Heritage entropy and tourist pilgrimage in Brave’s Scotland, Hospitality and Society

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Abstract

The article explores the production of a cinematic tourist industry connected to Scottish landscapes and heritage with the release of Disney-Pixar’s animated fairy tale Brave (Andrews and Chapman, 2012). It contends that the first ever planned synergy between a creative industry and the country whose traditions and landscapes allegedly inspired the former’s film-making resulted in what is termed ‘heritage entropy’. This state-backed nationalist reinstatement of Scottish identity as a naturalized ‘being in time’, ready to be marketed to global tourists, both drew upon and was inspired by broadcast professional pilgrimages of the Scottish Brave artists and the marketing of Brave holidays to Scotland as a family experience. To illustrate the digital and imagological–auditory nature of heritage entropy, which both naturalizes communities and technologizes their merit so as to present them as ‘civilized’, examples are presented from the websites of Adventures Disney Tours, the industry’s marketing tourist body, and VisitScotland, the country’s tourist organization.

Keywords

cinematic tourism
heritage (entropy)
Internet
landscape
Planning one’s destiny: Scottish tourism in the digital age

The connection of mythical texts to real political contexts is as old as the modern project of nationalism. However, forging links between cinematic texts (films) and tourism in economically and morally beneficial ways for a country is a strategy better defining our postmodern times. Postmodernity thrives on the coexistence of de-territorialization and cultural flows with national fixities and ethnic belonging. Despite the fact that tourist business tends these days to be digitized (hence de facto de-territorialized), it has to both cater for diverse taste and not offend local or national norms. The present article unpacks the normative-political context of this oscillation between diversity and specificity, the universal and the particular, by examining the strategies adopted by national and transnational tourist business. Its starting point is Pixar’s American computer-animated fantasy film *Brave* (Andrews and Chapman, 2012). It is argued that the planned synergies between transnational media (Pixar) and tourist corporations (Adventures by Disney) with Scottish institutions (the national tourist organization VisitScotland and trusts as well as the state) promise to produce sustainable film-induced tourism in the country. The moral underpinnings of this tourism are nevertheless based on a form of heritage that draws simultaneously on ideas of natural human bonding (like that between family members) and cultural affiliation (like that between the members of the same national
community). This formula, which is embedded in the Scottish identity of the film’s artists, can be and has been used as a generic consumerist template by national and international tourist business alike, as it appeals simultaneously to foreign family cinematic-tourist visitors, Scottish diasporic and domestic Brave tourists.

While beneficial for Scottish localities suffering under a global recession and (at the time of writing) the possibility of the country’s imminent secession from the United Kingdom, the emphasis on idealized family images might also regenerate nationalist/localist tendencies, generally hostile to foreign visitors and investors. Yet, the appeal to ideals of the domestic hearth or the mobile family is an essential component of contemporary hospitality norms. Especially the marketing of Brave tourism online, which reproduces the film’s images and ideas (hence the original tourist text), assists in the circulation of this neither fully natural nor wholly cultural ‘heritage’. Close to nationalist discourse, Brave’s e-tourist model of hospitality is based on the visitor’s respect for the Scottish past, while pushing for more banal consumptions of place based on food and sports activities such as archery. Hence, even though, practically, Brave-induced hospitality conforms to business and managerial imperatives (‘the provision of the “holy trinity”’: food, drink, accommodation (Lynch et al. 2011: 4)), normatively, it still draws on political and moral imperatives that regulate Scottish landscapes and histories as forms of heritage in need of the right custodianship and marketing by the right centres and people. To unpack the cultural and political aspects of this phenomenon, as it relates to broader hospitality themes of belonging, home and inclusion/exclusion, I employ the term ‘heritage entropy’ in the article’s third section.
The text and its context

Conceived by writer/director Brenda Chapman, who was inspired by her relationship with her daughter, and directed by Mark Andrews and Chapman, Brave’s story is set in the Scottish Highlands and focuses on princess Merida’s (Kelly MacDonald) determination to defy an ancient custom. When her mother, Queen Elinor (Emma Thompson), criticizes her desire to not be betrothed, Merida asks the advice of a witch (Julie Walters), whose magic cake turns the Queen into a bear. Determined to undo the spell, Merida risks everything, and her tribulations lead her (and the cinematic spectator) to the happy conclusion that nothing can replace the bond between mother and daughter (Brave, IMDB, 23 February 2012). Premiered on 10 June 2012 at the Seattle International Film Festival and released in North America twelve days later, the animation of a lush, utopian Scotland of clans, kings, princesses and female archery skills had a different story to tell from Braveheart’s (Mel Gibson, 1995) militant machismo. As symbol of a pre-national entity, Merida feminizes both ‘family’ bonds and emotions and the struggle for independence, which is nevertheless armed with (archery) skills. The film won, among other things, the Golden Globe Award for Best Animated Feature Film (Anon. 2012), the Academy Award for Best Animated Film (Anon. 2013) and the BAFTA Award for Best Animated Film (Bahr 2013), while the actresses whose voices featured in the story also received praise and awards.

Cinematic texts and artistic contexts might acquire a political background – otherwise put, the movements and marketing of such texts is always burdened with situated meaning and value (Cresswell 2006: 1–8; Adey 2010: 34–36). A maelstrom of articles in the Anglophone press includes reports of sold-out tours to Scottish locations
themed around the blockbuster – a bright spot for the Scottish tourist sector in very
difficult economic times. VisitScotland’s chief executive Malcolm Roughead also reports
an extra 30 tours organized by Adventures by Disney Tours, Disney’s official travel arm
in Scotland since the start of 2013, bringing ‘high value’ tourists to the country,
consumers of cinematic tourism who are willing to pay $6000 each to visit relevant sights
around Edinburgh, Inverness and Skye (Cameron 2013). On the back of Braveheart’s by
now established cinematic tourist industry (Edensor 2005), The Da Vinci Code’s (Ron
Howard, 2006) insertion of Rosslyn Chapel into global mobility maps (Tzanelli 2013a;
Martin-Jones 2014) and the much-advertised Scottish locations in the James Bond movie
Skyfall (Sam Mendes, 2012), Scotland has learnt to promote global awareness of its self-
defined destiny as a media hub and a tourist destination.

