentence they express (post ID Ibid.) that the exchange of "people, goods and information" was already part of the town of Ellmau when the BD production started filming. They give the example of an old Ellmau family that still runs the Hotel Alte Post (Old Post), which literally was the old post office their ancestors worked for. Especially the last sentence conveys the implicit criticism to look behind the fictional history of the place to see the real history of the town and its inhabitants. It is this history that made the town what it is today, and the BD only uses it. STs come in and mostly

Token	Count
"Photo"	21
"Bergdoktor"	20
"Ellmau"	17
"Wilder Kaiser"	14
"schon" (already)	13
"Bild" (picture)	10
"wer" (who)	10
"Der Bergdoktor"	8
"Going"	7
"Gruberhof"	6

Table 3.5: Top ten used tokens of the top posts (source: own data).

¹⁰⁸More about the downfall of the very old (just like the farm house) and the takeover of the nostalgia fueled by shows just like the BD in chapter 4.1 on page 238.

¹⁰⁹"Ellmau is literally a picturesque town on the Wilder Kaiser. In addition to the view of the Wilden Kaiser, Hans Sigl has also become a fixed part of the townscape of Ellmau. His 'Mountain Doctor's house', the Hinterschnabel-Hof, dates back to the middle of the 17th century and has become a kind of landmark of Ellmau. A lively exchange of people, goods and information has always characterized Ellmau am Wilden Kaiser - and not just since the Bergdoktor was filmed in Ellmau. The town is located on the route between Innsbruck and Salzburg; there was already a post station here in 1616. The 'Hotel Alte Post' is still run by the same family that provided the Ellmau postmasters for a long time. [...]" (Translated by deep1.com)"

see the fictional side of it because of the BD. It is the DMO who still sees the historical background and tries to add it back to the BD ST communication.

The tokens of the most successful posts In the top 100 posts by median interactions (table 3.5), 23 different terms appear more than four times, originating from 16 different Destination Accounts. The most common word is "Photo" (21 times), likely due to photo credits in re-posts. The second most used keyword is "Bergdokter" (20 times), and together with its article "Der Bergdokter" (place eight, used six times), this is highlighting the strong ST communication directly on the topic of the TV show. The town of "Ellmau" is mentioned 17 times and "Wilder Kaiser" 14 times (table 3.5), indicating their importance both geographically and in the BD narrative. Ellmau is not only the geographical center of the region, but also the center of the fictional universe in the BD series, which apparently translates into the ST communication of Instagram. Wilder Kaiser is *the* word the region is best known to the BD fans and tourists alike. It is the official name of the destination after all and is often mentioned in the BD show. These two areas of reality and fictional setting seem to be super imposable and that is the explanation why they are so successful in these posts. The town "Going" appears seven times (table 3.5), reflecting its role in the series¹¹⁰. Despite being a smaller town. "Gruberhof"¹¹¹, a key location in the BD series, is used six times (table 3.5), underscoring its significance in generating user interactions.

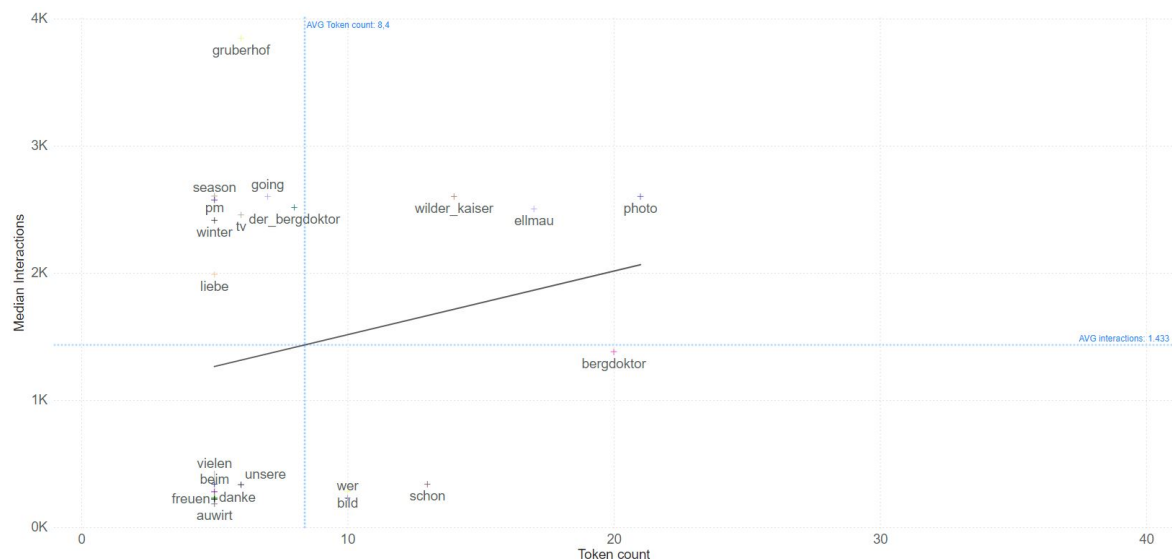


Figure 3.35: The top 100 Destination posts by median interactions with more than five uses (source: own data).

Overused terms The term "Gruberhof" generates more interactions than "Wilder

¹¹⁰The full ranking of important locations in the BD narrative is on page 124 in chapter 3.4.

¹¹¹Interestingly, the name "Gruberhof" is not the real name of this place (which is Köpfinghof), but the first part "Gruber" is the surname of the fictional family in the BD series.

Kaiser" and "Ellmau" (figure 3.35). While "Wilder Kaiser" and "Ellmau" might be overused, "Gruberhof" attracts more attention due to its significance in the BD series and targeted use. Similarly, "Going" receives more interactions than the frequently used "Bergdoktor", despite being mentioned less often. This suggests that varied and specialized posts could be more engaging than repeatedly using major locations and keywords.

Expected performance

Expected post performance The expected median of interactions was 82, and the actual published posts were around 74 interactions. This means that ST communication from the Destination performs worse than other posts from those accounts. We have to be careful interpreting these numbers because this is just a small difference of minus eight interactions. Because these small differences may just be a normal variation, these values do not indicate that ST communication always or mostly performs worse.



Figure 3.36: A post from @koasamandl that writes about the Bergdoktor documentation (Source: Instagram screenshot with post ID COunhoFqOsl).

Proximity to the screen location The word "Reith" (town near the WK) is used a lot, but many terms are more successful than that. This adds to the findings that the closer you get to the WK and BD screen locations, the more successful the tokens and posts become. "Ellmau", "Going" and "Wilder Kaiser" are used less and perform

better. You can also see that "Gruberhof" is used even less, but generates a better.

At home at Wilder Kaiser More interesting is the use of the word "Zuhause" (at home) with less usage but high performance. Half of the posts using this word had nothing to do with the BD. The topics associated with the word feel similar to the themes of family and belonging regularly discussed in the BD series. At least two posts (an example here with figure 3.36) refer to a documentary called "At home with the Mountain Doctor"¹¹². The documentation also uses "Home" in the title because it picks up on themes from the TV show. At first glance, many of the posts with the term "Zuhause" have no connection to the BD, but that is wrong as it is just not a direct one. There is no connection in terms of content, but in the leitmotif of the screen product, which makes all the shallow posts connect to the BD show and its narrative themes.

Bergdokter terms "Bergdokter" has an above-average appearance (which was predictable), but also an above-average success. The term "Bergdokterhaus" (another word for "Gruberhof") has a below average appearance with an above average performance. Since "Gruberhof" is the name of the fictional location, the term "Bergdokterhaus" tends to the real side, since it does not use the name of a fictional character, but the extradiagetic title of the series. This shows the balance of the Destination incorporating both sides: Fiction and reality, history and narrative, locals and STs, material and simulation. The posts that contain this screen location perform very well. Not only in absolute numbers of interactions, but also in relation to the average of the other posts of the accounts.

In echt noch schöner

The DMO-created hashtag #inechtnochschöner, meaning "even more beautiful in real life," was used 258 times, primarily by the DMO accounts @Wilder.Kaiser and @Koasamandl. It was rarely used by ST or Production accounts in their ST communication. This hashtag is part of the DMO's strategy to build an image, suggesting that the real-life experience surpasses what is shown as photos and in advertisements¹¹³, promising an ideal vacation. However, as a marketing tool, it lacks traction outside these DMO accounts.

Analysis III: Trace Interviews

¹¹²For a small summary of the documentation go to chapter 3.3.2 on page 133

¹¹³That this is not an empty claim was already proven by the answers of the STs in the trace interview in chapter 4.1 on page 146.

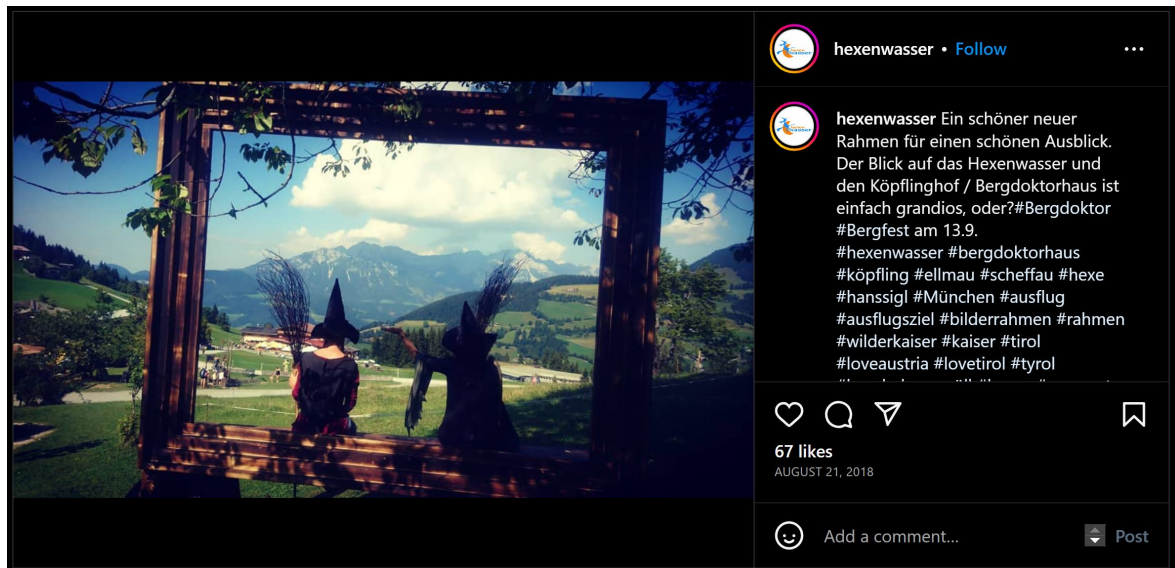


Figure 3.37: The photo frame in Hexenwasser has the Gruberhof firmly in view (source: Instagram screenshot from @hexenwasser with post ID Bmu3VOdngGL).

A recommended view

The account @hexenwasser posts about (see page 169) the photo frame¹¹⁴ (figure 3.37) installed on their property. This frame offers a recommended view that includes a BD screen location, subtly communicating to those familiar with it.¹¹⁵ Unlike tourists who avoid including the frame in their photos, @hexenwasser uses it to promote their attraction. The view through the frame is a small highlight at the Hexenwasser Alp, creating a layered post that puts the physical photo frame at the WK into the digital frame of an Instagram post. This is the referential postmodern world visible through a tangible object and its communication. As the Hexenwasser alp has no screen location this is for them an option to still participate in ST co-production off- and online.

Text analysis

A professional approach The Destination accounts have a more professional approach to the descriptions of their Instagram posts than privat accounts. For example, their motivation is "Passender Text um die Zielgruppe zu erreichen (post ID Bmu3VOdngGL)"¹¹⁶ or "Apartment info (post ID CQeDwZxjHtP)". The descriptions and other parts of the posts are professional and, unlike the (ST) influencers, they can say this actually more freely: "Der Text soll die Follower ermutigen ihre persönlichen Erlebnisse im Zusammenhang mit der Bergdoktorpraxis zu teilen (post ID

¹¹⁴More info about this phenomenon on page 86

¹¹⁵The subliminal ST communication is further explained on page 166.

¹¹⁶"Appropriate text to reach the target audience (translated by deep1.com)"



Figure 3.38: This post from the Destination account @wilder.kaiser encourages the ST to tell their stories (Source: Instagram screenshot with post ID B_SeQyzlPop).

B_SeQyzlPop)."117

Fictional stories connect to personal experiences As shown in figure 3.38¹¹⁸, the post encourages tourists to share their experiences. The connection to the BD is not directly mentioned and only hinted at, which is a strategy that is discussed in the next paragraph. By linking fictional BD stories from the past 15 seasons to the building and the tourists' personal realities, it prompts reactions and comments on Instagram. The blend of reality and fiction that is a priori part of a screen location naturally extends to professional ST communication. Screen location serve as an ideal backdrop for ST experiences, getting intertwined with the BD series narrative. The goal of the post was to spark conversations about "personal experiences", and it succeeded, garnering more comments than the median. Post like in figure 3.38 show these normally hidden phenomena and make them visible to science.

Subliminal screen tourism communication The average post is similar to the one in the figure 3.39: BD fans are almost never directly mentioned or focused on in the post. The usual approach is more subliminal. The phrase "If you know, you know" is a colloquial expression¹¹⁹, that seem to apply to most of the DMO posts in the cor-

¹¹⁷"The text is intended to encourage followers to share their personal experiences related to the Bergdoktor practice (translated by deep1.com)"

¹¹⁸It is actually one of the few posts that are written in English.

¹¹⁹This phrase is typically used to imply that the knowledge or understanding of a particular subject,

pus. The post in figure 3.39 features a beautiful photo of the WK Guesthouse and the town square in Going, with only the hashtags hinting at the BD series and a subliminal "Wilder Kaiser" sign from the TV show above the front door in the background. Content like this¹²⁰ can be for regular tourists as well as BD fans because of its appeal to both. Most Destination accounts would not risk cutting out all the potential regular tourists they could have reached with subliminal ST communication.



Figure 3.39: A post from the Destination account @wilder.kaiser in a neutral tone (Source: Instagram screenshot with post ID CIX8qSUFyPD).

Photo analysis

One photo is sometimes enough Especially, the account of @wilder.kaiser is aware of social media methods and what they assume how the ST would react: "Das Motiv: Bergdoktorpraxis wurde gewählt, weil die Follower diesen Ort 'erkennen' und dadurch eine gute Reichweite erzielt werden kann. (connected to figure 3.38)"¹²¹ They know full well that veteran ST and BD fans (who could have never been to the WK) will recognize the screen location and react accordingly. They know how prominent and recognizable the building is! The photo becomes self-explanatory to joke, or situation is exclusive to those who are directly familiar with it. A thing that seems typically for tourism and especially for the sign heavy ST.

¹²⁰Similar examples: post IDs CB1GM6HDkXI, B7To0xAqbfbm, CLrdQ4xl1wV, COqIU_qlMYz and more.

¹²¹"The motive: Mountain Doctor's office was chosen because the followers 'recognize' this place and thus a good reach can be achieved. (translated by deep1.com)"

the BD fan without any hint in the text. This makes the subliminal communication of the Destination possible as part of the larger strategy. The photo in this constellation is the crucial point to recognize the post as ST communication about the BD.

Professional strategies Even for the professional Destination accounts the motivation for a certain photo is between vague and an eventuality (example post ID B-pElxgDExJ) but a lot seem again very professional: "Foto eines Gastes mit Interieur und toller Umgebung bei gutem Wetter um Gäste zu aquirieren (post ID CE_81ZajsBl)"¹²² or "Apartment Info (post ID CQeDwZxjHtP)". A clear strategy and congruent strategy for choosing the right photo could not be identified.

Hashtag analysis

I found the use of hashtags to be the height of professionalism: One of the accounts is using hashtags that an agency explicitly found and created for them (post ID CE_81ZajsBl). For the other Destination accounts it is pretty much the same as they state that it is for advertising.

Hashtags of the Wilder Kaiser The hashtags of the @wilder.kaiser are explained in detail in the trace interview response: "Die Hashtags sind teils unsere "Standard Hashtgs" z.B. #wilderkaiser #tirol #ellmau Einige sind der damaligen Corona Situation geschuldet z.B. #thinkpositive #stayhealthy #werreisenliebtverschiebt #innaherferne Und die übrigen (#bergdokterpraxis #bergdokter #urlaubimkopf) werden verwendet damit der Beitrag der gewünschten Zielgruppe (Bergdokter Fans) ausgespielt wird (post ID B_SeQyzlPop)"¹²³ This account demonstrates a detailed understanding of the complex social media landscape. Their hashtag strategy is divided into three parts: "standard hashtags" for a general audience, situational hashtags relevant during specific events like the Corona crisis, and hashtags targeting BD fans. The second group's situational hashtags like #urlaubimkopf is showing how severely the corona crisis impacted Tyro. It highlights how the pandemic affected (screen) tourism at WK and connects it to the discussion of "imaginative heritage".¹²⁴

Holidays at home Picking up on the hashtag "#urlaubimkopf" (eng.: vacation in the head): It was sorted by the response answer (quote from post ID Ibid. on page 168) into the group of BD hashtags. So the Destination account is implying that the

¹²²"Photo of a guest with interior and great surroundings in good weather to attract guests (translated by deep1.com)"

¹²³"The hashtags are partly our 'standard hashtags' e.g. #wilderkaiser #tirol #ellmau. Some are due to the Corona situation at the time, e.g. #thinkpositive #stayhealthy #werreisenliebtverschiebt #innaherferne. And the others (#bergdokterpraxis #bergdokter #urlaubimkopf) are used so that the contribution of the desired target group (Bergdokter fans) is played out. (translated by deep1.com)"

¹²⁴It shows that it is worth exploring, but it is outside the scope of this work and could be done in subsequent research or by probably countless other scholars in the near future.

ST experience or - even before that - being a fan of the BD sitting in front of the TV is like taking a vacation in your head. It could be that exactly these thoughts are the inducing push that tips the BD fan over the edge of becoming a ST to the WK destination. There is no evidence about the success of these event hashtags and if they served their intended purpose. Looking at the time the hashtag was used another reason might also be possible. Corona, because the other hashtags used are for example "#werreisenliebtverschiebt" (Engl.: those who love to travel postpone), which were typical (perseverance) slogans at the time of the global pandemic. You can actually coherently connect the two hashtags talked about: If you actually *postpone your travel*, then the only thing left in the pandemic is a *vacation in your mind*.



Figure 3.40: The Destination account @hotel.hochfilzer advertises the BD fan fest in the photo and the description (Source: Instagram screenshot with post ID CIX8qSUFyPD).

Fan fest at the Wilder Kaiser The account @hexenwasser explains their motivation for the post in figure 3.37: "Wir haben im September das Bergdoktor Bergfest im Hexenwasser. In der Bergdoktor Woche (rund um das Fest) bieten wir speziell für Bergdoktor Fans Programme. Autogrammstunde mit Darstellern (Monika Baumgartner, Ronja Forcher...) Der Bilderrahmen der Hexenflugschule bietet einen wunderbaren Ausblick auf den Gruberhof. Einen Drehort haben wir im Hexenwasser

allerdings nicht. Die Filmtouristen [...] ¹²⁵ (post ID Bmu3VOdngGL) ¹²⁶ Hexenwasser hosts the BD Fan Fest, a major tourist event organized twice a year by the WK DMO. As a local attraction, Hexenwasser provides the venue and amenities, recognizing the importance of ST tourists. Despite lacking a screen location ¹²⁷, they attract BD fans through this artificial but tangible event ¹²⁸. Other Destination accounts also promote this event on Instagram (figure 3.40 or 4.11 (b)), making Hexenwasser a must-visit for BD fans during that time. With the event they create an additional touchpoint for engaged STs (a so called off-location (page 160)) and by that enhancing the overall appeal of the WK destination. As figure 4.11 demonstrates is the contribution of the Destination just one third of the co-production of the fan fest which is only fully realized together with the groups of ST and the Production.

Analysis IV: Geolocation

Geo located photos

Heatmap of the overall photo data The Destination has two major hot spots and one that is less dense (map 3.41). The first is around the Gruberhof with 89 posts from 12 accounts, including Jodlhof, Ferienbauernhof, and Hexenwasser Alp. The second hot spot is Ellmau and Going am Wilden Kaiser, with 147 posts from 19 accounts. A third, more spread-out area covers the WK mountain range in the north with 57 posts from 17 accounts. Other points are too scattered to form hot spots. Activity mostly stops west of the Gruberhof and east of Going, concentrating on the south side of the WK valley.

Heatmap of the photographer Looking only at the positions of the Destination photographers (map 5.5), the hot spot above the WK mountains has disappeared. The other two hot spots look the same, as they are still clustered in the same areas around the Gruberhof and the Ellmau and Going screen locations as before. If you zoom into the hot spot around Ellmau, it splits into three sub-hot spots with the two screen locations of the BD practice and the town square in Going and the town Ellmau in the middle. Ellmau has the most photographer points in the hot spot with

¹²⁵The answer from the trace interview seems incomplete because it cuts off in the middle of the last sentence.

¹²⁶"In September we have the Bergdoktor Fan Fest at Hexenwasser. During the Bergdoktor week (around the festival) we offer special programs for Bergdoktor fans. Autograph session with the actors (Monika Baumgartner, Ronja Forcher...) The photo frame of the Hexenflugschule offers a wonderful view of the Gruberhof. However, we do not have a film location on the Hexenwasser Alp. The film tourists [...] (translated with deep1.com)"

¹²⁷They only offer a view of one of the screen locations, the Gruberhof, through a photo frame. It was already mentioned in a paragraph above on page 164.

¹²⁸More on fake artificial events that surround ST in chapter 4.1 on page 229.

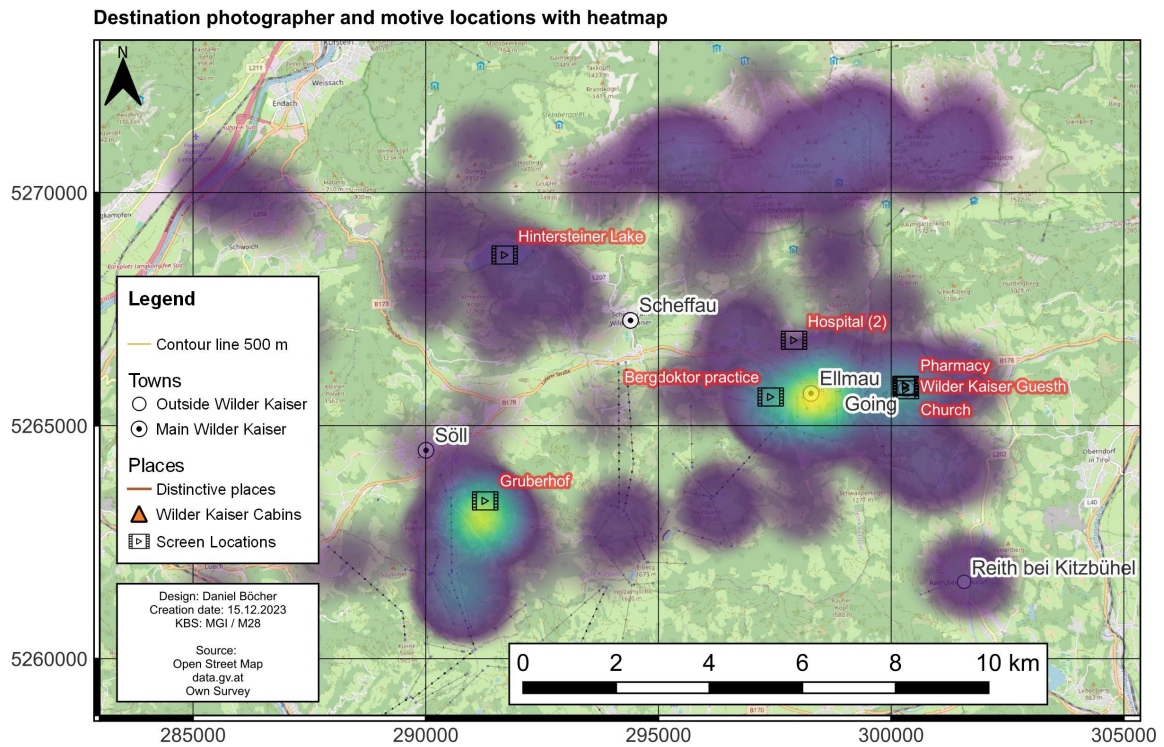


Figure 3.41: A heat map of the Destination photos with photographer and motive points (source: own map).

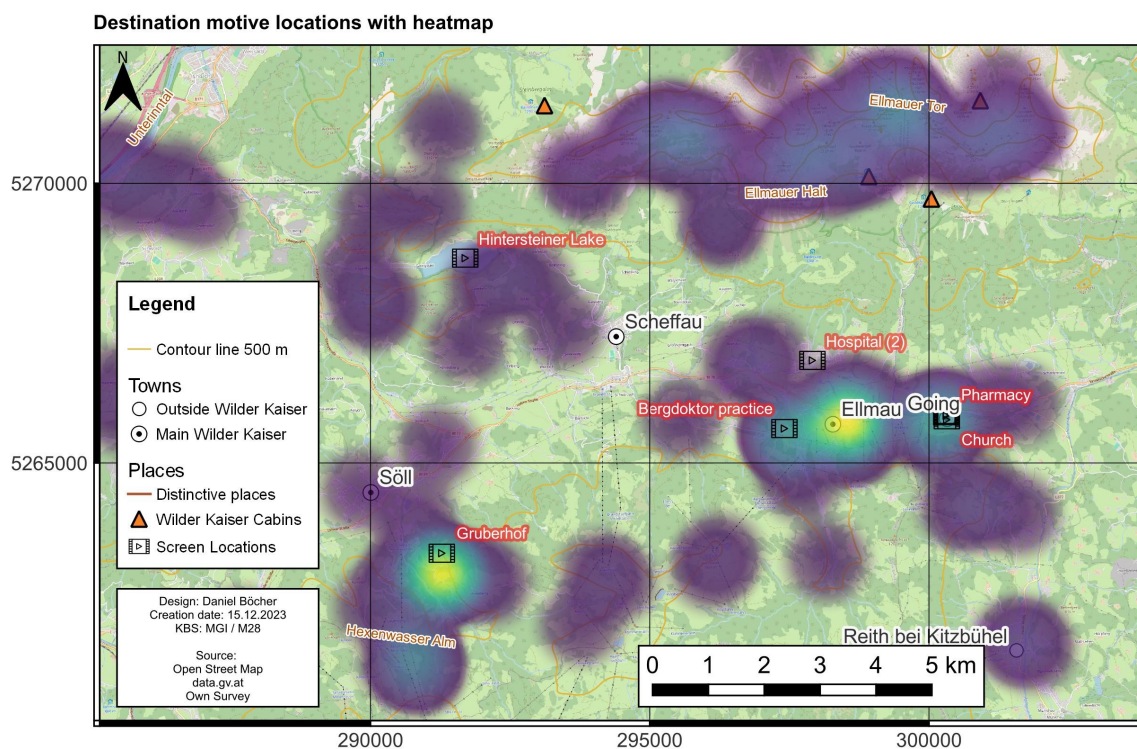


Figure 3.42: A heatmap of the Destinations photos with motive points (source: own map).

38 posts from 10 different accounts. This is interesting as this part of the town does not have a major or even returning screen location! But Ellmau is probably the town that is most connected to the BD TV show as it is mentioned in the narrative of the show¹²⁹ and the communication about the BD show in other media (example Focus Online 2021).

Heatmap of the motive In the motive map 3.42 the hot spot of points above the WK mountain range is back. The other clusters are similar to the photographer map. The points of the Wk mountain motive hot spot are located all along the rugged range from the west to the east. They can be found wherever the rough rock of the WK mountains rises above the tree line.¹³⁰ A slightly denser center can be found at the Ellmauer Gate (figure 5.14 on page 320) in the visual center of the range, just behind the main town of Ellmau. The hot spot of the motives above the WK mountain range probably also explains the many photographer points in the town of Ellmau. As the connection analysis in figure 3.44 will show are these photos from Ellmau not photos of the town but of these mountain peaks.

More perspectives on one motive

The screen location clusters of the Destination offer different perspectives (figure 3.44). The Gruberhof screen location offers an almost 180-degree view. Located higher in the valley, it offers better angles and the opportunity for panoramic shots. Different is the perspective for the screen locations of the BD practice and the town square: More photos focus inward towards the buildings, without showing much of the distant backdrops. The diagonal connections from the Ellmau cluster to behind the Hintersteiner lake are the few exceptions like in figure 3.43. For the rest: When photos in a cluster are not focused solely on their own screen location, their main perspective is then often towards the mountain range. This is a common theme across different screen locations and the corpus overall. Most photos with distant backgrounds show views from south to north across the valley toward the WK mountain range as fig-



Figure 3.43: A rare perspective along the Wilder Kaiser valley (Source: Instagram screenshot with post ID CKioKeBjJs-).

¹²⁹Which is only 4 times across 10 seasons but more than other towns and places as an explicit localization is very infrequent (Source: own data).

¹³⁰see the touristic mountain map 3.13 in the classic alpine style on page 130 emphasizing the rugged peaks.

ure 3.44 visualizes. So it seems that there are basically only two options for a motive in ST communication: first photos that focus solely on the architecture of a screen location and secondly all other photo motives show the exalted WK mountains - A combination with both visible is also possible but there again only one subject can be considered the photo motive.

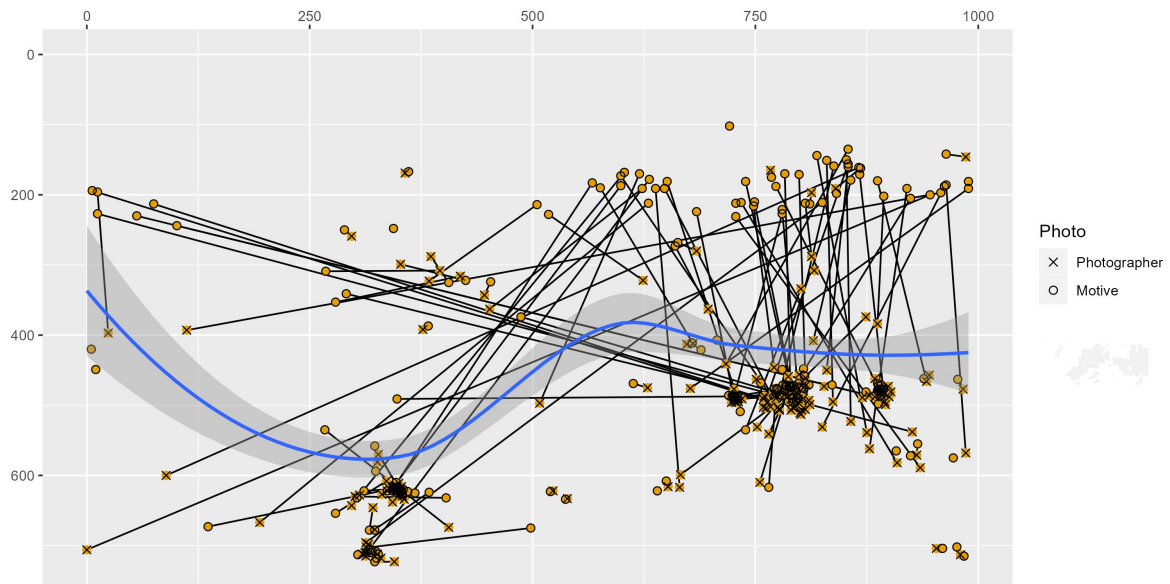


Figure 3.44: The connections of the Destination photos with photographer and motive positions (Source: Own Data). The blue line is the regression line with the confidence interval in gray.

3.4.3 Social Media Communication of the Production

Looking at all the posts from the Production, it is very quickly obvious that the accounts of screen actors dominate the posts. Not only the number of posts, but also the performance as shown in table 3.7. Also, there are only a few non-actor accounts visible in the corpus. The account of @zdfmediathek is performance wise (table 3.7) and a photo of a cameraman on an aesthetic level (figure 3.49) are exotic examples.

Analysis I: Instagram descriptions



Figure 3.45: Word cloud of the top 100 words in the Production group. The larger the word, the more it was used. Same color means similar number of words. (Source: own data)

self (figure 3.45) because they are at the WK for work, not vacation, and their public social media presence reflects their professional roles. This context is important when analyzing their photos and descriptions.

Actor names Also in this category are the names of BD a character such as "Linn Kemper/Linn" or actress "Monika Baumgartner" (figure 3.45). The actress of Linn Kemper is young and very active on social media with her account @andreagerhard_tall_area. All 13 mentions of the character's name come from her own account. The explanation of the high frequency of the name of the oldest actress in the ensemble of the BD "Monika Baumgartner" is a completely different story: It is a technical

Focus on the screen product

Screen product terms The screen product is at the center of their communication (table 3.6): "Bergdoktor" (59), "ZDF" (49, broadcasters' name), "Der Bergdoktor" (35) and "Staffel" (32, season) in the top 20 most used words and more in the top 100: "Casting", "Winterspecial"¹³¹, "Set", "Drehtag" (Shooting day), "ORF" (The Austrian TV channel for the BD), "Kollegen/Kolleginnen" (colleagues), "Dreharbeiten" (Shooting), "Kamera", "Regie" (Director) and "arbeiten" (working). The Production team frequently discusses the screen production it-

¹³¹More information about why this is a production term can be found on the page 189.

artifact of the data transformation process explained in chapter 3.2.1 on page 108.

Tokens	Count	Tokens	Count	Time terms of the Production
Bergdokter	59	immer	22	
Heute	57	Grüße	21	
ZDF	49	Jahr	20	
Danke	43	Abend	20	
Der Bergdokter	35	Morgen	18	
Staffel	32	geht	18	
schon	30	Wilder Kaiser	16	
Liebe	29	Woche	16	
mal	26	gehts	16	
ganz	22	Ellmau	16	

Table 3.6: Top Words of the Production

Talking about time is very prominent in the descriptions of the Destination accounts: "Heute" (Today), "Jahr" (Year), "Woche" (Week), "Abend" (Evening), "Uhr" (Clock), "Drehtag" (Shooting day), "immer" ("always"), "Wochenende" (Weekend), "Tag" (Day), "Gestern" (Yesterday) and "Wochenstart" (Start of the week) are 11 different words

Table 3.6: Top Words of the Production

in the top 100 used to express something related to time (figure 3.45). The word today is used so often simply because of posts like this: "**Heute Abend** [Highlight D.B.] startet die 14. Staffel vom Bergdokter 20uhr 15 [SIC] im ZDF ich hoffe ihr seid mit dabei;))Lg.DR.K [SIC] [...]" (Post ID CKB_S4fFxDa)¹³² The hole cast constantly posts about the new episodes that will air that day. These posts are often illustrated with photos from the set or sometimes screenshots from the episode. Screenshots from the set together with only the information about air times are probably on the edge of being ST communication, because the connection to the WK is weaker than to the screen product itself. The posts were picked up because they contained WK and DMO keywords (more about the process in chapter 3.2) in addition to the screen product keywords, which makes them ST communication by this definition (see chapter 2.1 on page 15). The use of the other time-related terms is similar, as they are either related to physical work on the set, or advertise something that will happen at some point in the future. Mostly they use photos from the WK BD set to illustrate these kinds of messages.

Anlysis II: Instagram metrics

¹³²"Today the 14th season of Bergdokter starts at 20:15 on ZDF. I hope you will be there. [...]" (translated by deep1.com)

Account	Sum of Likes	Median of Likes	Post count
@ronjaforcher	199,816	8,807	22
@sigl_hans	25,546	7,333	3
@markkeller_official	143,884	3,087	35
@simon.boer	5,381	1,483	3
@natalieohara_official	15,206	1,461	10
@yekaterina.nesytowa	1,290	1,290	1
@lennartbetzgen	4,822	1,270	4
@sinatkotsch	1,061	1,061	1
@thedanielerizzo	866	866	1
@zdfmediathek	4,527	591	8

Table 3.7: Top accounts of the Production after likes

Instagram interactions

Basic interaction distribution The Production has collected over 450,000 likes with 234 posts from 29 different accounts. They have a mean of 2,000 likes and a median of 448 likes per post. The maximum number of likes per post is 15,000 and the minimum is 46, resulting in a standard deviation of 3,000.

