On Location: Heritage, Justice, and the Film Industry

COLUMBIA
GSAPP

ON LOCATION: HERITAGE, JUSTICE, AND THE FILM INDUSTRY

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contents

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This report represents the collective effort of the students enrolled in a joint Historic Preservation (HP) and Urban Planning (UP) Studio at Columbia University's Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation (GSAPP) in the fall of 2022, including:

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In Selma, Ms. Jawana V. Jackson, CEO of the Sullivan and Richie Jean Sherrod Jackson Museum (an AAACRHSC site), welcomed the team into her family home and shared poignant accounts of its importance as a place of meeting, nourishment, and lodging for Civil Rights leaders. The team is especially grateful to Ms. Jackson for sharing her personal experiences with the film industry and its problematic representation of people and places in the making of the movie *Selma*. A memoir by Ms. Jackson's mother, *The House by the Side of the Road: The Selma Civil Rights Movement* by Ms. Richie Jean Sherrod Jackson, provided source material and inspiration for the movie, and exemplified how narrative and place are inextricably linked.

Ms. Louretta Wimberly, Chair Emeritus of the Alabama Historical Commission's Black Heritage Council, deepened the team's understanding of the historic sites in Selma and their preservation challenges, and provided insights into the under-recognized role of Selma's African American churches in the long arc of voting rights history. Ms. Joyce O'Neal, AAACRHSC Selma/Black Belt Sites Coordinator, delved into the the significance of Brown Chapel AME Church (an AAACRHSC site) and the Black neighborhoods of Selma. And both she and Ms. Wimberly offered valuable community perspectives related to on-location filming of Selma. Mr. Jorge Acevedo, National Park Service (NPS) Partnership Manager for the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail, introduced the team to the NPS visitor center in Selma and to the work of coordinating multiple properties and diverse interests along the interpretive Trail.

In Montgomery, Ms. Nikki Tucker Davis and Ms. Wanda Anderson of the Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church (an AAACRHSC site) discussed the challenges of respectfully stewarding the church

Columbia studio team at King's Canvas, a nonprofit art studio rooted in economic development on Montgomery's west side. The mural is the work of artists Kevin King, Winifred Hawkins, and Nathaniel Allen and raises awareness about the neighborhood's significance in the Selma to Montgomery March.

and Dr. King's legacy in an era when visual representations proliferate through social media, tourism platforms, as well as television and film production. Dr. Valda Montgomery, Director of the Dr. Richard Harris House (an AAACRHSC site), opened her family home and shared stories of harboring Freedom Riders and hosting Civil Rights leaders. She likewise provided important perspectives on the historically Black neighborhood of Centennial Hill, where many government-instigated demolitions have fractured both the historic and social fabric of the community, and impeded its use and representation in the canon of recent Civil Rights filmmaking. Mr. Collier Neeley, Executive Director of the Landmarks Foundation of Montgomery, discussed the need to interpret more fully the complicated histories of heritage resources, and explained how their use in on-location filming may be an important vehicle for engaging diverse publics. He also elucidated how heritage site managers and owners have little guidance about the costs and benefits of filming on their properties, and thus are at a disadvantage when approached by scouts and filmmakers.

Several representatives from Alabama state and local government were generous with their time and knowledge about policy and practice in both filming and historic preservation. Ms. Lois Cortell, Senior Development Manager for the City of Montgomery, introduced the team to MGM Film Works, Montgomery's nascent and understaffed municipal film office, and explained how film has the potential to bolster government action related to historic preservation, tourism, and economic and community development. She generously shared information regarding historic filming locations, Montgomery-based production professionals, and municipal-state relationships in film promotion. Ms. Dorothy Walker, Site Director of the Alabama Historical Commission's Freedom Rides Museum, provided critical information about the use of government-owned historic sites for filming, and explained filming requirements and negotiations in the use of the Museum in the movie, *Son of the South.* Ms. Christy Anderson, former Historic Preservation Coordinator for the City of Montgomery, discussed preservation policy in Montgomery and reflected on the untapped co-benefits of preservation and on-location filming.

Mr. Tommy Fell, Director of the Mobile Film Office, discussed Mobile's investment in establishing

a film industry and facilitating on-location filming, and provided insights into how both lateral coordination across municipalities and vertical coordination between state and local agencies could support film production and screen tourism in Alabama. Prof. Tonea "Tommie" Stewart, former Dean of the College of Visual and Performing Arts, Alabama State University, explained the untapped potential for building a film industry and developing local talent in Alabama, and specifically in Montgomery, through enhanced cooperation among government agencies, universities, and businesses.

Several Montgomery-based filmmakers and producers shared their experiences and insights as industry professionals, including Dr. Yvette M. Hochberg, owner of Reel Track Productions, Mr. Jeff McKinney of Early Riser Films, and Mr. Josh Carples of Terrible Master Films. Ms. Michelle Browder of More Than Tours, introduced the team to Montgomery and its complex histories, and centered their experience in questions of justice. She generously included the team in a celebration of Indigenous Peoples' Day, introduced the team to the More Up campus and her *Mothers of Gynecology* monument, and shared her vision to reclaim the historic office of Dr. Marion Sims as the Mothers of Gynecology Health and Wellness Clinic. Mr. Kevin King, Executive Director of The King's Canvas, opened his studio to students and discussed efforts to support creative place-making in Montgomery.

The team is grateful to David Anthone, GSAPP alumnus and the Film and Event Program Manager for the General Services Administration, for presenting his pioneering work to facilitate on-location filming at historic properties owned by the federal government, forging a mutually beneficial relationship between the film and preservation industries. Merahi Atam of the Secretaría Técnica de Patrimonio Rapa Nui (Easter Island) explained some of the ways in which the use of historic places for on-location filming can sometimes create unintended consequences.

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The team thanks Ken Feisel and Gabrielle Coleman for the graphic design of the report.