Undoubtedly, the media help to promote places where TV series and films have
been set by merely circulating ‘anecdotal evidence of tourists flocking [there]’ (Beeton
2006: 183). But on this occasion, the recruitment of Scottish stars for the animated
movie’s character voices, including Billy Connolly, Robbie Coltrane, Kelly MacDonald
and Craig Ferguson, was complemented by First Minister Alex Salmond’s presence in
LA’s carpet appearance – a celebrity carpet intentionally coloured green instead of red to
represent Scotland’s landscape (Gordon 2012). Brave’s effect has been the outcome of
the first cross-cultural industrial coordination ever: in 2012, VisitScotland, Scotland’s
tourism organization, and The Walt Disney Company Europe, Middle East & Africa
announced a global marketing campaign to promote Scottish tourism around the film.
Walt Disney Chief Marketing Officer, Tricia Wilber, explained that the film takes its
inspiration ‘from the majesty and mystery of Scotland, and features the voices of many
much-loved Scottish stars, so it’s fitting to create a global campaign with VisitScotland to further bring to life the iconic Scottish landscapes and folklore that inspired the film’ (VisitScotland 2012a). The launch of the biggest ever worldwide tourism campaign includes a produced TV and cinema advert, as well as a new website marketing Scotland to countries such as the United States, France and Germany. This advertising, which was coordinated with the film’s 72-country premiere, is expected to reach about 80 million people and looks forward to a £140 million boost in the Scottish economy (BBC – Scotland Business 2012).

The apparently innocent façade of a Disney fairy tale dives us deep into the cultural politics of mobility. The story could be considered yet another contemporary media-induced fiction for the tourist gaze and ear that in realist terms produces a network of host roots and tourist routes (Clifford 1997; Sheller and Urry 2006; Hannam et al. 2006). Duncan and Duncan’s (1988) view that landscapes cannot only be ‘read’ like literary texts, but relate to the social, cultural and historical values of those who prepare them for interpretation, must also be considered seriously. In national mythologization, such as that of Scotland, landscapes partake in the production of imaginaries of community – the ways localities and families live together generation after generation, migrate together with memories of their ancestral origins and transmit these memories to their offspring. This complex of physical and emotional movement stands at the heart of heritage, which involves inheriting the memories and properties of one’s homeland but, while doing so, potentially introducing changes in the ways these are used or perceived (Trimm 2005). The article contends that in global spaces, especially those of the Internet, national identities can travel as commodities while also asserting their uniqueness in
particular spatio-temporal frames they share with other national polities. The fabulist foreground of *Brave*’s cinematic story does not merely produce tourist cultures but embeds those in a heritage background. The background is dominated by cinematic characters and sublime landscapes, which grant Scotland with a dignified place in European culture. Thus, *Brave*’s cinematic tourism acts as a synchronizing initiative in two ways: it inserts Scotland in globalized networks of business, while placing it at the centre of European history, art and technology – the crux of Enlightenment progress. This connection is endorsed both by the film’s migrant artists and by the national state’s spokespersons, who articulate a utopian version of Scotland for global visitors. This enables new *Brave* tourist industries to advertise the filmed locales and the country as a safe, peaceful Arcadia, suitable for family visitors, ecotourists and film tourists.

The following section explains theoretically how such networking becomes implicated in creative reproductions of an ever-expanding national community, now maintained and broadcast abroad by migrant travellers. After describing my methodological and epistemological approach, I explore the biographies, emotional journeys and embodied skills that *Brave*’s ‘Scottish’ artistic contingent displays and shares with non-Scottish contributors to the project through pilgrimages to cinematic locations. The narratives and pilgrimages already recreate Scotland as a place and a culture through those artistic migrants’ inner and embodied journeys in filmed locations. In the penultimate section we will see how these terrestrial and imaginative journeys connect to cultural discourses in Scottish politics. This section dissects the production of, mainly scopic (for the national community) but actually multi-sensory (for tourists), regimes of mobility in tourist initiatives managed by the twin poles of *Brave*’s e-tourist
project: the Scottish state and Disney’s corporate business. This will inform conclusions regarding the nature of state collaborations with creative industries, as well as the traps and possibilities in forging sustainable cinematic tourism.

**Heritage entropy and pilgrimage**

The *Brave* phenomenon activates what I shall term ‘heritage entropy’, a process that turns *(tropé)* inwards *(en)*, a practice induced by serendipitous or unfortunate external interventions that elicit nationalist affective labour through scopic practices such as those proffered by cinema: movies represent the nation, its landscapes and histories in mythical forms, inducing emotions that strengthen the viewer’s bond to the national cause (Graml 2004; Tzanelli 2013a: 25; Hochschild 1983; Thrift 2007). Hence, a banal ritual (watching or creating a movie) produces a form of existential travel within one’s mind. Through this imagined travel, images and sounds connected to national lands cease to be just aesthetically pleasing as natural landscapes (Porteous 1996) and acquire value as narratives of belonging. In *Brave*’s case this pilgrimage originates in simulacra strategically connected to nationalized Scottish landscapes. Theories of ‘anchorite pilgrimage’ (Adler 1992: 408–13) recount how a voluntary departure from the social cosmos in early Christianity transformed into a secular (tourist) ritual in late modernity (Coleman and Eade 2004) – a phenomenon reflected in *Brave*’s budding tours to sites that allegedly inspired the film’s animated pictures. Romantic sublimation forged a link between individual and collective experience in proto-nationalist environments (Anderson 2006; Smith 1999), replacing godly presence with ideas of ‘nation’ and ‘heritage’. If tourism is a banal ego-enhancing process, tourist iconography bears the
potential to bridge representations of the community’s kinship with the idea of (home)land (Lyall and Bell 2002 Herzfeld 2005: 108). In other words, heritage rooted in landscapes produces an image of the national world that appeals to biological images of the ‘nation’ to forge exclusive memberships (Morley 2000; Tzanelli 2011). The contribution of cinematic simulacra such as those of Brave is one such example: following the promise of an economic miracle for Scotland at a time of a crippling recession, reproductions of the myth of a wild, yet beautiful country constructed a natural native ‘paradise’ as an image for selling to global cinematic-tourist gazes. The investment is a sensible response to the 7% increase in overseas visitors and the 3% increase in domestic visitors in 2012, the year of Brave’s production and release. The numbers are provided by VisitScotland and corroborate data released by Tourism Minister, Fergus Ewing, which indicate a 14% rise in spending over the same period ‘in a difficult economic climate’ (STV 2012). But there are analytical gaps to bridge before leaping from economic imperatives to cultural change.

Although I borrow part of my master term from physics, my epistemological analysis does not adopt the tenets of scientific positivism. Understanding the role of entropy requires deep understanding of how and why the information we acquire for a (tourist in our case) system changes as this evolves from its initial condition. Incidentally, entropy is the only quantity in physical sciences that implies a particular direction of progress, an ‘arrow of time’ allowing the scientific subject to measure temporal mobility as a kind of clock. Conceptions of time in terms of an irreversible, teleological-evolutionary movement date back to Enlightenment philosophies of nature. These found their apogee in Heidegger’s Aristotelian division between chrónos, the mechanical and
quantifiable time we read in clocks, the time of everyday life, and *kairós*, the sacred time, the site of myth, in which real(ist) spatio-temporal constrictions cease to define the subject’s experience (Tzanelli 2011, Chapter 3).