Median and sum distribution of likes Production accounts with the most posts also have the most likes overall. However, table 3.7 orders them by median likes, showing that posting more does not guarantee success. For instance, the main actor's account, @sigl_hans, ranks second with just three BD-related posts. His higher likes-per-post ratio reflects his character's importance and his star power.

Two stations against the mighty actors Screen actors dominate the top Production accounts as expected due to their large followings and fame. Interestingly, the broadcasting channel's account, @zdfmediathek, ranks 10th. This ZDF account is for the channel's SVoD portal. The Austrian public broadcaster for the BD, @orf, ranks 12th, making it one of the few non-person accounts in the top 25 along with ZDF. The first non-actor or broadcaster account is a BD cinematographer at 21st place.

Basic comments distribution The 234 posts from 29 different accounts have accumulated 11,000 comments. The minimum is 0 and the maximum is 769 comments on one post. The mean number of comments is 48 and the median is 18 per post. The standard deviation is 92 comments.

Dominating comments for actor posts The main cast actors @ronjaforcher accumulates 4,700 comments, @markkeller_official is second with 2,900 and returning actress @andreagerhard_tall_area is third with 14,000. The top 20 in comments basically mirrors the likes results in table 3.7. The main character of the BD and his

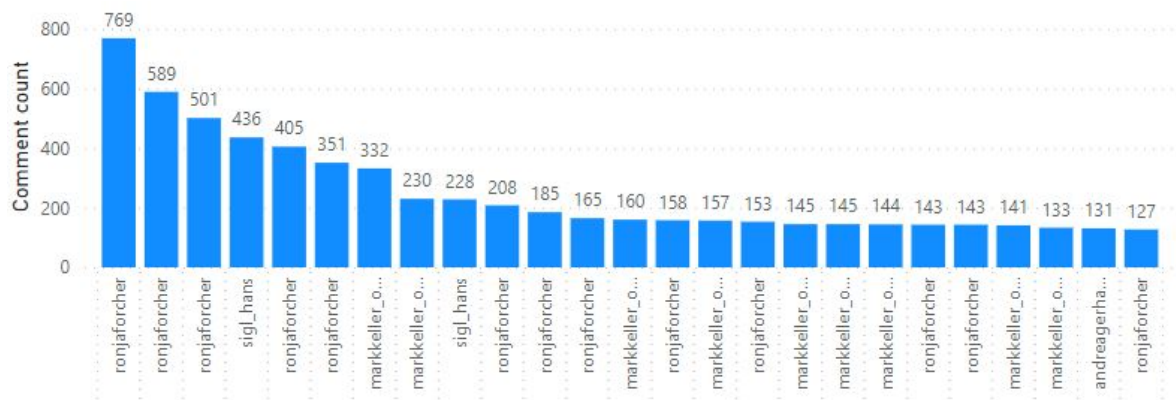


Figure 3.46: The top 20 posts from the Production by total comments (Source: own data).

account @sigl_hans has the best comment to post ratio with 250 and a median of 228 - He did this with only three posts. The account of his fictional daughter @ronjaforcher published 22 posts and only got a rate of 214 comments per post and a median of 143. Looking at individual posts (figure 3.46), @ronjaforcher dominates the first six places, interrupted only by a single post from @sigl_hans at place four. @markkeller_official comes in at places seven and eight.

Popular accounts and posts

The center of attention Looking at the top ten posts by interaction, it is clear that portraits of the actors themselves dominate (figure 3.47). In some of them you can see the background: It is either the typical WK mountain panorama (figure 3.47 (d) and (i)), in others you can see that the photos come directly from the BD sets (c). Only in three cases are other people visible in the photo ((d) and (f))¹³³ and in only one of them this was not an actor (j)). Eight of the top ten photos show the actress Ronja Forcher (figure 3.47 (a, c, d, f, g, h, i, and j)), and all the posts are from her account. Two photos show the BD's lead actor, Hans Sigl (b, f), but only photo (b) is from his account. Photo (e) shows the lead actor Mark Keller, and photo (d) additionally shows the two returning actresses Andrea Gerhard and Simone Hanselmann. Individual photos of the account owners dominate the top 10, while there are only two group photo (d, f). There is most certainly an actor present with portraits and group photos dominating the top production posts.

Most successful posts Posts above the 95th percentile have a total of over 148,000 interactions on three different accounts. They have a median of 12,000 interactions with a maximum of 16,000 and a minimum of 9,700. So only three distinct accounts

¹³³Not counting the dog in @markkeller_official posts in 3.47 (e). Animals are relatively rare in ST communication.

dominate the top 20 with their posts, similar to the figure 3.46. Most of them are Instagram albums with several photos and videos per post¹³⁴. The most successful post (figure 3.47 (a)) is from @ronjaforcher and has 15,700 interactions. So even amongst the most successful ST posts is still an elite that dominates even amongst them.

Holiday production Figure 3.47 (a) is an album post featuring various photos and a video of actress Ronja Forcher, taken at different BD production screen locations. In the description, she addresses the destination, writes about highlights from the set and mentions traveling to Tirol: "ES GEHT WIEDER LOS [highlight by source] Achtung Achtung, ich sitze im Zug nach Tirol, die Drehbücher im Gepäck, voller Vorfreude! Die 15. Staffel steht in den Startlöchern, [...] (post ID CPz5CrOndiH)" ¹³⁵ She writes about her mode of travel¹³⁶ and luggage, reflecting a typical ST scenario.

¹³⁴For this study, only the first photo is analyzed in detail and asked for in the trace interviews

¹³⁵"HERE WE GO AGAIN Attention attention, I'm on the train to Tyrol, the scripts in my luggage, full of anticipation! The 15th season is in the starting blocks, [...] (Translated by deep1.com)"

¹³⁶The trace interviews actually revealed that for the STs the preferred mode of traveling to the WK is the car but also a lot of bus and train.

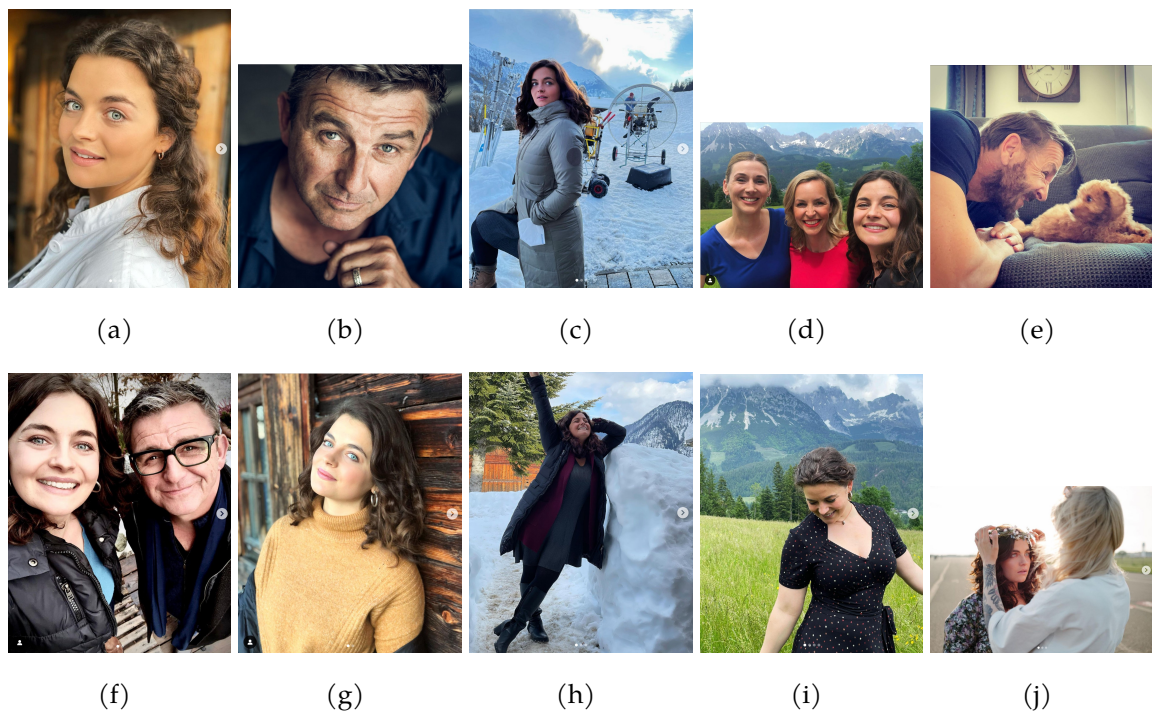


Figure 3.47: The top ten posts by interactions from left to right: (a) post ID CPz5CrOndiH, (c) CMkXkUnnpg2, (d) CQEdlD2nU7w, (f) CI3c8GinJwD, (g) CJt-gtqpHDIq, (h) CMhy6SrHsPd, (i) CP8nV88HpN, (j) CQrBYX6nhzB all @ronjaforcher (b) CPz3dg_hMEN @sigl_hans (e) CLuYxVUFYPT @markkeller_official (All source: Instagram screenshots)

The vibe is happy, with anticipation of the upcoming time, like she is going on a holiday. Although she is at the WK for work, it is worded like it is a holiday. Similarly, @davidlindermeiers post from his one-time role also conveys a holiday vibe: "In den Bergen ist Freiheit' (Wanda Rutkiewicz) Traumlocation bei den Dreharbeiten zu @derbergdoktorofficial [...] (post ID CQY7iJDppAE)"¹³⁷ A pattern that is found in the text but can be also witnessed in the visual of a Production post like in figure 2.13 on page 59. These are only examples of the holiday vibe and leisure themes shown and described in those often positive Production posts.

Photos of the less relevant winter Winter is crucial for the WK's year-round tourism but less so for the BD series, which mostly sets episodes in summer, typically having only one winter special per year in earlier seasons. However, two of the top Production posts (figure 3.47 c and h) are winter scenes with snow surrounding the actor. The third most popular post, photo (c), features Ronja Forcher on a snowy set with typical filming equipment like lighting stands, a wind machine, and a sled, likely a prop. The description suggests they are filming the season's finale, probably the winter special: "Staffelfinale. Heute. Wahnsinn. Seit 14 Jahren dürfen wir diese Geschichte erzählen, diese Figuren spielen. Über die Hälfte meines Lebens. Danke. Danke euch, danke, dass ihr uns immer wieder anschaut, dass ihr uns so unterstützt und liebt. Morgen ist die Veröffentlichung meiner Single DANKE. [highlight by source] Ich hätte mir keinen besseren Zeitpunkt erträumen können. Das Lied ist für euch. Auf viele weitere Jahre gemeinsam. Danke an dieses bunte, tolle, verrückte, liebevolle Ensemble, es gäb keine besseren Kolleginnen und Kollegen für diese krasse Reise zusammen: [...] (Post ID CMkXkUnnpg2)"¹³⁸ The post is self-reflective of the last 14 years she plays her role in the BD series. The winter does not play a role in the description as it is neither mentioned or hinted at. So even when Winter appears in ST communication of the Production it is hardly the focus of the photo or plays a significant role in the description.

A layer of advertising atop of ST communication In the middle of the description (figure 3.47 (c)), Ronja Forcher sneaks in a little promotion for her new single (called "Danke"; Eng.: thanks) and ties it directly to the emotional theme of the post by thanking her co-actors as well as WK DMO account of @wilder.kaiser. Considering

¹³⁷"In the mountains is freedom' (Wanda Rutkiewicz) Dream location during the filming of @derbergdoktorofficial [...] (translated by deep1.com)"

¹³⁸"Season finale. Today. Awesome. For 14 years we've been allowed to tell this story, play these characters. Over half of my life. Thank you. Thank you guys, thank you for always looking at us, for being so supportive and loving. Tomorrow is the release of my single THANK YOU. I couldn't have dreamed of a better time. The song is for you guys. Here's to many more years together. Thank you to this colorful, awesome, crazy, loving ensemble, there would be no better colleagues for this glaring journey together: [...] (translated by deep1.com)"

and good, leading to a lower overall median interaction in relation to individual and scarce tokens.

Token Gewinnspiel The word "Gewinnspiel" in table 3.8 is different: Especially talking about contests in ST communication gives the post an interaction boost. Writing thanks (used 26 times) or talking about love (13 times) are other very successful tokens with a lot of interactions. Again, time variables like "Heute" (today) and "Abend" (Evening) and in the word cloud (figure 3.48) "morgen" (tomorrow), "Woche" (Week) and "Jahr" (Year) etc. are very popular (88 times) and generate a lot of interactions (average 2,890).

Token	Token count	Post count	Median of Interaction
Bergdokter	39	37	3,133
Heute	32	28	2,979
Danke	26	15	8,622
ZDF	23	21	2,770
Staffel	17	12	7,474
ganz	16	12	7,342
Gewinnspiel	14	4	8,731
schon	14	12	1,638
Liebe	13	11	7,607
Abend	12	12	2,867

Table 3.8: Top ten Production tokens by median interactions and more than four uses

Expected performance

18 out of 29 accounts have a median score above 1, indicating above-average performance in ST communication. Notably, @sigl_hans (2.2 score), @andreagerhard_tall_area (2.1), @ronjaforcher (1.6), and @markkeller_official (1.1) are above average but not leading with a lot of distance like in the other metrics. @zdfmediathek also scores well with a score of two, placing fifth. Surprisingly, the top median scores belong to smaller accounts, @davidlindmeier and @supergraf, each with fewer than 5,000 followers (as of 16.06.23). These accounts only posted once, achieving significant success, highlighting that ST communication can be a powerful tool to get the attention of an audience you could not reach before.

The post of a lone cameraman The above mentioned post by @supergraf¹⁴⁰ is notable because it features one of the few photos made by and showing a crew members

¹⁴⁰He is actually the same cameraman in the post of Hans Sigl account on page 122

behind the camera, specifically the camer crew (figure 3.49).¹⁴¹ It focuses on the actual crew rather than the scenic backgrounds typical of BD ST communications in all other groups. The photo shows a very small portion of a hill and nature in the background but lacks the panoramic perspective and spectacular subjects seen in so many other photos of the corpus. The arrangement of people resembles a painting, emphasizing the crew and their work rather than the account owner. This contrasts with most Production photos but actually highlights the de-differentiation of other actor-posts. This style of photo is distinct in the corpus because it is not representing the aesthetic of the screen product but of its actual production. It is the work behind the scenes that is not visible in most of the actor post of the Production.



Figure 3.49: Photo of the production crew behind the camera from the account @supergraf (Source: Instagram screenshot with post ID CKJ2cBqhex8).

Expected post performance The expected total median of Production interactions was 638, but the posts in the corpus had a median of 462, falling short by 176 interactions. This indicates that ST communication is not an effective tool for generating high interactions or growing a Production account. The analyzed ST communications for Production accounts generally do not perform as well as other content they produce. While they occasionally achieve viral success for the elite screen actor accounts, their performance is ranging from unpredictable to disadvantageous.

Factors outside the scope of this work, such as the timing of new episodes, exclusive post content, promotional techniques and third people influence could impact these outcomes. Figure 3.50 shows that big accounts like @sigl_hans, @ronjaforcher and @markkeller_official dominate the absolute interaction difference, with positive differences ranging from 10,000 to 4,000 interactions.

Ms. Kemper is bound to the the Mountain Doctor practice The tokens "Macht" (make), "Frau" (woman), and "Kemper" (surname of Andrea Gerhard's character) are each used six times but generate high scores around 3.¹⁴² The terms "Frau Kemper" and "Praxis" (practice, score 2.4) are notably used together. These terms are used ex-

¹⁴¹Despite being in English and not fully analyzed, @supergraf's account includes various work-related posts, including some from the BD production.

¹⁴²The two later terms are actually used exclusively together as a multi-word token, but this one slipped through the cracks of the Quanteda analysis (more info in chapter 3.2.1 108).

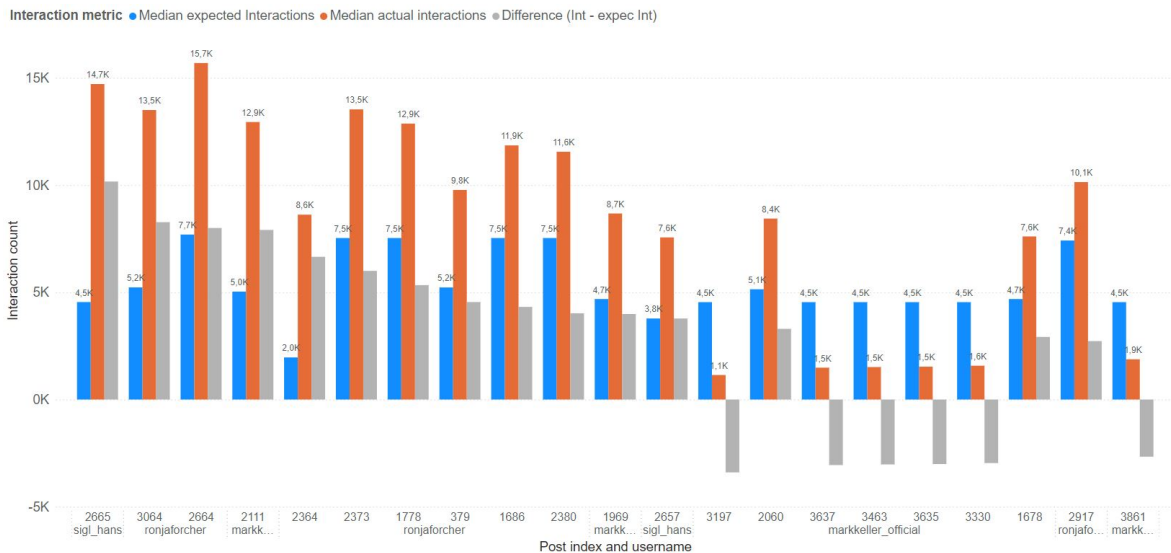


Figure 3.50: Top ten Production posts by median interactions of expected and actual performance (source: own data). Sorted by the absolute difference between actual and expected interactions.

clusively by @andreagerhard_tall_area, as her character is the receptionist for the Mountain Doctor in the practice, making this location central to her character. This translates to her posts where the narrative of her fictional character becomes visible in the representation of a screen location in her ST communication online.

Analysis III: Trace Interviews

Disclaimer: The return rate of trace interviews from the Production was low, with only one individual providing input about their ST communication of the BD. Therefore, it is unnecessary to have different subparagraphs for the trace interview questions as in other chapters. For this part the analysis is condensed into brief paragraphs, representing the perspective of at least one individual, though not the entire Production group.

Photo and text

The freedom of the exalted alps The motivation for the text and post: "Der Spruch am Anfang passt thematisch zu den Bergen und ist bisschen was 'Besonderes' am Anfang und regt zum Nachdenken an. Dann habe ich mich bei den beteiligten Personen bedankt und wollte meine Freude zum Ausdruck bringen, für das Projekt zu arbeiten und noch dazu an so einem schönen Ort. (Post ID CQY7iJDppAE and figure 3.51)"¹⁴³ As we saw in the token analysis, thanking people, the crew, and praising

¹⁴³"The saying at the beginning fits thematically to the mountains and is something 'special' at the beginning and makes you think. Then I thanked the people involved and wanted to express my joy

one's work as an actor is a common (table 3.6 or 3.8) theme in Production posts (see chapter 3.4.4 on page 197). The saying that makes you "think" as the interviewee wrote is: "In the mountains there is freedom" by Wanda Rutkiewicz. The saying is very simple and not very complex and multilayered, but it describes the established image of the alpine regions that has been built up over the last centuries (see page 49). The feeling of freedom is built into the exalted Alps and not only the BD narrative can tap into that.



Figure 3.51: A collage of photos from the screen production from actor account @davidlindermeier (Source: Instagram screenshot with post ID CQY7iJDppAE)

An uncommon portfolio The post's photo collage (figure 3.51) is unusual, combining various photos and the BD show's title. Unlike most accounts that use albums or simple filters, this is a carefully crafted collage with edited text in the correct BD font on it. It looks like it just consists of plain photos likely taken with a cell phone during production breaks. The explanation reveals the collage was intended to showcase the project, the actor in costume and various settings. It also supposed to offer a quick overview to see "[...] für welches Projekt ich arbeite (post ID CQY7iJDppAE)"¹⁴⁴. It mixes typical production photos (e.g. figure 3.47) with professional destination photos (e.g. figure 3.34) and regular ST posts (e.g. figure 3.30). A collage is often something found in fandoms, showing of their dedication

at working for the project and in such a beautiful place. (Translated by deep1.com)"

¹⁴⁴"[...] which project I'm working on (translated by deep1.com)"

in fan edits, and that is why it feels uncommon for a Production account.

Guidelines for posting

Guidelines for publishing BD content were not provided by the DMO, but the production company and public broadcaster had some general rules as @davidlindermeier explains in his trace interview for his post in figure 3.51:

- Post scenes on social media only after the episode airs.
- Name the broadcasters and photographers involved.
- Always check permissions to stay safe but contracts usually cover this.
- Mountain Doctor production company was lenient, allowing advanced costume posts.

These rules are standard in media and focus on timing and credit rather than content style. The last point highlights the Production's flexible approach to sharing content.

Professional use of hashtags and mentions

The specific hashtags in the post demonstrate professionalism and serve as a marketing tool. The actor uses Instagram as a portfolio to showcase current projects, similar to the influencer style posts of the ST group. He enjoys the process of choosing hashtags that match the project and place. He also aims to reach a wider audience. This shows his understanding of hashtags' power for self-marketing, as confirmed by the trace interview and other findings in this chapter.

Analysis IV: Geolocation

Geo located photos

Heatmap of the overall photo data The top hot spot in the Production photos heatmap (top and bottom map 3.52) is the BD practice screen location, with 23 posts from five accounts. This concentration is partly due to actress Andrea Gerhard, who frequently posts (figure 3.3 on page 114) from here in her role as a doctor's assistant in the practice (page 125). However, various Production accounts also post from this screen location. The second-largest hot spot, the town square screen location, has twelve posts from six accounts. Other notable places with higher photo density, though not true hot spots, are the Gruberhof screen location and above the WK's central mountain range near Ellmauer Tor. In map 3.52 there are no points near Scheffau, Hintersteiner Lake giving way for a wide gap of activity between the east and the west side of the WK valley.¹⁴⁵ The town of Ellmau is also missing in the maps.

¹⁴⁵Same as the Scheffau Gap for the STs on page 154.

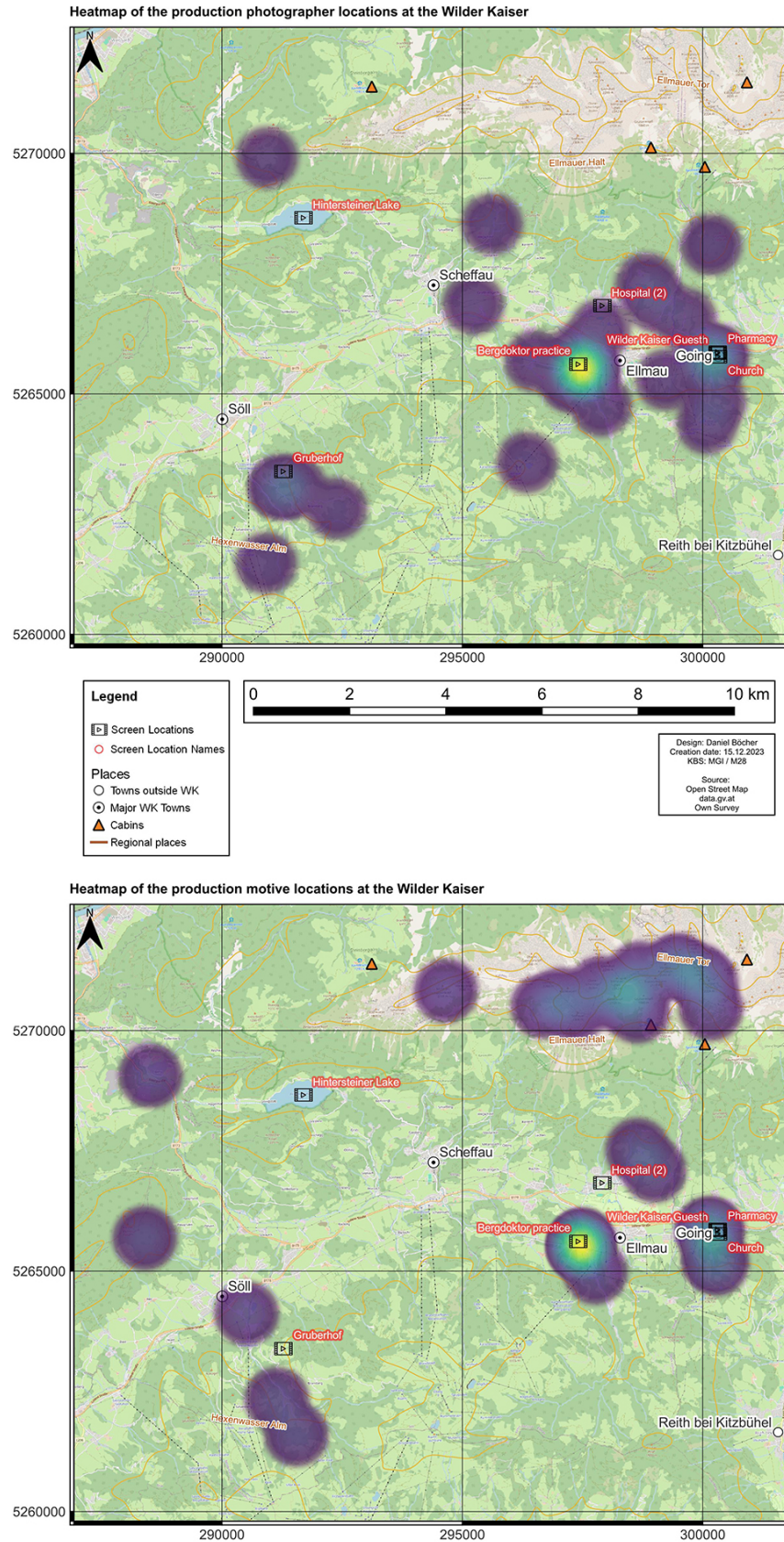


Figure 3.52: Heatmap of the Production accounts photographer (top) and motive points (bottom) (source: own data).

Heatmap of the photographer and motive The hot spots remain stable with many photographer points in the BD practice and town square screen locations (map 3.52 (top)). The hot spot above the WK mountains only exists for the photo motives (map 3.52 (bottom)). The people behind the Production accounts likely do not hike extensively in the WK mountains due to work commitments. They still commit to the illusion (page 178), though. Instead of real hiking they use the mountains as a backdrop like everybody else. Small trips to ski hills like Hexenwasser or Hartkaiser are feasible due to their tourist infrastructure access. Ofcourse also the BD fan fest was luring production members to these places.

The Wilder Kaiser mountain motive

The perspectives of the Production photos from the BD practice and town square hot spots generally face the WK mountain range. The schematic in figure 5.8 illustrates pretty clear that photographers at these positions often aim north towards the WK mountains, especially near the Ellmauer Gate, from the south side of the valley. This is similar to all the other co-production groups.

Focus on the screen location Posts in the BD practice cluster mainly focus on the screen location itself, with only three photos directed towards the WK mountain range. The screen location offers ample photo opportunities: an old alpine-style house, balcony flowers, props like cars and a decorated picnic table. A Production member is normally exactly then at a screen location when they are shooting scenes and the place is in its prime. The correlation seems clear: When for example you are in your costume, with fresh flowers on the balcony and props available, then making a photo and putting the screen location as motive, as seen in figure 3.53, is understandable.



Figure 3.53: The screen location of the Mountain Doctor practice without background mountains (source: Instagram screenshot with post ID CMP_sZDh9H2).

3.4.4 The connection, difference and similarity of Screen Tourism Communication



Figure 3.54: Post of @wilder.kaiser thanking everybody at the fan fest (Source: Instagram screenshot with post ID ByKS9lHF2Wt).

Token	Token count	Post count	Diff
Bergdoktor*	187	174	13
Heute*	167	154	13
Reith	147	87	69
Danke	132	109	23
Wilder Kaiser*	125	107	18

Table 3.9: Top tokens in the corpus. The tokens with an asterisks (*) are present in all the analyzed groups of the corpus (source: own data).

Analysis I: Instagram descriptions

The most used words

The tokens marked with asterisks in the table 3.9 are present in the group of the ST, the Destination as well as the Production. "Reith" (147 times) was described only in the top 20 of the Destination group. The difference here (69) between post and token counts mean that less posts use this token a lot. "Danke" (128, thank you) was only used in the Destination (e.g. figure 3.54) and Production (figure 3.47 (c))¹⁴⁶ groups. As is probably typical for public accounts of institutions or prominent individuals, they are thankful for a lot of things¹⁴⁷ increasing the number of this word in the ranking. In the top tokens used the ST do not have a word they use more often than other groups, which stems from the dissimilarities in the group itself. They are made up of people from different countries, ages, socio-economic backgrounds, profile sizes, etc. which makes it hard for them to create a uniform pattern, independent from the Influencer sub-category.

¹⁴⁶This post alone has used it at least 5 times in the description that can be found fully here on page 179.

¹⁴⁷More examples of accounts saying thank you: @natalieohara_official with post ID B2T2p5nhN-N thanking the audience, @andreagerhard_tall_area with post ID BuEU_a-Bf7U thanking the BD production crew and colleagues, or @restaurant_gold with post ID CF38cmqjNCO thanking for a newspaper article.

Geographical names

Destination accounts often mention towns and places, like "Reith/Reither" (39), "Ellmau" (70), "Wilder Kaiser" (61) and "Gemeinde" (31; eng. municipality). ST also highlight "Wilder Kaiser" (48), "Ellmau" (38), and "Going" (31).

	Winter	Winter-special	Winter*	All
Screen tourists	5	0	4	9
Destination	20	2	18	40
Production	0	13	1	14
All	25	15	23	63

Table 3.10: The count of the token "Winter" in the different groups. The asterisk after the word means that it can be continued at will as a wild-card.

is the most visited screen location (table 5.17). Thus, Destinations emphasize the wider WK region¹⁴⁸, STs focus more on screen locations and Production accounts highlight the production itself and often actually themselves.

Production accounts primarily use the multi-word phrase "Wilder Kaiser". These are just the words for real places and towns. The STs also use names of on-screen locations, like "Praxis" (practice) appearing 23 times. This is reflecting their interest in these fictional sites. The individual screen location of the BD practice is supported by the trace interview findings that it

Signs of seasonal tourism

As discussed in chapter 3.4.2 on page 157, the DMO does not classify ST as winter tourism but still references "Winter" and the BD together in a few posts. The term "Winter" and its variations predominantly appears in Destination posts. Except for "Winter-special", which is used mostly by the Production group (table 3.10). This indicates that while the Destination focuses on broader seasonal terms,

the Production crew is more centered on the BD screen production itself. STs rarely mention winter, as they typically visit WK in midsummer (August-September). But conversely, STs frequently use summer-related terms (table 3.11) such as "Sommerurlaub" (Eng.: Summer holiday), "Sommerabend" (Summer evening) or "Sommerprossen" (Freckles). Destination accounts also use summer terms, aligning

	Sommer	*sommer*	All
Screen tourists	13	6	19
Destination	7	11	18
Production	2	2	4
All	22	19	41

Table 3.11: The Count of the Token "Summer" in the different groups. The * as a wild-card means that the term can be part of larger word.

¹⁴⁸ All towns and places visible in the map 3.12.

with their strategy to appeal to a diverse audience year-round. Production accounts seldom mention either season, suggesting they focus on the screen product rather than seasonal changes. The different kind of tourism these seasons cultivate are more relevant for the destination and its ST.

Time description words

Interestingly, the Production frequently uses time-related terms (table 3.6) such as "Heute" (57, Engl.: today), "Jahr" (20, year), "Abend" (20, evening), "Morgen" (18, tomorrow/morning) and "Woche" (16, week). These variations are more diverse than the Destination accounts, which mainly use "Uhr" (50, clock) and "Heute" (45). STs also frequently use time terms like "Heute" (65), "Tag" (26, day), "immer" (24, always), "Zeit" (24, time) and "Abend" (23). It is notable that "today" often appears across all groups (167 times in 154 descriptions in table 3.9), highlighting the immediacy of ST and Instagram posting. Trace interviews confirm that most people post immediately after taking a photo so timing seems relevant. For Destination and Production accounts, this could also be due to promoting events or show screenings happening close to the posting time (Shown on page 175).

	Account count	Post count	Posts per Acc.
Screen tourists	169	555	3.3
Destination	54	643	11.0
Production	29	234	8.1

Table 3.12: Posts and account number of the different groups

More keyword use because of professional involvement

A total of 758 keywords¹⁴⁹ were identified in the corpus, evenly distributed among the agent groups: ST (285), Destination (241) and Production (232). However, considering the total number of different post descriptions — 555 for the STs, 641 for the Destination and 230 for Production —

it is evident that STs and the Destination use fewer ST keywords than Production accounts. This may be because the Production crew, with their professional involvement in the screen product, return annually for new seasons, developing a routine that influences their social media habits. Unlike regular tourists on a one-time¹⁵⁰ two-week trip with varied other tourist activities at the WK. For the Production crew, the screen product is a primary focus, resulting in more keyword use. Because the BD

¹⁴⁹Keywords are the words defined in chapter 3.2 in the list on page 105 for the boolean saved search on Crowd Tangle.

¹⁵⁰Actually, the STs surveyed traveled on average more than 2 times to the WK.

screen product is not a runaway production¹⁵¹ and set narratively in the WK Destination all the social media communication about it can be mostly categorized as ST communication explaining the use of so many keywords.

Anlysis II: Instagram metrics

Most corpus posts came from the Destination group, followed by ST and Production (table 3.12). Conversely, most corpus accounts were in the ST group, followed by Destination and Production. The high number of ST accounts is expected due to the greater quantity of regular tourists at the WK compared to people of the Destination or Production. Destination accounts averaged 11 posts due to their professional Team and approach, while Production accounts had a ratio of 8 posts due to their need to market themselves. STs averaging 3 posts because they are typically post only during vacations. Especially, the STs have finite material from a limited amount of time at the destination. Destination accounts can post year-round, while Production accounts post frequently due to longer stays, seasonal work and higher involvement. These real life constraints and opportunities influence the ST communication in the digital network plane.

Instagram interactions

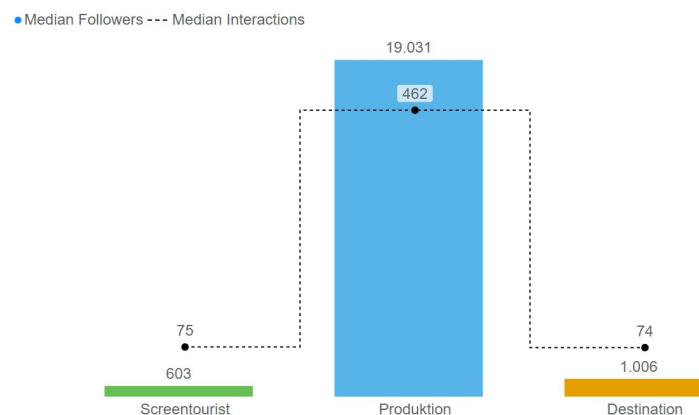
Likes and interactions

Figure 3.55 shows the dominance of Production accounts with a median of over 19,000 followers due to many well-known actors. Destination accounts coming next with quite some

distance and over 1,000 followers because of a few large DMOs and corpus groups (source: own data).

popular hotels. ST accounts come in third with followers over 600, only boosted by a few influencer STs. Success on Instagram is driven by follower count, as more followers typically mean more interactions as clearly visible in the graphs of figure 3.55.

Dominating actors and influencers Chapter 3.4.3 first paragraph shows that ac-



¹⁵¹More info about them in source Frost 2006

tors' accounts dominate performance metrics, overshadowing others. Despite ZDF's prominence, its Social Media account (like Austria's ORF (table 3.7)) ranks lower due to its diverse audience and content. @zdfmediathek's varied posts target different groups and communicate about diverse screen products, unlike screen actors who have a unified fan base around a manageable amount of screen products. Fans are more likely to follow actors than TV channels, giving actors a content and follower advantage. Just as actors dominate Production posts, the same is true for influencers in the ST group (more on page 138). Influencers and actors are structurally comparable as they are well known and have therefore more followers than the other stakeholder accounts in their group. They also act similarly as they market themselves. Their superiority in the groups translates to the whole corpus where they have strong placements (figure 3.56) suppressing most Destination accounts, regular STs and smaller Production members. Even amongst the cross-sectional group of the Influencers the screen actors show their star power: The top Production accounts in figure 3.56 accumulate more interactions than all Destination and ST accounts combined, showing their sovereignty in ST communication on Instagram. The influencers of the ST and prominent Destination accounts only come in second.