Columbia studio team with artist Michelle Browder at her More Up Campus and in front of the trailer for her installation, *The Mothers of Gynecology. You May Feel A Little Pressure*, produced in collaboration with muralists Rachel Wolfe Pack Goldsmith and Zoe Boston.

FACULTY PREFACE

Heritage sites have appeared frequently as the architectural, cultural, and natural backdrops of films and television productions, in some ways taking on the role of a contributing character that stays with the audience long after the movie or show has finished. In recent decades, the connections between heritage sites and on-location filming have become even more germane with the proliferation of movie production incentives (MPIs) in the US and abroad, which position film as a driver of economic development. Many sites and communities benefit financially by opening their doors and streetscapes, creating jobs and generating revenue through location fees as well as film-induced tourism (also known as screen tourism). However, the overall economic, environmental, physical, and social impacts of these arrangements are not always positive or consistent.

This studio examined the intersections of the film industry, public policy, and the historic built environment drawing upon cases from around the globe. It likewise interrogated issues of equity in film-related policies on the ground through the cities of Montgomery and Selma, Alabama. Faculty identified these cities as communities of more intensive study because of the filming that has happened on location in recent years, such as the movie *Selma*, but also because these locations were the focus of a 2018 historic preservation studio, which built important relationships with the individuals and organizations committed to preserving the sites and stories central to civil rights history.

By focusing on civil rights history and on Alabama in particular, faculty obliged students to delve into questions of racial representation in cinema and the film industry, both to familiarize themselves with the body of scholarship exploring the negative stereotypes of Black Americans in film and to explore the connections to and implications for heritage places. Racist ideals portrayed in cinema since the 1890s, and movies such as *Birth of a Nation* (1915) helped justify and encourage anti-Black racial violence to predominantly White audiences (Snead 2016, Bernardi and Green 2017). Historically, marginalized groups have lacked creative, executive, and decision-making roles in popular cinema while their images were manipulated and used for profit (Dates and Mascaro 2005). These historical conditions contribute to contemporary injustices and concerns, and compelled students to consider the following:

- uses of civil rights heritage sites and adequate recognition and compensation to their owners and caretaking organizations;
- factual inaccuracies of civil rights history and leadership in contemporary films;
- the politics of currently revered leaders considered criminals and deviants during Civil Rights movement;
- the treatment and interpretation of places that were the sites of horrific anti-Black violence and trauma.

By grappling with these complex histories and their implications, students were compelled to consider heritage places as something more than a building, site, or streetscape, but as critical vehicles for intergenerational storytelling that cannot be divorced from the publics who create, value, and inhabit them. The use of heritage places for film can intensify and complicate that storytelling potential. Enhanced understanding of that dynamic has the potential to serve the film industry, the heritage enterprise, and on-location communities. It will ideally inform change that preserves the material integrity and environmental quality of heritage places, respects the historic and narrative implications of their use, minimizes the risk to and equitably benefits the communities in which they are located, and respects the social-spatial relationships they engender.

INTRODUCTION

Film has the power to tell stories, inspire, and bring opportunities to locales, but marginalized communities are often treated only as a backdrop, never fully benefiting. Similarly, film is a way to connect more people to heritage sites, but the process of filming is potentially harmful to historic places and their associated publics. As research rooted in both planning and preservation, this report explores the complex interplay between film and heritage sites. Heritage sites serve as monuments that spatialize history, anchoring the stories we learn in school or hear from our elders to a physical place. They are something to point to on a map: this happened, and it happened here. As students experienced firsthand at many of the sites visited in Alabama, there is a particular power to being in the space where something momentous happened. It humanizes what can otherwise be larger than life stories, and connects us to history in a physical way.

But film can serve as a kind of monument in and of itself. Many people may never have the privilege of traveling to the locales associated with influential events, people, and creations. Film steps into that gap: this happened, and it happened like this. The "here" of the story becomes untethered from place and is fixed in cultural consciousness according to the details shaped by the artistic decisions of the production team. This power to serve as a monument in and of itself makes film a double-edged sword. While film serves as an important medium for publicizing stories and connecting to publics that may not have the opportunity to visit historic sites, film-as-monument can start to redefine the identity and narrative of a site or even eclipse its significance.

The power to serve as a monument in and of itself makes film a double-edged sword

In film, narrative generally refers to the plot or story. However, to understand film's broader impact on heritage, this studio took a more expansive approach to narrative. Through stories, publics ascribe value to places, they connect them to their identities. These narratives are spiritual, familial, political, and ultimately, spatial. A church is not just where we pray, but where we live, where we organize, and where we put our loved ones to rest.

Through narrative, publics ascribe values to places and stories, they connect them to their identity

While this report aims to identify issues of and provide proposals for on-site filming at large, it is anchored in fieldwork conducted in Montgomery and Selma, Alabama. These two historic locales provided an excellent case study of many of the issues around film and heritage. First, there has been extended recent interest from Hollywood in telling stories of the Civil Rights Movement and Black American life more generally, including *Selma* (2014) and *Son of the South* (2020), both of which were filmed in Montgomery, as well as movies like *I Am Not Your Negro* (2015), *Hidden Figures* (2016), and *Marshall* (2017). As explored in the 2018 GSAPP Historic Preservation and Urban Planning Studio, Montgomery in particular has lost and continues to lose significant historic fabric—this makes film more germane to preserving these stories, but at

Above left: Columbia studio team with Ms. Lois Cortell, Senior Development Manager for the City of Montgomery and MGM Film Works Coordinator, at historic Court Square. Above right: Columbia studio team with Ms. Dorothy Walker, Site Director of the Alabama Historical Commission's Freedom Rides Museum. Below: Columbia studio team with Mr. Vincent Hall of the AAACRHSC and Ms. Nikki Tucker Davis and Ms. Wanda Anderson of the Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church (an AAACRHSC site).

the same time on-location filming proves more difficult, as fewer original locations survive at which filming can occur.