Sociologizing entropy – that is, granting it with geographical specificity and cultural coordinates – allows me to explore the hermeneutic uses of Scottish memory and history through a set of variables that seem to circulate in national memory and global e-tourist markets. The modification connects to Kirschenblatt-Gimblett’s (1997) divisions of time into historic, heritage and visitor, which roughly parallel three types of authenticity in tourism: historic, heritage and personal time. Her notion of historic time, which seems to guide *Brave*’s interpretations in Scotland, is irreversible, just like scientific entropy’s – a connection dating back to Enlightenment and historicist discourse. Historic time is laboratory time without critical interventions from without, a bad nineteenth-century science that feeds into nationalist discourse to date (see Bhaskar (2011: 84) on connections between social and natural sciences). But Kirschenblatt-Gimblett contends that tourist markets allow heritage time to appear as a ‘rewound the clock’ process, in which ‘those attempting to present an authentic experience from another age constantly move the clock back (or theoretically, forward) to the point at which other factors […] can be created to add to the authenticity of the experience’ (Jamal and Hill 2002: 83–84). Personal time, the experiential time of the tourist, stands independently from historic and heritage time but is often affected by both. I only consider personal time in relation to the cinematic and embodied pilgrimages of *Brave*’s artists in section five. This investigation is limited to interactions between heritage and personal time because of the article’s focus on heritage and cinematic tourism.
I situate my analysis of ‘heritage entropy’ mechanisms in this hermeneutic context, arguing that *Brave*’s mythologized histories of Scotland were first conceived in global laboratories of a creative corporation as artefacts, ideas and characters frozen in time and subsequently performed by an ‘epistemic community’ of artists who included Scottish actors, with particular understandings of their imagined homeland’s culture. ‘Epistemic communities’ are networks of experts whose shared beliefs and sentiments are, voluntarily or not, mobilized in national policy planning (Haas 1992). *Brave*’s artists of Scottish ancestry joined forces with other non-Scottish peers to create the film. Regardless of their attitude toward the Scottish nationalist programme, their professional endeavours were used by the nation state to support national growth or even nationalist pursuits. Thus, the ‘epistemic community’s’ artwork was embraced by the Scottish state as a hermeneutic vehicle to endorse Scotland’s cultural merit and translate into economic opportunity. I spend less time discussing the first two phenomena independently, and proceed to explore them in the context of state discourses of tourism. I focus on what happens to tourist and e-tourist markets due to *Brave*’s release, placing emphasis on VisitScotland’s new website materials inspired by the film. Rather than conflating culture with economics in this instance, I stress their analytical division as constitutive of new knowledge economies, such as those of e-tourism and cinematic tourism. A combined terrestrial and digital exploration of *Brave* tourism also helps one circumnavigate the techno-determinism of science studies, stressing instead the ascription of norms and moral imperatives onto the technological matrix, which the e-tourist industry uses to serialize tourist experience and craft ideal types of ‘heritage tourists’ in Scotland (Germann Molz 2013: 218; Tzanelli 2007: 17, 2013a: 69).
In the case of *Brave*’s Scotland a significant overlap of heritage tourism and eco-tourism guides synergies between global media and national tourist industries – but in particular, most of VisitScotland’s e-tourist advertising. As much as the use of landscape in digital and cinematic domains emphasizes the diversity of ‘roots’ and ‘routes’ (Clifford 1997) of heritage (i.e. where these ideas come from and how they evolve when modified by cinematic or virtual business), we must consider how their recurrence produces particular versions of ‘place’ and ‘time’ in global economies of ‘sign’ (Lash and Urry 1994). Many European countries look to landscapes as cultural heritage steeped in legend, mythology and history, but the transposition of them onto the big screen triggers new processes of meaning-making (Prentice and Guerin 1998; Edensor 2004). Just as there is nothing self-evident in the term ‘environment’ (Urry 1995: 175), the connection between heritage and ecological tourism is complex; as explained above, this involves both ideas of nature, the nature of the groups that inhabit the land and the memories these produce and transmit generation after generation. Especially in the case of Scotland, which partook in developments of western conceptions of ‘landscape’ in artistic and historical styles and registers as a touring object (Seaton 1998; Tribe 2008) long before becoming a decolonized country and a nation, a recourse to nature as a distinctive cultural statement brews problems.

Urry speaks of ‘places that die’ (2004: 208) to explain the shift from land to landscape (its transformation into an ideal based on novel technologies of the eye, and more recently also the ear and the nose). To return to my master concept’s rationale, this shift marks a replacement of concerns with representations as such with the ways these representations are produced, conserved or modified (Mitchell 1994). Controlled by
national centres, such hermeneutics valorize culture in the technological spaces of late modernity, where imagined communities circulate ideas and customs for global consumption; their diffusion by global cultural industries may endorse such valorizations or alleviate the pressure. Scotland’s new heritage entropy achieves a haphazard equilibrium, by inserting the nation in global digital, cinematic and financial articulations, while nevertheless suggesting that its landscape and cultural nature are somehow crystallized in time, like a bad thermodynamic experiment.

**Methodological and epistemological considerations**

The article’s data were collected from two major commercial sites: VisitScotland and Adventures by Disney (Tours). The actual collection took place within a very narrow time frame (9–17 February 2014) and does not account for any subsequent modifications by these two major e-tourist providers. However, a subsequent visit to both on 5 April 2014 revealed no major changes in the ideas they proffer. The sites comprise text, music and images, but the article emphasizes the ways their aural, visual and cognitive aspects act as a unity to make the same suggestions to visitors on how to tour *Brave’s* Scotland. The methodological focus on these websites complies with the hypothesis that heritage entropy manifests in digitized tourist environments, which sustain or create nationalist-capitalist nodes of business: if VisitScotland works from the nationalist end, Adventures by Disney covers the capitalist end of the enterprise; but the power of *Brave’s* business node manifests in the ability of the nationalist and capitalist ends to endorse each other rather than openly compete (Castells 1996). By this I mean that nationalist demands can
strategically align with capitalist ones to maximize profits for nation states and corporate business alike.