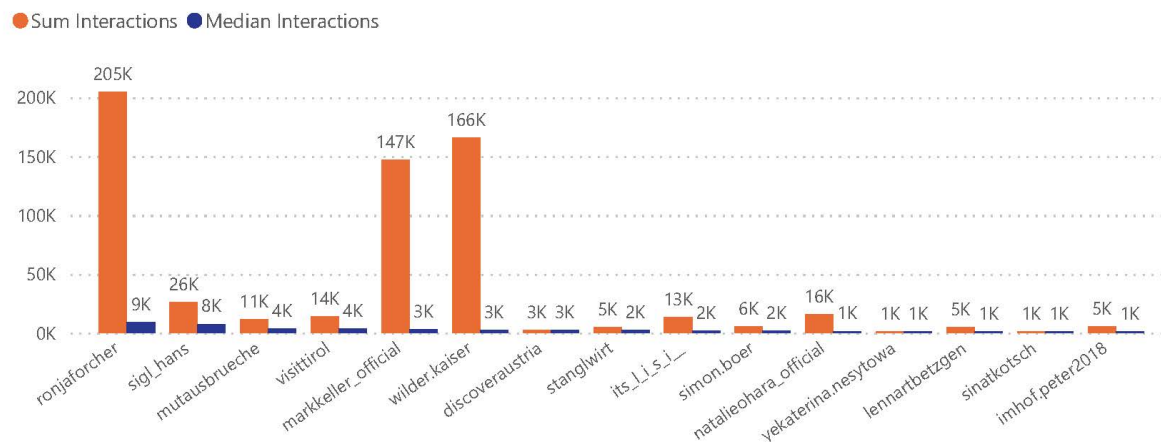


Figure 3.56: The top 15 accounts of the corpus with sum and median of interactions (source: own data). Sorted by median interactions.

Popular accounts and posts

Professional content is dominating Production accounts like @ronjaforcher and @sigl_hans lead in interactions, followed by the first ST account @mutausbrueche and the first Destination @visittiroi in figure 3.56. Together, these four have 1,432 posts and over 800,000 interactions. Production accounts dominate with 463,000 interactions and Ronja Forcher's account achieved alone a share of 204,000 (44 percent). This is highlighting the impact of professional accounts like influencers, DMOs and actors on

social media's portrayal of ST.

Portraits of the Production As noted in chapter 3.4.3 on page 177, Ronja Forcher's photos often place her at the center, typically looking towards the camera (figure 3.47 (a), (c), (g), (h) or (i) etc.). This portrait style mirrors her TV show portrayal, sometimes even in character costume¹⁵². Production accounts often feature portraits with minimal background, though some include spectacular landscapes with actors still in focus like in figure 3.57. They skillfully avoid showing main screen locations, keeping them just out of frame: Recognizable only to those familiar with the WK screen locations.

Aesthetic of the destination The Destination has a focus on many countryside-, mountain- and townscapes. They sprinkle in a few photos of the cast, mostly standing indoors and in groups. They use clearly staged Production cast photos (figure 3.58), with a completely different aesthetic. The photos from the Destination seem to be from promotional material and are clearly taken by professional photographers. While the Destination opts for professionally arranged photos, probably provided by the production company, the Production accounts (mostly actors) choose an influencer aesthetic with poses (figure 3.47). At the end it is the same persons but with an almost diametrical difference.

Screen tourists as protagonist It is interesting how the ST literally placed itself in the screen location (figure 3.59) and in many others as a kind of protagonist of the show. The ST as well as the screen locations has to be visible which sounds at least similar to the screen actors of the Production. The photos of the STs are way more zoomed out, that more for- and background is visible, than the portrait style of actors. The ST use props like in figure 2.19 (b) or cardboard characters like in (c). The border crossing discussed in the theory chapter happens not so much at the screen location, but definitely later in the photo when its uploaded to Instagram. Or, to put it another way, the ST becomes the actor in the screen location, but in the digital photo he is ultimately the *character*. The upload and publishing of the photo seems like a magical spell that puts yourself into the fictional world of the mountain doctor.

The look behind the curtain Production posts (figure 3.47) often provide a behind-the-scenes look at BD production, a tactic also used by Destination accounts (figure 3.34). This perspective reveals real places, actors and production details, possibly known only to those involved in the production. Regular STs lack this insider view, seeing the screen product just from the outside. However, visiting screen locations offers STs also a glimpse behind the scenes like in figure 3.23. This akin to exploring

¹⁵²After season 10, so not the seasons analyzed by this study, she wears a gown (post ID CCJVqjgH6lk) and helping in her fathers practice.



Figure 3.57: Selfie cast photo by Ronja Forcher (Production) at the Mountain Doctor practice screen location (source: Instagram screenshot with post ID CQEdlD2nU7w).



Figure 3.58: Professional cast photo from wilder.kaiser (Destination) at the Mountain Doctor practice screen location (source: Instagram screenshot with post ID B7GmkGoquC5).



Figure 3.59: A screen tourist puts herself in the screen location of the Mountain Doctor practice screen location and also shows the landscape (source: Instagram screenshot with post ID CGVKJusHm1K).

a theater set after a performance as visitors can now go on stage and look at the set pieces like remnants of their beloved fictional world. For the STs it is also not more than a glimpse when they visit a screen location, because they can see what is behind the curtain, but not what *actually happened* during production. STs place themselves within the frame (figure 3.60 (1)) in relation to the screen location (figure 3.60 (2) and (3)). This is them taking the stage as the tourist becomes the protagonist (in the photo). In the extra diegetic methods like geotaging (figure 3.60 (5))¹⁵³ and mentions (figure 3.60 (4)) connect the post with the Destination, Production and fan accounts. The behind-the-scenes look at the screen location will never be like being part of the show but it still supports bridging their experience from reality into fiction.

Most successful posts The top 25 posts of the corpus are completely dominated by only Production posts from three different actors of the main cast (figure 5.9). The top Production post is from @ronjaforcher (post ID CPz5CrOndiH). The first

¹⁵³In this case a fictional location from the BD.



Figure 3.60: A post from @berg_maedl which is typical for screen tourist posts (source: Instagram screenshot with post ID COUc6X6lzOI). The red numbers indicate diegetic standards in the photo as the green numbers are extra diegetic on social media.

non-production post is from @wilder.kaiser (Post ID CLrdQ4xl1wV) at place 28, while the first ST post is from @mutausbrueche (Post ID Clcx24RBQKS) at place 49! This and other metrics show the dominance of Production over the other stakeholder groups in co-production.



Figure 3.61: (a) Screen tourist photo with the town square in Going. (b) Destination photo with the town square in Going. (c) Production photo depicting actress Ronja Forcher. (Source: Instagram screenshots with post IDs (a) CJAhiFXM0Kc, (b) CLrdQ4xl1wV and (c) CPz5CrOndiH)

Differences between the top posts of the three groups The main difference between top posts of Production vs. Destination and ST is clear (figure 3.61): Production posts emphasize personal experiences (e.g. figure 3.61 (c)), while Destination and regular ST posts¹⁵⁴ highlight the background (e.g. figure 3.61 (a) and (b)). Interestingly, both Destination and ST often feature the same popular screen locations¹⁵⁵. In these posts, the landscape or townscape is the focal point, with subtle hints in descriptions indicating ST communication.

The tokens of the most successful posts The word cloud in figure 3.62 displays 43 tokens above the median interactions, each used more than four times. These tokens appear 394 times across 90 posts from ten accounts: two ST, four Destination, and four Production. The top five tokens are "Bergdokter", "Heute" (Engl.: Today), "Danke" (Thank you), "Ellmau", and "Photo". As expected is "Bergdokter" the most used token, uniting all groups around the WK Destination. But each group also has preferred tokens: STs favors "heute" (page 142), Destinations use "Ellmau" (fig-

¹⁵⁴The exceptions are the influencers who behave similar to the actor accounts of the Production.

¹⁵⁵In the example case it is the combined screen locations of the town square in Going (figure 3.61 (a) and (b)) and when actually looking at the trace interview answers, it is one of the most popular screen locations.

CMkXkUnnpg2)"¹⁵⁹

3. "**Heute Abend 20;15** [SIC] im ZDF Der Bergdoktor nicht vergessen [...]" (post ID Bt2xeSKDxG0)"¹⁶⁰

ST use them in these contexts:

4. "Guten **Abend** ..und [SIC] ab nach Hause ..das Sofa ruft ganz laut ..und ich muss mich outen.. ..**DONNERSTAG Abend** [highlight by D.B.] läuft der #bergdoktor ..Sorry DAS MUSS SEIN [HIGHLIGHT BY SOURCE] ...komm ich selber nicht in meine geliebten Berge [...]" (post ID B8PEawfoTXa)"¹⁶¹
5. "**Heute** ein paar Impressionen aus Kitzbühel u. Going. Wünschen euch einen schönen **Tag**, Lg Wilfried [...]" (post ID CQffQ-jMujw)"¹⁶²
6. "**Morgen in aller Herrgottsfrühe** gehts für uns los ins Skigebiet Ellmau (da wo der Bergdoktor gedreht wird) Dort machen Schatzi und ich eine **Woche** Winterurlaub mit Freunden [...]" (post ID BgZQfINDw86)"¹⁶³

Production accounts, as professional marketing tools, use them to promote new seasons (list above 1. and 2.), episode airings (list 3.) and themselves (list 2). STs, on the other hand, use these terms to express fandom and, similar to diary entries, relating their activities to specific time (list 5 and 6.). For the STs, the mentioning of the BD broadcast (list 4.) is just an outing of being a fan, but not an advertisement for the show, because they have nothing to gain. This pattern shows

The ZDF The token "ZDF"¹⁶⁴ is used almost exclusively by Production accounts, as ZDF is the main broadcaster, sponsor and financier for the BD series. It appears in posts about BD episode airings, indicating where to watch, just like the post in list 3. If it is used like that then the term ZDF would be used always with time terms like clock, today or tomorrow. Production accounts, closely tied to ZDF (their employer), use social media as a marketing tool to promote episodes. This involvement, could be considered as part of their job or at least helpful to keep the job. Other accounts, like STs and Destinations, do not have to promote the BD broadcaster as most do not

¹⁵⁹"Season finale. Today. Awesome. For 14 years we've been allowed to tell this story, play these characters. More than half of my life. (translated by deep1.com)"

¹⁶⁰"Tonight 20:15 on ZDF. Do not forget the Bergdoktor. (translated by deep1.com)"

¹⁶¹"Good evening ..and off home ..the sofa calls quite loudly ..and I have to come out ..thursday evening runs the #bergdoktor ..Sorry that must be ...If I can't go to my beloved mountains myself [...]" (translated by deep1.com)"

¹⁶²"Today a few impressions from Kitzbühel and Going. Wish you a nice day, Greetings Wilfried [...]" (translated by deep1.com)"

¹⁶³"Tomorrow at the crack of dawn we're off to the ski resort Ellmau (where the Bergdoktor is filmed) There Schatzi and I make a week winter vacation with friends (translated by deep1.com)"

¹⁶⁴Abbreviation for **Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen**

need to promote anything. While ZDF is the initial platform for the BD narrative, it looks like it is not significant in the Destination experiences of a ST. It obviously not important enough in the subsequent ST communication on Instagram, as analyzed in their top words (figure 3.21).

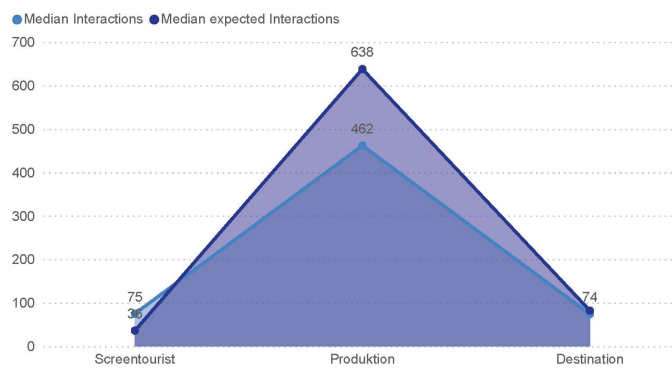


Figure 3.63: Median interaction of the actual post performance and its expectation (Source: Own data).

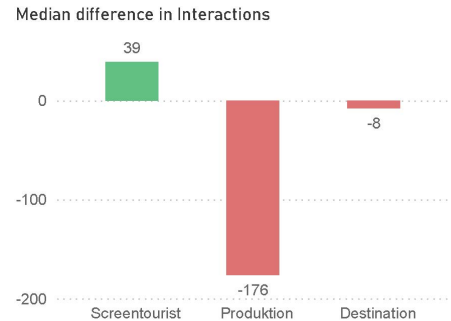


Figure 3.64: The difference between expected and actual median interactions coming from figure 3.63 (Source: Own data).

Expected performance

Figure 3.63 illustrates a pyramid where the Produktion group tops the interaction metrics. The median for Produktion is lower than expected.¹⁶⁵ ST and Destination metrics remain stable, with their interaction numbers aligning closely with expectations. ST accounts still uniquely benefit from ST communication, performing better than their regular content probably due to the novelty and interest of WK experiences for their followers. Destination accounts, always immersed in WK content, lack this novelty, making their posts seem less unique for a viral hit. For Produktion, it is similar because they spend a lot of time at the WK and return every year.¹⁶⁶ They have more time to produce content from the destination, and since the posts from the WK are not as special, they do not benefit as much from ST communication overall. Figure 3.64 shows ST posts performing 39 interactions better than expected, while Destination posts have a minor fluctuation of -8, and Produktion posts see a significant drop of -176 interactions. Thus, ST communication boosts ST but decreases Destination and significantly shrinks the interaction of the Produktion group.

Expected token performance The score of all tokens that are used more than four times and are better than a score of one is 1.6. These tokens appear on average 12.8 times (figure 3.65). The multi-phrase token "Der Bergdoktor" has 58 occurrences and

¹⁶⁵More on what is happening here is already explained in chapter 3.4.3 on page 182.

¹⁶⁶This is the same reason why some profiles publish more posts than others discussed on page 191.

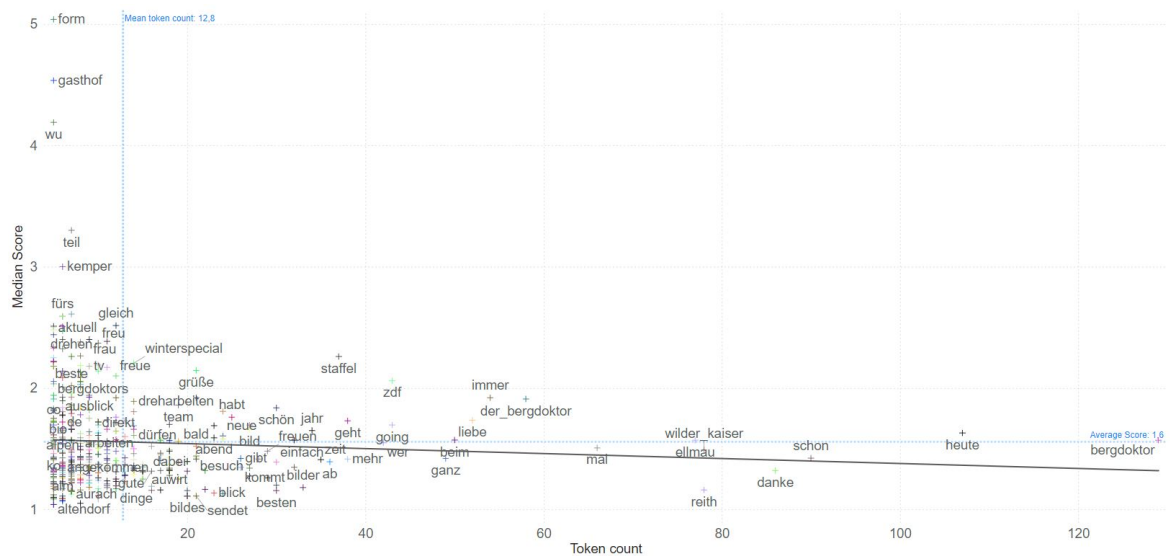


Figure 3.65: Top tokens by median score and appearance count. Filtered for tokens used more than four times and with a post score better than one (source: own data).

a score of 1.9. Names of characters like "Linn Kemper" (10 appearances; 2.2 score), or screen actors like "Heiko Rubrecht" (7; 2.0), "Monika Baumgartner" (5; 1.9) or "Hans Sigl" (10; 1.7) appear in the posts. Words related to television production are "ZDF" (43; 2.1), "Serie" (11; 1.4), "gedreht" (Engl.: filmed; 9; 1.6), "drehen" (shooting; 7; 2.3), "Drehorten" (locations; 5; 1.5), "Dreharbeiten" (filming; 14; 1.9), "Regie" (director; 9; 1.8), "Drehtag" (day of shooting; 10; 1.7), "Film" (6; 2.3), and "Staffel" (season; 37 appearances; 2.3 score) are among them in figure 3.65. All of these tokens were part of entries that performed above what was expected of them. These tokens indicate why certain posts performed better than others, because the content resonated with the audience and resulted in higher interaction numbers. For example, posts about the actors and their characters as well as content related to the movie production performed better than other ST communication content. These are all infos not available in the screen production, so social media is a way to distribute, market or view these so they perform exceptionally well across all groups.

Space tokens perform exceptionel Names of attractions, towns, and regions are also very popular in the corpus (table 3.13), as there are more than a dozen of them: "Österreich", "Tirol" / "Tiroler", "Kaiser" / "Wilder Kaiser", "Going", "Scheffau", "Ellmauer", "Kitzbüheler", "Hintersteiner See" and "Auwirt", but of course there are also the names of places from the BD like "Praxis", "Gruberhof", "Bergdoktorpraxis" and "Bergdoktorhaus", and some ambiguous ones that could be used in other situations, but are mostly associated with the BD series, like "Gasthof"¹⁶⁷ (Engl.: Guesthouse)

¹⁶⁷ As in "Gashof Wilder Kaiser": A main screen location on the town square in Going since the first season of BD.

and "Dorfplatz"¹⁶⁸ (town square). These space tokens are all part of very successful posts performing above the median of the corpus but also against other posts outside of it. So it is unfortunate that the Production uses them way lesser (only 1/3) than the other groups (table 3.13).

	Screen Tourist	Destination	Production
Token count	140	124	45
Tokens distinct	15	17	9
Post count	137	138	50
Median interaction	81	110	905
Median Score	1.6	1.4	2.2

Table 3.13: Tokens related to space by the groups

Analysis III: Trace Interviews

Dimension: professional vs. privat

In the text, as in all other parts of a post, motivation is divided into two sides of one dimension: It is a continuum between, either 'professionally planned' or 'privately emotional'. On the professional side are the Destination (post IDs Bmu3VOdngGL or CE_81ZajsBl) but also most of the Production (post ID CPz3dg_hMEN). Since many Production accounts behave like influencers (post ID CMkXkUnnp2) with competent strategies and at the same time supposedly authentic private content, they act on the edge of the professional side. The private emotional side is the ST (post IDs B24EWo4ihK1 or CGw14x-hST1), They also have influencers in their group (post ID CAQTjn9HnbL) and they act more professional the bigger their accounts get.

Dimension: Open vs. subliminal

On the one side of this dimension your content is "open and transparent" and on the other "Subliminal and hidden". Almost all STs, as well as most Production posts, often state the connection to the BD. The Destination, on the other hand, uses subliminal messages in ST communication (post ID B_SeQyzlPop). The actors in particular cannot deny their direct involvement with the BD as they are literally the most visible and therefor recognizable part of the TV show. Their postings are so aligned with the screen production that they end up just being open about it and do not hold back at all with their connection to the show (post ID CPz5CrOndiH). ST's motivation for clear and open communication about the BD is that they are fans and they want to

¹⁶⁸The town square of "Going am Wilden Kaiser" with a few key screen locations, such as the WK guesthouse, the church or the pharmacy (in later seasons).

show what they love (post ID BSeBTgLDNCy) - Sometimes it is as simple as that. The Destination accounts have the same motivation as the Production, but their aim to reach every potential tourist changes the outcome, especially on the photo and its description. In many posts, especially in the photo and text, the ST communication is a *secret of the obscure*. Only if you are one of the enlightened BD fans of the *Astral Ward* you can see that the photo and the text are ST communication. For regular tourists, the photos and texts are not *kryptus*, but rather the additional meaning is invisible for them. This technique makes the post contentwise still aesthetically appealing to them. Regular tourists can understand it separated from the BD subtext. The subliminality of the Destination is not a problem for Production and STs as they understand the hints. It might even feel especially rewording to be part of side that knows over all the unilluminated regular tourists (for once).

A collage of beautiful photos and professional messages

The main reason STs publish photos is their sheer beauty (page 149), especially of the WK landscape (e.g. post IDs B1g4Eh8ijwp and BjFpI0CgwTl). They discovered the WK as a stunning backdrop for the TV show first and then choose photos for their aesthetic appeal, constructing meaning and emotions around them. Destination accounts, however, are more professional, understanding social media dynam-



Figure 3.66: A beautiful photo and an elaborate description by the DMO account @visittirool (source: Instagram screenshot with post ID CM2rXpIgYAj).

ics and user reactions, strategically creating and planning future posts (e.g. post ID B_SeQyzlPop). They often select high-quality photos that align with their marketing goals, ensuring the photo and message fit seamlessly (figure 3.66). Production accounts likely share similar motivations, driven by professional and influencer strategies, though specific motivations were less clear from the limited interviews. All the motivations result in a collage of beautiful photos showing and describing the WK as a dream destination.

Analysis V: Geolocation

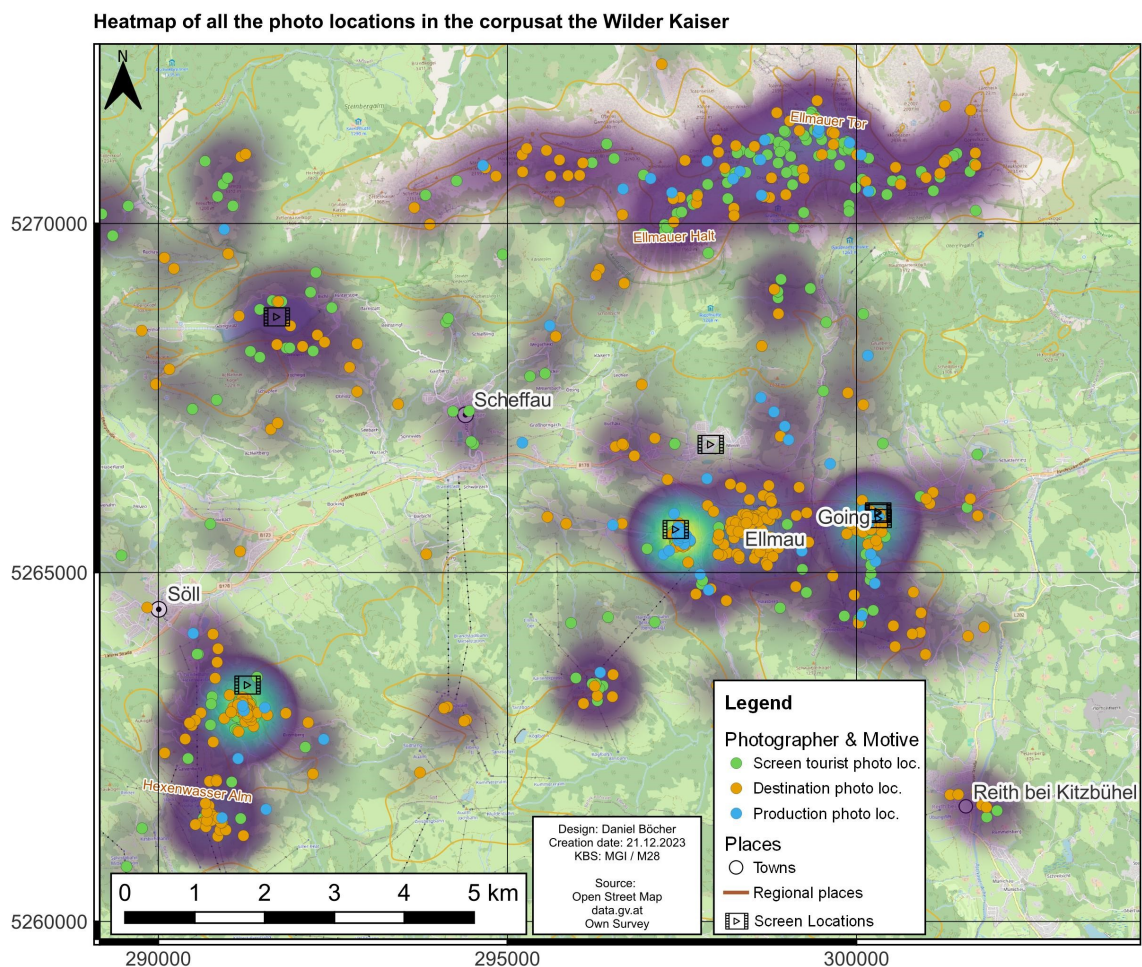


Figure 3.67: Heatmap of all photographer and motive points in the corpus (source: own data).

Geo located photos

Three screen location hot spots The three main screen locations of the BD TV show are: The Gruberhof, the BD practice and the town square in Going. These are also the main hot spots of all corpus (map 3.67) photos. At these three screen locations each group has its share of points. As expected, it does not matter where the photographer

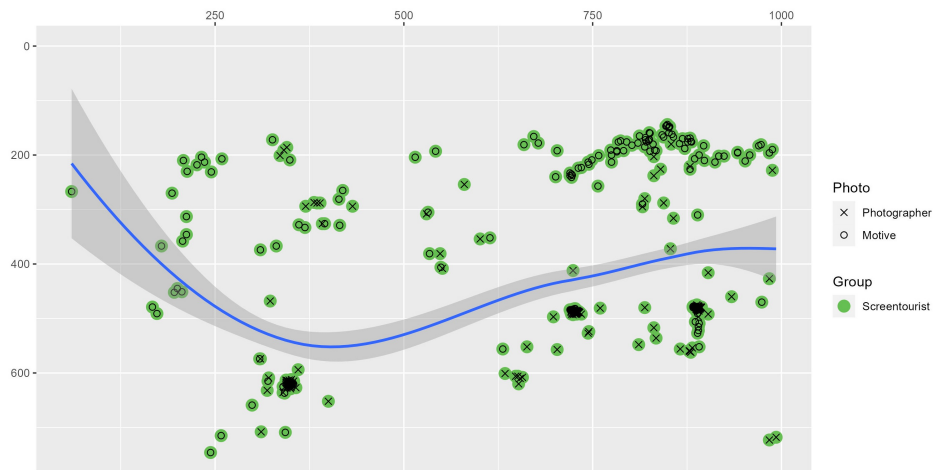
was taking these photos as the motives are similar. The screen locations are the places everyone can agree on as visualised by the 3 dense main hot spots.

Motive cluster above mountain range All groups share a common focus on the WK mountain range as their background (figure 3.68): Among 149 photos from 65 accounts, the WK mountains often serve as a backdrop for screen locations. ST and Production accounts highlight the central part around Ellmauer Tor, while Destination accounts also feature the western range, which makes them only marginally different. This aligns with DMOs' perceived goals to present a diverse image of WK, to cater for all attractions and appeal to different target audiences. The central parts attract BD fans and crew, while other areas may attract a different demographic or shows other specific attractions.

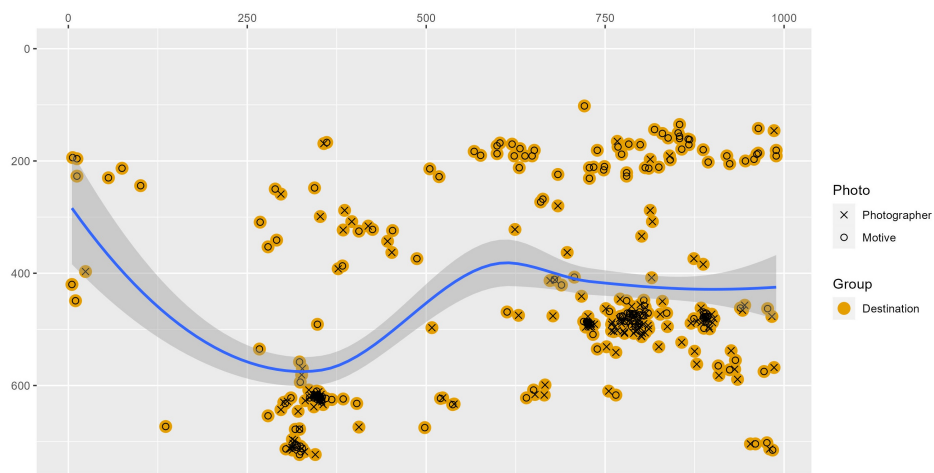
DMO hot spots Ellmau and Hexenwasser With Ellmau and Hexenwasser the Destination has two exclusive hot spots (map 3.67). At Hexenwasser there are both photographer and motive points. So it is not only a place to look at, but also to be in - at least that is what the Destination thinks about this place and promotes it with ST communication. Neither the STs nor the Production seem to really care about it, as only a handful of photos have been published with this position for these groups. So you can say that the Destination has more divers photographer and motive points and therefore presents more spaces of the Destination away from the popular clusters.

The great divide In figure 3.68, most points are clearly placed on the south and north side of the WK valley. While figure 3.68 (c) has fewer photos, (a) and (b) highlight these trends more clearly. Photographer and motive hot spots are evident on the south side of the valley, with three main screen locations (figure 3.4.4), and a hot spot in the north above the WK mountain range. The moving regression line runs through the graph like an actual river in the WK valley. All graphs have a similar overall appearance with key differences: for Destination accounts, in the middle of the line a bump to the north shows an expanded perspective of the WK mountain range. Most points for all groups are divided into south and north parts, as indicated by the blue regression line running from west to east. The center of the valley between the WK mountains to the north and the "Skiwelt Wilder Kaiser-Brixental" to the south could be recognized in the mathematical calculation of the regression line in the schematic diagram in figure 3.68.

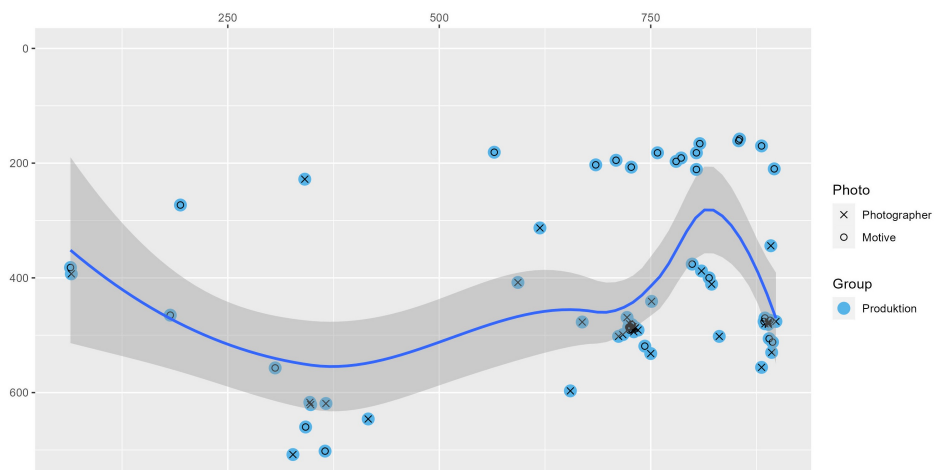
Divided by position, united by motive Beyond allocating photos on the map 3.67, it is about the connection between photographer points and photo motives. In figure 4.10, many longer connections stretch from southern photographer points to northern motives. This is not just a distribution along the WK valley slopes, it is concentrated around key photographer points. The perspective typically comes from the three main screen locations — Grubertshof, BD practice and the town square — look-



(a)



(b)



(c)

Figure 3.68: Schematic x-y graph of all photographer and motive points (source: own data): (a) Screen Tourists, (b) Destination, and (c) Production accounts. The blue line is the regression line with the confidence interval in gray.

ing at the WK mountain range on the opposite side of the valley. All three groups share this commonality, making it a very dominant and explicit feature of BD's ST communication. Thus, while points are divided into the two valley sides, the motives unites them, resulting in numerous screen location photos connecting to the same stunning mountainscape backdrop.

Focus on the screen location All groups in the corpus focus on screen locations, as shown in maps 3.28 and 3.41. When considering the WK mountain range panorama as a screen location due to its frequent use in transitions and backgrounds of the TV show, most photos in the corpus are shot at or depict screen location. Only Destination accounts offer additional hot spots like Ellmau, Hexenwasser and the Kitzbühel Valley. Despite also focusing on main screen locations, Destination accounts provide the most diverse points across the WK region (map 3.69).

The struggle of minor and older screen locations Beyond the three main screen locations, the frequency of appearances drops quickly, and some are even untouched. Trace interviews with STs about returning screen locations (table 3.3) indicated more

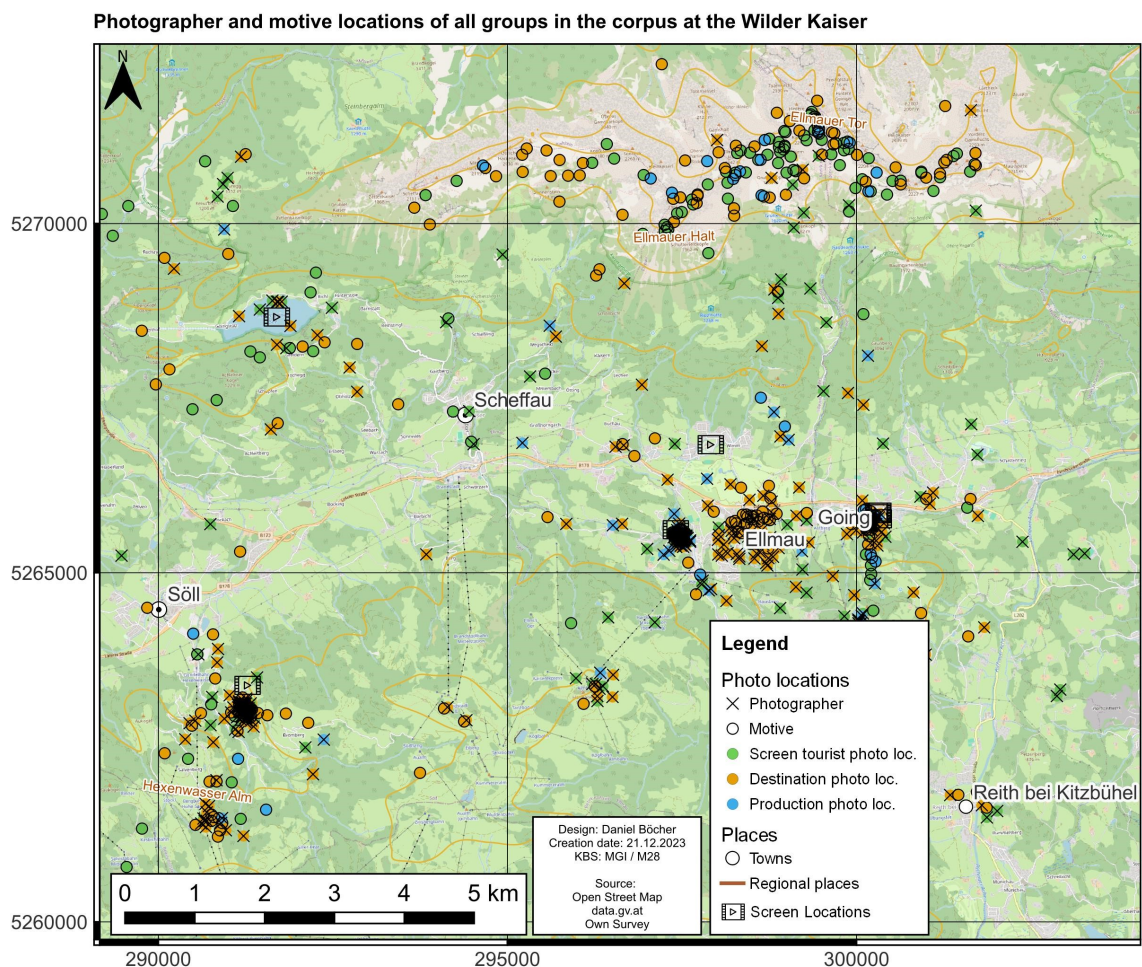


Figure 3.69: Positions of photographers and motives grouped by Screen Tourists, Destinations and Productions (source: own data).

diversity and a higher frequency of screen location. The corpus data shows a surprising lack of photos from Hintersteiner Lake and the hospital. Despite 19 interviewees spending significant time at Hintersteiner Lake, only twelve posts mentioned it, and it was photographed just 14 times (table 3.3). This lack of photos suggests that, although STs know about and visit the lake, they do not feel compelled to publish posts about it. Perhaps the photos were used outside of ST communications, and so the Boolean search could not identify them. As time and retention of STs is finite, they concentrate on the main locations. The same is true for the Poduction and only the Destination is more looking of the beaten path.