This report begins with a broad overview of current film industry practices related to on-location filming, policies governing and regulating film practices, and the associated phenomenon of screen tourism. Then, it zooms in on the Alabama field case, to examine local policy and filming history. It then discusses fieldwork in Alabama, including some of the main takeaways from interviews and site visits. Case studies of on-location filming from around the world, each illustrating different elements of this complex process, are integrated throughout the report. Synthesizing all of this research, the report presents nine key issues and seven proposals to work toward a more just and equitable on-location filming industry.

METHODOLOGY

The studio approached the topic of on-location filming with two related goals: first to understand the dynamics of heritage, narrative, and filming in general, and second, to explore how those dynamics play out in communities through more direct engagement in Montgomery and Selma.

The studio examined four main research questions:

- How does on-location filming affect historic sites—physically, socially, and narratively?
- How does on-location filming affect cities and communities, both in terms of economic development and narrative representation?
- What dynamics influence the relationship among various stakeholders and publics involved in on-location filming?
- How can governments or communities ensure that on-location filming centers justice, respect, and opportunity for historically marginalized communities?

To explore these complex questions, the studio brought historical and policy research, case studies, and field work into conversation through the following:

State of Policy and Practice Analysis

Research began with examining how on-location filming works from the perspective of the film industry, how governments guide and regulate it, and what its impacts can be. This covered several major topics: film incentive programs used by governments to attract on-location filming; regulations and property rights for filming locations; how locations get chosen for on-location filming; and how tourism patterns are impacted by on-location filming. During this phase of research, the team also spoke with several representatives of sites that have been involved in filming outside of Alabama.

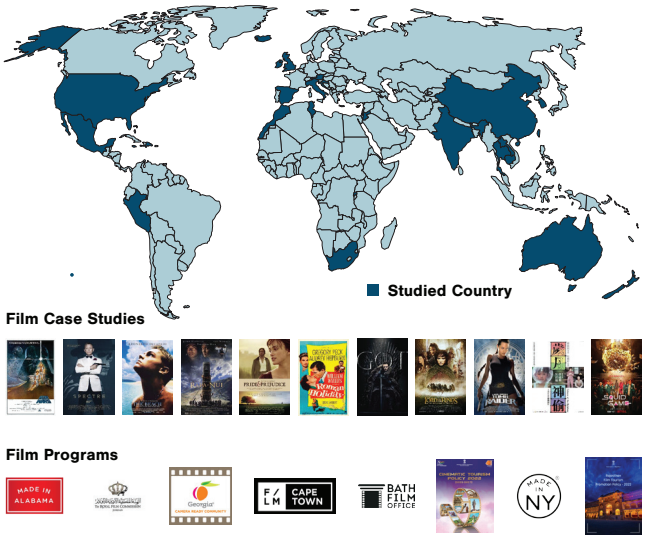


Diagram depicting the types and geographic distribution of case studies explored by the studio.

Comparative Cases

In preparing for the studio's Alabama fieldwork, the team strategically identified comparative case studies of other filming locations around the world to interrogate various issues, from tourism to economic development to conservation. Although each case is unique, this examination highlighted recurrent issues and questions, including:

- Filming's impact on economic development
- Film tourism's impact on economic development
- Public access and conflicts over site use
- Security concerns
- Community engagement
- Narrative impact
- Environmental or capacity issues

Alabama Field Case

Familiarity with the issues raised through the comparative cases enabled the team to focus its inquiry in the context of Alabama. Starting with a list of films shot in Montgomery and Selma, the studio explored how state and local governments interact to incentivize and regulate filming, promote media coverage and public reactions, and facilitate professional networks of local filmmakers, educational institutions, and facilities supporting

film production and on-location filming. The studio researched historical narratives around the Civil Rights Movement in Montgomery and Selma, and how they have been interpreted through movies and television shows.

Selma and Montgomery Fieldwork

During the studio's weeklong fieldwork in Montgomery and Selma, the team visited a number of historic sites and spoke with a range of stakeholders, including:

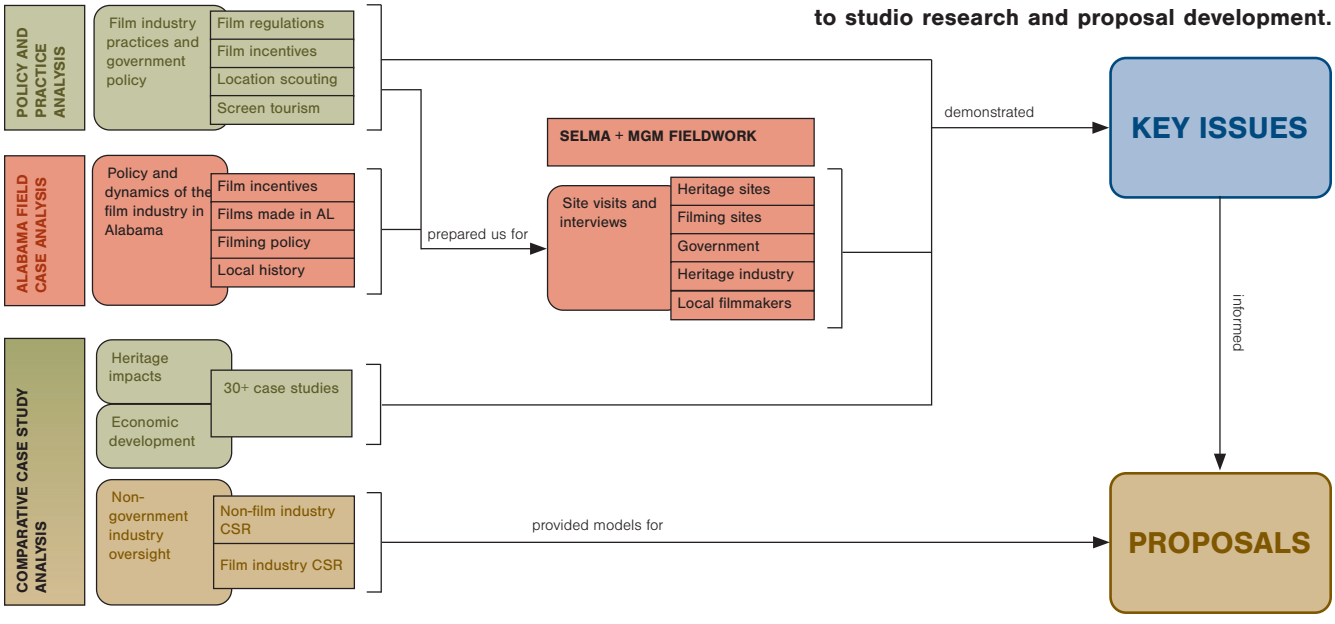
- Heritage site representatives: speaking with representatives from historic sites underscored the furtive nature of the histories of civil rights activism as well as the gravity of the personal stories related to these sites. Site owners and managers emphasized how making these places and stories public through interpretive films can have both positive and negative implications.
- Filming site representatives: speaking with managers of sites where filming has occurred or those who have been asked to allow filming provided real-life examples of the logistical considerations of the process.
- Government officials: speaking with government officials gave insight into the regulations around and government involvement in on-location filming and how it fits into government priorities.
- Heritage industry professionals: speaking with people who work in heritage-based tourism informed how films have impacted the way people see historic narratives in the area, and deepened students' knowledge of Montgomery and Selma.
- Film industry professionals: speaking with local filmmakers educated the team in how on-location filming has impacted, and has the potential to impact, the local industry.