Ideally, destination governance and cinematic tourist mobilities should be grounded in local community dialogue and values for them to be sustainable (Dredge and Jamal 2013: 558–59). However, the recognition, or convergence, of local values with corporate or central national imperatives depends on the design (and control) of multiple business sites, which can be virtual and terrestrial, multicultural and monoculturalist. Hence, the ‘node’ of Brave tourism is not just a single virtual site or business but the sum of cinematic representations or simulations, as well as the values and beliefs on which these rest. Behind these ideas stands a group of national and transnational businesses and their virtual façade and narratives, which I unpack in the next two sections by placing emphasis on two major digital markets. The plural site enables new knowledge economies to function and academic researchers to study its emergent discourses and values, which might occasionally converge behind visions of belonging, community or nationality, as is the case here. We must question not just how people make knowledge of the world, but ‘how [they] physically and socially make the world through the ways they move and mobilize people, objects, information and ideas’ (Büscher and Urry 2009: 112). The movement or immobility of ideas of belonging, national land and character, are rife with cinematic and digital capital and move or stay fixed together with those who create and reproduce them: ‘home’ might not be a predetermined place, or be ‘a home in the world’ (Germann Molz 2008: 338), but its idealizations can produce home(land) politics.
We therefore need to consider qualitatively the intentionality behind the narrations of virtual and ideal Scottishness by artistic communities and spatially diffused centres of capital such as those of the *Brave* film and tourist industries. This necessitates the recognition of hyperlinked context as a virtual matrix, a narrative node (re)producing the tourist gaze (Urry and Larsen 2011) and ear for business and national politics alike. For Internet business, everything starts with the cyber-tourist’s ability to connect to remote landscapes and the desire to consume them holistically: as is the case with movie-watching, the e-touristic spectators’ gaze and auditory engagement with the site blend in an aesthetic orchestration that enables total identification with *Brave*’s real cinematic object: a pure, beautiful Scotland of forests, ancient castles, clans and families. The presence of ‘synaesthesia’ or combined sensory engagement that nevertheless translates into cognitive, aesthetic and emotional consumption of place shows how this engagement is achieved in Scotland’s tourist advertising though synergies of text, music and image (Tzanelli 2014: 17). But VisitScotland’s and Adventures by Disney’s collaborative success is based on legitimizing this synaesthetic touring through *Brave*’s Scottish artists and the movie’s fabricated Scottishness. I would suggest that heritage entropy feeds and is fed by such intentional connections, which allow the tourist visitor to comprehend the aesthetic value of Scottish landscapes, their ancestral roots in clans and their present diasporic artists as a (suspect) unity. To this end, I use articles and interviews from the anglophone (United States and United Kingdom) press to illuminate these strata of personal and collective memories through which Scottishness is articulated in context. This method of researching texts is called ‘stratigraphy’ (the inscription of strata or layers of discourse on surfaces). My aim is to examine how these strata change function or
solidify when they move around different (national, regional and networked) sites (Alcock 2010: 12). This contextual examination of memory strata or layers is constitutive of heritage entropy, whose function is nomothetic (law sanctioning: it tells us how communities should live and behave) and archiving (it explains which ideas, images and sounds should be preserved as national property and how they can be broadcast and disseminated) – processes on which both nation states and tourist industries rely as social institutions.

**On artistic roots and routes**

Enquiring into the roots of *Brave*’s travel discourse returns us to entropic theory via investigations into the role of the film’s Scottish ‘epistemic community’. ‘Brave is an amazing magical adventure with larger than life characters – including Scotland itself. During our research, we learnt that everything in Scotland tells a story – every stone, tree, mountain – which is why we are so proud that this beautiful country is the backdrop of our film’, said Mark Andrews (VisitScotland 2012). This backdrop reinstates an imagined Scottish community defying territorial borders and reborn in animated characters fronting epistemic subjects with native roots but global routes. Andrews, whose ancestors came from Torridon, Wester Ross, declares an interest in King Arthur and European history, which as a young reader led him ‘up into Scotland’ – ‘but as you can tell it was so long ago that I lost the accent’ (McKenzie 2012). Thus legitimating his new pilgrimage as a professional traveller, he reappears in other interviews with US producer Katherine Sarafian working on and promoting the film in Scotland. Sarafian said she had an impression of what Scotland would be like before her visit but ‘didn’t
fully understand the special connection that the people have with the land – their sense of place […] Driving up to Inverness and seeing the landscape again was very emotional’ (McKenzie 2012).

Other members of Brave’s artistic contingent, such as actor Kevin McKidd (Lord MacGuffin and young MacGuffin), who grew up in Elgin (Moray), follow in Andrews’ steps. McKidd declares being delighted that Pixar’s young MacGuffin spoke Doric, ‘the Scots’ dialect of north-east Scotland’ and his grandfather’s language (McKenzie 2012). According to other reports, all were keen to contribute their own Scottish words to the script – ‘hence the inclusion of manky, gammy, numptie and hurdies. Kelly Macdonald even utters that Scottish legend “jings, crivvens, help maboab”’ (McLean 2012). By immersing themselves literally and literarily in Scottish landscapes, ‘swimming in lochs and rolling in heather’, the creative team produced a lavish Scotland. Even artists of non-Scottish origins, such as the art director for set, scenery and characters Tia Kratter, spoke of the finished product as close to one’s heart, ‘a labour of love’:

I marched up and down the Royal Mile, gathering every swatch of tartan I could find…We went up the east coast and found our castle - Dunottar Castle. We looked at standing stones and lochs and moss and heather and we lay down in it to get a real sense of what it was like. (McLean 2012)