The absend screen locations The hospital set, over 50 km from the WK region, never appeared in any photos, despite being shown very often in the BD TV show (table 3.14). Even within WK, some screen locations were underrepresented. For instance, indoor shots of the hospital filmed in Wimm appeared in 112 scenes over 10 seasons but lacked photos or text mentions in the corpus.¹⁶⁹ Other overlooked screen locations include Lilli Gruber's school and the train station but they also appear less in TV show or were only important in older seasons. Hintersteiner lake, though less featured in recent seasons, still sees some social media activity. Scene counts (table 3.14) can indicate photo frequency in the destination but do not explain everything, as seen with the hospital and Hintersteiner lake screen locations.

Screen location	Scenes
Gruberhof	565
Bergdokter practice	457
Wilder Kaiser guesthouse	239
Panoramas:	
- Mountain	748
- Town	99
- City	60
Train station	6
Hintersteiner lake	18
School	43
Hospital	616

Table 3.14: Total scene count of BD screen locations from season 1 to 10 (source: own data).

¹⁶⁹ An attempt to explain why this major screen location in the TV show did not translate well into social media posts and photos was made in chapter 3.4.1 on page 147.

3.5 Summarized findings of the screen tourism co-production case study

Thick data and method mesh The screen product was analyzed using quantitative market share data (figure 3.20) together with a content analysis of Bergdoktor TV show locations (page 124). These insights were connected with a thick data analysis from Instagram follow-up communication: Quantitative social media data and trace interviews answers provided comprehensive insights. The quantitative data spanning from social media, to TV usage and operationalised film-geography are prominently featured in the answers to the case study questions. This chapter now is the sumerization of research question 2 and its subquestion. Only the strongest and most significant findings will be presented



Figure 3.70: A photo from a screen tourist that claims there were *many tourists* (Source: Instagram screenshot with post ID CDataSXBhvF).

Other tourists

Different Screen Tourists at the WK had completely different experiences when it comes to a crowded or empty screen location (Page 144). When looking at the screen locations in their photos and the dates they were published there was no indication of whether the perception is justified. Of course like in the theory chapter mentioned (page 67) tourists most of the time do not like other tourists and despise them even if they are doing exactly the same in the perspective of others. That could lead to over exaggerating the few tourists that are at a screen location. This seems the

case when looking at the photos of the album (e.g. in figure 3.70) and comparing it with the situation I found on the field trips to the WK (figure 3.73). And that you are alone at such a place is just a tourism illusion.¹⁷⁰ An illusion carried by the DMO fostering the projection of the WK image but also by the tourists themselves who are trying to avoid other tourists in their (public) photos about their holidays. The coprus photos tell the story (figure 3.26) of an empty destination that is just here for you.

¹⁷⁰ Another example: This illusion is chased by many as #lonelybeach is used more than 60 thousand times on Instagram (source: Instagram hashtag).

Beautiful landscape

The findings in chapter 3.4.1 on page 149 shows that the beauty of the WK destination motivated people to post photos, consistent with other tourism studies (e.g.: Aschenbrand 2017). From the beginning, tourism landscapes had to be scenic (page 45), and infrastructure was built to showcase this beauty (page 55). This result was expected, as beautiful landscapes generally drive ST. This is especially true for BD ST, which heavily relies on spectacular background shots for storytelling (figure 4.1), scene transitions (figure 3.9 (f)) and establishing shots (figure 3.77 (a)). The TV show's focus on the landscape and its beauty translates to the posting aesthetic of the STs communication. The motivation to become a ST remains with a compelling narrative but the choice of photo and perspective are certainly affected.

Better than expected

For STs, the WK often exceeds expectations (page 146) set by Instagram posts seen pre-travel. This positive outcome is probably linked to the Alpine region's image (page 49) and the BD series' portrayal, making it familiar yet exalted. The BD TV show apparently prepares viewers better for the trip as well as offering a broader perspective than marketing materials alone. With a mean of nine BD seasons consumed, STs feel well-acquainted with the WK (page 146 in chapter 3.4.1) beyond compressed and overly positive marketing messages and the stylized social media representations. Despite potentially exaggerated Instagram photos, the destination can often deliver more than expected. The DMO reacts to and leverages this with the hashtag #inechtnochschöner¹⁷¹ (Eng.: Even more beautiful in real life.), reinforcing that the WK exceeds expectations - and for STs this actually works.

Marketing hashtag #inechtnochschoener The DMO account @Wilder.kaiser created the hashtag #inechtnochschöner¹⁷² (Engl.: "Even more beautiful in real life").¹⁷³ This hashtag emphasizes that the true beauty of WK cannot be captured through media — you must experience it firsthand. It suggests prior medialized contact with the WK before visiting, contrasting the "real" destination with its media portrayals. Both the BD TV show and social media offer different kind of medialized experiences, yet are often used in tandem, far from the actual destination. This marketing slogan ties into the discourse on media and tourism, highlighting the blend of fact and fiction in tourism promotion and memory.

¹⁷¹Explained in chapter 3.4.2 on page 164.

¹⁷²It is, of course, a marketing slogan and that is its whole meaning at the end but maybe it is also the most visible expression of a deeper pattern.

¹⁷³More info about the usage description on page 164.

Background screen tourism communication

For Destination accounts, ST communication happens subtly in the background¹⁷⁴, unlike Production accounts which emphasize it. The dominant subgroup of Production is BD actors, whose presence is tied to the show, making it pointless to hide it. STs on the other have a different reason with the same result as they are transparent and eager to show their fandom on Instagram. This is different for Destinations as they aim to reach diverse audiences. In ST communication they accomplish that by using obscured ST communication, trying to make posts entertaining for all (page 202). This background communication relies on mostly hashtags (e.g.: figure 3.39) and ambiguous text (e.g.: figure 3.38), and sometimes photos that speak for themselves (e.g. figure 3.71).

Maximize the reach with broad message Destination accounts use subtle ST messages to reach a broad audience, avoiding niche targeting. Although the BD has a large fandom in the DACH-region and beyond as it is one of the most successful austrian-german TV shows but for tourism marketing, it still remains a special interest group (cf. Kick-Media 2021; ZDF Medienforschung 2025). Thus, the Destination posts often appeal to general tourists while subtly signaling to BD fans (figure 3.39 or 3.71).

Serendipitous screen tourists on screen locations The findings proof that you can reach BD fans with subtle ST communication without deterring regular tourists. This aligns with how ST typically works: The link between a screen product and a place is mostly not obvious to most tourists unless they have seen the screen product. Serendipitous ST occurs frequently because of that. STs have a deeper connection to a screen location making them actively seek them out. All of that while regular tourists just stumble upon them (through on-sight markers, page 52) and start to get invested from there. As the hints are subtle they might only see an old Austrian farmhouse in the BD practice screen location unless they become viewers of the BD



Figure 3.71: A photo of a car in the winter with a special meaning for Mountain Doctor fans (source: Screenshot from Instagram account @jodlhof with post ID CI2wOEKjPFP)

¹⁷⁴Also in Master thesis about the "ST of Game of Thrones in Dubrovnik" I found this phenomenon of subliminal ST communication.

TV show.

Connection through the same theme The themes of home, belonging, the joy of coming home and feelings of security are deeply emotional human experiences. These are central themes (leitmotif) of the BD TV show and can be leveraged in posts. Even with subliminal ST communication, using these themes (as explained on 164) can create a stronger connection to the BD show than hashtags, character/actor mentions or screen location photos. By tapping into these fundamental emotions, posts like figure 3.34 (a), (b) and (d) could bridge the gap and subliminal connection can be more impactful.

A tangible event beside the screen locations

The set-up and organization of the fan fest at Hexenwasser Alp (page 169) illustrates how screen locations function in WK. It is one of the few WK spaces that get depicted outside the traditional few screen locations. These 3 main screen locations are by far the most popular spots for STs (map 3.67), with few other attractions. The heat map and geotags (figure 5.6) show that the influence of these screen locations beyond its immediate vicinity is limited regionally. To draw STs to other spaces, additional artificial attractions like gift shops (Filmshop-Ellmau), fan fests (Bergdoktor-Fantage) and plaques (Ellmauer Sterne) are necessary.¹⁷⁵

Creating artificial ST spaces

The Ellmauer Stars (figure 3.72) demonstrate that STs will visit artificially created ST places. Modeled after the Hollywood Walk of Fame, this attraction in WK features star plaques in Ellmau's Kapellen park, with notable figures like the oldest actor of the BD Siegfried Rauch honored. Although not an actual screen location, the attraction provides an off-location space loosely connected to the BD TV show. The

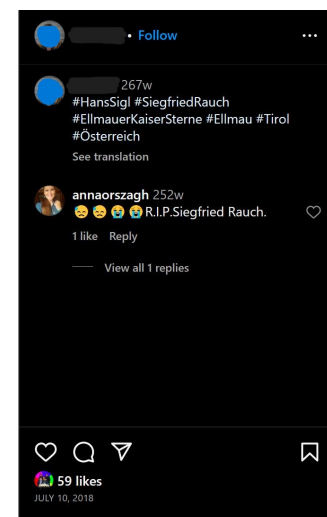


Figure 3.72: Screen tourist post of the *Ellmauer Sterne*, the Tyrolean version of the Hollywood Walk of Fame (source: Instagram screenshot with post ID B1DiNoYBRRk).

¹⁷⁵The WK did not as of today go as far as establishing a real BD Disneyland but there are other examples in the history of film and television as explained on page 82.

real death of a BD actor inspired the theme of the post in figure 3.72 and made the STs go to the Ellmauer stars. Over more than a decade of the BD show a few artificial places were established in the region like ice sculptures (figure 2.20) or a parking lot (figure 2.21). While not hugely successful, the existence of such posts indicates STs' connection to these places, suggesting a potential broader, less visible ST going to these places¹⁷⁶.

The neglected town of Scheffau

Scheffau am Wilden Kaiser is one of the four major towns in the WK region, as defined by the DMO (page 129), but this is not reflected in ST communication on Instagram, not even fully for Destination accounts. Unlike Söll (Grubertshof), Ellmau (BD practice) and Going (town square with the WK Guesthouse, pharmacy, and church), Scheffau lacks a major BD screen location. It also has a scenic disadvantage, because it is on the *wrong* side of the WK valley. Even the minor screen location, Hintersteiner See relatively close to Scheffau, is not really promoted. The town is probably hardly visible in the background of many shots from the main locations across the valley. Scheffau lacks all of the above which supports the theory on page 153 that a good view is not everything - you still need an attractive foreground as in a screen location. This all implies that screen products dictate ST communication popularity, not DMO strategy. Decisions about successful screen locations are made by the BD show's writers, directors and location scouts. Thus, Scheffau remains overlooked by STs, who find no connection to the show or its characters. The Destination accounts also surrendered in creating tangible connections for the STs. But actually it might be like Urry wrote in the "The Tourist Gaze" that the tourist are at the end the ones that decide because for them only a certain sort of countryside is attractive to be visited. (cf. Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 87ff) With the label of attractiveness it is again mostly mediatized so we end up in a circle where one influences the other without clear beginning. But it creates clear losers as the spaces that are out of the loop to begin with get neglected even more.

Screen Tourism communication in relation

The analysis in chapter 3.4 with the RQ 2 and 3 show that only STs benefit from ST communication. When STs post about their experiences in the WK, they receive more interactions than with other content. Destination accounts, however, see stagnation with ST communication, and Production accounts get less attention for ST posts compared to other content. This trend suggests that ST communication is not universally and automatically successful. While detailed numbers are complex, the

¹⁷⁶As seen with Hintersteiner Lake for example.

chosen mean metric highlights that ST communication's impact varies, benefiting STs but not necessarily others. ST communication might be just more singular and special for the STs' followers as the ST experience itself is an extraordinary leisure activity.

Millennial accounts profit In particular, the accounts of @andreagerhard_tall_area and @ronjaforcher perform very well. They are partially benefiting from their age, as they are part of the millennial cohort. This makes them part of the first Internet-affine generation. Social media posts are a natural thing for this generation which means that the followers are more likely to have a social media account, follow and interact with poster. Being part of this generation (page 117) as an account could explain parts of the success.

Marketing yourself

Figure 3.47 proves, that Production accounts focus on their bodies and faces, similar to influencer accounts in the ST group. This is expected since actors and influencers market themselves as commodities, using social media to promote their personal brand. This posting behavior was expected for these kinds of accounts. The actors leverage their involvement in the BD narrative and WK screen locations to create ST communication that enhances their brand. Additionally, actors as influencers promote other products and projects, like for example their latest single (page 179), wrapping the marketing message in ST communication. ST influencers not involved in the screen production also profit with ST communication from the BD and WK image when they market themselves. Thus, ST communication can serve as a vehicle for marketing attractions, personal brands and commercial products to the BD fandom on the digital plane.

Work where others go on vacay

Most of the time, when actors write about their work (page 178), it sounds like a holiday — a tradition dating back to early Hollywood Westerns (page 59). This connection is more natural when filming in touristy places like WK. For actress @ronjaforcher on page 178 or @sigl_hans in figure 2.13, work and vacation merge in their social media posts. For viewers, it is the opposite: watching the TV show or social media posts is a break from work, and visiting the screen locations where others worked on the screen product becomes a vacation surrounded by the working tourism industry. This mix of vacation and work in actors' posts is part of an influencer-style marketing agenda, while for STs, it is another (post modern) blend of different worlds found at these spaces.

Screen location actors

As shown on page 125, most BD characters have designated locations. This extends beyond the fictional narrative, when for example, the new BD's medical assistant, *Mrs. Kemper*, is mostly seen at the BD practice (page 182) - both inside the show but also in posts on Instagram. Her narrative role influences ST communication on Instagram, facilitated by the actors: Actors film primarily in their character's designated screen locations, spending significant time there and becoming personally connected. Consequently, their digital ST communication often reflects these physical positions. The BD narrative confines actors to specific locations, determining the screen locations they primarily feature in their posts. This narrative influence extends to what both STs and actors publish but both are constrained by either the production process for the actors and the fictional narrative for STs.

The elite of Bergdoktor screen tourism communication

Figure 3.55 in chapter 3.4.4 shows that follower quantity greatly influences reach on Instagram. Once you reach a certain high number of followers established accounts make it easier to get content in front of more users, creating an elite with more control over Instagram communication. Production accounts, especially actors with large followings like @hans_sigl, @ronjaforcher and @markkeller_official, dominate ST communication. This dominance is typical for social media and is explained technically by Instagram's algorithm design.¹⁷⁷ Thus, actors have an advantage not just from followers but from dedicated fans, making it challenging for regular STs and regional Destination accounts to compete. This advantage is strong even if they would have the same follower numbers. And it is the screen product after all that sets in motion the phenomenon of screen tourism in the first place. This is giving the Production accounts an a priori advantage. They get a head start in time and knowledge against the other not involved stakeholders.

Concentration on screen locations

The corpus data focuses on three main screen locations across different analytical dimensions: Grubertshof in Söll, the BD practice in Ellmau, and the town square in Going. STs and Destinations rated the popularity of these screen locations in the trace interviews similarly to the corpus findings. STs visit other screen locations like Hintersteiner Lake, often staying longer (table 3.3), but they post less. The choice of what to post is influenced by the dominance of the few main screen locations and their importance in the narrative. In the BD TV show which repeatedly features a

¹⁷⁷For example, the TikTok algorithm works differently so that the distribution of content does not depend solely on the number of people who follow the account (TikTok Newsroom 2020).

few screen locations (page 124) similar to daily soaps and sitcoms. The story and the use of screen locations have enormous influence of what the ST communication depicts. Fans become familiar with these locations' interiors and exteriors, which can aid the DMO in directing STs and giving them a sense of security. The BD TV show does not so much influence how all the groups depict ST but more what they choose to publish. With that the screen product becomes a kind of agenda setter for places of ST communication at the WK.

The priming of the outdoors

The TV series is dominated by outdoor shots (page 123), emphasizing the mountain panorama, which draws STs' attention at the destination to the mountainscape and the outside. Despite some interviewees expressing disappointment about closed rooms at the BD practice screen location¹⁷⁸, this again still reinforces the influential power of the screen product because inside photos increase when inside scenes are featured. The BD practice screen location is one of the rare cases where there are more scenes inside than outside (table 3.2). You can actually see the line of people wanting to go inside the BD practice in this photo in figure 3.73. Despite the BD practice screen location, one of the rare indoor-focused sets, the show's focus on outdoor scenes shapes Instagram posts. Generally, the series' outdoor vibe is mirrored in all corpus photos, aligning with the DMO's image of an alpine holiday in the exalted natural mountains (page 49).



Figure 3.73: Even in bad weather conditions a long queue forms in front of the Mountain Doctor's practice (source: own photo).

The endless summer of screen tourism communication Winter is not prominent in WK's ST communication (page 179), despite each early BD season having one specially branded winter episode. While there's a slight increase in winter-related words (page 189), visually, winter is almost absent. The few winter entries in the corpus do not reflect the importance of winter tourism for the region. In BD's ST

¹⁷⁸Example on page 145 with post ID B24EWo4ihK1.

communication, WK is portrayed as always sunny, green and warm, with summer photos of places and people dominating (e.g.: figure 3.74). This aligns with ST travel dates, Destination account expertise of the trace interviews and summer terms in descriptions of corpus posts. Most BD episodes are produced in summer, rarely showing snow-covered pastures, influencing the aesthetics of ST communication on Instagram. An even when snow is occasionally visible it is rarely part of the narrative, except in the winter special where it is incorporated but framed as anomaly and as something special for the BD. The strong influence of the TV show on the choice of Screen Tourists communication on Instagram becomes quite obvious. The priming of the BD as summer show, influences ST communication beyond what is set as the go to screen locations. This is not only changing the photographer position but when STs arrive at the WK or what weather is suitable for a screen location tour.



Figure 3.74: An example of a summer post by a Screen Tourist in front of the Gruberhof (source: Instagram screenshot with post ID CQYFv10tRpp).

Disadvantage for winter attractions Winter is a neglected part of the BD screen product (page 127) and this contrasts sharply with the importance of winter tourism for the WK and Tyrol. This imbalance of the TV show is reflected in its Instagram posts. This limited focus on winter makes it harder for winter attractions to join screen tourism co-production. Some accounts still try to connect to ST communication with limited success: For example, the ski operator account (skiweltwilderkaiserbrixental) appears only three times¹⁷⁹ over the course of the content analysis (page 115), despite being one of the main attractions in the region. Overall, only about 14 % of all analyzed photos of the corpus show winter scenes. Among Screen Tourists even fewer than 7 % of posts depict winter as Destination accounts show more winter content with about 29 %.

Professional content

The dimension of professionalism cuts through all groups (page 201). ST accounts span the entire spectrum, while Production accounts appear more professional but often styled to seem like private content. Destination accounts generally maintain a

¹⁷⁹Two posts relate to the summer fan fest (post IDs B2T5T-EoCtu and BntY6Z0nIEt), while one features an actual winter ice sculpture event with a Mountain Doctor motif (post ID B8lCsJFjF0v).

professional demeanor but this is also influenced by account size. The best explanation for the professionalism dimension is probably the size and reach of the account in the different groups. Larger and more successful accounts use best practices to create professional content (page 160), which includes:

- 360 degrees (post IDs CFMPNCDFpTe and CHhna20FQFz)
- Are very well photographed (post ID ByZcZ6wl350)
- Layered foreground and background (post IDw CGISQbsnnff and Bns4QqGhwk2)
- depth of field (post IDs Bx4FMVfl_uW, B5Htm5_Iqi4 and COuMoqOqVtO)
- warm colors (post IDs CIX8qSUFyPD, CIJCUnH0Lx and CDwJi4hlPX) spectacular views
 - night views of the town (post ID B7To0xAqbfm)
 - at sunset (post ID CM2rXpIgYAj)
 - from a drone (post ID BntY6Z0nIEt).

With these techniques and the elite advantage, they dominate ST communication on Instagram (page 192). Influencers and Production accounts, while sometimes appearing private, engage in professional communication because influencing is a business after all. Most influencers, as well as Destination and Production accounts, produce professional posts motivated by business incentives, whereas smaller accounts or regular STs post more personal and emotionally driven content (page 201). Actors' professional content leading the way as the ST communication with the highest reach but the actual aesthetic divide is between large, professional accounts and smaller, private ones.

The product in the photo

The actors take center stage, with minimal screen production as background (page 177). Fans expect this self-promotion, similar to influencers, because that is why they are following actors on Instagram and this does not change with publishing ST content. For Destination accounts, the focus is on selling a place or service and not themselves per se: Promoting attractions, accommodations and in a broader sense also the alpine landscapes. Regular STs may not sell anything specific but maybe their social and fan status to others. They steer towards being an influencer when they get bigger (page 213), shifting from regular tourists (e.g.: figure 3.25 (a) - (d)) to become the product themselves (e.g.: figure 3.23 (a) - (f)). They do that by pushing themselves and their bodies more and more into the foreground of the photo. As they themselves become the product, the actual ST communication moves simultaneously out of focus and only serves to transport the marketing message.

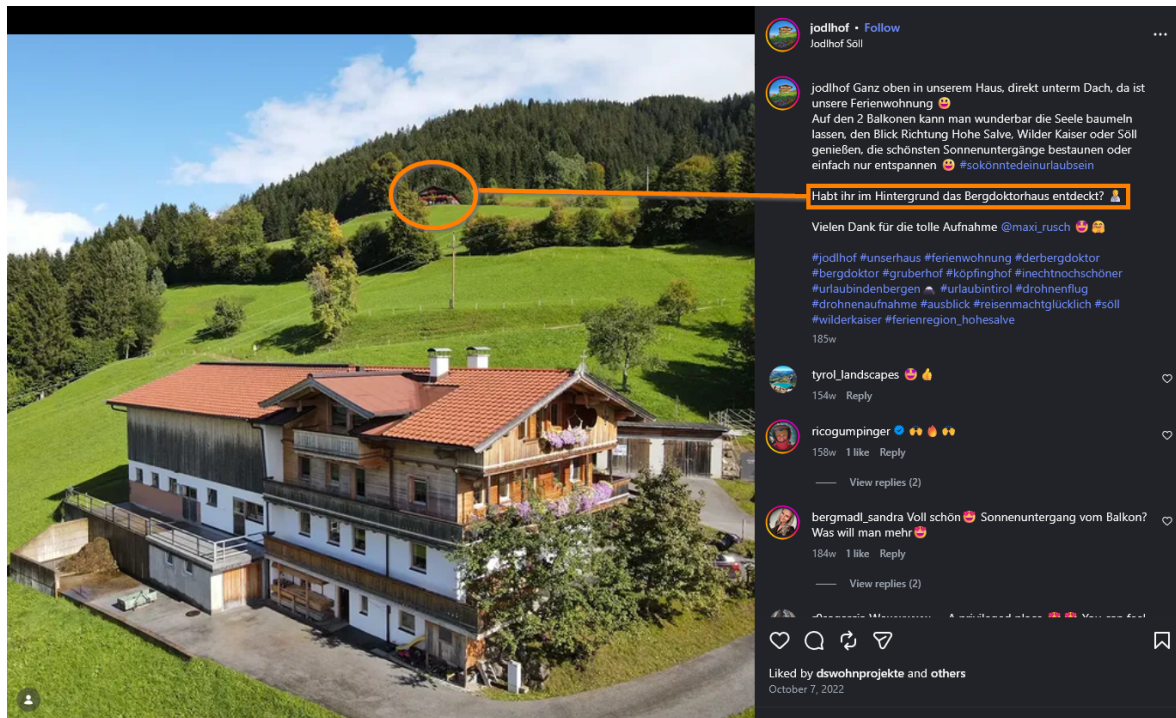


Figure 3.75: A hotel adjacent to the Gruberhof screen location with a real connection to screen tourism communication (Source: screenshot from Instagram from jodlhof with post ID CjbEu5yL2ka).

Highjacking screen tourism communication

It is easy to join Mountain Doctor ST co-production on Instagram, and some accounts exploit this! Posts from any place without at least one connection (in photo, account, caption, geotag or mention) to the screen product and region (like figure 3.75) are not considered exploiting like figure 3.76 does. But posts that lack a significant connection¹⁸⁰ to the screen product or its locations are just hijacking the ST communication without contributing. Businesses could gain even a profit from such a method linking their posts to ST themes. This behaviour is not common in the corpus¹⁸¹ and therefore not a lot of posts are considered exploiting. A clear link between the post with the screen product and destination signals genuine ST communication and the fact that it could be business driven and is an advertising does not diminish that. Some local accounts exploit ST communication by relying only on hashtags without real content links: For example the estate agent (figure 3.76) or from a local hotel @_hagenhof_ (post ID COKthgIDdHU). Even with regional proximity like

¹⁸⁰They still have used the keywords somewhere in the description, than otherwise they would not have gotten past the boolean search filter.

¹⁸¹Actually most of the accounts of the case study, be it Influencers (page 138), Production accounts like the ZDF (post ID B6094hLq_sl) or the other Destination accounts (page 168) are all advertising something - beeing themselves or a tourism product.

in figure 3.76, weak content connections suggest they are just trying to piggy back ST communication placing their unrelated messages. Some posts from the Production like in figure 3.47 (j)¹⁸² also promote unrelated content while using ST hashtags. Similar behavior appeared for STs when they linked unrelated travel photos (post ID CP-GA14F1_4) through hashtags to the ST of the Mountain Doctors (page 114). All of these examples from the different cases study groups lack visual and textual ties to the BD show and the WK screen locations. In such cases, only hashtags connect the post like figure 3.76 to ST communication and that is not enough. Highjacking in the corpus was mostly witnessed from Destination accounts that probably feel entitled to participate in ST communication because of regional proximity to the screen locations.

The exalted background

The WK mountain range is for all groups¹⁸³ a key feature in ST communication (map 3.12). All groups agree on the central photo motive being the WK mountains between Ellmauer Halt and Ellmauer Tor (figure 5.14), alongside the main screen locations' buildings. At Gruberhof (figure 3.30), the higher altitude offers breathtaking panoramic views that lets you easily connect to the exalted feeling of alpine photography. But this is a feeling the WK destination can evoke throughout the valley due to the visibility of its dominant mountain range. The striking mountain range of the Wilder Kaiser (eng.: Wilde Emperor) that gave the region its name is also leaving its mark on the screen product that transports it into ST communication. The screen locations perfectly combine these stunning backgrounds with the fame of a TV location.

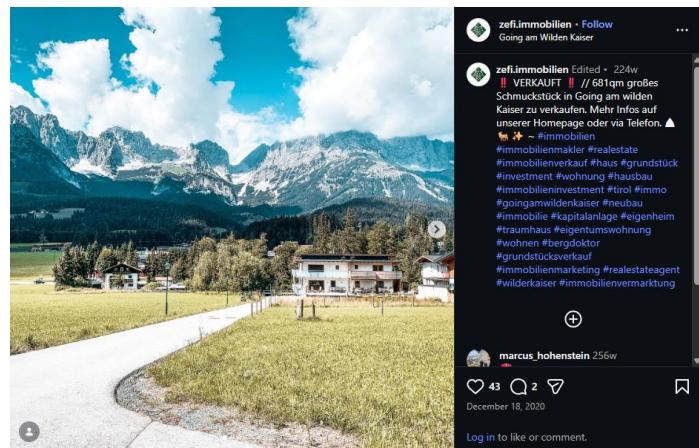


Figure 3.76: A photo of the Wilder Kaiser mountain range with no certain connection to the Mountain Doctor screen product (Source: Screenshot from Instagram from zefi.immobilien with post ID CI-HxgfDvkr).

¹⁸²Here the connection to the BD is valid through the account.

¹⁸³See page 311 for the STs, 173 for the Destination and 311 for the Production

Holidays in your head

The theory shows ST is closely tied to emotions (page 49), fantasy (page 53) and creates mental maps. The hashtag #Urlaubimkopf (eng.: holiday in your head) perfectly encapsulates this (page 168), though it does not increase post reach due to its specificity. This hashtag resonates with the WK community as well as the theories of Reijnders imaginative heritage. Also, potential STs, having mentally traveled to WK through the TV show, are represented by this. When they are physically visiting the WK the destination triggers emotions and fantasies, that yet again are only happening within your mind. This exemplifies the metaphysical experience in a nutshell that we so often encounter in a post modern world The postmodern destination is neither false nor true, but on a spectrum, simultaneously true and false.

The variation of the photographer is lost by the motive

Comparing them shows that motives are more clustered than the photographer points. The photographer sees a greater variety by moving around, but the published motive is what followers see on Instagram. Thus, the diversity of the photographer's points is often lost to the dominant motives. The strong images of screen locations and the WK mountain range, tied to a TV show's narrative and emotions, overshadow the photographer's unique photo location. This is of course only the case when photographer and motive points are far away from each other (e.g.: figure 3.34 (c)) and not within a very short walking distance (figure 3.53). Mostly it is with panorama photos that the photographer position gets diminished (figure 3.27). Especially when in the BD screen product the motive is so dominating and singular the perspective of the photographer has an even harder stand.

Convergence of authenticity and fiction

Famous actors and big influencers share much in common (page 191). Both sell themselves as a product, with influencers appearing more authentic and actors more fantasy-driven. But are they really authentic? While actors are mostly able to clearly separate fiction from real life (figure 3.51), influencers often blur these lines by staging everyday authenticity (figure 3.59) mixed with occasional sponsorships (figure 3.23 (c)).¹⁸⁴ This convergence of staged authenticity and fiction is an integral part of ST communication and on screen locations. Within their influencer personas, they combine the staged authenticity of reality with the fiction of the perfect life. Influencers and actors seamlessly fit into social media, ST and the intersection of real destinations and fictional universes.

¹⁸⁴At the end it might more clear what is real and what is fiction for the actor when he takes the stage than the influencers' life that is a stage.

Weaknesses and general suggestions about future research

Weaknesses By focusing on "Der Bergdoktor" (Barth 2008) and the Wilder Kaiser region, this research only adds to the growing body of literature on how specific media products can promote tourism. The primary limitation of the case study is that it is geographically concentrated in the WK region, which limits the generalizability of the findings.¹⁸⁵ In addition, the reliance on self-reported data from tourists through the trace interview method introduces potential biases related to the demographic and behavioral characteristics of social media users. These may include social desirability bias and recall bias, which seems very relevant when looking at the single respondent for the Production accounts.

What science could do Despite addressing weaknesses, future research should conduct more longitudinal studies to understand the development of screen tourism. The long-term developments here refer more to the historical trajectories of ST and the shared historical evolution of media and tourism, rather than to an examination of ST as a modern phenomenon and its long-term implications for case studies and their associated screen products, destinations and stakeholders. The various key moments, objects and subjects in this long-term development trajectory could be for example situated within the continuum between reality and hyperreality in Baudrillard's philosophy (Baudrillard 2001) and additional writings. Or other studies could trace in detail the evolution from film tourism to screen tourism (expand on page 11) and explore possible future forms. Researchers could also examine the role of emerging technologies, like virtual and augmented reality, in enhancing (screen) tourism experiences or inducing tourism from home. It would be interesting to see if these technologies can induce tourism similarly or how the paradox of traveling to a real-world destination for a virtual experience might play out.

Contributions to the body of screen tourism research

Knowledge about the everyday and extraordinary Social media is a ubiquitous tool used for everything, including daily life (page 89). It offers a way to gather data on specific everyday habits, attitudes or emotions, often overlooked and hard to obtain. Results show that social media captures both the extraordinary and the everyday, niche habits and zeitgeist developments. Seeing Bergdoktor actor Hans Sigl at fan fest is extraordinary (figure 3.54), while parking in the BD lot is ordinary (figure 2.21). Social media's omnipresence includes all agent groups, providing diverse perspectives on ST communication and enriching the final data. The study showed that everyday knowledge in the destination is disrupted because almost all stakeholders

¹⁸⁵What this work tries to counterbalance with the intertwining of the historical development of media and tourism into the case study findings to generalize them (chapter 4).

frame the screen locations as places of fiction where local reality plays a diminishing role. The screen productions have not only completely taken over some of the spaces, transformed others and influenced the surrounding areas, but the combined social media posts of all stakeholders have also created simulated knowledge. The dissemination of the posts produces a media reality that may end up cementing these changes through mediatizing the destination in the future. (page 239).

New insights about interconnection of screen tourism stakeholders Studies have largely examined individual stakeholders of (Screen) Tourists, Destination and (Media) Production, but this work viewed them all as interconnected aspects of the same phenomenon. In this regard, ST research is much further along than studies on social media tourism: In my literature review, there is a split between 20 studies focused solely on the destination and 34 studies focused on the tourist side. Reijnders et. all work in Reijnders 2011, van Es et al. 2021 or Reijnders, Boross, and Balan 2022 are the biggest advocats of the interconnection of these different actors in the theory of media tourism co-production (page 39). Exactly like Reijnders in his original co-production categories in figure 2.8 this work is not looking at a few selected actors but all important groups involved in the ST off- and online (page 41). These groups of stakeholders interact on different levels - user generated content, inducing traveling, reposts or simply interactions - but on social media they have a supposedly almost equal playing field. Results showed all groups focus on the three main screen locations (Gruberhof, BD practice and town square) and the motive Wilder Kaiser mountain range, with minor differences. Production and some Screen Tourists used an influencer aesthetic putting themselves into the photo, which the Destination never did. It was instead more focused on landscapes and main screen locations, rarely showing tourists present at these sights.¹⁸⁶ This is an example of that comparing the different groups, is revealing insights of ST communication that would otherwise be impossible to identify. This work explored post-production communication on social networks, generating new knowledge about the ongoing influence of the Production and other stakeholders. Actors dominate the Production's screen tourism communication. They are presenting their work as a vacation (page 213) and creating a tourist utopia for fans.¹⁸⁷

Distilled findings of the case study

Diverse photo compositions Screen Tourists, Destinations and Production accounts on social media differ in photo compositions. Production accounts but mostly actors focus on self-promotion, centering on themselves (page 213). Destination

¹⁸⁶This hints at the urban-rural divide explained on page 56.

¹⁸⁷Similar to what happened in old Hollywood with the production of Western (page 59).

accounts highlight the region, landscape and attractions with professional looking photos (page 216) but still staying more true to life than the other case study groups. Regular ST, apart from influencers (who act like most Production accounts), showcase beautiful landscapes (page 209) while integrating themselves into the TV show's fictional world, blending Destination and Production styles. These different compositions kind of reflect their roles in society and social media. They still seem to be inspired by a single source in the stills of the Mountain Doctor TV show.

Similar post content The corpus showed three common aspects among different stakeholders. First, the focus is on a few screen locations like Gruberhof, the Mountain Doctor practice and Going's town square (page 214). Second, most photos were taken outdoors (page 215), highlighting the destination landscape, especially in summer (page 215). The winter ski season is therefore less featured (page 189). Lastly, many photos have the WK mountain range in the background (page 219). These three de-differentiation trends originate from the TV show's narrative, which uses few screen locations (page 124), relies on outdoor summer shots (page 123) and emphasizes the mountain range (page 204) in the story scenes as well as transition shots. As the similarities are defined by the screen product, the differences (page 222) arise from stakeholders' roles and use of social media. So ST communication is partially influenced by either the screen product and social media but always by media and the screen.