Corporate Social Responsibility Cases

To better understand how non-government action can reform business practices, the studio looked at corporate social responsibility (CSR) examples from the film industry and other industries, to explore how they might inform CSR related to on-location filming at heritage locales.

The studio team distilled the above research into a set of key issues. These key issues in turn served as the foundation for a series of proposals for moving toward more responsible practices around heritage and on-location filming.

This diagram illustrates the methodological approach to studio research and proposal development.



PART 1

POLICY AND PRACTICE

On-location filming is a complex, multi-layered process involving many different parties. Even a few days of filming can begin many months before cameras roll (Cortell interview). This section outlines some of the key elements of filmmaking policy and practice as it relates to on-location filming, including a history of on-location filming, how film sites are identified and managed, the roles and rights of property owners vis-à-vis filming, government policy to promote and regulate on-location filming, and the post-filming impacts of screen tourism.

History of On-Location Filming

From the very early days of movie making, filmmakers sought to take their productions out of the studio or back lot and "on location." One of the first productions to film outdoors and with sound was *In Old Arizona*, a 1928 "talkie" that used the ghost town of Grafton, Utah (Pandya 2019). Following World War II, the trend of on-location filming increased dramatically as many productions moved to Europe. European countries sought to reconstruct their built environments and their economies, and the film industry was part of these development efforts. European governments frequently restricted the ability of American companies to export profits from films screened abroad. This had the combined effect of keeping money flowing in local economies and incentivizing foreign production studios to invest in European locales. Studio companies began using their profits, so-called

In Old Arizona **(1928) is an early example of on-location filming and was advertised as "The first all-talking feature filmed outdoors."**

Left: Post-World War II, Rome was nicknamed "Hollywood on the Tiber" because of the high number of "runaway" productions filmed there, like *Roman Holiday* (1953). Right: The historic Gare de L'Est in Paris was used for on-location filming of the 1950 crime drama *Quai de Grenelle.*

"frozen funds," on new movies filmed and produced in Europe. Additionally, filming in Europe allowed Hollywood-based productions companies to avoid some of the challenges with union labor in California (Yale et al. 2011).

The 1950s and 1960s saw a large number of foreign productions, including Disney's first live-action film, *Treasure Island* (1950), which was filmed in Britain. By the 1960s "runaway" productions, those not filmed in New York or Los Angeles, were so common in Rome that it was nicknamed "Hollywood on the Tiber" for films such as *The Agony and the Ecstasy* and *Roman Holiday* (Spagnoli 2009). Today on-location filming is still used for creative reasons as well as economic ones due to incentives or attractive labor markets.

Location Scouting and Management

In today's industry, a location scout is a member of a film's production team whose primary responsibility is to find real locations to serve for those depicted in a film's screenplay, during the pre-production process (MasterClass 2021a). Once possible locations are identified, a location manager researches, secures, and manages the logistics of filming locales, in addition to the hiring and management of the location department, which sits under the production management department (ScreenSkills, n.d.; MasterClass 2021b). In addition to the location scout, a location manager's team may include an assistant location manager or unit manager, who oversees the film crew's arrival and departure on set, monitors the location's use and cleanliness, and communicates with local entities as delegated by the location manager (ScreenSkills n.d). The location manager serves as "the primary point of contact between the owners of the location and the film crew" before, during, and after film shooting (Recording Radio Film Connection 2018).

GRAFTON, UTAH

Said to be the most photographed ghost town in the western United States, Grafton is the remains of a Mormon farming community along the Virgin River in southern Utah (Spray 2022). It has featured prominently in many films including *In Old Arizona* and *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid.* Much of the town is included in the National Register of Historic Places as part of the Grafton Historic District (NPS: Grafton Historic District 2010).

Schoolhouse in the ghost town of Grafton.

While there are no formal education requirements to become a location manager or scout, a photography or film background and extensive knowledge of the film production process are typical (Backstage 2011). It is common for location scouts to begin as production assistants before moving into the location scouting role, and many location scouts advance through the location department to assistant location manager or location manager positions. The location scout is expected to have extensive notes on past locations and prospective sites, so many scouts work in a particular geography in order to gain experience and form strong local connections. Location scouting work has not always been unionized, but today, national unions like The Directors Guild of America and the Location Managers Guild of America are most popular among US-based scouts (Nashville Film Institute n.d.).