Embodied verisimilitude aside, Brave’s authenticity stems from artistic pilgrimage to unknown beautiful lands.
It is not coincidental that the issue of stereotyping entered global public discourse, or that Brave’s film-makers and actors – especially Scots, whose voices were used in the film, such as Kelly MacDonald – responded that the story captured the reality of Caledonia. Craig Ferguson’s (Lord Macintosh) claim that stereotypes oscillating between those of the ‘noble warrior poet’ and the ‘angry, belligerent drunk’ have a ‘basis in fact’ (Yang n.d.) suggests an apparently crude sell-out on Scottish cultural specificity. Such reports might miss a disjunction between what is deemed to be useful to share with the world and what can damage the national image in global cinematic tourist markets, if disseminated to those who cannot read the ‘small print’. Yet, the external recognition of some embodied aspects of Scottish cultural identity that ‘are considered a source of external embarrassment but nevertheless provide insiders with their assurance of common sociality’ (Herzfeld 2005: 3) is still a form of global recognition. In this respect, the furore around Merida’s ‘glammed up’ version on Disney’s website (Child 2013a) matches verifications by professional historians that the cinematic characters’ appearance and the landscape’s attractive ruggedness project verisimilitude – even if ‘[they] only reflect the Highlands […] peddled abroad since Queen Victoria […] a bare […] land, inhabited by wild men in kilts’ (Barnett 2012). Backed by Oscar-winning director Chapman, Change.org’s petition calling the studio to restore the character’s ‘more realistic’ origins gathered over 200,000 signatures, forcing Disney to remove Merida’s revamped version from its site (Child 2013b). And yet, upon closer inspection, the action’s feminist statement preys on centuries-old feminizations of colonized land, which nationalist discourse subsequently sacralized so as to demarcate national time from the conqueror’s time (Anderson 2006: 195).
Touristic *Brave* references online endorse the self-same travel performances that visitors enact in terrestrial tours to Scotland (Friedberg 1995: 67). Although such ‘illustrative seeing’ allows virtual and terrestrial tourists to match cinematic images with their own understanding of them (Benjamin 2002: 419), the original story’s appeal to feminine emancipation overdetermines the story’s ‘arrow of time’. Supported by its own slingshot holder (a young agency ready to be independent), the arrow points to Scottish *nature*. This nature is perennial, like natural landscapes and ecosystems, but also presented as a medieval being created out of nowhere (*ex nihilo*) – hence, humanly historicized. This networked self-creation of Scotland as an animated land does not entail that we deal with mere simulated landscape. The film’s central scenario or ‘archplot’ communicates with real developments in Scottish self-narration, including that promoted by the ‘Great Tapestry of Scotland’, a 160-panel long textile artwork depicting 420 years of history hand-stitched by 1000 volunteers. The inspiration for the tapestry, which was on show at the Scottish Parliament and on public display at Cockenzie House and the Gardens in East Lothian in 2013, belongs to an epistemic community with ancestral roots in the country, including artist Andrew Crummy, stitch coordinator Dorie Wilkie and novelist Alexander McCall Smith (Harrison 2013). The project’s advertising as a coordinated ‘arts and crafts’ initiative echoes the function of the tapestry in Disney’s fairy tale: the magical restoration of ‘family’ unity, the realization that the love between mother and child survives generational conflict. The use of previously underappreciated crafts in the media by a *belles artes* group helps turn them into glamourous folklore. It is part of a process of nationalizing the unknown, know-how *technes* or crafts ‘associated with the emergence of national consciousness and glorified as the repository of ancient
skills’ (Herzfeld 2004: 5). Thus, even if Pixar’s intentions were to craft an innocent fairy tale, entering Scotland’s political minefield was bound to alter the artistic project’s meaning and intentions. By appealing to embodied character and connecting it to nationalized lands, Brave’s cinematic discourse opened wide a door to populist appropriations of its content.

**Digitized cinematic pilgrimage as entropic mechanism**

First Minister Salmond’s heavy backing of the film, which reached into China and Japan in dubbed versions, certainly boosted the Scottish National Party’s (SNP) agenda worldwide at a time when the Scottish National Party was struggling with the argument to maintain the sterling as its own national currency while forsaking British political supervision and declaring its autonomy once and for all. Queen Elinor’s ambiguous cinematic sign (as the British Queen or the Scottish mother) had to be stabilized in serendipitous ways in Scottish politics. In addition, the Brave experiment had to win the global battle of impressions, by planting ‘the right seeds in the minds of its largely young audience’. This had to be achieved while the enterprise managed to offer an image of Scotland ‘free from drug-abuse, midges and depressing B&Bs’ (Carrell 2012) that global audiences knew from Danny Boyle’s realist Shallow Grave (1995) and Trainspotting (1996), which featured MacDonald in her debut as a sexually active schoolgirl. Unsurprisingly, the venture found imitators in other countries: VisitNorway organized a similar campaign by tying with to Norwegian tourism the adventure film Frozen (Chris Buck and Jennifer Lee, 2013), which was influenced by Norwegian landscape and Hans Christian Andersen’s ‘Snow Queen’ fairy tale (BBC – Highlands and Islands 2014). The
battle for impressions is imagological (rationally and logically connected to images) then, just as heritage entropy’s attachment to natural utopianism is rooted in images of a national nature.

Such an enterprise wins the global heart only when it is harmonized with commonly endorsed ideas of civilization and progress. Perhaps the most revealing statement in this context has been Salmond’s depiction of Scotland as ‘a land of major opportunity’, open for business and – above all – civilized. ‘We have a long and impressive track record in life sciences, sciences, technology and creative industries developing an environment where ingenuity and innovation can create jobs and wealth for Scotland’, he stressed (BBC – Scotland Business 2012). The irony is hard to miss: although renouncing the old Christian conditio humana, in which paradise is an ordered garden, Salmond’s socialist-nationalist version of a modern Scottish paradise supports Pixar’s myth of unspoilt nature and ennobled native habitus (Scottish acting). But on the realist plane, SNP’s tourism policies have to openly refute this utopia as a counter-world to modern everyday existence and tourist consumption (Henning 2002: 183–84). Venice’s dream-like Dickensian spectacle guiding Urry’s (2004) observations on the death of places suggests in our case a carefully planned return to normative connections between the significant dead in Scottish society (heroes, places of legendary battles or ritual) and the living. Walter observes that dark tourism ought to be located in genealogical discourse, ‘the kind of relationships that the living have at dark tourism sites […] within the family of institutions in which the living relate to death and the dead; and […] the function such sites may play for society as much as for individuals’ (2009: 49). Not only does this apply to the Scottish pilgrimages of Brave’s artists, it also frames
VisitScotland’s and Adventures by Disney Tour’s digital and terrestrial tourist initiatives. Although not strictly framed as a dark tourist project, Brave’s nationalist-corporate node is based on a moral economic contract (Sayer 2000, 2003) between globalized pilgrims to ancient Scottish sites and Scottish ‘nature’ – all the surviving shrines of pre-modern times that excessive industrial progress and ecological corrosion now threaten to destroy.

Building on Thrift’s (2004) distinction between different modes of ‘natural order’ that constitute the background to human life, Urry (2007: 159) distinguishes three such backgrounds, including the natural world, the artificial of the industrial revolution and the virtual of computer software and hardware. Although the third background allows for the articulation of the first world in these websites, the second is consigned to the pit of hell – for, industry is the enemy of bucolic landscapes and sounds on which Brave’s utopian Scotland is based. Especially where combined audio-visual technologies are involved in these articulations (Edensor 2005), a tourist synaesthete, whose senses (aesthesis) are coordinated (syn) to perceive and understand the world (Tzanelli 2013b), is interpellated with the help of various ‘authorized’ discourses (Urry and Larsen 2011: 19). These include education à-la Grand Tour, group solidarity within the tourist group, pleasure and play, heritage and memory, as well as nation. The last discourse has been identified by theorists of national identity (McCrone et al. 1995) as pivotal in the advertising of Scotland as a brand, the more general role of establishing lineage as identity and the development of heritage-conservation tourism as part of a cultural nationalism programme via institutions such as the National Trust of Scotland. The discourse of ‘nation’ becomes enmeshed into those of tourist play and memory, which are
nevertheless connected to a particular version of group solidarity of universal appeal: the family idea(l).