Influencer accounts The analysis quickly revealed (page 138) a major difference between two types of accounts among stakeholders: some screen tourists and actors behaved like influencers. This divided these groups into subgroups or actually a new cross-sectional influencer group. While the difference between influencer/actor and regular ST/production crew is intriguing for future research, it was not the focus of this work. These Influencer accounts were promoting themselves as the Destination was promoting itself (page 213), making successful screen tourism posts predominantly feel like advertisements. This led to staged authenticity and hyperreal posts (page 201), further blurring reality and accelerating the shift into simulation.

The prime example for screen tourism success The Mountain Doctor TV series exemplifies a screen product with high ST potential. Its genre evokes an emotional desire for belonging and nature (page 119), set against the background of exalted Alps. With the mountains as one of the archetypes of landscapes (the beach as another example), they have a recognizable feature that almost everyone can relate to. The transition shots (table 3.2) between scenes use panoramic and drone shots of the Wilder Kaiser region. They transfer the metaphor of the landscape to the narrative, as it becomes an actor in its own right, worthy of worship as much as the main characters. The show focuses on exterior shots (page 123) with the WK mountain

range mostly in the background - its most valuable asset. Also, certain actors are anchored to certain locations (page 125) transferring their stories and characters traits onto the screen location which increases the possible appeal who are fans of specific BD characters for screen tourists. Picturesque sceneries, recurring on-screen locations and resonant narratives about family, love and belonging turn viewers easily into tourists. This success of BD ST, both online and on TV, has sustained for over 17 years, with no end in sight.



Figure 3.77: (a) Scene at the Mountain Doctor's practice with mountain scenery (source: screenshot from season 4 episode 4). (b) Photo of a screen tourist in front of the same screen location (source: Instagram with post ID CGNnFd7DbIJ).

Strong influence on Instagram photos The power of the inducing screen product became evident through the method of the photographer-subject triangle analysis. Three main screen locations and the famous WK mountain range emerged as dominant photo spots (page 214). The main screen locations of the Gruberhof, BD practice and town square had a lot of different photographer and motive points. The fourth hot spot above the WK mountain range, though, just had motive points. This methodical separation presented the difference between the photos and highlighted their function. With the screen locations frequently in the foreground (near the photographer point) and the mountain range in the background (as motive), they were mirroring the TV show (e.g. figure 3.77). Key story locations of the narrative are the most photographed on Instagram. The show's outdoor emphasis turns the landscape into an additional character, making it fundamental to the narrative. This is attracting tourists to these natural sites, which became visible in the digital network

plane (page 215). The visual worlds of the TV show start the journey (figure 3.77 (a)), continuing through with the tourist gaze and ending up in social media posts (figure 3.77 (b)). In the End they are all connected by signs and symbols, creating higher-order simulacra.

Chapter 4

Contemplation of screen tourism development and its co-production

Evidence of the development in the media tourism nexus The additive structure of the reflections in chapter 4 emerges from the theoretical strands identified in the literature. It also reflects the postmodern trajectory of path dependencies within the tourism–media nexus. The developments discussed in chapter 2.3.2 — including media proliferation, digitalisation, increased connectivity, screen propagation, touristification and the shift in authenticity — produce a range of outcomes. These disparate outcomes converge through the core theories outlined in chapter 2.3.1, forming a coherent yet complex interpretation: First, chapter 4.1 examines the ongoing meta-processes and the current state of tourism and media development. Second, chapter 4.2 discusses the method of screen tourism co-production. Finally, these developments are analysed through the lens of Baudrillard's philosophy. Viewed through the method, the meta-processes and the philosophical framework, the additive strands become evidence of the contemporary world.

4.1 Consequences of the development of screen tourism

The romantic illusion of the holiday utopia

Holidays create ideal conditions for screen tourism, as fans can engage more openly with their fandom than in everyday life. "The structures and rhetoric of being 'on vacation' support acting as a fan in ways that 'everyday life' does not," writes Abby Waysdorf (van Es et al. 2021, p. 291). In destinations such as the Wilder Kaiser, shaped by productions like the Mountain Doctor, tourists embrace both the freedom of the holiday and the narrative worlds they admire, creating a utopian space in which fandom can be performed without shame. (cf. Ibid., p. 291 + 292) This utopia

created in the destination by screen tourism is fertile sole for the simulacra to grow. It is not like Hyperreality overruns us but as (post) tourists we actually wish it comes into our lives via holidays. This tourist utopia is also a romantic illusion: tourism and cinema both promised direct, unmediated encounters with places, cultures and fictional worlds. Ellen Strain states that "visual technologies have always been at the heart of these," with travel and cinema sharing the "illusion of demediating mediation (Strain 2003, p. 3)". Media and tourism share the fantasy of erasing mediation, even though they depend on it. In a postmodern context, however, tourists do not necessarily reject this simulation; rather, they desire it. (cf. Ibid., p. 3; Tzanelli 2007 p. 5) Already living within an "irreferential world [...] of a continuous simulation that envelops us (Filippo 2022, p. 45)", they seek nostalgic romantic holiday utopias in which hyperreality can be willingly experienced - just like at the Wilder Kaiser.

The plot induces screen tourism not the landscape

Television and tourism share a focus on spectacle. There is demand for it in both contexts¹ but connecting the two requires more than beautiful landscapes. (cf. Crouch 2005, p. 170) In Mansson's book (Månsson et al. 2020, p. 179) Brereton writes about Star Wars and Ireland Screen Tourism: "[...] plots and locations are interrelated and emotional connections are formed between the viewer and the spectacle. This conjunction between place and plot remains especially resonant [...]." This is true for major franchises like Star Wars (Lucas 1977) when an unnecessary sequence is shot in Dubrovnik but largely forgotten.² It also applies to smaller TV productions like the Mountain Doctor case study: Main screen locations (table 3.2) with plot-heavy developments and beloved characters are among the most visited (table 3.3) screen tourism places at the Wilder Kaiser destination. All spectacle and beautiful landscapes cannot compete with an engaging plot that draws the viewer's attention beyond the screen.

Authenticity is on its last footing

Rural production logic and simulated nature The Mountain Doctor show constructs the Wilder Kaiser landscape as a central element of its rural production logic (page 133), using the alpine scenery not only as background but also to symbolize characters emotions, transitions between scene (page 122) and to reinforce the rural setting

¹Spectacular transition shots in the Mountain Doctor TV show (figure 3.9 (f) on page 124) as well as panorama photos of the Wilder Kaiser mountain range in almost every Screen Tourism post from the Wilder Kaiser (figure 3.30 on page 153 or 204).

²Sure I am talking about the soleless Casino scene in Star Wars VIII. Besides this scene they also shot on Skellig Michael in Ireland which was a huge success and they wrote about it in the chapter "Representations of a green Ireland" in Månsson et al. 2020 on page 176ff.



Figure 4.1: The Mountain Doctor often travels to patients in rural settings, some of which are located in the midst of nature (Source: ZDF screenshot from Episode "Hoffnung").

(figure 4.1). While television production often favors controllable indoor settings, Mountain Doctor repeatedly foregrounds outdoor scenes together with the exalted Wilder Kaiser mountain range despite indoor settings being mostly available (table 3.2). Such use aligns with strategies identified by Robert Fish, who notes that rural imagery offers urban audiences visual access to nature: "a massive majority of people who watch the television live in inner cities, and do not see a green field from one day to the next," suggests a script editor: "so you know, you're looking to create those opportunities (Crouch 2005, p. 128)." This is making the landscape recognizable to fans as a key component of both the show and the destination (page 141). However, this landscape and the nature depicted is highly selective and simulated: It usually appears calm, aesthetically pleasing and warm (page 127), while adverse weather, rain and snow remain marginal despite the alpine setting (page 179). This one-sided imagery resembles high-concept tourism marketing and becomes visible in Instagram communication, where both Screen Tourists (figure 3.77) and tourism professionals reproduce similar motives of the Wilder Kaiser region. In this sense, the screen product, social media and the destination itself contribute to a homogenized and mediatized version of nature (figure 3.26 and 2.22), reflecting a broader postmodern tendency of de-differentiation. Since industrialization the Alps, the Wilder Kaiser region and Mountain Doctor screen location photos all reflect the trend to shape nature into carefully managed scenic landscapes for tourism (page 45

or 47). Like other controlled tourist nature experiences³ described by Leather and Gibson, the Wilder Kaiser landscape is presented as a return to nature while remaining carefully managed, commodified and predictable. Thus, the Mountain Doctor screen landscape and screen tourism communication do not simply represent nature, but simulate a nostalgic and hyperreal version of it that may feel more familiar to already mediatized tourists than the physical landscape itself. (cf. Leather and Gibson 2019, p. 80ff)

Artificial events It became clear in the case study that Screen Tourists do not primarily seek authenticity, but the materialized fiction in screen locations. The destination responds by creating artificial spaces (page 211) and meta fan events⁴ (page 211). Additional infrastructure such as a branded parking lot (figure 2.21) or gift shops (page 211) expands fandom beyond the screen locations while regulating tourism and generating income. For the Mountain Doctor this does not extend to staged or fake fictional events at the Wilder Kaiser, as the show lacks the global cultural status or fantastical distance needed for such experiences. Shows like *Breaking Bad* (Gilligan, Vince 2008), on the other hand, have achieved enough cultural status through popularity and pop culture (Spoilers ahead!) that fans attended a fake funeral for the main character in the screen location of Albuquerque after the final episode aired. (cf. Callaghan 2025, minute 00:37:13–00:38:30) Such extremes were not observed in the case study data, the field trip to the WK or in the trace interviews with the involved groups but on a smaller scale are the STs still interested in artificial events and spaces without any thoughts about its authenticity.

Screen tourism as a strategy

The (tourism) industry knows but does not care Nothing diminishes the appeal of staged authenticity:

1. Tourists seek utopia far from home.
2. Fans and screen tourists dive deeper into imagination.
3. The tourism industry prefers easy-to-package pseudo-events.
4. Local residents, living post-modern lives, participate for the promise of tourism's benefits.

For locals, tourists, Destination Marketing Organizations and production crews alike, staged authenticity surrounds them because fiction and simulation are part of the

³Like controlled kayaking, campground camping or the US national park system could be interpreted as simulations of nature in a Hyperreal world for city people (cf. Leather and Gibson 2019, p. 80ff).

⁴They also do this in regular tourism as visible in figure 4.4 but for Screen Tourists this is intensified because of their motivational origin inside from an already fictional screen product.

postmodern zeitgeist. Even when people know a photo or post is fake, the consequences are minor because simulations absorb representations until people, images and even worldviews are shaped by them. (cf. Leather and Gibson 2019, p. 81; Raban 2011, p. 194ff) Some places become strongly defined by such images, for example traditional costumes (*Trachten*) in Bavaria and Austria (figure 4.2) or events like Munich's Oktoberfest. Locals recognize the difference from everyday reality but still engage with tourism's economic promises. For Destination Marketing Organizations, promoting screen tourism is simply part of global competition but also aides the medialization of their own places. This dynamic also appears at the individual level.



Figure 4.2: Concert with traditional costumes on the town square of Going am Wilden Kaiser (Austria). The building on the right is the Wilder Kaiser Guesthouse screen location (source: own photo).

Reijnders and others found that many tourist guides in Belfast were extras on "Game of Thrones" (Benioff and Weiss, D. B. 2011) and blend their personal identity, history of the country and the fictional narratives from the TV show on tours: "[...] 'I'm very pleased that you're here because my country [Northern Ireland] wasn't known for very many things.' [He holds up three fingers] [...] footballer called Georgie Best. [...] the Titanic [...] 'And then the other thing is,' he pauses and in a dramatic voice, utters, 'the Troubles.' 'Now, I'll tell you about the Troubles. The trouble all started when Joffrey Baratheon

cut off Ned Stark's head!' [...] (Mannheimer, Reijnders, and Brandellero 2022, p. 555)" The Troubles refers to the 30-year civil war (see page 239) and the guide connects it to the fictional world of Game of Thrones just like his personal life has connected to the history of its own country as well as to tourism and the screen product. (cf. Mannheimer, Reijnders, and Brandellero 2022, p. 555) A similar shift occurred when New Zealand's Destination Marketing Organization changed its slogan from "100% Pure New Zealand" to "100% Middle Earth," openly supporting the move from reality to fiction. While advertising always contained fiction, the Hobbit campaign

pushed representation almost entirely toward fantasy. (cf. Månsson et al. 2020, p. 115+116) Destination Marketing Organizations found with the screen tourist an additional target group but now compete not only with other destinations but with the wider entertainment industry. Through photographed staged authenticity and screen tourism communication they emphasize entertainment value, even if this exaggerates reality (cf. Morris 2021, p. 332ff). Successful productions like *Mountain Doctor* become ideal piggybacks: Fiction allows the Destination to use staged authenticity openly to attract post tourist fans without needing to claim literal truth - and everybody knows that!

Strategy of redevelopment Reijnders and his co-authors⁵ argue in "Game of Thrones tourism and the (re)imagination of the new Northern Ireland" that tourism can serve as a "redevelopment strategy after conflict (Mannheimer, Reijnders, and Brandellero 2022, p. 557)". Their research shows that pop culture can reshape destination recognition even after severe historical trauma. Screen tourism does not require an armed conflict to have such effects, but the example demonstrates the power of fictional narratives to transform perceptions of the most troubled places.⁶ These fictional worlds create arenas of agency where new representations and identities can develop. (cf. *ibid*, p. 557). For the Wilder Kaiser, *Mountain Doctor* could attract tourists beyond the popular winter skiing season (page 127, 157 or 215) and expand tourism beyond stereotypical alpine hiking and nature tourism (page 231). Although the tourism industry mostly has the initiative behind the redevelopment through popular reimagination, other groups still co-produce the outcome: The production creates the narratives that enable destinations to be reimaged. Post tourist are already susceptible to these narratives and accept them as representation of the destination. Fans who become screen tourists translate the screen product's medialization into touristic encounters at screen locations, which is on par with Reijnders steps of media tourism co-production (chapter 2.3.1 on page 42). But ultimately, the process begins and ends with the destination: First as a place where a screen production takes place and later as a post tourist destination with screen locations. Destinations are often involved from the beginning of production, meaning the potential tourism impact is usually not accidental but a deliberate strategy to strengthen destination branding and gain marketing advantages. This shows the power (page 38) a Destination like the Wilder Kaiser can use, despite the co-production of screen tourism, over the outcome of the *Mountain Doctor* production.

Creation of places of fandom for Bergdoktorland Screen tourism at the Wilder Kaiser shows how places of fandom are not only created by fans, but also strategi-

⁵And many more like Segota in 2018 and Tanzanelli in 2007

⁶The impact of screen tourism in a more average scenario is explained on page 239.

cally shaped by Production and Destination management. As Jang and Yamamura note (Månsson et al. 2020, p. 307), fans increasingly assign meaning to places that are not directly connected to creative works, which becomes visible in the Wilder Kaiser through sites such as the Ellmauer Stars (figure 3.72), the fan fest (figure 3.54) and the photo frame (figure 3.37). However, these fandom sites are not spontaneous or uncontrolled tourist creations as they are initiated, organized and integrated by the Production and local Destination Marketing Organization to serve tourism interests. In this sense, the Wilder Kaiser develops into a smaller-scale version of media-based fantasy destinations such as Disneyland or Universal Studios, where characters, landscapes and narratives from their mediaIPs are incorporated into tourism spaces. (cf. Månsson et al. 2020, p. 307; Böcher and Pasternak 2017, p. 37; Fletchall, Lukinbeal, and MacHugh 2012, p. 105) While Disneyland functions as a complete simulated destination, screen locations usually remain isolated fantasy islands within real landscapes. In the Mountain Doctor case, however, the dominant role of the Wilder Kaiser mountain range in the show and in the destination connect separate locations into one coherent fan world. The valley thereby becomes a kind of *Bergdoktorland*, where the Destination Marketing Organization with the help of the screen product simulate an integrated fictional-real landscape. Following Baudrillard, the Mountain Doctor appears at the Wilder Kaiser precisely to make tourists believe that everything beyond the fictional narratives and characters is real (cf. Cunningham 2024, p. 2).

Connection of physical and virtual spaces

Unbound screen locations without reference Places like Los Angeles and California are so saturated with media images that they are often perceived only through screen products. Lukinbeal notes that "In the End, Orange County is what it becomes on TV (Fletchall, Lukinbeal, and MacHugh 2012, p. 122)." TV and media narratives circulate between screen products, social media and staged tourist utopias. This creates a Baudrillardian scenario where screen products disconnect from real spaces, becoming signs referencing other signs. Television is now free of its absolute referent in a real place. It is like Reijnders et al. wrote in 2022: "[...] a representation of a country by media producers from another country, consumed by audiences from a third country - an Irishman imagines Vietnam through the eyes of American movies (Reijnders and van Es 2022, p. 23)." This is layer upon layer, signs referencing other signs and in the end you have a screen location that is unbound from its real place in the destination. A show like the Mountain Doctor that has dominated a space for 19+ years with such a large fan base will help release the Wilder Kaiser from its real referent. Space has already transcended the confines of its original location and can

now be found and defined anywhere. Social media can depict these unbound places, which was the reason it was picked for the content analysis of this work. (cf. Ibid., p. 110 + 121–126) For decades now Baudrillard would think that we are living in the "desert of reality (Baudrillard 2001, p. 169)": A world full of simulacra (Mountain Doctor TV show) that has maps (Social Media posts) that precede the physical territory (Wilder Kaiser destination). And when this map has no available territory anymore and covers everything than "something like the reality principle disappears (Baudrillard 2007, p. 62)" and our media saturated world becomes hyperreal. (cf. Filippo 2022, p. 45 + 53) Here reality moves toward fiction becoming detached from material place but in the next paragraph the fiction is going to find places and people like screen tourists to integrate back into lived experience - to begin the cycle again.

Spaces of integrated fiction Today, we cannot dismiss the impact of screen products as purely fictional. The lines between fiction and reality are blurred, and often as post tourists, we do not care to distinguish. And it is not only the reality of today that is changing but also the confines of fiction and history start to collapse in certain screen tourism cases⁷. Television influences us daily, shaping our perceptions with exaggerated stereotypes of people, spaces and events. We have a Zoom call at work, we have dinner in the evening, we watch a series on TV and then talk about it when we do the dishes. (cf. Fletchall, Lukinbeal, and MacHugh 2012, p. 91; Schiavone and Reijnders 2022, p. 11) A perfect example of integrated fictions comes from the focus group study by Andreja Trdina and Maja Turnsek (van Es et al. 2021, p. 210) that is actually also about the Mountain Doctor: "The father of Bergie's⁸ girlfriend Anna has just died. And it was in that episode. Two days later we went on a trip. One acquaintance called me and joked, he said, now I know, you are going to the funeral. Do you have funeral garland? (laughs) Yeah, Arthur died. And we did also go to see the cemetery.⁹ And there actually is a cemetery. A nice, great cemetery. It was interesting, and I was fascinated about it, that there is no marble, it is really a place to calm your soul. Greenery, grass and everything was so modest, so simple. (van Es et al. 2021, p. 210)" In this example the death of a fictional character in the Mountain Doctor TV show led viewers to visit a real cemetery at the Wilder Kaiser depicted in the series.¹⁰ This highlights the overlap of fictional events and real-life experiences, which they are aware of but just decided to not really care that much. In this overlap without rupture, one can see the tremendous impact on the (screen) tourists' sense of place. (cf. van Es et al. 2021, p. 210; Wasburn and Meyrowitz 1988) Just as we

⁷Fiction and history are closely connected as it is nothing more than a story about the past (page 52)

⁸A nickname for the Mountain Doctor's main character Martin Gruber aka the Mountain Doctor.

⁹The cemetery of the church at the town square in Going (figure 5.11).

¹⁰This can go as far as a whole funeral ceremony with hundreds of fans like described on page 229.

cannot live without imagination, Ang says: "The mediated and the material coexist (Deleuze 1986)" When visiting screen locations, people experience both real and fictional spaces simultaneously, illustrating the postmodern paradox of coexistence and collision. (cf. Fletchall, Lukinbeal, and MacHugh 2012, p. 91 + 105)

Mediatized ownership of destination spaces

Screen tourism reveals conflicts between holiday destinations and its mediatized imaginary, not as a simple opposition between real and fake, but as a tension between expectations and on-site experience. Screen Tourists do not expect a fully fictional place; rather, they arrive with heightened hopes shaped by the screen product, social media and fandom, such as expectations of adventure, perfect weather¹¹ and emotionally meaningful encounters with locations. (cf. Månsson et al. 2020, p. 179) In the Mountain Doctor case, these expectations are intensified by the emotional bond between themes, characters, stories and places, as well as by pre-travel exposure to screen tourism communication online. The awareness of being part of a fandom but not being mediatized can produce phenomena such as *Mediatized ownership*: Screen products turn spaces, objects and people into culturally shared entities, making fans feel that they have a personal claim to them. Mediatization as meta process underpins this trend witnessed in post tourism. However, the inherent fictional narratives of screen tourism heighten the influences even stronger. Such attachment can create tensions at screen locations, including privacy issues, blocked access, property damage or unjustified claims of ownership. (cf. van Es et al. 2021, p. 285 + 286; Mordue 2009, p. 341–342) At the Wilder Kaiser, this became visible at the privately owned Hof Köpfing, the screen location of the Mountain Doctor Gruberhof, when fans blocked narrow mountain roads in order to access or view the property. Managing screen locations requires balancing the rights of owners with the expectations of fans, ensuring a respectful and sustainable tourism practices. The Wilder Kaiser Destination Marketing Organization responded by managing through designated infrastructure, such as a Mountain Doctor car park¹², walking route or tourism activities such as an organized tractor tour. (cf. Roesch 2009, p. 162; Tirol Werbung n.d., p. 3; Wilder Kaiser Tourismusverband n.d.) It can go as far as fans and screen tourists act like pilgrims¹³. As screen locations become sacred fan sites, tourists mark their presence nowadays (page 84) through selfies (figure 2.16 or page 71), repeated

¹¹This is very much part of the DNA of the Mountain Doctor TV show as written about on page 123 or 127 in chapter 3.3.1.

¹²The Mountain Doctor parking spot is visible in figure 2.21 and the mundane banality of this space is analyzed in this chapter on page 81.

¹³This connection does not start in the 21st century but goes way back to early pilgrim ages on page 53 in chapter 2.3.2

photo practices (figure 2.22) and social media uploads. This again transports the mediatized ownership onto the digital plane. Since many visitors cannot or should not physically mark these places¹⁴, online posting becomes a symbolic form of taking possession, signalling both presence, emotional attachment and the worship of the new pop-cultural gods. "[...] uploading photos to social media is an important part of a marking" says Yamamura (Månsson et al. 2020, p. 309). "Social media posts thus signal sacred sites and create mediatized ownership claims over spaces often first experienced remotely. (cf. *ibid.*, p. 309; Jansson 2018a, p. 101ff)

Beyond the traditional tourism experience

Screen tourism and social media extend the tourism experience beyond the physical holiday by making media exposure, anticipation and digital participation part of the journey itself. Holiday photos on social networks act as signs of experienced nature at destinations. Leather and Gibson argue that "social media provides opportunities for greater exposure to 'nature' [authors emphasis] (Leather and Gibson 2019, p. 79)". Platforms like Instagram thus become key referents for destination imagery of nature (figure 4.3) for potential



Figure 4.3: Actor Daniele Rizzo on a mountain hike representing nature (source: Instagram screenshot with post ID n_CDBVbEeIgAc).

tourists. Social media provides mediated access to nature before travel, turning destination images into signs that shape later experiences. (cf. Leather and Gibson 2019, p. 79ff) In screen tourism, this process is intensified because the screen product becomes an additional intermediary: Images of places such as the Wilder Kaiser are no

¹⁴But not everyone is so considerable as some radical fans take token of affections from the screen locations of the Mountain Doctor, if not to say steal it like the Mountain Doctor sign at the entrance of practice in Ellmau (figure 4.5). The story goes that the sign was stolen so many times that they had to replace the original sign and put in the same place the sign of the older mentor of the Mountain Doctor character in the show.

longer only representations of an outdoor destination, but are shaped by the mountain doctor, Instagram and other digital references. "Thus, images are not a copy but the mediation of affordances by simulacrum to the point where images come to precede activities as models (Leather and Gibson 2019, p. 80)." Pre-travel experiences therefore become central to tourism, as viewers may emotionally engage with a destination for years through a series like the Mountain Doctor before physically visiting it. "When it comes to travel decisions, anticipating a trip should be seen as part of the enjoyment of the adventure (Månsson et al. 2020, p. 122)." Watching the show, browsing destination content and prosuming on social media before, during and after the trip all become part of this new holiday experience. Tourism today is transmedial, simultaneous consumption and production as well as the extension in time. (cf. Månsson et al. 2020, p. 122). This supports the post-tourist idea that people are "tourists most of the time (Urry 1995, p. 148)", not only through physical mobility but also through simulated and mediatized forms of travel. Screen tourism communication on social media turns the viewer into a tourist from home, mixing fiction and reality, past and future, local and global, as well as consumption and production. Post tourism thus remains connected to the material destination, but is increasingly co-produced by media, platforms and place, extending the holiday into a continuous hyperreal experience. (cf. Crouch 2005, p. 176+178) The post tourist concept as well as the definition of the screen tourist in this work (page 8) reflect this expansion of tourism universality.

The made reality of Hyperrealism

Hyperrealism challenges the idea that film (or media in general) simply represent a single external reality, since reality itself is increasingly shaped by mediation, simulation and competing narratives. As Aitken argues, film can no longer be understood as merely "mimicking, reality because we can no longer assume that there is a single reality waiting out there to be filmed (Aitken and Dixon 2006, p. 326)." In this context, mass media make fictional and simulated worlds easy to enter in everyday life. They are showing us subjects that are usually far from the immediate environment but at the same time are able to reach us right there. This is creating a desire to experience real spaces again as they appear on-screen. Tourism responds to this desire by offering "real-life pseudo-places" that allow visitors to encounter mediated worlds in material form. (cf. Adams 1992, p. 121) "VFX houses have shown just how much of a film's mise-en-scene can be manipulated and redesigned in post-production in ways that are consonant with audience expectations of authenticity (Andersson and Webb 2016, p. 8)." An example from the Mountain Doctor production at the Wilder Kaiser transforming a location to fit their narrative needs: A

tennis court is reconstructed into an intensive care unit (figure 3.15) of the local hospital in the Mountain Doctor series (page 207). Similarly, the tourist industry stages authenticity, showing Eden-like places with artificial heritage figures (figure 4.4).

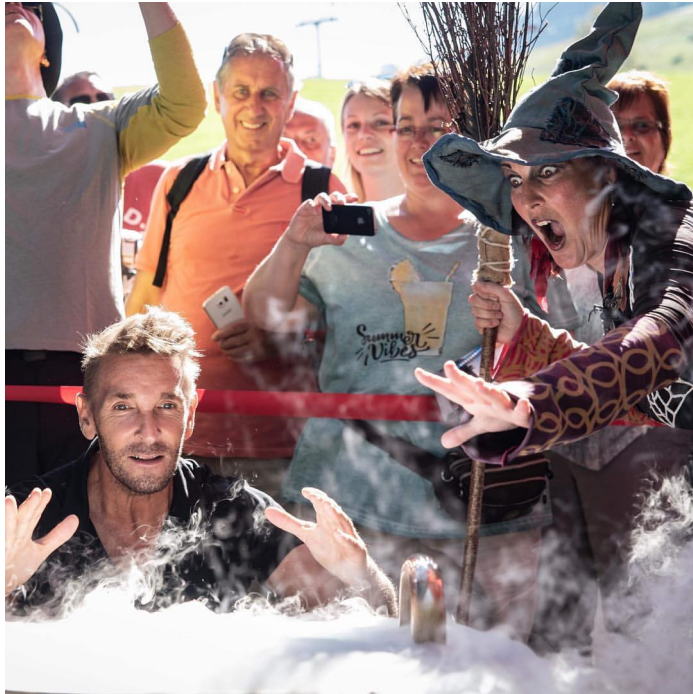


Figure 4.4: Post from @skiweltwilderkaiserbrixental about the Mountain Doctor fan event at Hexenwasser (eng. Witchwater) alp. (source: Instagram screenshot with post ID BntY6Z0nIEt).

Also, tourists stage their own visits (figure 3.23) with filters, perspectives and quotes on social media. Places in media as in your own life are sometimes chosen not for their real-life function but for their suitability as a backdrop for simulations¹⁵. (cf. Leather and Gibson 2019, p. 80)

Nostalgic past and recreation

Baudrillard's claim that simulation has become a dominant cultural form also helps explain why nostalgia becomes increasingly important: as the real changes or disappears into simulation, culture turns toward imagined pasts and supposedly more authentic experiences.¹⁶

(cf. Baudrillard 2001, p. 10; Rei-

jnders 2011, p. 16) In tourism, iconic sights remain unchanged for decades like castles, churches or old town districts as if they offered access to an unchanged past. The industry upholds the illusion of an authentic experience of the really old. Given the unreliability of the current truth, people seek solace in 'older versions' of truth, myths and search for a live predating the era of simulation.¹⁷ (cf. Månsson et al. 2020, p. 176; Groebner 2020, p. 4; Baudrillard 2001, p. 174) That is why post tourists are on a quest for the "auratic original (Fletcher, Lukinbeal, and MacHugh 2012, p. 125)" like Lukinbeal calls it. The landscape of the Wilder Kaiser destination reflects these 'older versions' of truth. The nostalgia in the Mountain Doctor TV show is

¹⁵as we also discovered in my research work about the Union Station in LA (Böcher and Pasternak 2017, p. 59).

¹⁶Pop culture's revival of past trends is visible in TV shows coming back, 90s revival style, callbacks to old characters and the *everything was better in the past* fraction of social media users and memers.

¹⁷That is now entering a new era of uncertainty with AI-slop clogging up medialization (See Bösch 2025 for more info).

probably one key point of the motivation to go to the destination: The exalted Alps, the rural closeness to nature and the family themes of the show represent a simpler truth that makes people nostalgic.

Destination heritage under fire

Nostalgia against the heritage Nostalgia is paradoxical: its success can harm historic places, as seen with UNESCO World Heritage sites facing damaging tourist influxes. Tourism seeks to preserve nostalgic feelings rather than the nostalgic objects themselves. This often damages heritage through pollution and structural stress. For two centuries tourism has destroyed what it promotes to visit. *Nostalmobies* (nostalgia zombies) erode the future of the very past they seek. This forces nostalgia to become a simulation of tourist utopia while the material heritage site crumble. The tourism industry tries to sustain authenticity illusions through staged experiences (page 78 or 229). (cf. Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 135; Groebner 2020, p. 51 + 85–97; Månsson et al. 2020, p. 206) Screen locations are staged sites gaining popularity and may one day rival heritage landmarks. These places are maintained by the Destination, promoted indirectly by Productions and expected by Screen Tourists within a post-tourist mentality. When genuine sites decay, simulations fill the gap and staged authenticity is accepted in post-tourism. Screen tourism can add new layers of fictional nostalgia, sometimes stronger than real nostalgia, possibly burying the history of the place under "imaginative heritage (Reijnders and van Es 2022)". This media-driven nostalgia may be more honest, openly embracing fiction over staged authenticity. For example, the Gruberhof and the practice are often referred to with their roles in the mountain doctor narrative rather than their own farmhouse histories (with one exception on page 160). Nostalgia thus becomes a powerful layer of signs in Baudrillard's simulacra orders on the way to hyperreality.

Tangible and intangible heritage The power of heritage traditionally rests on its authenticity, that nostalgia recalls. In postmodernism, however, authenticity matters less, making heritage more fluid. As "Unravelling imaginative heritage (Reijnders, Boross, and Balan 2022, p. 95)" shows, fiction can contribute to or even is at the center of local place identity. Fiction does not hover above a place but can become part of its roots and over time becomes its heritage. Yet this still suggests a dichotomy between tangible *real* heritage and intangible *simulated* heritage. Reijnders writes: "[...] is not about the tangible or the intangible," but "about the cross-pollination of both dimensions". (cf. Reijnders, Boross, and Balan 2022, p. 95) Thus nothing is destroyed: tangible heritage exists at the destination while intangible versions persist, for example in the digital network plane. The main difference might just be

who experiences these different versions of heritage?¹⁸ Both forms can coexist at the time being, such as the Wilder Kaisers rural alpine heritage as well as the Mountain Doctor narratives in screen products and on social media like Instagram.

Screen tourism overwriting identities and history

Screen tourism can mediate, reshape and sometimes overshadow local history by replacing established narratives with globally recognizable pop-cultural meanings. Examples such as "Gladiator" (R. Scott 2000) in Rome or "Game of Thrones" in Northern Ireland show how tourists may privilege screen-inspired experiences over archaeological or historical contexts. This is shifting attention from local heritage toward fictional narratives and media images. Reijnders, Brandello and Mannheimer describe the "globally recognized cultural phenomenon" of "Game of Thrones" (Benioff and Weiss, D. B. 2011) as powerful enough to shift attention from

Northern Ireland's association with *the Troubles*¹⁹. (cf. Tzanelli 2007, p. 1–5; Mannheimer, Reijnders, and Brandellero 2022, p. 557 + 564–567; Schiavone and Reijnders 2022, p. 1 + 9) This process is driven by powerful off-site markers, created by screen productions and amplified by fans, tourists and Destination Marketing Organizations, which can overshadow local on-site markers and redefine destination identities. At the Wilder Kaiser, this becomes visible when Mountain Doctor-related on-site marks like signs (figure 4.5), banners (figure 3.1), information screens (figure 3.19) and fan infrastructures connect ordinary or historically rooted places with



Figure 4.5: Photo of the sign at the practice screen location signaling to the Mountain Doctor's fictional practice (source: Instagram screenshot with post ID CD-HaaYUHAik).

¹⁸The people that see the infinitely reproducible intangible version is in relation so much higher than the scarce rivalry tangible heritage. Some thinkers like Andreas Blank or Maxwell Rosenblum, including me, would probably argue that this is not a story of co-existing but just the beginning of the end: The simultaneous heritage is just the introduction of a semantic overwrite from intangible sources. This is further explained on page 240.

¹⁹"The Troubles was a 30-year period of low-level urban warfare, triggered in the late 1960s [...]. At the core of the conflict was the ongoing political struggle to determine the constitutional status of Northern Ireland. (Mannheimer, Reijnders, and Brandellero 2022, p. 555)"

recognizable elements of the Mountain Doctor world. Destinations must actively shape off-sight markers such as screen tourism initiatives to avoid being defined by external fictional narratives as on-sights marker are not enough. (cf. Skoko 2014, p. 188 quoted from Månsson et al. 2020, p. 209) The Wilder Kaiser Destination Marketing Organization seems to do that by influencing the screen tourism communication and destination marketing (figure 3.40) but only in enforcing fictional narratives (figure 3.38) with the off-sight markers. They are very subliminal in their screen tourism communication (page 166) but one can clearly see the branding strategy behind it.

Semantic overwrite in screen tourism The effects are not only material but also semantic: A *semantic overwrite* often occurs with popular screen products and screen tourism. Local history and identity may persist for some few, but in media meanings of place names, locations and objects can be overwritten for the vast majority. The original interpretation becomes buried under the new one, especially in the fast-moving digital environment. Today, places risk being forgotten if they do not appear in online searches. (cf. Buckley 2021, p. 1; Rosenblum 2025, minute 00:01:02–00:01:22) The case study shows a concrete effect: Screen tourism appears stronger than the Destination Marketing Organization strategy to promote the four central Wilder Kaiser towns (page 129). Screen tourism communication from all stakeholders instead focuses on only three towns — Ellmau, Going, and Söll — linked to Mountain Doctor screen locations, leaving Scheffau largely absent (see page 154). Such semantic overwrite does not need to erase heritage completely in order to reduce its relevance for tourist experience and destination image. In Baudrillard's terms, this may approach a stage of simulation in which reality becomes masked or partly absent (page 27), as when historical sites are understood primarily through fictional frames, such as Dubrovnik through Game of Thrones or a Wilder Kaiser farmhouse through its role as the Mountain doctor practice (page 239). (cf. Månsson et al. 2020, p. 211) However, the process may be more complex than screen products simply overwriting local history, as Mortensen argues (Månsson et al. 2020, p. 267): "Laypeople [SIC] are no longer just consuming history, but often also producing it, in effect becoming history prosumers." Following this idea and screen tourism co-production, tourists, locals, media producers and Destination Marketing Organizations may also participate in creating these new hybrid meanings of place. (cf. Månsson et al. 2020, p. 307ff) Nevertheless, through cultural power, popular off-site markers and digital semantic overwrite, screen tourism can strongly reshape what visitors perceive as the identity, history and "true core" of a destination creating a stage 3 simulation.