The location scouting process begins with a team meeting where members of the location department review the script and take note of key spatial qualities of the places needed for filming. Next, the location manager and their team produce a list of potential locations to scout, paying particular attention to preliminary costs and permitting (MasterClass 2021a). The location scout will travel to potential locations in person to gather information and photographs to support the use of the potential site.

A number of internet-based services work to connect location scouts and potential filming locales, such as LocationsHub.com (managed by Reel Scout). Many US state governments also maintain film location databases to facilitate such connections, as well. Owners can list their properties on these sites as a way of marketing to location professionals.

Like many states, the New Jersey Motion Picture and Television Commission maintains a searchable, online Location Photo Library to facilitate on-location filming in the state.

Typical considerations in the search for the perfect location include:

- aesthetic or mood of the space
- historic connections or authenticity
- uniqueness
- neighboring properties
- general climate and weather conditions
- lighting and/or sun angles
- sound quality and proximity to noise
- power sources
- adjacent space for parking trailers and work vehicles
- distance from the main or temporary film studio's office and transportation of cast, crew and equipment
- proximity to emergency services
- cost
- permitting and permissions

(Recording Radio Film Connection 2018; MasterClass 2021b).

Once a location is identified as of interest, the location management team will work with the property owner, local film office, and/or local authorities to secure shooting permission through permit applications, contracts, releases, and preliminary insurance forms (MasterClass 2021b). A permit application might include requests for details on the production's filming plan, a list of equipment and personnel that will be on set, the duration of filming, and the intended use of film product (MasterClass 2021b).

Confirmed locations then undergo a process known as "clearing the location," which includes securing an insurance policy for the space, ensuring all health, safety, and security requirements are met, and distributing filming location letters to neighbors in close proximity to the location with direct contact information for the location department (MasterClass 2021a). A successfully-cleared location then moves into the lock-down phase, which is when all permits, contracts, and releases between property owners, production company, and city entity are signed and approved. This phase also includes ensuring the crew has the appropriate equipment and services required for filming including power sources, backup generators, catering, cleaning, and security services (MasterClass 2021b).

Once production begins, location managers work with assistant directors to manage crew schedules and map out sets, and they remain on-set during set up, filming, take down, and preparation for the following day's locations (MasterClass 2021a). The location or assistant location manager manages ongoing issues as they arise and works as a liaison between the production crew and neighbors, city authorities, and passing pedestrians (MasterClass 2021a). Location cleanup and return to its original condition, or the location "wrap," is the last responsibility of the location manager.

Location scouts rely on local connections to provide their production teams with the most suitable places for on-location filming, so relationships with people and places are essential to the success of their role. These relationships are significantly enhanced when municipalities have the resources

ON-LOCATION FILMING AND PLACE IDENTITY

NYC location scout Nick Carr describes the false identity film productions sometimes cast upon the locations used for filming. Carr explains that production designers often request locations that do not exist in real life: the "bad sections" of Brooklyn, or the dangerous areas of the Bronx, "You know what I mean... Burning barrels! Trash everywhere! Homeless people in the street! Where do we find it?" When seen in film, these locations are often heavily decorated and cast in red or sepia, a production-added layer that skews perceptions of place (Carr 2015).

to create and manage their own local film offices. This allows location management departments to build connections to local crews, support services, and locations to which they might not otherwise have access. Local film offices can also promote the involvement of the local workforce through the supplemental hiring of production crews, service businesses, and cast, providing the potential for enhanced community engagement and benefits.

This can sometimes lead to misaligned interests and unmet expectations on the part of communities. Less rigorous permitting processes and oversight, lower costs, and less frequent use in filming may make locales with less experience and/or government involvement in the filming process more desirable to location scouts and managers. This is a particular challenge for local government officials and heritage site managers with limited knowledge of film contracts, obligations, and risks, and of the social, material, and narrative implications of filming in historic places. This can lead to misaligned interests and unmet expectations on the part of communities.

Regulations and Rights

The potential use of a location for filming is influenced by copyright laws, permitting regulations, and property ownership.

Government policies and ensuing property rights may differ by property ownership and can broadly be broken down into two groups: public property and private property. In the United States, public property consists of government buildings that are owned by national, state, or local governments as well as parks or other open spaces whose access is controlled by government agencies. Additionally, governments are responsible for managing public streets and streetscapes. The other broad category consists of private property. For each of these there are varying degrees of restriction on government policy and rights depending on where they are located.

In the US, the policies for filming on land or at sites controlled by the government differ by the precise agency that manages a property. Some agencies such as the General Services Administration (GSA) have a formalized on-location filming program, which is particularly robust for its Northeast and Caribbean region (David Anthone interview). For others, for example a historic city hall in a small town, the process tends to be more ad-hoc, with no formalized policy. The variability in government policy continues for parks. While the National Park Service requires a permit for filming on their properties, a state or local government may not have any requirements.

On-location filming in public spaces is generally regulated at the local level by municipal governments. Larger metropolitan cities typically have a more robust on-location film regulation and permitting process than smaller municipalities. In New York City, filming permits are distributed by the NYC Film Office, a department under the NYC Media and Entertainment Office (NYC Film Office n.d.). The only filming scenario that does not require a $300 non-refundable application fee and approved permit is for hand-held equipment use without the use of stunts, actors in city service uniforms, and city property (NYC Film Office n.d.). Liability insurance is encouraged for productions without a permit but required for those with a permit. New York City provides police assistance and parking privileges to permitted productions at no additional cost. In Alabama, larger cities including Birmingham, Huntsville, Montgomery, and Mobile have film offices that coordinate and manage film production permitting, but overall, permit requirements vary by municipality. Beyond the permission to film, additional permitting may also be required for related disruptions, such as partial road closures and diverted traffic, the requirement of police on site, parking impacts, use of special effects or firearms, and the partial closure of city-owned property or parks (Film Birmingham n.d.).