Nowhere is this synergy between nation and tourist business firmer than in the case of music. *Brave’s* music was composed by Patrick Doyle, who travelled to Scotland for research and inspiration, and performed by the London Symphony Orchestra with native Scottish instruments such as bagpipes, a solo fiddle, Celtic harps, flutes and the bodhrán, with an electronically treated dulcimer and cimbalom to give it a more contemporary feel. Doyle deliberately employed classic Scottish dance rhythms such as reels, jigs and strathspeys to ‘not only serve the action but keep it authentic’ (PRNewswire 2012). The composer’s research even included trips to the Hebrides to listen to unaccompanied Gaelic psalm singing. He subsequently played recordings of the haunting sound to the film’s producers. ‘I want to make it accessible but to honour the Celtic traditions if I can’, he said (Cornwell 2011). Although neither Adventures by Disney nor VisitScotland reproduces Doyle’s artwork, they do have recourse to the ways particular instruments, ‘tools’, represent national forms (lands) and content (storytelling). *Brave’s* heritage entropy is enabled through *technopoesis*, ‘the totality of practices and processes of “self-making” available to a community and embodied in the artefacts, techniques and technologies available to a culture’ (Hand and Sandywell 2002: 208) by various social groups for the promotion of disparate causes. However, in the era of digital reproduction, *technopoesis* – a term signifying the human mastery of nature – can be both kinship-based and transnational in context (Tzanelli 2013a, Chapter 1).

Notably, VisitScotland’s main Library webpage does not match text with music. Instead, we leave the first page (populated with the main *Brave* royal family characters)
to enter a virtual stage (a curtain embellished with the royal coat of arms, a lion symbolizing Scottish monarchy) with four directions (North, South, East, West). From these so-called ‘magical areas’, one is dedicated to ‘landscapes’, and leads (via a virtual image of Scottish landscape) to five important destinations (including castles, lochs and glens). Although not based on still photography but a video with haunting pipe music, the visual narrative blends distant shots of monuments with close-ups of Scottish nature (especially lake flora floating on deep blue waters that are illuminated by hints of sun). Communicating the purity of Scottish landscape, the shots merely replicate location photographs that populate the Library’s ‘Itineraries’ section. Scott’s view, the Luss and the Road to the Isles via Fort William are narrated as images fixed in time – or better, *timeless lucid narratives* of place in green, sky blue, snow white and reddish brown autumnal colours. This is the bright eternal Scotland, the photographs suggest, which does not even need the cinematic sounds to shine.

But Scotland’s *Brave* tourist clientele demands a blend of heritage purity with cinematic simulation. Thus, the US advert that figures on VisitScotland (2012) under ‘extras’ alongside *Brave*’s trailer reiterates the place’s ‘beauty’, ‘magical feel’ and ‘braveness’ (for, as Andrews explains, ‘you had to be strong and brave to settle in this rugged place’). Prompting the global mobile *synaesthete* to visit the castles, coasts, flora and fauna that a godly cameraman encapsulates from above, voices from the film’s artistic contingent (Andrews, MacDonald, McKidd and executive producer Lasseter) suggest *Brave* as ‘a love letter to Scotland’ (by its migrant artists). The viewings of the video on YouTube (2012) reached 25,821 as of 17 February 2014, but the clip is connected to VisitScotland’s site, and hence this sample does not represent its true global
reach. The rooted epistemic community’s artwork is backed by a music in which only Doyle’s otherworldly flute survives, with no evident supporting digital instrument. Just like its inspiration from the long list of the advert’s concluding credits of landscapes, and just like its human voices’ natural connection to the land, the music is pure and sublime so as to induce the right normative emotions to global consumers of sublimation.

Unlike VisitScotland’s sober musical gamut, Adventures by Disney’s video on ‘Scotland Vacations’ combines images of a young white family running in fields and castle routes under a blended symphony of instruments. Closer to the spirit of Doyle’s emotional articulation, it prompts the synaesthete to ‘be in awe together, adventure together […]’ from the rich history of Edinburgh to the rugged Highlands’. On the one hand, this reinstates the idea of mobile family networks, people travelling and enjoying together in tourist sites and sights, reproducing banal socialities and performances in new spaces (Haldrup and Larsen 2003). On the other, the clip’s discourse on ‘timeless [Scottish] traditions’ – repeated in some Brave e-itineraries – is replaced with specific travels in time and space, which match Kirschenblatt-Gimblett’s (1997) heritage time. Just like its relevant video clip, Adventures by Disney’s digital textual discourse is an exercise in advertising Scotland’s sublime landscape, tailored nevertheless to the needs of family groups seeking ‘safe’ breath-taking adventures that enlarge the soul (Bendix 2002) and feed mobile subjects with a sense of (be)longing for harmony. But images of Disney’s generic family blend into particular human and natural ‘landscapes’ along the way, crafting a ‘demediated mediation’ (Strain 2003) of Scottish heritage. Regardless of the music’s ‘corruption’ by technology (or not), the entropic movement of heritage reaches its apogee in the nationalist-capitalist mindscapes of global cyberspheres.
Although both websites encourage a form of day-dreaming or mind-travelling as a prerequisite for the tourist’s concrete movement through space (Löfgren 1999: 7), VisitScotland’s itineraries certainly tie this imagined mobility to western artistic creations (Ingold 2010). Brave’s plot is an exercise in what Eliade (1989) identified as the power of myth to craft eternal entities that live outside time. Nevertheless, the film’s conception as a fairy-tale bricolage could easily be connected to concrete locales by tourism specialists and national propagandists – albeit for different reasons. Merida’s story folklorizes a real struggle for (Scottish) independence that belongs to the nation’s spiritual realm. At the same time, it synchronizes this with a generic western ‘civilising process’ (Elias 1982), in which tourist and digital mobilities prevail. Unsurprisingly, Brave’s nationalist-capitalist node was legitimated with the help of a migrating narrative. Although, like the Grimm Brothers’ and Andersen’s fairy tales, the stories can be traced as far as South East Asia and the Middle East (Hemme 2005: 72; Tzanelli 2011: 94–95), today they are associated with nationalized and universalized ideal(s) of modern European cultural unity.

VisitScotland’s visual-virtual foregrounding of travel itineraries in the country with Merida’s images is a nominalizing practice: those who name Scotland a Brave mythical land can claim it, alongside its tourist revenues and the international recognition these create. All itineraries are advertised on VisitScotland’s website in a nodal webpage but can be printed out individually like tourist brochures; most of them have Merida at the top left of the page with an appropriate caption. Divided into six sections (Clans and Cultures, Wildlife and Nature, Castles and Royalty, Myths and Legends, Landscapes and Forests and Ancient Scotland), all Brave itineraries seem to lead to the same end: this land’s culture is a natural gift its epistemic communities help it to share with global
visitors, families and modern pilgrims. Digital declarations that ‘the spirit of the clan is
still alive […] across Scotland and thanks to Scottish immigrants’ (VisitScotland, ‘Clans
and Culture’, 2012) reiterate an SNP ‘third way’ of pronouncing one’s identity as a
mobile rooted subject. This connects to global phenomena of individualization (Giddens
1991), whereby the migrant can act as pilgrim to a ‘homeland’ they hardly know but can
adopt through family tree hunting and archiving processes. As the case of Scottish
diaspora’s heritage tourism to Rosslyn Chapel after The Da Vinci Code (2006) proves
(Martin-Jones 2014: 13–16), this allows for cinematic tourist commoditizations of the
pilgrim’s experience, which conform to broadcast interviews on the ‘homecoming’ of
Brave’s Scottish artistic community. Heritage entropy is hidden in the ways such travel
accounts are turned into the daily staple of audio-visual pop consumers.