Levels of influence in screen tourism You can probably identify 5 levels on influence of screen tourism on the destination and its heritage. At the lowest level, screen

tourism exists alongside the destination's history when a production becomes part of that history. Reijnders concludes (Reijnders, Boross, and Balan 2022, p. 105) that heritage can shift when older narratives give way to newer ones. Screen tourism may marginalize minority histories and cultures, especially when a global pop culture product such as "Game of Thrones" (Benioff and Weiss, D. B. 2011) dominates local narratives. However, the opposite can also occur: Screen productions can reveal layered pasts and make suppressed historical perspectives visible. (cf. Schiavone, Reijnders, and Brandellero 2022, p. 1110–1114; Reijnders, Boross, and Balan 2022, p. 105; Schiavone and Reijnders 2022, p. 12) At the second level, screen tourism is one influence among many. It may support preservation by highlighting a place, its history, or selected details without changing the destination itself. Historical films and contemporary historical dramas, wrote Reijnders and Schiavone in "Beneath the storyline" (Schiavone, Reijnders, and Brandellero 2022), can help conserve local history. This matters because pop culture shapes how places are understood, and place identities are never fixed but constantly renegotiated. (cf. Schiavone, Reijnders, and Brandellero 2022, p. 1110–1115; Mannheimer, Reijnders, and Brandellero 2022, p. 559+567; Reijnders and van Es 2022, p. 6–7; van Es et al. 2021, p. 21) At the third level, screen tourism begins to overwrite local heritage. Fiction can become central to local place identity, as Reijnders shows with Edinburgh, where fiction becomes part of the city's perceived core. Also, a quote from Manssons book: "Although the number of tourist arrivals in Dubrovnik has grown at the same time, the series has overshadowed the rich history and cultural heritage of this cultural monument inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List (Månsson et al. 2020, p. 206)." This effect is stronger when destination management organizations are not involved and when promotion between productions and destinations is poorly coordinated. (cf. Reijnders, Boross, and Balan 2022, p. 95; van Es et al. 2021, p. 21; Schiavone and Reijnders 2022, p. 1, 11; Månsson et al. 2020, p. 206–211) At the fourth level, the forceful influence of screen tourism leads to conflict or damages. This can include physical damage to heritage sites, tourism infrastructure and landscapes. *Overtourism* resulting from media is a key concern in academic, media and public debates. Imaginary heritage may also conflict with other forms of heritage, such as local religious beliefs. (cf. Rosenplänter 2020a, min. [00:29:30]ff; Djossa 2019; Roesch 2009, p. 162; van Es et al. 2021, p. 28) The fifth level goes beyond influence and damage but is about memory: It is one thing that cultural heritage may be influenced, obscured, damaged or destroyed in its physical form, but in memory — at the very latest — it can also be overlaid by fiction, imagination, emotion and nostalgia (cf. Reijnders and van Es 2022, p. 29). Instagram can be understood as a form of cultural memory at the societal level: It filters culture, preserves certain themes and creates a collective

Instagram gaze in which local heritage fades. These levels show that screen tourism co-production does not affect every destination in the same way. In the case study of the Mountain Doctor, levels 2 and 3 appear most relevant to its screen tourism communication.²⁰

Perception layers in tourism

Tourists experience destinations through multiple perception layers shaped by culture, background, prior passive media exposure and active social media engagement. Screen tourists especially perceive additional narrative and emotional layers from screen products that other visitors may not recognize. This mediated perception enables subliminal screen tourism communication, as seen in the case study (page 209). Together with the already staged authenticity in the destination and referential social media posts this post modern blend creates overlapping interpretations between the material and digital plane (figure 4.8), where different representations can coexist simultaneously. (cf. Ibid., p. 290ff; J. Chen and N. Chen 2017, p. 15) Among these layers, one may dominate as a collective gaze: For many Screen Tourists that is the narrative layer of the screen product that can even eclipse the destination's local history as witnessed in the case study (figure 3.34 or page 238). These multi-layered worldviews by post tourists are forming what Reijnders calls "imaginative heritage". (cf. Reijnders 2021, p. 4) Social networks make these layered worldviews visible through photos, videos, filters, captions, hashtags and geotags, allowing researchers to decode what was long overlooked and are not able to operationalize (page 2). In social media feeds, individual posts become part of a continuous stream of layered data, juxtaposing different presences, times and perspectives in the same digital space. (cf. Hochman 2014, p. 3ff; Kratz 2019, p. 327) This appears in the case study, where Mountain Doctor screen tourists repeatedly focus on the practice screen location in figure 2.22. Thus, online screen tourism communication is not only a horizontal co-production between Screen Tourists, Destinations and Production, but also a vertical layered phenomenon in which different gazes, meanings and temporalities coexist and compete.

Layers need something to be layered upon If screen tourists cannot project their screen-inspired expectations onto the real landscape, they may feel disappointed. The screen location does not need to perfectly match or replicate the on-screen situation but must be similar enough for a rewarding personal experience. The key is triggering a personal connection to the screen content for the simulation to take hold. (cf. Mor-due 2009, p. 341; van Es et al. 2021, p. 290) Postmodern de-differentiation of tourism as well as post tourism helps screen tourism blend fiction and reality. Projecting fic-

²⁰This is only scratching the surface and could be a field of future research.

tional meaning onto real-life settings is easy when they visually resemble each other and are accepted. Destinations that move screen locations closer to fiction, for example with a sign for a fictional doctor in front of the Mountain Doctor practice screen location (figure 4.5), help to jumpstart connections for the Screen Tourists.

Screen tourism as answer to distinction and banalization

Tourism depicted on social networks like Instagram creates a *competitive gaze* in which holiday experiences become achievements to display rather than open-ended encounters. It resembles a game "that becomes more about 'ticking off the sites' than 'following your nose' (Globetrender 2020, p. 1)". The "fear of missing out (Kratz 2019, p. 327)" turns experience into achievement hunts. (cf. Ibid., p. 327; Globetrender 2020, p. 1) Tourists seek distinction through supposedly unique photos, yet often reproduce the same motives, poses and locations as others, as visible in the case study's screen location clusters (page 3.4.4) and repeated Mountain Doctor photo practices (figure 2.22). This produces a post-tourist dilemma: visitors want to differentiate themselves from mass tourism while simultaneously following the same mediated trends that banalize their experience. (cf. Jansson 2018a, p. 107) As Jansson argues, that "the accumulation of symbolic and cultural capital requires ever more subtle distinctions in relation to spreadability (Jansson 2018a, p. 104)." The spreadability in the digital network plane also makes once-distinct practices visible, repeatable and therefore less unique at the same time. These de-differentiation tendencies drives the post tourist to further distinction, pushing them toward more staged, digital and fictional experiences - in fact making him move towards being more like a screen tourist (cf. Jansson 2018a, p. 104) Screen tourism therefore can be understood as one response to this de-differentiation: by adding fictional, staged and emotionally charged narrative layers to destinations, it offers post tourists a niche for distinction. Screen tourism thus may not represent only a sub-category (page 13) but an answer to the banalization of tourism. This is also another step toward hyper-reality of post tourism itself (page 248).

Influencing factors in social media screen tourism communication

Disciplining other tourists Other people occupy an ambiguous role in screen tourism: They are desired online as viewers, likers and commentators, but often experienced as disturbing at the destination itself. Similar to Jansson's findings on urban explorers, screen tourists perceive too many visitors as threatening the rural appeal of screen locations and judge *other* tourists as more superficial than *myself*. (cf. Jansson 2018b, p. 116) Disliking other tourists is part of post-tourist practice (page 208) and also appears in the case study, where interviewees, local sources and field obser-

vations described crowded screen locations. Yet Instagram posts often present these places as magically empty (page 48), revealing a tension between the crowded reality of the destination and the mediated image shared online. This tension is shaped by multiple gazes! First Urry discusses how tourists' gazes discipline each other on the material destination plane²¹, spending time observing and judging others: "[...] [tourists are, D.B.] constantly observing and judging the behavior of other tourists, but it also produces rich opportunities for daydreaming, fantasizing about the lives of the strangers surrounding you. (Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 201)" Second, this disciplining continues even more visibly on the digital network plane through likes, instant shares, comments and algorithmic reinforced visibility. In the case study, this becomes visible in the repeated use of similar photo motives, such as the Mountain Doctor practice perspective (figure 2.22) or the Wilder Kaiser mountain range (page 3.5), which produces a one-sided visual perspective on the valley (figure 4.10).²² Although the Mountain Doctor screen product strongly induces these motives, the gaze of other tourists and platform algorithms also shape what is photographed and shared. The co-disciplining results in tourists' photos typically depicting magically empty scenes like demonstrated on page 208. Together, these influences mediatize and simulate the destination, producing images that invite online engagement while excluding the crowded social reality from view.

Instagram gaze and the logic of sharing The *Instagram gaze* from Mansson (Mansson et al. 2020, p. 171) describes a digital form of the romantic and post-tourist gaze in which destinations are experienced and represented through both collective visual conventions and personal interpretations. It combines postcard-like destination imagery (page 65) with everyday self-expression, linking media, tourism and daily life more closely than earlier tourist gazes. In the case study, this gaze is shaped by the inducing screen product, as Mountain Doctor-related motives are repeatedly reproduced and translated into the digital network plane (page 208). However, the Instagram gaze develops with the logic of sharing that is not primarily aimed to inform or debate. As information is not relevant, the networked communication is "[...] promoting the way participants want it to be or find the most entertaining (Morris 2021, p. 323)" but does not want to uncover the way the world is anymore. This is mirrored in screen tourism communication, where tourists rarely provide factual destination information (trace interviews answers on page 143) but instead reinforce fandom (page 78), shared perspectives (page 219) and emotionally charged screen-related meanings. For professional Production and Destination accounts, this logic is intensified by marketing and platform visibility, where reach matters more than

²¹The same thing happens in a cinema audience. Explained on page 64.

²²Other examples are Trolltunga or the Grand Canyon (figure 5.12).

accuracy (page 179). (cf. Morris 2021, p. 329+332ff) Across stakeholder groups, the Instagram gaze and the logic of sharing therefore privilege entertainment, emotion, fiction and de-differentiation over useful tourist information. The logic of sharing the Instagram gaze is all contributing to the simulation of the co-produced destination.



Figure 4.6: The post from @visittirool asks if the users know the screen product described and ofcourse the fans answer (Source: Instagram screenshot with post ID COa1NH5I2mG). More about this post on page 159.

Overt-induced adverstising In the case study the screen tourism communication on Instagram from the Destination group continues the subliminal messaging of the screen product, where the landscape subtly promotes tourism in the background. But, despite being in the background, it is always present and this is affective because "little strokes fell big oaks". Seeing the Wilder Kaiser mountain range in the background of many shots as well as in the scene transitions can be translated (in marketing terms) as multiple touchpoints to come in contact with the advertised product. In this case the communicated product is not obvious but a natural part of the Mountain Doctor screen product. Such *covert-induced* communication is more effective than overt advertising, a pattern that extends to social media through indirect and embedded messaging. This strategy can be found in the case study (page 166) and the Tirol destination account even plays with the subliminal messaging by ask-

ing the users "do you know which TV series we mean? (figure 4.6)" (cf. Govers, Go, and Kumar 2007 quoted Månsson et al. 2020, p. 208) This aligns with word-of-mouth dynamics, where influence appears organic rather than promotional. The ST communication of the Destination continues as subliminal as the WK in the background of the BD screen product.

The digital revolution brought the power of visual media

New agenda setters of the world The rise of the internet and social media has weakened traditional media's role of "telling truth to power (Morris 2021, p. 320)". The case study showed, the individual power gained by influencers and actors (page 223) to shape the tourist gaze. The influence that was once held by a few media gatekeepers. Actors though were always on the side of the mighty media gatekeepers, but within social media, they also gained the individual power of popular accounts (page 177) to influence screen tourism communication on their own. Screen products still convert viewers into fans and drive screen tourism but they now have to share this power. Share it not only with independent screen actors and their following on social media but also with the group of Influencers within the Screen Tourist group. They today operate within a co-production of different medias (TV, social media, divers screens) and multiple stakeholders (Case study groups of the Screen Tourists, Destination, Productions). This shift also reflects a move from factual authority to emotional narratives, increasing the influence of fictional content over perceptions of reality. (Morris 2021, p. 324) As they lost their gatekeeping power over the digital era, they still have the power to set the agenda. This power scales with size and some accounts from the Screen Tourists are closing these gaps fast. Shows like the Mountain Doctor, that are supposedly non-political with narratives of the everyday family drama in a nostalgic environment (page 119) are setting the agenda of today with the help of individual influential social media accounts.

Digital photo practices towards the final phase of the image Digital photo practices in screen tourism move between documentation and imagination. Smartphone cameras still produce images with an indexical connection to material reality, while also allowing digital editing, filters, stickers, remixing and platform-specific contextualization that increasingly blend reality with (pop) cultural imagination. (cf. Schreiber 2020, p. 201ff) For younger users this is already a common practice. For fan communities like for the Mountain Doctor, these practices can also appear fully authentic. Even when they involve staged poses with decorated sets or cardboard cutouts of the Mountain Doctor (figure 4.7). In the networked media environment, however, whatever is left of the indexical connection becomes increasingly weakened. Instagram filters, already symbolic landscapes such as the exalted Alps, and

post-truth communication all push the image towards its final phase: "The image bears no direct relation to reality and has become its own pure simulacrum (Morris 2021, p. 322)." At this point, the image matters less as factual documentation and more as confirmation of an existing worldview. For Mountain Doctor screen tourists, that worldview is fandom: the destination is interpreted through the inducing screen product, and emotional confirmation medialized images becomes more important than factual correspondence in the destination. (cf. Morris 2021, p. 322) This is why we only see photos of the same few Mountain Doctor screen locations (figure 2.22). They all have the fantastic background of the Wilder Kaiser from every angle (figure 4.10) and incorporating that emotional and powerfull nostalgic core (page 237) one last time in the finale phase of the image.



Figure 4.7: Screen tourists posing next to a cardboard cutout of the Mountain Doctor actor (Source: Instagram screenshot with post ID Chxe3wyqycR).

Increasingly the initial contact with destinations comes through social media and the web rather than traditional screen tourism inducing media like cinema or TV. (ct. Månsson et al. 2020, p. 1ff; Crouch 2005, p. 205; Crouch 2005, p. 137)

Personal communication over media intermediaries Social media appears to return agenda-setting power to individuals, but actual control largely remains with algorithms, media conglomerates and their preferred screen products. "The inclusion of media within communicative practices implies that there are third parties of various kinds influencing the process (Jansson 2018b, p. 41)", turning personal

Development of media and tourism to hyperreality

Fan first, tourist later Media content and its production strongly shape tourism, extending experiences across time and space as well as enabling co-creation by tourists and Production. Travel now begins before arrival, as tourists are already immersed in tourism media and screen tourism inducing screen products. In screen tourism, visitors are first fans, with screen products shaping their expectations and downstream experiences of tourism later at the de-

interactions into mediated processes. Unlike private postcards, posts in the digital network plane are now public, analyzed and used to shape others' feeds to fabricate third order simulacras. This blurs personal communication with systemic influence, challenging individual autonomy. Social networks start to produce their own realities and the simulation seeps into what is still for many perceived as personal interactions between real individuals. (cf. Jansson 2018b, p. 41) As a result, social media is an already heavily simulated environment, moving toward hyperreality, which is only further intensified by the case studies post tourism and the fictional tendencies of screen tourism.

Screen tourism is mediatization The structural transformation through the process of mediatization is materialized in the post tourist. The case study offers the evidence (page 243) that the screen tourist is not only a sub-category of the post tourist, but its advancement. It can thereby show the state of this meta process. What Jansson defined as mediatization is a broader transformation that contains different forms of mediation. One of these is the screen tourist experience and his communication on social media. For the screen tourist the screen product has become indispensable to his journey as it would never have happened without it. It is not that before modern screen tourism you had no medialized world view or were not induced by mass media to travel but what happens today is rather a qualitative change that alters the relationship of screen product narratives and material reality at the destination. It is also the ubiquitous intermediaries, such as social media, smartphone screens and cameras, that alter post-tourist perceptions, not quantitatively, but fundamentally. These transformations summarized by Jansson's Mediatization show that the current post tourist form is on its way towards hyperreality.

What the current state of screen tourism is telling us about hyperreality

Getting past systems of representation Screen tourists aim to visit real locations from their favorite screen products, yet these places are often constructed through signs (page 239), are metaphor heavy (page 219 and 120) and are made up of stereotypes (page 119). Even the touristic desire is shaped by fictional and mediated representations, making an objective experience of reality difficult. Although material reality certainly exists, but the question is how we can look past these powerful signs and representation to experience it again. (cf. Morris 2021, p. 324) As we are already close to being in Baudrillard's third order, which is becoming the absence of reality, the speed of the simulation is accelerating.

The trajectory of hyperreality Baudrillard outlined these ideas already in 1988 in his book on the USA: Baudrillard 2010. He anticipated the tendency of post modernism towards hyperreality and systemic trends like smartphone-based social me-

dia: "A pure screen, a pure absorption and re-absorption surface of the influent networks (Baudrillard 2010, p. 27)." Instagram users in the case study resemble "an interactive, communicational particle, plugged into the network, getting continuous feedback (Baudrillard 2011, p. 106)". He described overexposure of nature (page 120), fading meaning and self-expression with selfies (page 48) as an "ecstasy of communication," merging images, information and subjectivity. (cf. Baudrillard 2010, p. 27) Digital media extend human experience beyond the physical while blurring boundaries between reality and representation. In screen tourism at the destination and its communication on Instagram, all the case study groups co-produce a simulation of the Wilder Kaiser, dissolving distinctions between real and virtual or fictional. Beyond screen tourism, such processes reflect broader trends like mediatization (page 29). Screen tourism offers meaningful encounters with the real world when it connects media images with real places, people and events like the Mountain Doctor fan fest (page 211). Although technologies and intermediaries still virtualize, filter and amplify these experiences. Baudrillard anticipated this by conceptualizing humans as nodes in networks.²³ He described humans as "terminal of multiple inputs" (Baudrillard 2012, p. 16), with limited agency. (cf. Leather and Gibson 2019, p. 81ff; Morris 2021, p. 322) Tourists and media form a co-produced network where individuals are both users and used. Screen tourism, smartphones and social media increasingly simulate reality, moving society toward being simulated. To see from where we came in chapter 2.3.2 is important to understand the path dependencies going forward into chapter 4.1. The trajectory is key to addressing the changes Baudrillard theorized many decades ago and are happening right now: (cf. Morris 2021, p. 333) Mediatization and Post tourist are just the process and the current stage of Baudrillard's oracled Hyperreality.

Oscillating simulation of tourism Alternatively, screen tourism can be seen as the materialization of imagination. Traveling to screen locations after seeing them on screen, could be argued, reconnect screen tourists with physical reality rather than distancing them from it. (cf. Reijnders and van Es 2022, p. 7) This challenges Baudrillard's prediction (page 248) of a linear move toward hyperreality. Instead, reality and simulation may form over time an oscillating relationship. The real is not replaced but intertwined, with people moving fluidly between both. Screen tourists thus inhabit a world where simulation and material reality coexist and converge closer. By accepting simulation, post tourists experience both planes interchangeably like physically in the destination and virtually in the digital networks (figure 4.8). Hyperreality may still emerge but rather than replacing reality, it may unite

²³Actually he was only extrapolating from meta processes of its time: He just continued the path dependencies of the media and society nexus explained in chapter 2.3.2

both realms. But perhaps the material truth itself is precisely what can dispel the illusion of the simulation: "[...] perhaps reality itself," writes Morrison (Morris 2021, p. 334): "is rushing to show how far the simulation has diverges from truth [...]" and that "[...] the bubble of simulacra is burst [SIC] by unpredicted events." Screen tourism and its communication in social networks can resemble hyperreality but still allows comparison between media representations of the Mountain Doctor with the physical Wilder Kaiser at the destination. Rather from one single case study group or member, the system emerges from distributed actors and media platforms, making influence shared across stakeholders. Ultimately, screen tourism remains a co-produced space in which reality and simulation coexist, and their oscillating balance depends on how all participants engage with media and place.

Screen tourism as a sign of change From fiction overwriting fact to the power of media in our everyday lives, these phenomena witnessed in the case study of the Mountain Doctor and screen tourism in general are part of a larger societal shift towards simulated worlds. A shift that began with the emerging dominance of visual media, disseminated through mediatization and has culminated in a (more) digital hyperreal late modernity. Is the post tourist type the cultural shift needed to accept that Baudrillard's simulation is already upon us? Whatever concept you look at with Mediatization, the Post Tourist or Hyperreality it is clear that society is changing, and screen tourism in the nexus of tourism and media is just a tiny fraction of where this is becoming clearly visible. While Baudrillard saw this as dystopian future, others argue that if "nothing is true, everything is possible".

4.2 Discussion of new categorizations in screen tourism co-production

Co-producing hyperreality

Hyperrealities are beyond reality: realer-than-real yet depthless copies without origin. (cf. Ibid., p. 6ff; Fletchall, Lukinbeal, and MacHugh 2012, p. 23 + 105; Filippo 2022, p. 47) Copies made by the different stakeholders of their version of reality but put side by side creating a simulation without noticing or caring. Foremost influencers (Screen Tourists) and screen actors (Production) in the case study promote hyperreal lives on Instagram. Baudrillard's circle appears as Productions simulates life, Destinations stage holidays and tourists expect these simulations - all of it mirrored in the digital plane. This removes cultures and landscapes from context, turning them into consumer objects with simulated backstories. (cf. Tzanelli 2007, p. 16) Screen products like the Mountain Doctor enrich places with narratives and sell them to viewers. Geographical spaces and histories are distorted and replaced by simulations from Destination image-building, Productions media representations and Screen Tourisms staged authenticity on social media. Some groups contribute more than others, but it is only through the collaboration of the different groups involved that a simulation of the destination is co-produced in their Screen Tourism communication online. This is how they together begin to create a hyperreality in the social network plane. Co-production is a requirement because only when everyone participates, the ties to the old world will be cut.

Venn-diagram of co-production

The case study groups — Screen Tourists, Destination and Production — are a priori largely independent: First they differ in the dimensions of space, as for example Screen Tourists and Destinations rarely share the same location. Secondly they also differ in time, as for example Destinations exist before and after visits of Screen Tourists or Production (cycles). Thirdly in the dimension of labor for example the Destination and Production stem from two different potent and popular industries but usually Tourism and Media are staffed with different people that have little interaction. Labor also differs on the dimension of leisure, as tourists act for pleasure and recreation while others like the Destination and Production are involved by work. Fourthly power varies, with the Production being strongest because of its popularity, then destination with the immense capacity of the tourism industry and tourists the weakest on this dimension because they are just individuals. Co-production in screen tourism bridges these differences in the varying dimensions. The key link between all groups is the screen location. The groups overlap only in limited areas, as

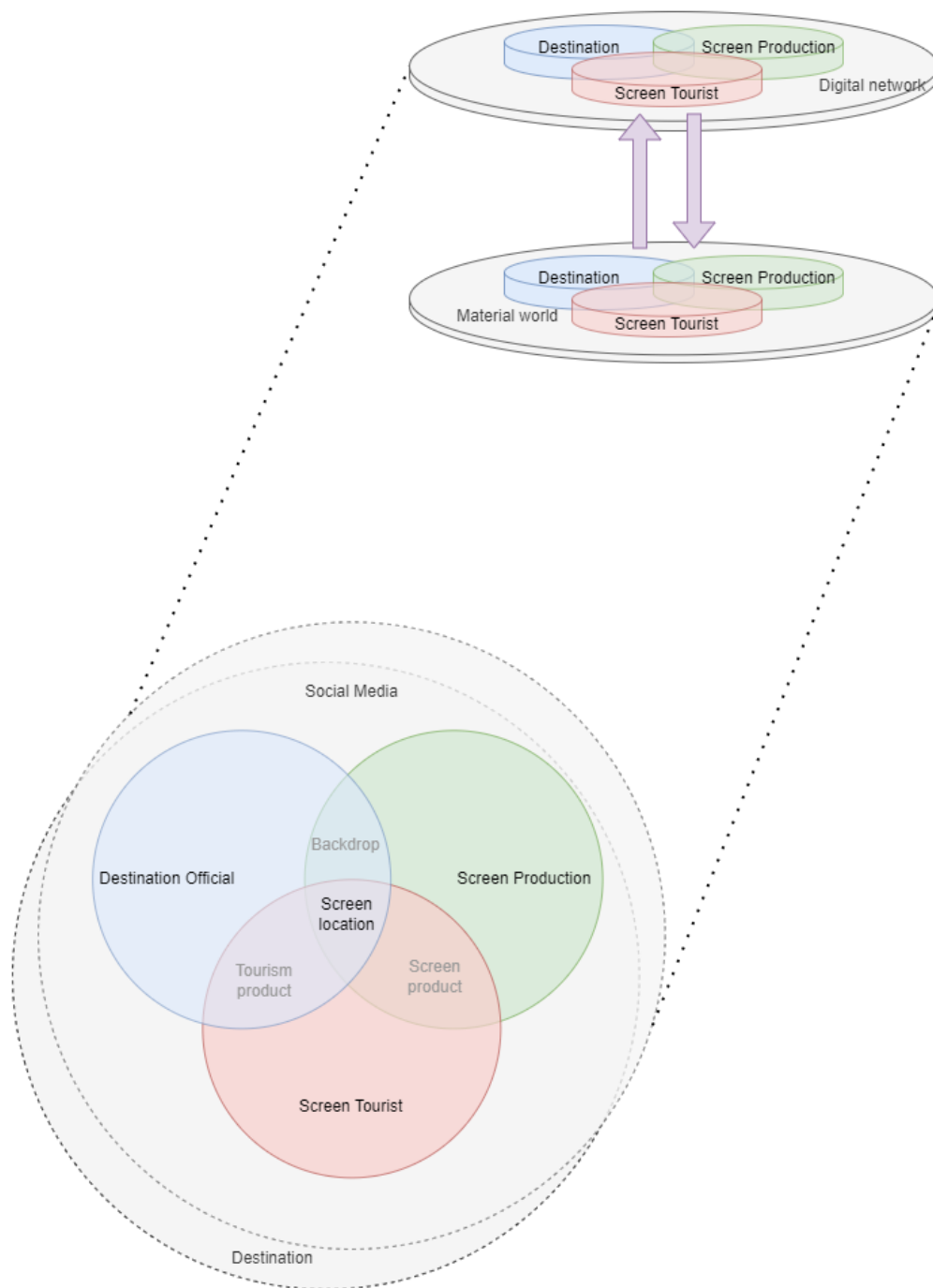


Figure 4.8: Venn-Diagram of the three groups in the case study and the different planes where co-production is playing out (Source: Own visualization)

shown in the Venn-diagram in figure 4.8: Screen Tourists connect to the Destination with a tourism product or experiences like screen locations (map 3.18), tours (page 76) or events (page 134). The Destination overlaps with the Production through the landscape of the Wilder Kaiser as backdrop of the screen product (page 124). And the circle closes with the Production connecting to Screen Tourists through the narratives, its characters and world-building within the screen product (page 247). The screen location is the central overlap all groups both physical and online spaces. It also marks the boundary between reality (daily life) and fiction (Mountain Doctore narrative) (page 61 or 76). It first links Screen Tourists and Destination to the screen product of the Production, then connects all groups among each other.

Social media impact on group overlap On the digital network plane, the overlap in the Venn-Diagram (figure 4.8) between case study groups expands. This shift reflects first of all dynamic online co-prosumption rather than simple co-production. Participants move fluidly between producing and consuming roles. This creates de-differentiation and brings as a result the groups closer together on social media. Part of Screen Tourism was always the work of Destinations to adopt prosumption by engaging with the screen product and its fandom. They must understand the narratives beyond traditional tourism aspects in order to engage in the ST co-production. Social media further expands overlap by smoothing differences across dimensions: Boundaries of work, leisure (page 88), space (page 91) and time (page 64) become less distinct. Social media allows crossing networks (page 91), making real-world distinctions less relevant. Janssons comments the "spreadable media (Jansson 2018a, p. 101)" that the post tourist actively participates in this co-production (page 91) as it is "a new and symbolically playful mode of travelling; one in which the traveller [...] was reflexively aware of the staged nature of mass tourism (Jansson 2018a, p. 101)" They recognize staged tourism but engage not caring about the old boundaries of modernity. Finally, Social medias borderline situation between reality and fiction creates a simulated space (page 76) that weakens the already thin boundaries still more present in the destination. These shifts because of the technology, the network and the interaction increases overlap and reshape screen tourism co-production. This is also what enables the hybrid cross-sectional influencers (page 258) from ST and Production.

Planes of co-production

Once online, content and accounts can develop independently within digital networks. Posts can be liked, shared, edited or turned into memes. Through these interactions, screen tourism communication continues evolving with online after leaving the material world. Co-production is part of social media as well as being

part of fandom. The three groups — Screen Tourists, Destination and Production (figure 4.8) — can be distinguished more in the material than in the digital network plane. Social media is still a place where the digital can connect to the material world. Screen tourism similarly links real locations with fictional narratives. However, the material and digital realms increasingly exist in parallel, writes Morris relating to Baudrillard's predictions in 1981. (cf. Morris 2021, p. 321) This is visible in the differences between the co-producing case study groups (page 222):

Destination accounts post closer to real-life conditions at the Wilder Kaiser and this likely reflects their status as residents of the region. Screen Tourists mainly experience the Wilder Kaiser through the screen product and Instagram content, producing co-production communication that is more likely to tend towards the Mountain Doctor screen product. Production accounts act more like influencers promoting themselves (page 179) and the TV show (page 197). This makes their screen tourism communication move away from the material region, marketing the show and destination as extraordinary. The co-

production of screen tourism is in the destination more grounded. Shifting to the digital network plane only the accounts of the Destination try to hold contact to the material world as the other groups co-produce content that is staged and more imaginary, moving closer to the screen product.

Exchange of the planes Most co-production occurs enclosed in the material or digital network plane. These spaces interact only occasionally. Instagram in this case still maintains a strong connection to the material world through indexical photography, geotags or ST's build in connections to the material spaces of screen productions. This allows co-production content and people to move between the Wilder Kaiser destination and the Instagram network. Screen tourism posts are usually triggered by experiences at medialized screen locations. So their Social media content often references tangible places and experiences like the Wilder Kaiser or tourism. Screen tourism in the digital network plane would simply be not possible without the plane of the material world, because it is defined as the leap from a media-based world into material reality and vice versa. Publishing a post can connect actors from



Figure 4.9: A fan screen tourist on the set of the Mountain Doctor screen production with actor Natali O'Hara (Source: Instagram Screenshot with post ID BLYkrimhEqM).

both realms creating a co-production between the planes (purple arrows in figure 4.8): Actors may interact with Screen Tourists and appear in their social media content (figure 4.9) and vice versa. Once you are in the destination people and content can move freely between the planes as the access to the social networks is even easier than to the destination. An exchange of planes can even happen with only one person. Actors involved in co-producing screen tourism in the Destination (e.g. Natalie O'Hara who plays Susanne Dreiseitl on the left side in costume in figure 4.9) may also join digital co-production through personal accounts (e.g. *natalieohara_official* has several screen tourism posts in table 3.7). And the exchange is not one way as the medialized Instagram gaze can have an effect on the destination and its screen location with overtourism (page 123) or mediatized ownership (page 234).

Co-production within groups and posts Social networks make it much easier to connect with other people. This strengthens co-production not only across groups but also inside them. Among Screen Tourists, co-production at the destination can be limited by for instance the tourist dilemma (page 48 or 67). On social media, however, connections between fans are built into the platform as well as co-production being also a common part of fandom culture. The subgroup of the influencers and their followers further drive co-production within the same group. These additional interactions not happening in the material world create additional opportunities for co-producing screen tourism. Even within one post co-production can happen like in figure 4.9 when different stakeholders come together for post.

Co-production and consumption Screen tourism communication on Instagram involves more than just production. Like other social media activity, it operates through prosumption²⁴. In the material world, consumption is easier than production but on social media, however, producing becomes much easier. For all case study groups, screen tourism communication therefore becomes a form of prosumption in the digital network plane (page 138, 158 and 175). Creating content for screen tourism communication is central, but so is consuming and interacting with other content, as this is normal social media behavior. It is baked into social media algorithms to further connect users co-producing screen tourism communication with similar content. As a result, consuming screen tourism content may increase engagement with the screen product and vice versa further supporting consumption in the digital network plane. Screen product and screen tourism prosumption can occur simultaneously because especially social media enables this continuous interaction. On Social media screen tourism communication is often close to content of the original inducing screen product: For example content related to the screen prod-

²⁴Combination of the words *production* and *consumption*

uct (but not screen tourism) from Production accounts like zdf.de can appear beside screen-tourism-related posts, also streaming the TV series for free is just one website away in the case of the Mountain Doctor show (page 67). Co-production online is therefore more directly influenced by the screen product than at the destination itself. Going back to Reijnders original classifications of co-production the first step is the consumption of the screen product which then induces, enables and motivates in a second step the production of screen tourism communication. As argued screen tourism communication is in the digital network plane more like a co-prosumption.

The (social) media side of the co-production

Gaining back image control With the rise of social media and widespread internet access, Destination Marketing Organizations lost their traditional control over their destination image. Networked representations of holiday destinations are especially difficult to control. Rather than controlling the image, the goal may be to steer it. Reijnders' concept of co-production of screen tourism could offer (on social media) one possible approach to influencing destination images. (cf. Månsson et al. 2020, p. 166) The once concentrated imaged making is no divided into stakeholder groups in ST communication. Only if the Destination participates they have a fighting chance taking back part of the control. So participating in co-production of screen tourism is helping the Destination to define their own image again. For many Destination Marketing Organizations this results in a more positive destination image and strengthens connections between fans and the destination. Overall, however, the trend continues toward mediatized destinations which ultimately leads to increasingly simulated tourism (page 80).

Co-deletion of screen tourism communication Photo deletion is central to social media behavior. Tourists quickly discard images that do not match idealized and screen-induced expectations. For screen tourists, photos act as proof (page 84), leading them to imitate the inducing media perspectives and deleting dissimilar shots. Especially screen tourists have screen induced expectations that precede the physical space leading to more conflicts on how the photo should look like. Screens both induce, guide and enable this process which is concentrating defining, creating, deleting and consuming into the same device. This is leading to the de-differentiation of technology. This results in selective posting, where shared images reflect narrow, standardized representations shaped by media and society. The outcome of this process is then visible in the findings of the case study data. So it is not only a co-production of screen tourism communication but also a kind of *co-deletion*: The images established by the Production, enforced by the Destination and made into stereotypes by all society push foremost the Screen Tourists into deleting a lot of

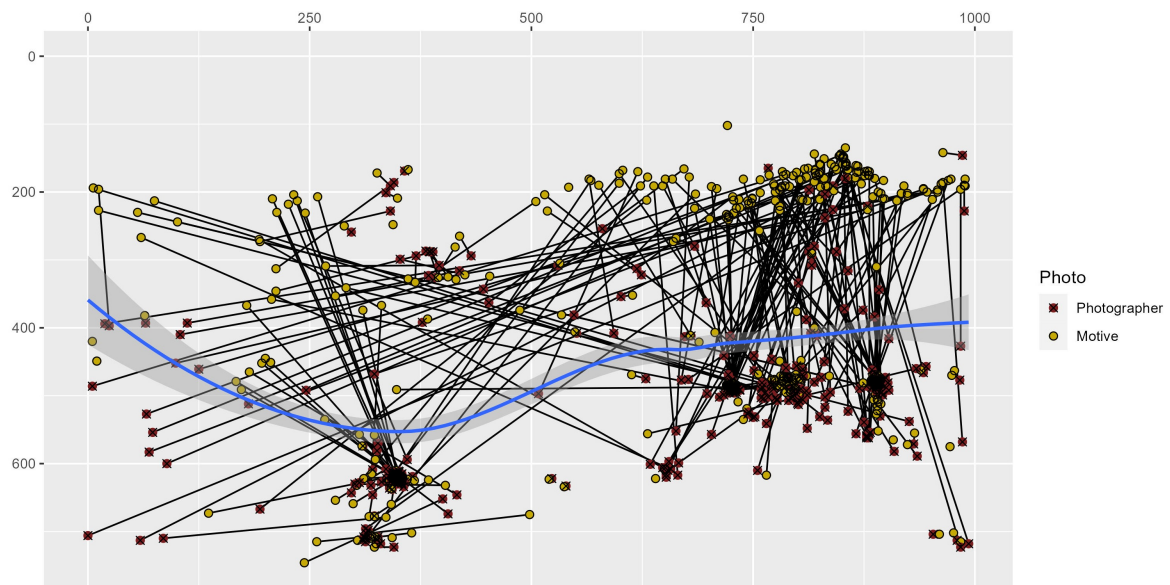


Figure 4.10: The connections between all photographer and motive positions show a pattern of photos shot across the Wilder Kaiser valley from south to north (Source: Own Data). The blue line is the regression line with the confidence interval in grey.

content. You delete photos to find one that proofs it all and binds all further investigation. The deletion stops when you potentially find a photo that is similar to the screen product or the de-differentiated image in screen tourism communication. With the screen product as its core the co-production is also a theory of what screen tourism experience was never mentioned or depicted because it was not part of the harmonized screen tourism communication.