FILMING IN MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

In Montgomery, permits or payments to film in public places are not required. A $25 fee is required for any necessary street closures, though it is usually waived. The municipal government office coordinating filming, Montgomery Filmworks, is staffed part-time by one employee with many other responsibilities, so the capacity to invest in developing the industry in Montgomery is limited. Montgomery Filmworks, helps connect filmmakers with properties and their owners, maintains contact lists of local production companies, and promotes the use of local businesses for production support. The Alabama Film Office administers the state's tax credits, provides sample contracts and production guidance, and maintains a statewide database of film locations, to which property owners can submit information for inclusion.

In *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade,* Schloss Bürresheim in Germany (where freedom of panorama originated) was used for the exterior shot of the fictitious Brunwald Castle. For the film, the image of the castle was augmented through the use of matte painting.

"The copyright in an architectural work that has been constructed does not include the right to prevent the making, distributing, or public display of pictures, paintings, photographs, or other pictorial representations of the work, if the building in which the work is embodied is located in or ordinarily visible from a public place." —17 US Code § 120(a)

The filming of both public and private property falls under a form of copyright law referred to as "freedom of panorama" (FOP). Approximately 100 countries have some form of FOP law that regulates the reproduction of images of architectural exteriors, public interiors, and artwork that are in or visible from public spaces. In the US, for example, images of buildings visible from a public space can be used in film without property owner or copyright permission. However, images of artwork such as statuary and other installations, even if located

Above: A location crew shooting on Bennett Avenue between West 181st and 184th Streets in the Washington Heights neighborhood of New York City. Two actors sit on an outcropping of Manhattan schist while a camera on an extended crane films them. Above right: Example of a notice of intended on-location filming in a Los Angeles neighborhood. Right: Filming for the turn-of-the-twentieth-century period drama *The Knick* required historic NYC streetscapes, thereby limiting access to entire blocks.

in a public space, cannot be reproduced without the permission of the artist as copyright holder.

Streetscapes present a helpful illustration. Filming on a public street may be governed by a local municipality's permitting policy, but the images filmed from a street are often of privately owned property. For example, images shot on a quiet tree-lined street do not just contain the street, but also the exteriors of the many homes on the streets. In the US, these homeowners lack the ability to restrict images of their property when filmed from a public right of way.

For most property owners the use of their property's image is not an issue, rather the inconveniences created when filming occurs nearby. When recurrent filming becomes egregious for property owners and occupants, they may lobby government officials to restrict filming through permit issuances. For example, a new bill in New York City would restrict how often a film permit can be issued for the same census tract (Davey 2022).

Filming on private property that cannot be seen from a public space is fundamentally up to the discretion of the property owner. The owners can negotiate with film production companies to determine what is and is not permitted as well as the duration and compensation of any filming. There are exceptions to this in a few US municipalities,

THE ENNIS HOUSE

Los Angeles requires a permit to film anywhere in the city, including on private property like Frank Lloyd Wright's Ennis House, a 1924 Mayan Revival-styled residence. It was first used in the filming of *Female* (1933) and has since appeared in more than 80 films, television shows, and music videos. The house itself became a main character in the 1959 film, *House on Haunted Hill*. In the ensuing decades, particularly under the ownership of Gus Brown, the house was used for numerous film shoots, including *Blade Runner* (1982), *Howling II* (1984), and *Timestalkers* (1987), which helped fund the ongoing maintenance of the house (Andersen 2014). It has repeatedly been used as the headquarters of villains in Asian cities such as Hong Kong (*Rush Hour*, 1998) and Osaka (*Black Rain*, 1989). The house is so well known for this kind of use that a 2005 episode of *South Park* includes an animated version of the house for the Asian villains in the episode "Wing," highlighting how iconic locations can sometimes carry problematic stereotypes. Beyond its incredibly distinctive architecture, the Ennis House is attractive for Los Angeles-based productions as it is within the "Studio Zone" or "Thirty Mile Zone," meaning productions do not need to compensate unionized cast and crew for travel time to film locations within a 30-mile zone of Los Angeles. The Ennis House's fame has repeatedly caused complications for owners and neighbors. In the 1960s, following the release of *House on Haunted Hill*, curious onlookers would harass the owners of the house, including a 1966 incident where a hand grenade was thrown at the house, damaging the art-glass windows (Oney 2006). Its use for filming and other events created noise and traffic, and eventually resulted in a zoning hearing that imposed restrictions regarding its use.

like Los Angeles, which require a permit for any film shooting in the city—even on private property (Altadena Filming Committee 2018). Even without government regulations, though, private property owners have to consider neighbors who may be affected by the noise or inconvenience of filming, which may create a nuisance that can be challenged through legal channels.

Facilitating Filming at Heritage Sites

The landscape for both governmental and non-governmental (e.g. not-for-profit) management and promotion of historic sites for film shoots is developing. In the United Kingdom (UK), a number of organizations have set up offices specifically to facilitate filming at their historic sites over the last two decades. This trend was started by the National Trust of

England, Wales, and Northern Ireland, which established a filming office in 2003. Over the next decade, other prominent UK-based organizations followed suit, including the National Trust for Scotland in 2012 and English Heritage in 2015 (Flynn 2016). All of these organizations actively market their historic properties for filming and have robust systems in place including lists of filming locations and formalized methods of inquiry for prospective directors.

In the US, there is more limited coordination of filming at historic locales. Prominent organizations that own multiple historic properties such as Historic New England and the Massachusetts-based Trustees of Reservations are more focused on photography, not film shoots, and have a relatively less-developed system. For example, neither appears to have dedicated personnel to support on-location filming activities. That said, Historic New England does have a sample contract on their website, but it is geared toward event photography, not film. Similarly, Trustees of Reservations only has a clearly defined system for filming at one of its locations, Crane Beach, a popular photography location (The Trustees of Reservation n.d.).