The connection of humans and lands into dead landscapes is also present in the
section on ‘Lands and Forests’, which ‘inspired writers, painters and film-makers for
generations’ (VisitScotland 2012). As is the case with other European counties, in
Scotland the forest has been traditionalized through folk and high popular literature (the
romantic litterateur Walter Scott’s reference on the website is indicative), thus paving the
way for the modern romantic gaze of tourist industries, which ‘rely on symbols as
information’ (Hemme 2005: 77; Urry and Larsen 2011: 18). Mediating the Scottish forest
through a contemporary animated tale helps the disembodied VisitScotland narrator to
avoid the clichéd romanticism that turns forest journeys into ‘family kitsch’ (Hemme
2005: 80), adopting instead the idealized Adventures by Disney family that photographs
their own tourist experiences (Larsen 2005). Presenting the forest as another version of
the imposing fortress and castle structures that ‘have the power to fire the imagination –
and there’s undoubtedly a little bit of each of these in Brave’s Castle DunBroch’ (‘Castles and Royalty’ 2012) constructs Scotland’s ‘mediated centre’ (Couldry 2000) for cinematic tourist visitors and heritage tourists. This ‘centre’ is rooted in Scotland’s history but becomes mobile and centrifugal in individual tourist narratives of the visited sites (Cohen 1996: 93).

The thrill of communing with the dead of glorious national pasts in order to turn the clock back and forth as the heritage industry pleases has a peculiar twist in Brave’s case. The movie is supposed to be a simulacrum, but it is based on long-standing artistic representations of the Scottish ‘picturesque’ (Seaton 1998). We cannot study its filmed sites directly, but, as is the case with The Lord of the Rings cinematic trilogy, we can infer photographic connections to real landscapes from what the movie industry wants us to know about its sites of inspiration (Beeton 2005; Croy 2011: 160; Tzanelli 2013a). Professional photography is tightly connected to heritage entropy: not only were field visits in search of the ‘right’ locales widely advertised by Scottish artists as a mystical return to family roots, they also allowed both Adventures by Disney and VisitScotland to cater for US and Canadian tourists at as diverse locales as Kingsmill Hotel in Inverness, Edinburgh’s Balmoral Hotel and Cuilin Hills Hotel in Skye (McKenzie 2013). In this system of tourist services, two ‘ancient’ sites appear to act as nodal cinematic referents: Dunnottar Castle and the Calanais Stone Circle. Whereas the former is placed by VisitScotland’s tourist suggestions under ‘Myths and Legend’, rather than ‘Castles’, the latter figures under ‘Ancient Scotland’ – a section prompting travellers to ‘follow the trail’ of ‘these prehistoric stones’, just like Merida’s quest to ‘change her fate’ led her to ‘a mysterious ring of stones’. Significantly, most photographs from ‘Myths and Legends’
(a section foregrounded by a Merida surrounded by her three siblings as cursed black bears) play with chiaroscuro techniques: they employ dark shades or colourless snow-white tones to communicate the country’s haunting by (marketable) evil spirits that tourists can see and enjoy as spectacles. If Dunnottar figures, alongside Loch Ness and Rosslyn Chapel, as ‘Scotland’s most haunted Castle [and] spiritual home to many apparitions’ (‘Myths and Legends’ 2012), Calanais’ explicit connection to ancient religious rituals promises a unique thanatourist journey to the nation’s prehistoric origins.

Unlike Adventures by Disney’s holiday package (Itinerary: Day 6), where Dunnottar and the Callanish visit are placed amongst banal consumption practices such as a pub-style lunch on the Isle of Lewis, VisitScotland’s narrative of antiquity is based on this type of ‘hauntology’ (the presence of versions of the past in narrations of the present) on which cinematic scripts are based. Whereas Disney’s phantasmagoric narrative of tourism is just that (an eight-day family vacation with some filmed highlights), VisitScotland’s narrative also functions as a pilgrimage to the country’s endless, but clearly delineated, past. The visual communication of para-normal landscapes via shading and tonality of professional photography is absent on Adventures by Disney Tours’ front page, which figures a castle in earthly colours and young tourists running over a bridge. Dark tones and shading appear in a single grey photograph of the Callanish Stones. Such images communicate the idea that Scottish pasts might also have a dark depth that tourist industries can master into an adventure. Even a visit to Loch Ness can turn into a banal canoeing adventure, as a relevant photograph of tourists battling the lake’s dark and rough waters suggests. ‘Mystery’ is reduced to colour and camera techniques conventionally associated with the horror movie genre: this demonstrates (monstrare: to
show, reveal) the horror of an unknown ‘picture’ of a situation, which is hidden from the spectator’s lucid gaze (Wood 1986), but does so in the safe space of a cinematic (tourist) auditorium. The suggestion is that the cinematic tourist should not be afraid of the photographic dark and should just confront it as an alternative adventure encounter with wild Scottish environments.

Even then, one cannot bypass the fact that Adventures by Disney’s Day 2 itinerary includes a visit to the National Museum to introduce the Chess(men) of Lewis that Merida played with Elinor in the movie, followed by one to Dovecot Studios to discover the craft of tapestry-making to ‘take home your very own bobbin as a souvenir’ (Adventures by Disney Tours 2013). Heritage serves as the backstage of the stranger’s experiential journey, but the knowledge that (s)he enters sacred sites of embodied and naturalized tradition flags the presence of a moral contract with the host. Whereas within the nation the craft of tapestry may communicate social cohesion in the face of unprecedented global change, externally it is addressed to the ephemeral community of (Merida’s cinematic) tourists as a souvenir, providing novel ‘path[s] of integration between guest and guest, host and host, guest and host, or tourist and destination’ (Hume 2013: 2–3). Securing a piece of tapestry from one’s visited destination (one of Adventures by Disney tours offers) is one thing, but knowing via media advertising (of the ‘Great Tapestry Project’) that this piece of personal travel memory connects to Scotland’s ancient traditions is another. The guest, the tourist family, takes back to their own home a magical piece of Scottish storytelling, which (as Brave’s plot suggests) connects a personal journey to the host nation’s great journey through time: the ancient treasure that binds the (nation-)family, just as Merida’s stitching of a torn tapestry cures
her mother and the Kingdom’s clan divisions. Both journeys appeal to (Kirschblatt-Gimblett’s) manipulation of heritage time in tourism, allowing the craft of tapestry to be ennobled as a national art that can be serialized and sold to visiting strangers. By the same token, the visitor’s immersion in Céilidh dancing and bagpipe music, or Day 7’s private archery lessons, allows for synaesthetic performances that appeal to Scottish visions of the eternal ‘nation-family’ even when they functionally serve a different purpose (tourist consumption).