The screen location core of screen tourism co-production The screen product, with its narrative and visuals, is the impuls of screen tourism in general. The screen location from the screen product connects all screen tourism case study groups (figure 4.8) and shapes the co-produced communication on Instagram. This is especially visible in the strong focus on the Wilder Kaiser mountain range (page 219). No other motive appears as consistently dominant in the dataset (figure 4.10). Most photos are taken near the main screen locations or fan event area (red square in figure 4.10), with the Wilder Kaiser mountain range (yellow circles) usually appearing prominently in the background. This pattern reflects the visual style of the original screen product which frequently uses outdoor scenes (page 123) and transition shots (page 122) featuring locations with the recognizable landscape of the Wilder Kaiser region. Screen Tourists, Destination and Production accounts all adopt this imagery. Although screen tourism is co-produced, the screen product remains its nucleus centering motives and locations from the narrative. The case study groups mainly²⁵

²⁵Except the few corporate accounts of @zdf.de or @ORF that only post original screen product

build upon the foundation created by the screen production with photos from the destination and its screen locations (page 214). Production creates the fiction, Destination supports it and Screen Tourists imagine themselves within it. Together, this co-production creates imaginative heritage grown out of a screen product's physical location in a destination.

Co-producing indirect advertising Word-of-mouth is crucial²⁶, as consumers trust other tourists more than tourism providers. All this while users share travel content to communicate sociability and emotion rather than to make vacation decisions. (cf. Senouci 2019, p. 1 + 2; Munar and Jacobsen 2014, p. 48 + 49) The Destination can create indirect marketing value through the screen products, which creates word-of-mouth advertising for the screen locations from fans and Screen Tourists. Production accounts act as intermediaries, being in a para-social relationship with fans (tourists), but are also not part of the Destination. The Production and their screen product are a presumably neutral third party. They mostly unintentionally carry the marketing messages of the Destination while promoting their own screen product.²⁷ Word-of-mouth is a communication that involves all the groups of the case study simultaneously but also sequentially. This paradox shows that while Screen Tourists believe that they are not influenced by Destination communication, they still engage in word-of-mouth marketing through screen products that were likely part of the Destination Marketing Organization's marketing strategy. Screen-inspired word-of-mouth is advertising by the back door, with advertising that is not visible to the regular tourist (page 166) and not perceived as marketing by the screen tourist. At the end they are not only co-producing simple screen tourism (communication) but part advertising for the destination image played off the side via a screen product and Production accounts on the digital network plane.

Tangible findings of co-production in the case study

Cross sectional groups: Influencer The groups refined from Reijnders' original classification (figure 2.8) proofed in the content analysis that they are reliable²⁸. Despite the robustness the analysis revealed a cross-sectional subgroup of accounts: This subgroup consists of *influencers* from different case study groups (page 223). Influencers are mainly defined in a social media context. They exist primarily within the digital network plane (figure 4.8) but as they normally come with a real human associated with them, they also affect the material plane. Their staged experiences at material.

²⁶It is only sometimes cursed in the form of a shitstorm.

²⁷More information on page 209.

²⁸They are still flexible enough to possibly align with other classification models, such as gentrification in urban geography. This could be the subject of future research.

the Wilder Kaiser are visible in their Instagram posts.²⁹ Within the dataset, these accounts showed a more professional (page 201) and recognizable style (page 213). They differed clearly from regular Screen Tourist posts. This supports Reijnders' approach of focusing on the dynamic parts of what is creating screen tourism. The result of this must now be, these groups must remain flexible and adaptable. As simulation, mediatization, and post-tourism continue evolving, co-production categories must evolve as well.

Power relation in co-production Individual presence on co-producing screen tourism increases on social networks, just as it is on the digital network plane in general. At the destination, influence is more systemic and concentrated in Screen Production, Destination Marketing Organizations and the wider tourism industry. The Digital network plane introduces new rules for co-production: Individuals can manage their own accounts instead of institutionalised players or being represented by others. For The Mountain Doctor, this means screen production members can appear alongside official production accounts³⁰: This includes main actors (page 214), crew members (figure 3.49), guest actors (figure 3.51) or casting agencies (like @schlag_agentur) etc. The same applies to the Destination group. Alongside national (@visitaustria), regional (@visittiro), local tourism boards (@wilder.kaiser) and big tourism players like @skiweltwilderkaiserbrixental, smaller local businesses also participate: These include hotels (@landhaus_strasser), restaurants (@cafe_beim_schuster) and shops outside official tourism networks (@bergundradl). On social media, they can join conversations around screen tourism because of the low entry barrier in general but on the material plane this would not be possible in that way as they are not part of the tourist boards official network. These accounts find different ways to connect their business to screen tourism, often through images or captions like the example in figure 3.75. When these links are substantial, they count as genuine co-production or could be considered hijacking (page 218). However, their influence is usually limited compared to institutional accounts. A key exception is the cross-sectional group of influencers, whose individual reach can be much greater, even bigger than national Destination Marketing Organization accounts or the screen production. In general, we should not fixate too much on the stakeholder groups as cross-sectional groups could be discovered or individual agents dominate ST co-production.

Neglected co-production parts The strong influence of the screen product shapes the image of the Destination but also what is communicated in co-production. Some parts of the destination are neglected or a whole season like winter is mostly ignored

²⁹ Although not the main focus of this study, influencers offer another perspective on screen tourism co-production for future research

³⁰ The official Instagram channel bergdoktorofficial or the broadcast station ZDF.

(page 3.5). Winter attractions like the account for the ski hill at the Wilder Kaiser can only acquire slight additional value and are mostly neglected in the co-production of screen tourism communication online. Even the Destination group - dependent on winter tourism - produces overall relatively little winter screen tourism communication. Also Screen Tourists are strongly influenced by the screen product's narrative choices, which encourages visits in the warmer hiking season and posts from the mountain summer (page 215). The same pattern of influence appears in the neglected representation of the town of Scheffau (page 212). The established screen product influences what is neglected from the destination and what is presented from the Mountain Doctor screen locations. The BD show shapes what kind of content is created and by that indirectly who can participate in co-production of this content.

Entering co-production Production, and to a lesser extent the Destination, shape screen location representations as they are involved before the screen product is distributed. Screen Tourists enter co-production later, either at the destination or on social media. They are therefore already influenced by the screen product when they arrive or publish posts. The Destination Marketing Organization can partly shape the destination image, but only within the boundaries of the established screen narrative. After more than fifteen years of the Mountain Doctor, this image is difficult to expand on or challenge the boundaries. The Production as first mover always has an edge over the other stakeholder groups.

Exploiting co-production Tap into the co-production of screen tourism occurs less in the material world than on social networks. Co-production encourages participation, but not all participation is meaningful or associated with screen tourism. The examples on page 218 show posts with little substantial screen tourism content that distribute unrelated messages. Yet they still become part of screen tourism communication as it is difficult to define clear criteria for when participation becomes exploitation. This behavior may be seen as leeching as some accounts likely use the show's popularity just to attract attention for themselves. Even so, it still contributes to overall co-production within digital networks. Because these posts use the same hashtags and geotags, users encounter them like genuine screen tourism posts. They therefore influence screen tourism communication on Instagram anyhow. However, they are not screen tourism communication in the strict sense but we should be careful not to ignore them completely. They still gather lots of interactions which means the users still react to the posts and they have an influence on the user.

Fan fest event as best example of co-production The Mountain Doctor fan fest at the Hexenwasser Alm is the clearest example of screen tourism co-production. It is visible across all three case study groups. Figure 4.11 captures all three perspec-

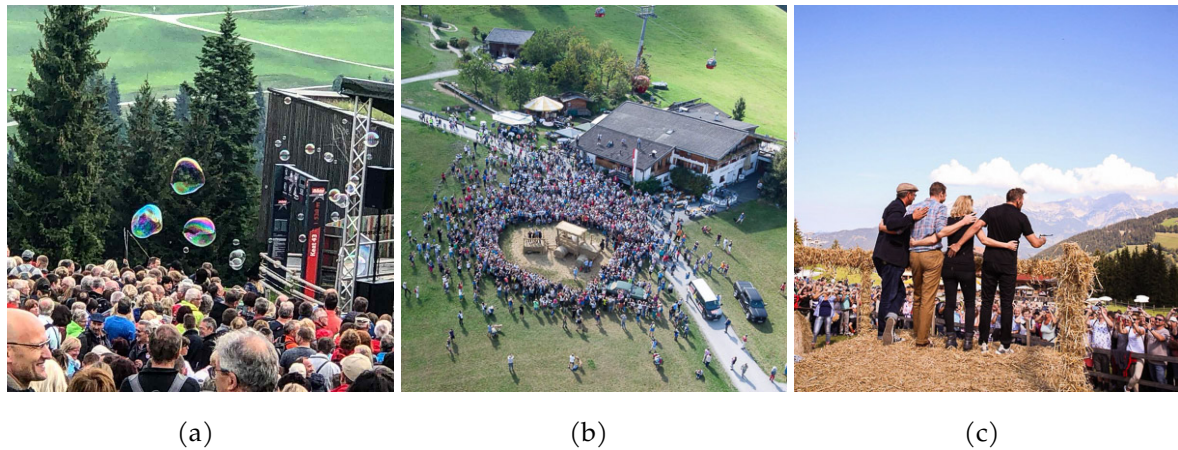


Figure 4.11: Photos from (a) Screen Tourist, (b) Destination account skiweltwilderkaiserbrixental and (c) Production account Mark Keller of the Mountain Doctor fan fest at the Hexenwasser Alm (Source: Screenshots from post IDs (a) B2UMBPOI4TU, (b) BntY6Z0nIEt and (c) Bns4QqGhwk2).

tives: (a) the Screen Tourist perspective focuses on the stage from within the crowd, (b) the Destination perspective emphasizes the location and the event as a whole and (c) the Production perspective shows the actors' view of the Screen Tourist audience. These three photos highlight how each group contributes a distinct gaze but these perspectives are not always so clearly distinguishable. At the fan festival, however, they align naturally with each group's role: (a) Screen Tourists attend as guests and participants, (b) the Destination organizes the event and provides the setting and (c) the Production contributes through the presence of actors as the main attraction. The event exists only through the collaboration of all three groups and this shared experience is later extended through social media communication. The communication in screen tourism is no longer controlled only by traditional gatekeepers (page 246) but instead, multiple perspectives now shape co-production in the material and digital plane. The fan fest shows that while co-production creates overlap with a de-differentiation tendency (page 228) and an influential screen product (page 257), each group can retain its distinct identity and perspective. This makes it easy to distinguish the participating groups but also makes the co-production of screen tourism communication really evident.

Conclusion of the method of co-producing screen tourism

Reijnders' categories from van Es et al. 2021 provided a strong foundation for this study. However, adapting them was necessary (page 41) to sharpen group selectiveness and focus on power relations rather than sequence. Separating screen production from viewers and fans improved analytical clarity. The Destination was also

more clearly defined as the screen location and its benefiting local agents. This excluded the wider local community, which was not analyzed as a separate group in this work but could be picked up in future research. The sequential dimension of Reijnders' original classification became less relevant as the focus shifted away from viewers gradually becoming fans and then screen tourists. Instead, the analysis highlighted power relations within screen tourism co-production. First the main source of power lies in the screen product itself (page 224) as it shapes what is shown, what is neglected and who can participate: Secondly the influencer subgroup further showed how power on social media depends on follower size. This applies across all case study groups despite social media's broader accessibility. Thirdly the study also revealed shifting power dynamics between material and digital planes. Follower size matters online, but all accounts have greater participation opportunities (page 259) than at the destination. The ease of posting also makes digital screen tourism co-production easier to exploit (page 260). Power relations online mirror those in the material world but the differences are smaller, more dynamic and visible. The refined categories made these patterns easier to identify. They showed that screen tourism co-production is more than just the outcome of imaginative heritage but a whole process of co-prosumption of groups gathering around a common screen location (figure 4.8). Screen tourism co-production depends so much on genre, narrative and production time of the underling screen product as well as the environment and policies of the destination that case studies are hard to compare. But overall, the categories presented here have proven to be a clearer method for analyzing the diverse screen tourism phenomena and its co-production in the material world and digital networks.

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Trace interview questionnaire

The question in this section are left in their original form as they were asked in the trace interview in German. This is done to show how the questions were originally asked to the respondents. Later when it gets to the answers they are translated to understand the question and answer items. The complete design of the survey on SoSciSurvey can be found in the repo under this link:

https://github.com/bergdoktorarbeit/bergdoktorarbeit_public/tree/main/scripts/SociSurvey_Traceinterview_Code

Table 5.1: Trace interview questions for screen tourists

Question	Answers	Type	Input
Wie viele Folgen der Serie „Der Bergdoktor“ haben Sie gesehen?		Nominal	Selection
Welche Staffeln der Serie "Der Bergdoktor" haben sie gesehen?	Staffel 1, Staffel 2, [...], Staffel 15, Keine Staffel	Metric	System
Sind Sie ein Fan der Serie?		Metric	Scale
Beschäftigen Sie sich auch über das wöchentlichen Schauen der neusten Folgen der Serie "Der Bergdoktor" hinaus mit der Serie oder ihren Charakteren?		Ordinal	Scale
Wie viel Zeit verbringen Sie durchschnittlich am Tag auf Instagram?		Nominal	Selection
Welche Themen interessieren Sie normalerweise am meisten auf Instagram?	"Reisen & Destination", "Mode & Beauty", "Sport & gesundes Leben", "Kunst & Kultur", "Stars & Sternchen", "Kochen & Backen", "Neuigkeiten & News", "Freunde & Verwandte", "Comedy & Memes", "Heimwerken & Basteln"	Ordinal	Scale
Wie sehr haben Sie Instagram in der Vorbereitung auf den Urlaub am Wilden Kaiser genutzt?	"Ich habe vor dem Urlaub bei Instagram über den Wilden Kaiser recherchiert.", "Ich habe vor oder während meines Urlaubs andere Tourismusbeiträge vom Wilden Kaiser auf Instagram wahrgenommen.", "Ich habe mir Beiträge von Accounts der Destination angesehen (Bsp.: Visit Tirol).", "Ich folge den offiziellen Tourismuskonten der Destination auf Instagram (Bsp.: Wilder Kaiser, Love Austria oder andere).", "Ich habe mir Beiträge von Schauspieler:innen und der Filmcrew am Wilden Kaiser angesehen.", "Ich habe Instagram nicht genutzt, um mich über den Wilden Kaiser zu informieren."	Ordinal	Scale
Haben Sie die Beiträge der anderen Akteure in Ihrer Entscheidung, an den Wilden Kaiser zu fahren, beeinflusst?	"Beiträge von anderen Touristen im Urlaub am Wilden Kaiser", "Beiträge von Schauspieler:innen und der Filmcrew am Wilden Kaiser", "Beiträge der lokalen Tourismuskonten (Bsp.: Visit Tirol)"	Ordinal	Scale
Wie stellt sich der Wilde Kaiser dar?	"Der Wilde Kaiser erschien mir vor Ort so, wie ich das auf Instagram wahrgenommen habe.", "Es war vor Ort am Wilden Kaiser schöner als die Instagram-Bilder es zeigen konnten.", "Meine Erwartungen durch die Instagram-Beiträge konnte der Wilde Kaiser vor Ort nicht erfüllen.", "Ich habe mir vor dem Urlaub keine Instagram-Beiträge vom Wilden Kaiser angesehen."	Ordinal	Scale

Question	Answers	Type	Input
Waren Sie schon mal auf einem Bergdoktor-Fantag am Wilden Kaiser?		Nominal	Selection
In welchem Zeitraum fand der Urlaub am Wilden Kaiser statt, von dem die auf Instagram geposteten Fotos stammen?		Date	Open
Was hat Sie zu dieser Reise motiviert?		Text	Open
Welche Rolle hat die Serie "Der Bergdoktor" gespielt?		Nominal	Selection
Was waren Ihre Gründe, die Drehorte des Bergdoktors am Wilden Kaiser zu besuchen?	"Ich wollte in die Fußstapfen meiner Lieblingsschauspieler:innen treten.", "Ich wollte selbst einmal an dem Drehort der Serie "Der Bergdoktor" stehen.", "Mich interessiert der reale Ort; nicht die Relevanz des Ortes als Drehort in der Serie "Der Bergdoktor".", "Ich bin ein loyaler Fan und wollte das zum Ausdruck bringen.", "Ich finde die Landschaft einfach beeindruckend und wollte sie selbst sehen.", "Ich habe das Gefühl durch die Serie den Wilden Kaiser zu kennen.", "Ich wollte einfach Spaß haben und mich entertainen lassen.", "Ich wollte etwas Besonderes machen in meinem Urlaub.", "Ich wollte etwas Neues und Ungewöhnliches wagen.", "Ich war auf der Suche nach einer einzigartigen Erfahrung.", "Es war nicht meine Idee, sondern die meiner Reisebegleitung."	Ordinal	Scale
Wie haben Sie die Drehorte entdeckt bzw. davon erfahren?		Nominal	Selection
Welche Drehorte haben Sie am Wilden Kaiser besucht?	"Gruberhof (Elternhaus/Bauernhof)", "Praxis des Bergdoktors", "Gasthof zum Wilden Kaiser", "Krankenhaus", "Dorfplatz und Kirche", "Apotheke", "Hintersteiner See"	Ordinal	Ranking
An welchen Drehorten waren Sie ihrem Gefühl nach der fiktionalen Welt der Serie "Der Bergdoktor" und ihrer Charaktere besonders nahe?	"Gruberhof (Elternhaus/Bauernhof)", "Praxis des Bergdoktors", "Gasthof zum Wilden Kaiser", "Krankenhaus", "Dorfplatz und Kirche", "Apotheke", "Hintersteiner See"	Metric	Scale
Wie oft waren Sie schon am Wilden Kaiser?		Nominal	Selection
Waren Sie schon mal bewusst an anderen Film-tourismus Orten?		Nominal	Selection
Ich habe mir den Instagram-Beitrag hinter dem Link angesehen?		Ordinal	Scale
Ist das Ihr Beitrag zum Thema "Filmtourismus am Wilden Kaiser"?		Nominal	Selection
Ort des Fotomotiv?		Metric	System
Standort der Fotograf:in?		Metric	System

Question	Answers	Type	Input
Ist der Beitrag ein "repost" eines anderen Beitrags?		Nominal	Selection
Warum haben Sie diesen Beitrag auf Instagram mit diesen Hashtags veröffentlicht?		Text	Open
Warum haben Sie diesen Beitrag auf Instagram mit diesen Mentions veröffentlicht?		Text	Open
Warum haben Sie diesen Beitrag auf Instagram mit diesem Text veröffentlicht?		Text	Open
Warum haben Sie sich bei diesem Instagram-Beitrag für dieses Foto (bzw. Albumfotos) entschieden?		Text	Open
Wie war die Situation vor Ort, als das Foto entstanden ist?		Text	Open
Welchen fiktionalen Ort aus der Serie "Der Bergdoktor" zeigt das Foto aus Ihrem Beitrag?		Nominal	Selection
Wann ist das Foto/Bild entstanden?		Date	Open
Wurde der Beitrag gepostet, direkt nachdem das Foto/Bild im Urlaub am Wilden Kaiser entstanden ist?		Nominal	Selection
Wo wohnen Sie?		Text	Open
In welcher Art von Gemeinschaft leben Sie?		Nominal	Selection
Was ist Ihr Geburtsjahr?		Metric	Open
Was ist Ihr höchster Bildungsabschluss?		Nominal	Selection
Welchen Familienstand haben Sie zurzeit?		Nominal	Selection
In welcher Berufsgruppe sind Sie tätig?		Nominal	Selection
Welche Serien schauen Sie neben dem Bergdoktor im Fernsehen?		Text	Open
Was ist Ihre Lieblingsrubrik im Fernsehen gemessen an der Zeit, die sie damit verbringen?	"Dokumentation", "Sport", "Serien", "Filme", "Spielshows", "Magazine", "Nachrichten", "Live-Events"	Ordinal	Ranking
Möchten Sie noch etwas sagen?		Text	Open

Table 5.2: Trace interview questions for the destination

Question	Answers	Type	Input
Haben die Mitarbeiter:innen, zuständig für Filmtourismusbeiträge, auf Instagram die Serie "Der Bergdoktor" gesehen?		Nominal	Selection
Wie tritt Ihr Account auf Instagram insgesamt auf?	"Aktiv", "Interessant", "Bescheiden", "Locker", "Formell", "Ehrlich"	Ordinal	Scale
Was kam zuerst?	"Die Bergdoktor-Filmtouristen an den Wilden Kaiser.", "Die Vermarktung des Wilden Kaiser als Bergdoktor-Drehstandort.", "Vermarktung und Filmtouristen kamen ungefähr zur gleichen Zeit."	Nominal	Selection
Ist Filmtourismus Teil der Social-Media-Strategie Ihres Accounts?		Nominal	Selection
Gibt es bestimmte Vorgaben speziell für Filmtourismus-Beiträge durch Verantwortliche in der Destination?		Text	Open
Versucht Ihr Account sich bei Filmtourismus-Beiträgen einem bestimmten Stil anderer Akteure auf Instagram anzunähern?	"Screentouristen", "Allgemeine Touristen", "TV-Produktion", "Eigener allgemeiner Social Media-Stil", "Aktuellen Trends", "Anderes"	Metric	Scale
In welcher Jahreszeit findet Filmtourismus am Wilden Kaiser eher statt?	"Frühling", "Sommer", "Herbst", "Winter"	Metric	System
Ermutigen Sie Ihre Touristen dazu Fotos bzw. Beiträge von den Drehorten der Serie "Der Bergdoktor" zu machen und sie auf Instagram zu veröffentlichen?		Ordinal	Scale
Ermutigen Sie die Film-Produktion und ihre Mitarbeiter:innen dazu Fotos bzw. Beiträge von den Drehorten der Serie "Der Bergdoktor" zu machen und sie auf Instagram zu veröffentlichen?		Ordinal	Scale
Hat sich das Image des Wilden Kaisers aufgrund der Serie "Der Bergdoktor" verändert?		Metric	Scale
Was sind laut Ihrer Meinung und Einsicht die beliebtesten Filmtourismusorte der Serie "Der Bergdoktor" am Wilden Kaiser?	"Gruberhof (Elternhaus/Bauernhof)", "Praxis des Bergdoktors", "Gasthof zum Wilden Kaiser", "Krankenhaus", "Dorfplatz und Kirche", "Apotheke", "Hintersteiner See"	Ordinal	Ranking
Was sind laut Ihrer Meinung und Einsicht die beliebtesten Drehorte der Serie "Der Bergdoktor" in den sozialen Medien?	"Gruberhof (Elternhaus/Bauernhof)", "Praxis des Bergdoktors", "Gasthof zum Wilden Kaiser", "Krankenhaus", "Dorfplatz und Kirche", "Apotheke", "Hintersteiner See"	Ordinal	Ranking
Wie schätzen Sie die Bergdoktor-Fantage am Wilden Kaiser ein?		Text	Open
Ich habe mir den Instagram-Beitrag hinter dem Link angesehen?		Ordinal	Scale
Ist das Ihr Beitrag zum Thema "Filmtourismus am Wilden Kaiser"?		Nominal	Selection

Question	Answers	Type	Input
Gab oder gibt es Überlegungen Virtual Reality (VR) bzw. Augmented Reality (AR) oder verwandte Technologien beim Filmtourismus am Wilder Kaiser einzusetzen?	"Es gab Überlegungen in der Vergangenheit", "Es gibt aktuell aktive Projekte", "Es gibt Pläne für die Zukunft", "Darüber haben wir uns keinerlei Gedanken gemacht."	Ordinal	Scale
Ist der Beitrag ein "Repost" eines anderen Beitrags?		Nominal	Selection
Warum haben Sie diesen Beitrag auf Instagram mit diesen "Hashtags" veröffentlicht?		Text	Open
Warum haben Sie diesen Beitrag auf Instagram mit diesen "Mentions" veröffentlicht?		Text	Open
Warum haben Sie diesen Beitrag auf Instagram mit diesem Text veröffentlicht?		Text	Open
Warum haben Sie sich bei Ihrem Instagram-Beitrag für dieses Foto (bzw. Albumfotos) entschieden?		Text	Open
Handelt es sich im Beitrag um ein kommerzielles Foto?		Nominal	Selection
Ort des Fotomotiv?		Metric	System
Standort der Fotograf:in?		Metric	System
Welchen fiktionalen Ort aus der Serie "Der Bergdoktor" zeigt das Foto aus Ihrem Beitrag?	"Gruberhof (Elternhaus/Bauernhof)", "Praxis des Bergdoktors", "Gasthof zum Wilden Kaiser", "Krankenhaus", "Dorfplatz und Kirche", "Apotheke", "Hintersteiner See"	Nominal	Selection
Welchen fiktionalen Ort aus der Serie "Der Bergdoktor" zeigt das Foto aus Ihrem Beitrag?	"Gruberhof (Elternhaus/Bauernhof)", "Praxis des Bergdoktors", "Gasthof zum Wilden Kaiser", "Krankenhaus", "Dorfplatz und Kirche", "Apotheke", "Hintersteiner See"	Text	Open
Wann ist das Foto/Bild entstanden?		Date	Open
Haben Sie für oder im Foto etwas verändert? Haben Sie den Drehort so fotografiert wie Sie ihn vor Ort vorgefunden haben?		Metric	Scale
Gibt es belastbare Zahlen zum durchschnittlichen Alter von Fans der Serie "Der Bergdoktor" am Wilden Kaiser?		Text	Open
Welche Art von Urlauber:innen entscheiden sich, motiviert durch die Serie "Der Bergdoktor", für Filmtourismus am Wilden Kaiser?	"Kulturtouristen", "Bildungstouristen", "Naturtouristen", "Sporttouristen", "Gesundheitstouristen", "Erholungstouristen", "Wellnestouristen", "Rucksacktouristen", "Andere, bitte spezifizieren"	Metric	System
In welcher Form reisen Filmtouristen der Serie "Der Bergdoktor" vorrangig an den Wilden Kaiser?	"Individualreisen/Veranstalterreisen", "Exklusivtourismus/Massentourismus", "Fremdenverkehr/Binnentourismus"	Ordinal	Scale

Question	Answers	Type	Input
Mit welchem Verkehrsmittel reisen die Filmtouristen der Serie "Der Bergdoktor" an den Wilden Kaiser?	"Auto", "Wohnwagen", "Bus", "Bahn", "Flugzeug", "Schiff/Boot", "zu Fuß", "Anderes, bitte spezifizieren"	Metric	System
Wie lange bleiben die Filmtouristen der Serie "Der Bergdoktor" durchschnittlich am Wilden Kaiser?		Nominal	Selection
Welche anderen Medienproduktionen locken Filmtouristen an den Wilden Kaiser?		Text	Open
Möchten Sie noch etwas sagen?		Text	Open

Table 5.3: Trace interview questions for the production

Question	Answers	Type	Input
Wie viel Zeit verbringen Sie durchschnittlich am Tag mit Instagram?		Nominal	Selection
Wie tritt Ihr Account auf Instagram insgesamt auf?	"Aktiv", "Interessant", "Bescheiden", "Locker", "Formell", "Ehrlich"	Ordinal	Scale
Gibt es bestimmte Vorgaben speziell für Filmtourismus-Beiträge durch Verantwortliche in der Destination?		Text	Open
Gibt es bestimmte Vorgaben durch die Produktion (ZDF, ORF, NDF, etc.) wie die Serie "Der Bergdoktor" dargestellt werden soll auf Instagram?		Text	Open
Was sind laut Ihrer Meinung und Einsicht die von Touristen meist besuchten Drehorte der Serie "Der Bergdoktor"?	"Gruberhof (Elternhaus/Bauernhof)", "Praxis des Bergdoktors", "Gasthof zum Wilden Kaiser", "Krankenhaus", "Dorfplatz und Kirche", "Apotheke", "Hintersteiner See"	Ordinal	Ranking
Wie schätzen Sie die Bergdoktor-Fantage am Wilden Kaiser ein?		Text	Open
War der Ort der Produktion am Wilden Kaiser einer der Gründe bei der Serie "Der Bergdoktor" mitzuwirken?		Metric	Scale
Was sind laut Ihrer Meinung und Einsicht die meist genutzten Drehorte der Serie "Der Bergdoktor" am Wilden Kaiser?	"Gruberhof (Elternhaus/Bauernhof)", "Praxis des Bergdoktors", "Gasthof zum Wilden Kaiser", "Krankenhaus", "Dorfplatz und Kirche", "Apotheke", "Hintersteiner See"	Ordinal	Ranking
Ist der Beitrag ein "repost" eines anderen Beitrags?		Nominal	Selection
Warum haben Sie diesen Beitrag auf Instagram mit diesen "Hashtags" veröffentlicht?		Text	Open
Warum haben Sie diesen Beitrag auf Instagram mit diesen "Mentions" veröffentlicht?		Text	Open
Warum haben Sie diesen Beitrag auf Instagram mit diesem Text veröffentlicht?		Text	Open
Warum haben Sie sich bei diesem Instagram-Beitrag für dieses Foto (bzw. Albumfotos) entschieden?		Text	Open
Handelt es sich bei dem Foto im Beitrag um ein kommerzielles Foto?		Nominal	Selection
Wie war die Situation vor Ort, als das Foto entstanden ist?		Text	Open
Welchen fiktionalen Ort aus der Serie "Der Bergdoktor" zeigt das Foto aus Ihrem Beitrag?		Nominal	Selection
Wann ist das Foto/Bild entstanden?		Date	Open

Question	Answers	Type	Input
Wurde der Beitrag gepostet, direkt nachdem das Foto/Bild beim Dreh am Wilden Kaiser entstanden ist?		Nominal	Selection
Haben Sie den Drehort so fotografiert wie Sie ihn vor Ort vorgefunden haben? Haben Sie für oder im Foto etwas verändert?		Metric	Scale
Wie viele Jahre bzw. Staffeln sind Sie bereits Teil der "Der Bergdoktor" Produktion?		Metric	Open
Welche Rolle haben Sie bei der Produktion der Serie "Der Bergdoktor"?		Nominal	Selection
Bei welchen anderen Produktionen sind Sie neben der Serie "Der Bergdoktor" noch aktiv?		Text	Open
Möchten Sie noch etwas sagen?		Text	Open

Vector calculations for Photo-Motive-Triangle

Calculations and the corresponding letters are found in figure 5.1 on page 306.

The distance or height (h) of the triangle was calculated between the coordinates of the photographer (x_p, y_p) as vector $\vec{p}$ and the motive (x_m, y_m) as vector $\vec{m}$:

$$h = \sqrt{(x_m - x_p)^2 + (y_m - y_p)^2}$$

A constant factor (f) for the camera angle between the opposite (a_1) and adjacent (a_2) was determined by the researchers smartphone as 1.3076.¹ The calculation for the hypotenuse (b) was now the height (h) divided by two times the factor (f):

$$b = \frac{h}{2 * f}$$

With the length of the hypotenuse (b) the calculation of the two corner xy-coordinates (x_{c_1}, y_{c_1}) and (x_{c_2}, y_{c_2}) was possible.

Determine the (x_h, y_h) as vector $\vec{h}$ that points from the photo coordinate $\vec{p}$ to the motive coordinate $\vec{m}$:

$$\vec{h} = \begin{pmatrix} x_m - x_p \\ y_m - y_p \end{pmatrix}$$

Rotate the vector $\vec{h}$ 90 degrees clockwise:

$$\vec{h}_r = \begin{pmatrix} -y_h \\ x_h \end{pmatrix}$$

Scale the vector $\vec{h}_r$ to the length of the hypotenuse (b):

$$\vec{h}_s = \frac{\vec{h}_r}{\sqrt{\sum(\vec{h}_r^2)}} \times b$$

Calculate the coordinates of the two corners points (x_{c_1}, y_{c_1}) as vector $\vec{c}_1$ and (x_{c_2}, y_{c_2}) as vector $\vec{c}_2$ on each side of the hypotenuse (b) from the motive vector $\vec{m}$:

$$\vec{c}_1 = \vec{m} + \vec{h}_s$$

$$\vec{c}_2 = \vec{m} - \vec{h}_s$$

The vectors of $\vec{c}_1$ and $\vec{c}_2$ are finally rounded to the same level as the input values for $\vec{m}$ and $\vec{p}$ to ensure the placement with the same accuracy on the map as the connected triangle coordinates.

¹The tests and calculations were specific to the researcher's smartphone model, so they may not represent the angle of every smartphone lens. However, since the iPhone is widely used, it should cover most standard cases, and most tourism photography on Instagram is done with similar smartphones.

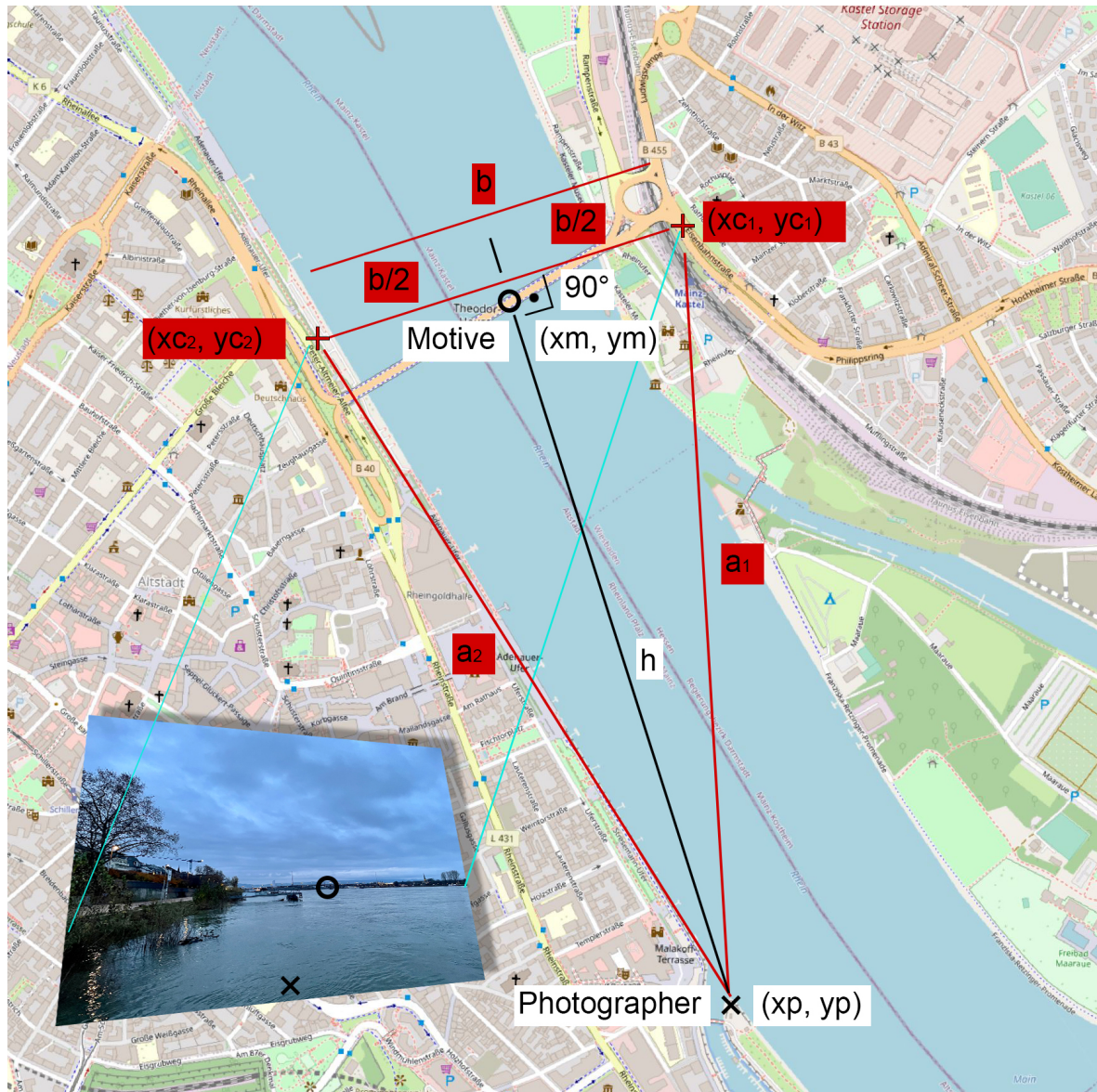


Figure 5.1: Example of the viewpoint triangle (red lines) between the position of the photographer (xp, yp) and the motive (xm, ym) in the city of Mainz (source: own photo and figure with underlying OSM standard map).