In both the UK and the US, the environment is less developed for historic sites that are not associated with a larger non-governmental organization. In the US, the National Trust for Historic Preservation published a handbook on filming at historic locations, though it has been out of print for nearly three decades (Masterman 1995). It also promotes filming through its "Reel Places" project, but this is aimed primarily at tourists rather than prospective

George Street in historic Port Chalmers, New Zealand, was transformed for filming of *The Light Between Oceans* (2016), requiring coordination of multiple property owners.

Filming *Sherlock Holmes and the Case of the Silk Stocking* at the historic Somerset House in London.

The historic Alexander Hamilton US Custom House is among the GSA buildings in New York City frequently used for television and movie filming.

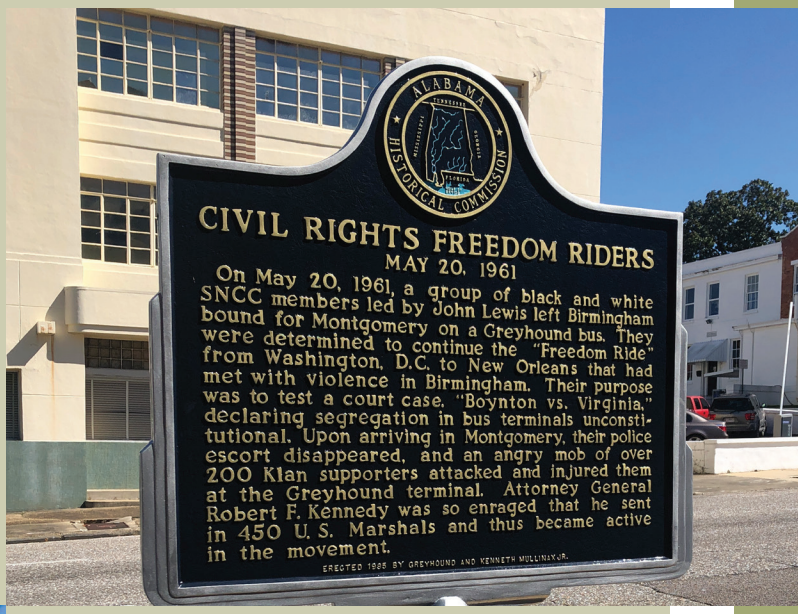
FILMING AND HERITAGE PRESERVATION: KSAR AIT BEN HADDOU

Ksar Ait Ben Haddou is a remarkably well-preserved ksar, an earthen fortress town in Morocco's Atlas Mountains. Many of these cities have been threatened by deterioration or cultural changes, but the use of Ksar Ait Ben Haddou in filming and its subsequent tourist popularity have helped it remain in remarkably good condition. At least 20 films have been shot on location at Ksar Ait Ben Haddou, including *Lawrence of Arabia*, *Gladiator*, and some scenes from *Game of Thrones* (Roaming Camels n.d.; Mosaic North Africa n.d.). Its use as a film site may have helped shield the ksar from some of the more negative impacts surrounding similar structures, particularly the replacement of traditional earthen construction with concrete and other materials. Because of the need to regularly maintain and repair traditional ksour (plural of ksar), emigration from these traditional settlements can quickly create a negative feedback loop that leads to physical deterioration, loss of tourism income, and more emigration. However at some ksour, like Ait Ben Haddou, investment in preserving historic structures while also providing modern conveniences makes these locations desirable for both tourists and filmmakers, and helps retain local residents (Dluzewska and Dluzewski 2017).

IN-KIND CONTRIBUTIONS

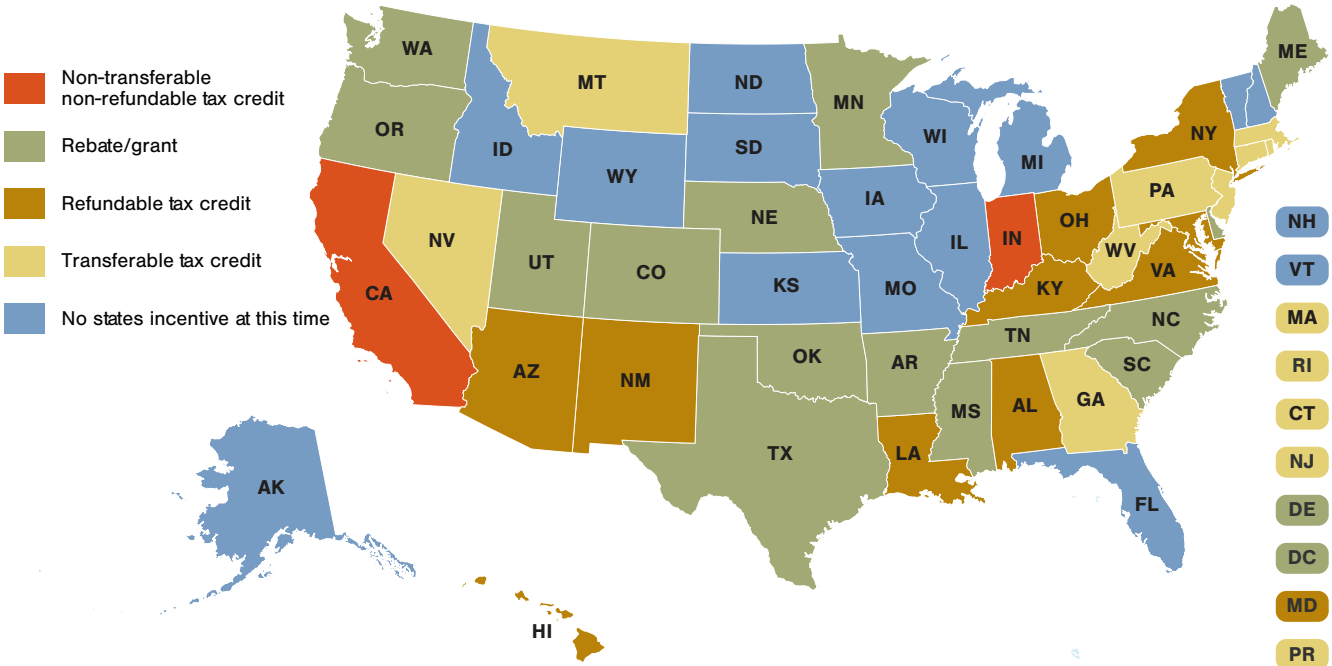
When historic sites are leased for on-location filming the contracts are usually fee-based, with the film production company paying a historic site for permission to film on-location. Occasionally, "in-kind contributions" may replace or supplement monetary fees. For historic sites, in-kind contributions are most frequently conservation services, but can consist of a new historical marker or even assistance with a marketing campaign or website.