Here we arrive at awkward theoretical-political crossroads: ‘technologized’ mirages such as that of Brave’s suggest that the essential components of collective biography or history, our knowledge of what we are, as well as the environment we inhabit, are malleable and exposed to external modification by tourist providers (Beeton 2004, 2006). The rescue mission is bound to have consequences: Ivy’s (1995) analysis of Japanese official and unofficial resurrections of the cultural margins suggests that the nation state is haunted by ‘ghosts’ generated by its spectacular modernity. These ghosts project an unresolved anxiety pertaining to potential loss of identity and continuity. Brave’s promised economic miracle and cultural renaissance might have built their own mediated tourist centre in Calanais Stones, where visits rose by 40 per cent between April 2008 and March 2009 (BBC News 2010) and are still at a healthy rise thanks to organized film-inspired tours. But the ‘miracle’ also turned debates over their ‘caretaking’ inwards, suggesting that recovery, hence social stabilization, can only be achieved with the right custodianship of ‘the goods’. In 2012, residents in the Callanish and Carloway district of Lewis were exploring the possibility of buying the Carloway estate, where the Stones are located. Public agency Historic Scotland, which acts as
caretaker of the Calanais site, came to loggerheads with the local residents, who held a
public meeting ‘to purely gauge community feel with regards to whether […] Caloway
Estate [should be bought by the] community’ (BBC News 2012b). The standing stones
are *fir bhrèige* or ‘false men’, a thanatourist site par excellence that should not be
entrusted to Hollywood magicians or their touristic sorcery.

The site’s inclusion in the 70-day Olympic Torch’s relay journey (BBC News
2012a) only complicated matters, as it ensnared a localized expression of nationalist
sentiment in universalized European traditions of Olympism. Historically, the Torch’s
‘phoenix flame’ allegorized the resurrected spirit of subaltern nationhoods such as the
Irish, the Scottish and the Greek, producing in the latter case also a pro-Olympic
statement for the survival of antiquity in national modernity (Tzanelli 2013b: 94–95). The
‘phoenix’s flame’, which regenerates every four years in a different place, but always in
human space, is the Promethean promise of eternity. But the flaming Phoenix’s uplifting
over the Olympic Cauldron also echoes the tragedy of democracy, ‘where the god is
beheld crucified in the catastrophes not of the great houses only but of every common
home’ (Campbell 2008: 27). Death unites humanity in mourning and celebration. Akin to
the familiar Christological arc that presents crucifixion and *káthodos* (descending) to the
Underworld as the promise of *ánodos* (upcoming) after the purging of our sins
(*purgatorio* as catharsis), the Flame’s passage from Calanais brought together the
televised Olympic pilgrim and Merida’s cinematic tourist pilgrim. Such ceremonial
mythologization inserts the apocryphal margins of the Scottish margins in a universal
cosmological centre that imagined communities move around every four years as a gift, a
recognition that humanity lives in harmony. Merida’s archery skills fit both the London
2012 ‘Olympic bill’ and the leisurely programme of *Brave*’s nationalist-capitalist node: not only did they appear both on VisitScotland and Disney travel itineraries and activities, they informed the presentation of the ‘finer points’ of *Brave*-inspired archery to Cabinet members by Highland Activities Director, Ian Brown, during a visit on Skye (The Scottish Government 2012). The global imaginary of the Highlands appeals to the romantic tourist gaze in which rugged nature blends into conceptions of embodied, athletic human nature. In fact, VisitScotland provides a link to Scottish Archery and Highland Games Association via its ‘Travel Experiences’ in an explicit attempt to name and claim a version of human nature that is unique, localized but globally mobile in cinematic touristscapes.

**On bound(less) communities that travel (?)**

*Brave*’s production as a cinematic tourist industry with territorial referents and brand imperatives confirms that in today’s post-national environments mobilities coexist with fixities, because nations are very much alive and plot their way through global business and touring cultures. The persistent connection of artistic belonging with the digitized design of Scottish hospitality through an animated movie further implies a process of boundary-making for the Scottish imagined community. In particular, the study’s materials and discourses suggest a creative process not limited to decisions made by *Brave*’s cultural industrial leadership but extending instead to Scotland’s national leadership and local milieus. Receptions and interpretations of *Brave* by the Scottish political-tourist centre, the communities residing in its manipulated landscapes and global business acting in synergy with the Scottish state contribute to developing new
(romanticized) versions of nostalgic hospitality, as well as family hospitality, which is magnified to idea(l)s of national hospitality. The circulation of discursive links between home and hospitality, or inclusion/exclusion and hospitality in such cinematic tourist catering, mobilizes the alleged Scottishness of Brave’s artists. As the paper subsequently suggests, synergies between creative industries such as film and tourism with national centres can still use mobile epistemic communities, who claim the ‘right’ roots, to suspect ends. Brave’s ‘stratigraphy’ of heritage leads down this line, photographing layers of migration histories and recording landscape sounds and textures that keep the Scottish nation active in global financial spaces. In this context, combined corporate and national advertising of the film’s landscapes and characters assists in global marketization and consumption of Scottish nature as a ‘collective being’ fixed in time but amenable to respectful strangers, tourists.

Although such marketizations of the country’s landscape and traditions are filtered through a technological sieve (the movie’s CGI, the tourist websites’ narratives and photography), they are assumed to stand as pure and unchanged spatio-temporal referents for the nation: its venerated property that merits pilgrimages, which simultaneously obey consumerist desires and the emotional need to belong. A stratigraphic account of Scotland’s cinematic touristification obeys both internal and external imperatives for political, economic and cultural stabilization, affirming the presence of entropic mechanisms. Heritage entropy in cinematic, virtual and touristic spheres condones civilizing processes that keep Scotland relevant to, and meritorious of, global economic and cultural changes despite its ongoing struggle for independence. One cannot resist a connection between cinematic text and cultural-political context: Merida’s
A tale of emancipation (change of destiny) suspiciously feminizes and racializes heritage entropy, turning forgotten European margins into an example of better and faster civilizing aesthetically pleasing (national) terrains.

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