Additional supporting figures, tables and maps

Maps

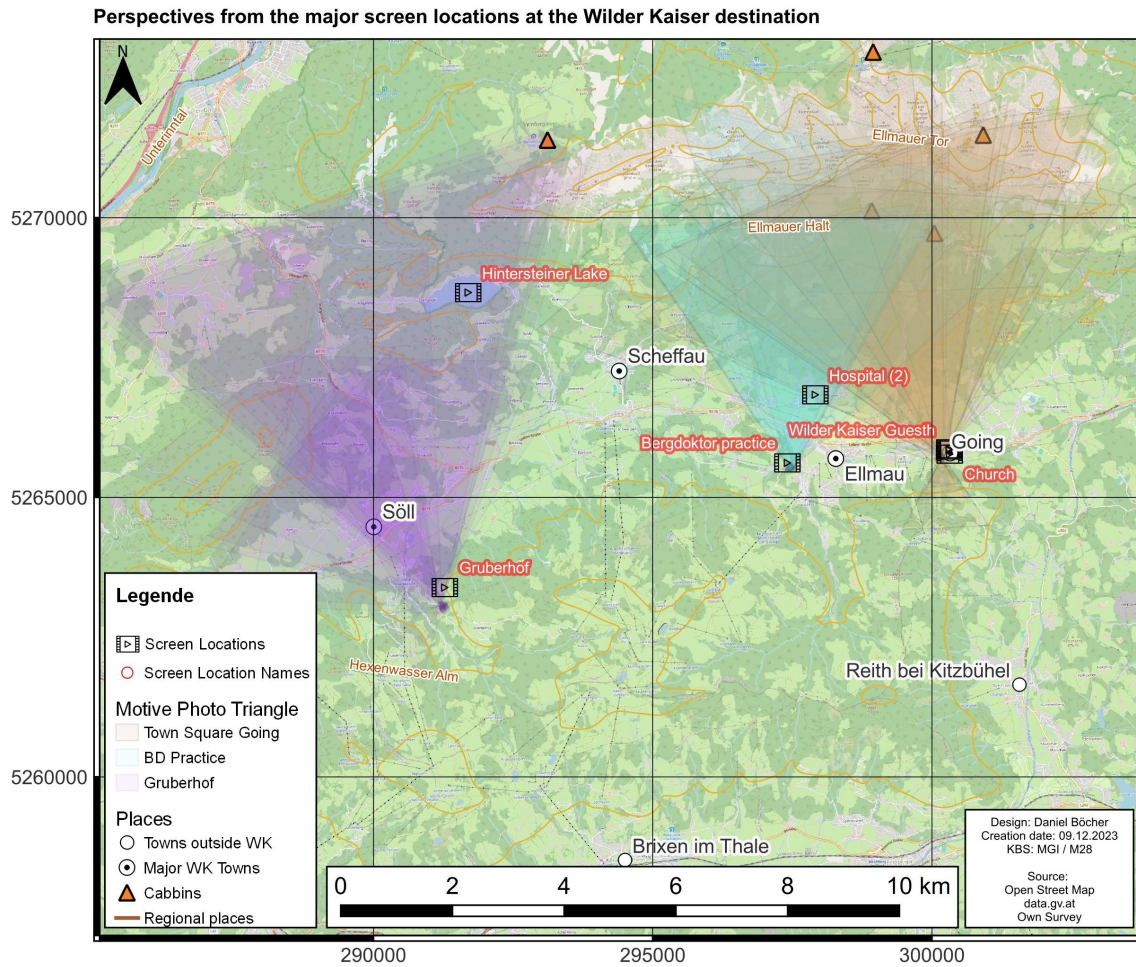


Figure 5.2: The screen tourist perspective of every photographer at the three major screen locations of the (f.l.t.r) Gruberhof, Bergdoktor Practice and the Town Square in Going (Source: Own Map).

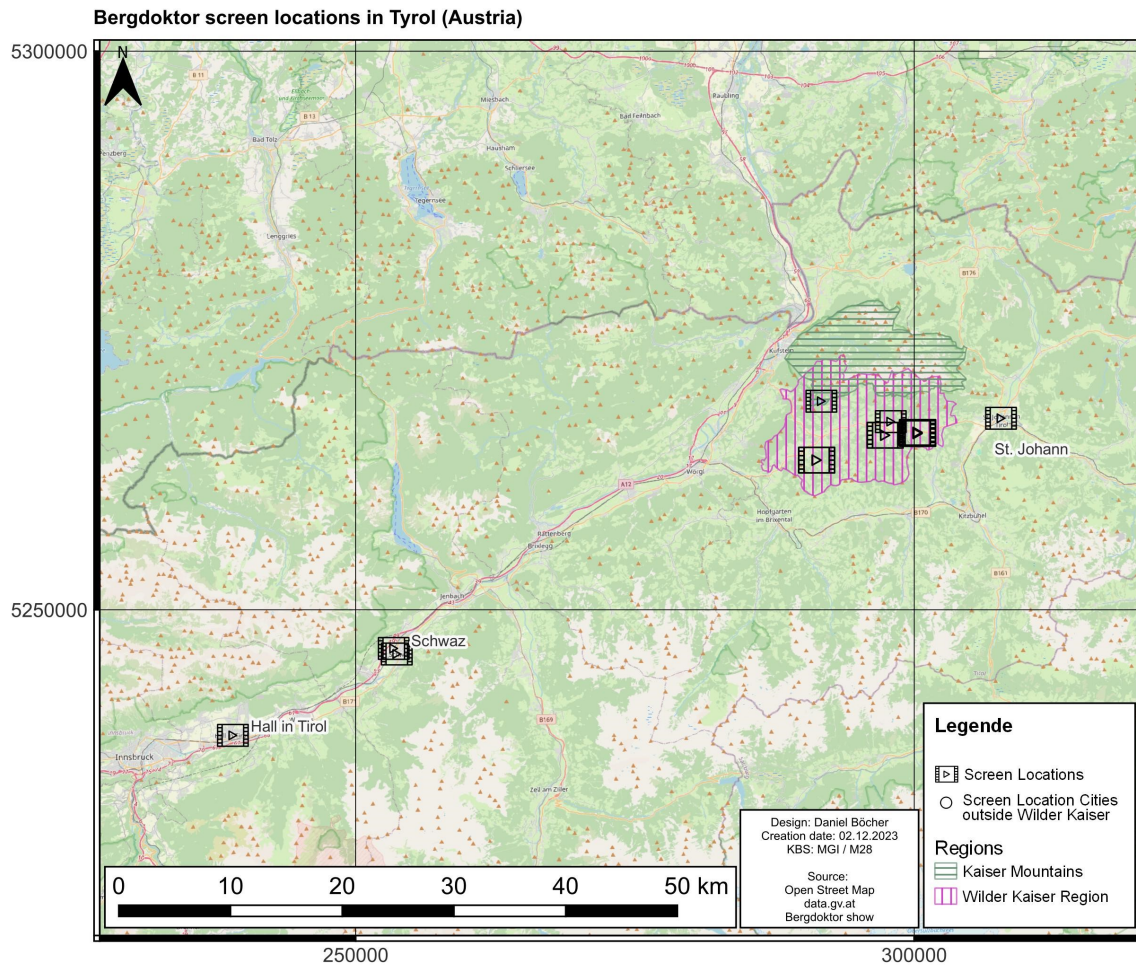


Figure 5.3: Recurring screen locations in the Wilder Kaiser destination and the surrounding area in the federal state of Tyrol (source: own map).

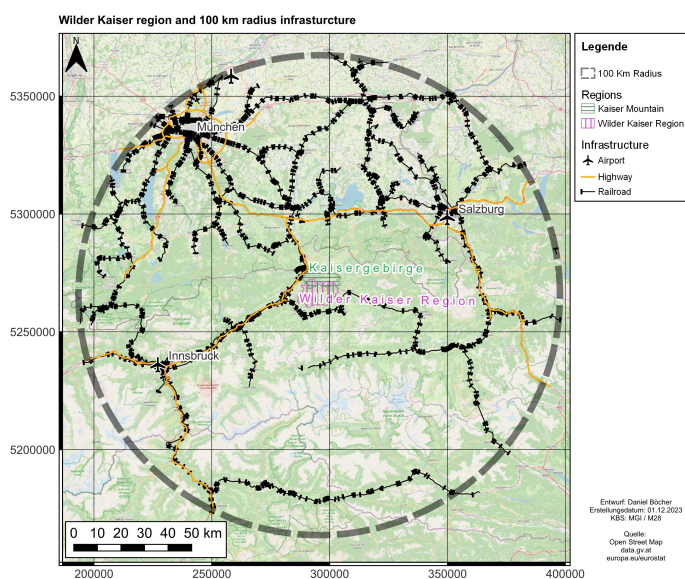


Figure 5.4: The transportation infrastructure from the Munich metropolitan area to the Austrian valleys near Wilder Kaiser (Source: Own Map).

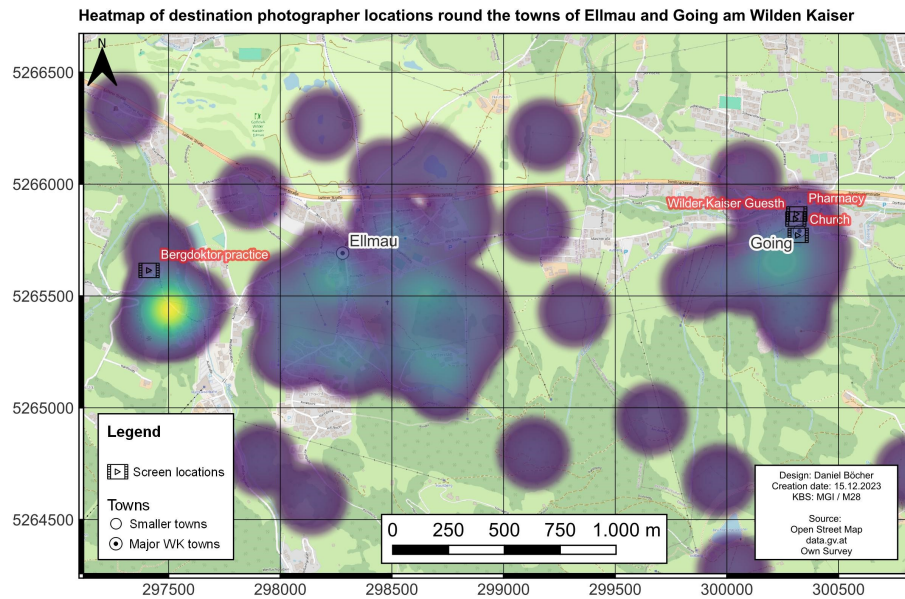


Figure 5.5: A heatmap of the destination photos with photographer locations near Ellmau (Source: Own map).

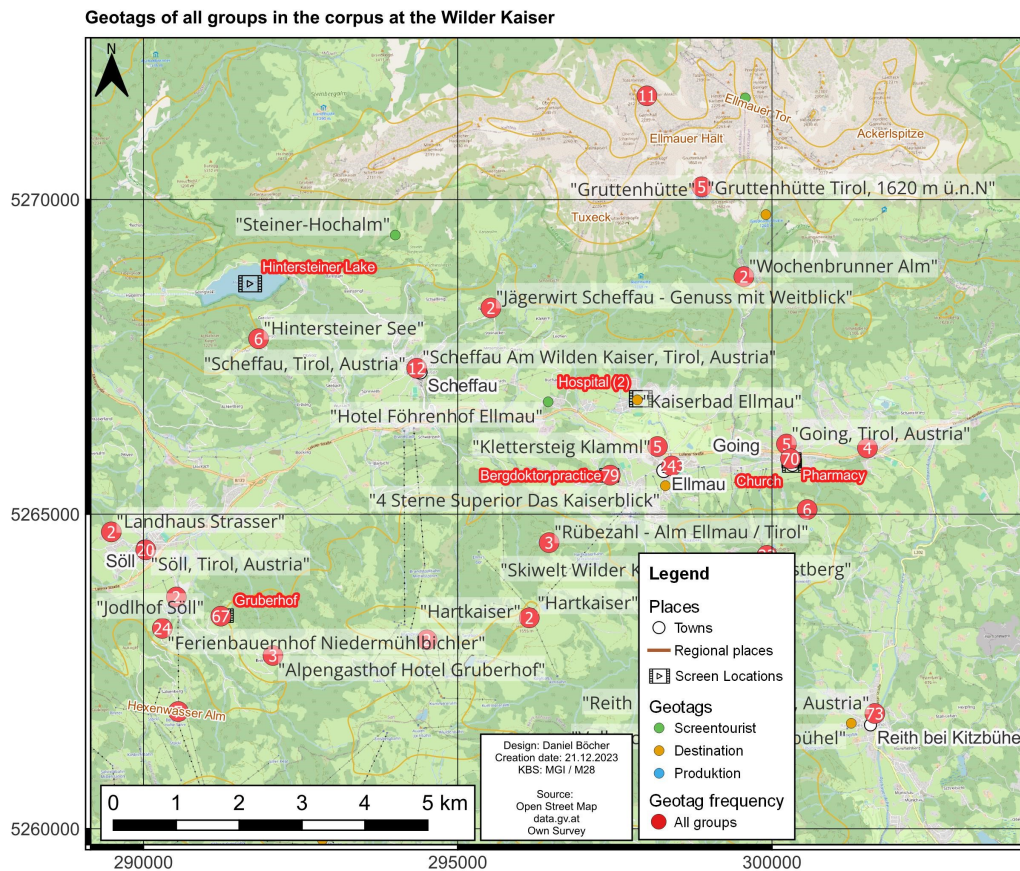


Figure 5.6: Geotags of all corpus posts in the Wilder Kaiser region (source: own data).

Graphs

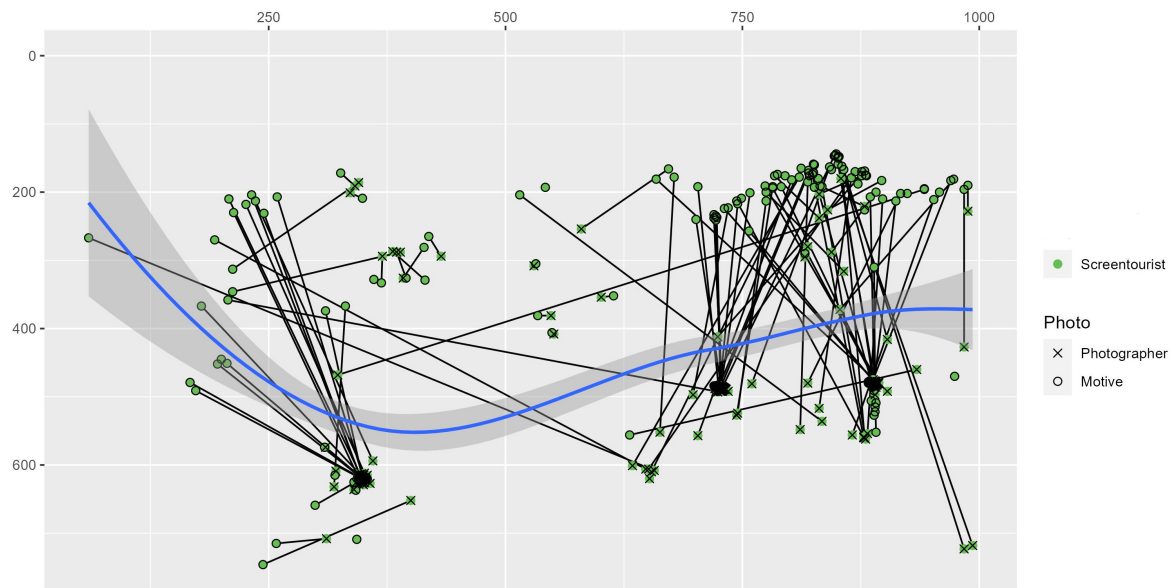


Figure 5.7: Connection between screen tourism motives and photographer positions on an X-Y-axis. The blue line is the regression line with the confidence interval in grey (source: own data).

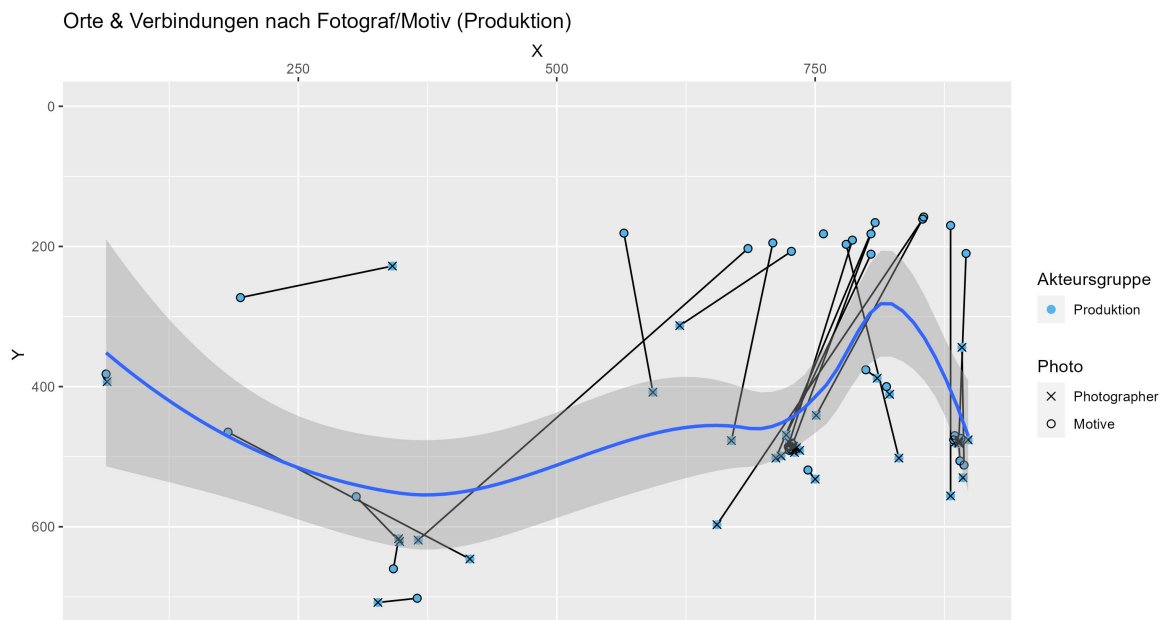


Figure 5.8: Connections of Production photos between photographer and motive points (source: own data). The blue line is the regression line with the confidence interval in gray.



Tables

Artikel	Anzahl
Bergdoktorposter	423
Bergdoktortasse	5,288
Bergdoktor Postkartenheft	494
Bergdoktor Kühlschrankmagnet div.	4,706
Bergdoktor Pflasterbox	1,575
Bergdoktor Schlüsselanhänger	988
Bergdoktor Jausenbox	779
Bergdoktor Fächer	833
	15,086

Table 5.4: The amount of BD merchandise sold in 2023 by the DMO as the net proceeds will be donated (source: Krösslhuber 2024b).

Index	Item	N	Min	Max	Range	Median	SD
IT08_01	I wanted to walk in the footsteps of my favorite actors.	21	1	4	3	2	1.30
IT08_02	I wanted to stand at the filming location of the series "The Mountain Doctor" myself.	21	1	5	4	3	1.42
IT08_03	I am interested in the real place; not its relevance as a filming location in the series "The Mountain Doctor".	21	1	5	4	3	1.47
IT08_04	I am a loyal fan and wanted to express that.	21	1	4	3	2	1.09
IT08_05	I find the landscape simply impressive and wanted to see it for myself.	21	4	5	1	5	0.44
IT08_06	I feel like I know the Wilder Kaiser through the series.	21	1	5	4	4	1.29
IT08_07	I just wanted to have fun and be entertained.	21	1	5	4	3	1.33
IT08_08	I wanted to do something special on my vacation.	21	1	5	4	4	1.33
IT08_09	I wanted to try something new and unusual.	21	1	5	4	2	1.54
IT08_10	I was looking for a unique experience.	21	1	5	4	2	1.36
IT08_11	It was not my idea, but that of my travel companion.	21	1	5	4	1	1.37

Table 5.5: What were your reasons for visiting the filming locations of "The Mountain Doctor" at Wilder Kaiser?

Ordinal scale from 1 to 5 where 1 is "does not apply" and 5 is "fully applies".

Index	Item	N	Min	Max	Range	Median	SD
IT20	Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter	6	2	3	1	3	0.52

Table 5.6: In which season does film tourism at the Wilder Kaiser predominantly occur?

Dichotomous checkbox for all four seasonal options: Spring (1), Summer (2), Autumn (3), and Winter (4).

Index	Item	N	Min	Max	Range	Median	SD
DE03_01	Documentary	14	2	7	5	3.5	1.77
DE03_02	Sports	9	1	8	7	6	2.12
DE03_03	Series	15	1	6	5	2	1.64
DE03_04	Movies	14	1	5	4	2	1.20
DE03_05	Game shows	10	2	8	6	5	2.10
DE03_06	Magazines	11	3	8	5	5	1.83
DE03_07	News	13	1	7	6	4	2.10
DE03_08	Live Events	9	3	8	5	6	1.74

Table 5.7: What is your favorite TV category based on the time you spend watching it?

Ordinal ranking from rank 1 to 8 where 1 is "most time spent" and 8 is "least time spent".

Index	Item	N	Min	Max	Range	Median	SD
DE07		15	1958	1994	36	1976	11.43

Table 5.8: What is the year you are?

Open metric question with the date of birth format YYYY requested.

Index	Item	N
DE13	40 - 60	1
50 DE13	18 - 70	1
44 DE13	20 - 70	1
45 DE13	16 - 80	1
48 DE13	25 - 75	1
50 DE13	+ - 50	1
50		

Table 5.9: Are there reliable figures on the average age of fans of the series "Der Bergdoktor" on the Wilder Kaiser?

Open Text question that asked for an age bucket.

Index	Item	N
DE06	Middle school	4
DE06	High school diploma	2
DE06	Vocational training	5
DE06	Bachelor's degree	2
DE06	Master's degree	1
DE06	Doctorate	1

Table 5.10: What is your highest educational qualification?

Selection question with 6 different options from 1 "Middle school" to 6 "Doctorate".

Index	Item	N
DE05	Standalone building with no connection	1
DE05	Rural community	6
DE05	Suburban community	2
DE05	Town or city community	3
DE05	City	2
DE05	Metropolis	1
DE05	Other	-

Table 5.11: What type of community do you live in?

Selection question with 6 different options ranging from rural 1 "Standalone building with no connection" to urban 6 "Metropolis".

Index	Item	N
DE08	single	2
DE08	in a relationship	5
DE08	married	8
DE08	widowed	-
DE08	divorced	-
DE08	registered civil partnership	-

Table 5.12: What is your current marital status?

Selection question with 6 different answer options.

Index	Item	N	Min	Max	Range	Median	SD
EI01		19	1	15	14	9	4.91

Table 5.13: Which seasons of the series "The Mountain Doctor" have you seen?

Dichotomous checkboxes with the seasons available to watch on tv by the time of the interview (Season 1 to 15).

Index	Item	N
EI03	Yes	11
EI03	No	10

Table 5.14: Do you engage with the series "The Mountain Doctor" or its characters beyond just watching the newest episodes weekly?

Boolean options between "yes" and "no".

Index	Item	N	Min	Max	Range	Median	SD
EI05_01	Travel & Destination	21	2	5	3	4	0.89
EI05_02	Fashion & Beauty	20	1	5	4	2.5	1.27
EI05_03	Sports & Healthy Living	21	1	5	4	3	1.45
EI05_04	Arts & Culture	21	1	5	4	3	1.23
EI05_05	Celebrities & stars	20	1	5	4	2	1.30
EI05_06	Cooking & Baking	20	1	5	4	3	1.35
EI05_07	News & current stories	21	1	5	4	3	1.34
EI05_08	Friends & Family	21	1	5	4	4	1.12
EI05_09	Comedy & Memes	21	1	4	3	2	0.95
EI05_10	DIY & Crafts	21	1	5	4	3	1.20

Table 5.15: Which topics are you usually most interested in on Instagram?

Ordinal scale from 1 to 5 where 1 is "not at all" and 5 is "very much".

Index	Item	N	Min	Max	Range	Median	SD
IT15_01	Gruberhof	16	5	101	96	101	31.03
IT15_02	Bergdokter Practice	21	21	101	80	97	26.34
IT15_03	Wilder Kaiser Guesthouse	17	8	101	93	51	30.11
IT15_04	Hospital	8	1	49	48	13	15.42
IT15_05	Village Square & Church	18	11	101	90	81.5	31.65
IT15_06	Pharmacy	17	5	101	96	16	24.32
IT15_07	Lake Hintersteiner	17	10	101	91	34	30.30

Table 5.16: At which filming locations did you feel particularly close to the fictional world of the series "The Mountain Doctor" and its characters?
Ordinal scale from 1 to 101 where 1 is "no closeness" and 101 "very close".

Index	Item	N	Min	Max	Range	Median	SD
IT10_01	Gruberhof	16	1	7	6	4	1.93
IT10_02	Bergdokter Practice	21	1	7	6	3	1.80
IT10_03	Wilder Kaiser Guesthouse	17	1	6	5	3	1.33
IT10_04	Hospital	8	5	7	2	6.5	0.89
IT10_05	Village Square & Church	18	1	7	6	2	1.58
IT10_06	Pharmacy	17	2	6	4	5	1.19
IT10_07	Lake Hintersteiner	17	1	7	6	3	1.74

Table 5.17: Which filming locations have you visited at the Wilder Kaiser?
Ordinal scale from rank 1 to rank 7, where 1 is the "most visited" and 7 is the "least visited"

Figures



Figure 5.10: Actors Gerhart Lippert and Klaus Wildbolz in an episode of the first installment of the Bergdoktor TV show in 1992 (source: imdb.com).

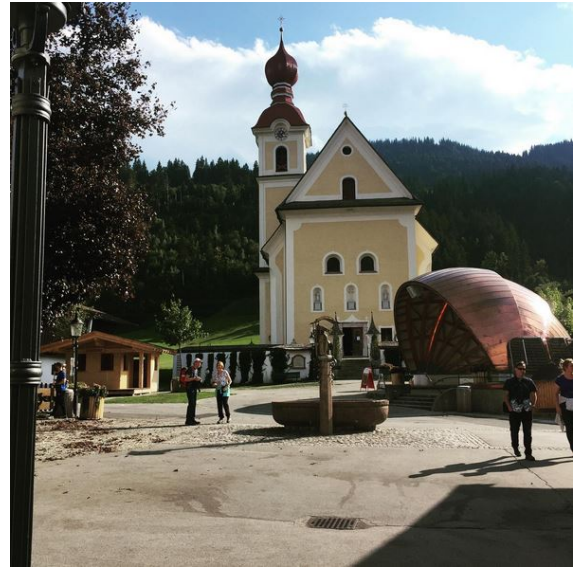


Figure 5.11: Photo from the screen location town square and the church with the ski hills in the background (Source: Instagram screenshot with Post ID CF-06iuJF1a).

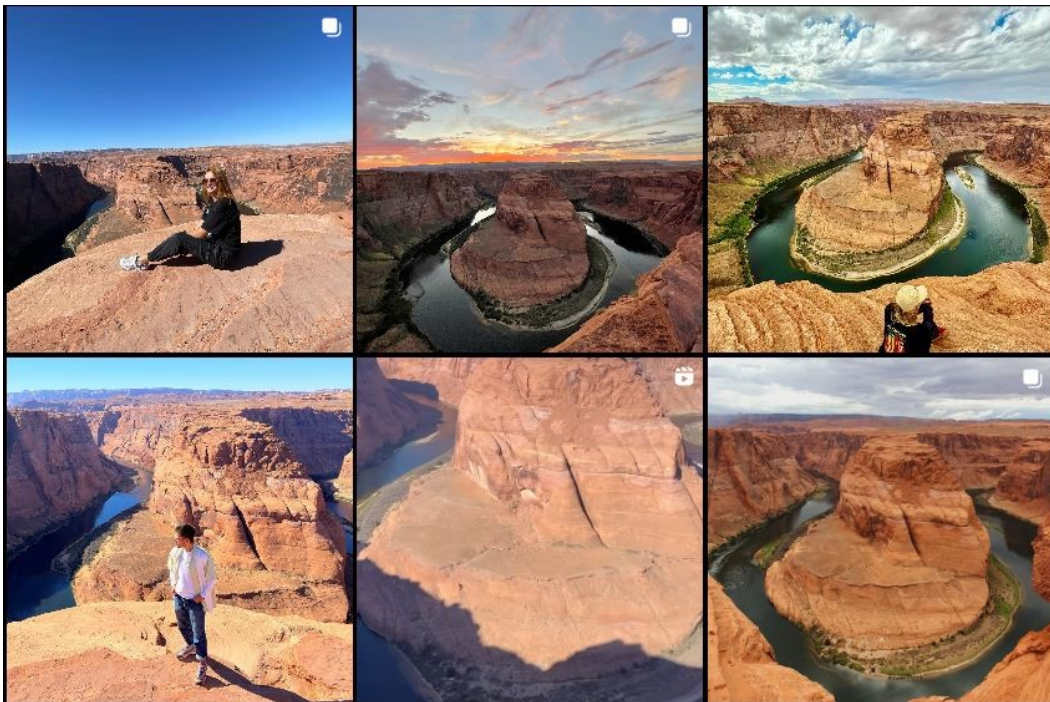


Figure 5.12: The reality of the Horse Shoe Bend on Instagram (Source: Instagram screenshot of the Horse Shoe Bend geotag page).

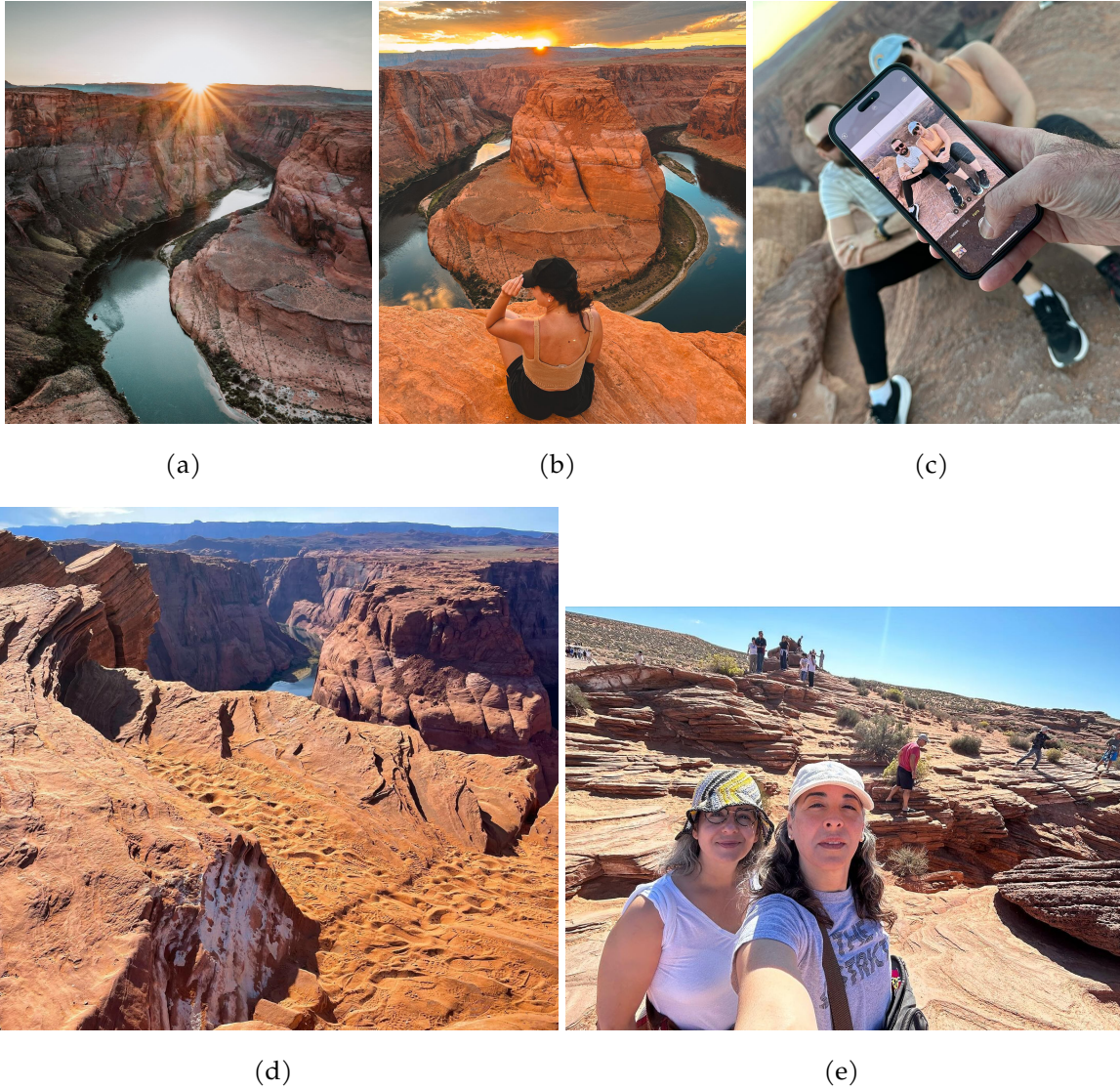


Figure 5.13: (a) What we dream of seeing at the attraction. (b) How we present ourselves as (lonely) tourists. (c) Through the eyes of the apparatus. (d) Hidden but still there: Footprints of tourist activity. (e) The tourist reality at the attraction. (source: Instagram screenshots with post IDs (a) CySOX0Tu-rv, (b) CyA1RZ0IYzm, (c) CycLkFqJQYX, (d) CybzYzruNh8 and (e) CyJbH8JOrGK)



Figure 5.14: A photo in the direction of the Ellmauer Tor in the center (Source: Instagram screenshot with post ID CJtdgPnJHmw).

Declaration of independence

This is a declaration that the dissertation has been prepared independently, without outside help and with no aids other than those specified therein, that the passages, drawings, sketches, pictorial representations and the like taken verbatim or in terms of content from other works are clearly identified as such and that the regulations on safeguarding good scientific practice in research and teaching and on the procedure for dealing with scientific misconduct have been taken note of. No help from commercial doctoral advisors has been used.

Mainz, den 11.09.2026

Unterschrift: *Böcher*
Daniel Böcher