For heritage sites owned or managed by the government, in-kind contributions are often a key way to maximize the benefit from on-location filming. Payments made to a government-owned heritage site for on-location filming may often go to a general revenue fund, rather than directly to the site. Site managers of such properties may ask for a production company to provide an in-kind service to ensure direct benefit to the site's maintenance. For example, a contract may require a production company to re-paint a room or pay for a new set of information displays, pursuant to oversight by the heritage site manager. If a government-owned heritage site does not have a system for receiving direct payments, production companies may be asked to contribute to private non-profits associated with the heritage site, frequently referred to as "friends of" organizations. Such organization have fewer restrictions on accepting and spending monies, and can therefore use them explicitly for a specific heritage site.



Son of the South **filmed on location at the historic Greyhound Bus Station in Montgomery, AL (now the Freedom Rides Museum). The production provided in-kind contributions to help compensate for the use of the site, including refurbishment of the historic marker.**

In-kind contributions played an important role in the filming of *Son of the South* at the Greyhound Bus Station (now the Freedom Rides Museum) in Montgomery, AL. To recreate Civil Rights era conditions, the historical marker in front of the site was temporarily removed. Before replacement, the marker was restored as an in-kind contribution from the production. In addition, the production company installed blinds in the windows of the museum's storage space, which they left in place after filming concluded (Walker interview). These in-kind contributions were particularly important because the museum received no direct monetary compensation; as a site owned and operated by the Alabama Historical Commission (AHC), any revenue received from filming goes into the state budget, rather than staying on-site.



US film production incentives by state, based on data maintained by Media Services.

INCENTIVES DRIVE LOCATION DECISIONS

Jordan Peele's *Get Out* (2017) began shooting in Los Angeles in early 2016, but relocated to Alabama when the production did not receive California's tax rebate (Flanagan 2018). Filming took place largely in the area of Mobile, including a residence in the town of Fairhope, which served as the Armitage house, and the Park Place district just east of central Mobile (Movie-Locations.com n.d.). The cast's stay at local lodging in Mobile, which brought them together for several weeks, is credited for a bond that might not have been formed if filming had remained in Los Angeles (Flanagan 2018). The film's director, Jordan Peele, noted his initial hesitation to film in Alabama, "I went to Alabama with my own stereotypes and preconceived notions about getting chased out... But I have to say, the stereotypes were proved wrong. People were very sweet, very open, and there's a lot of film lovers there...Ultimately, I loved Alabama" (Flanagan 2018).

Alabama offers a state-level film incentive that "equals 25 percent of certain production expenditures...incurred in Alabama, plus 35 percent of the payroll paid to Alabama residents" and may be used to "offset any Alabama income tax liability of the qualified production company for the tax year during which such expenditures were paid or incurred" (Alabama Department of Revenue n.d.). However, a 2015 collaborative study between University of Tennessee economists and the Alabama Department of Revenue found that Alabama's Film Tax Credit, which "provided around $26 million in tax money rebated to 57 movies, commercials and TV series from 2009–2015," is not contributing enough economic punch to make the state a leader in the film industry (Sharp 2017). Nearby Georgia, with more robust state-level incentives, is an especially tough competitor for film productions. Former Mobile Film Office executive director Eva Golson noted that "you may have one of the best locations in the world, but they will go to where they can get those incentives" (Sharp 2017).

movie productions. In the UK, the Historic Houses Association (HHA) represents over 1,500 properties, of which 200 welcome filming on site. The HAA has partnered with Location Works, a scouting website, to market these properties to potential productions. Additionally, Heritage-4Media, a now defunct organization, previously offered a marketing service for historic properties in the UK (Shimko 2020).

One of the more robust US government programs for on-location filming at historic locales is the General Services Administration's (GSA) "Filming on Location," managed by the GSA Center for Historic Buildings. As the "nation's landlord," GSA has an extensive outleasing program across the many buildings it owns. In most cases the funds generated from outleasing are not earmarked for a special use, however any earnings from the leasing of a property included on the National Register of Historic Places is sent to the "Historic Property Outlease Account," where it can be used for renovation, restoration, and conservation of historic GSA properties through a competitive grant process (Votisek 2021; Anthone interview). GSA Region 2, which includes New York City, has significantly more filming than any other region, including California, in part due to staffing (Anthone interview).

PROMOTING DIVERSITY THROUGH FILM INCENTIVES

New Jersey offers a 30 to 35 percent transferable tax credit for filming in the state, plus an added 2 to 4 percent bonus if the production meets diversity criteria related to gender and race, in order to promote a more inclusive workforce. "The Diversity Bonus aims to increase diversity onscreen (the actors involved, the content of stories) and behind the cameras (the composition of the crews, the diversity of companies involved in production)."

—NJ Motion Picture and Television Commission

Active personnel employed in a "film office" are critical to making processes move swiftly and efficiently. Additionally, film offices are best positioned to help handle negotiations about specific contract terms, particularly around protecting sensitive historic locations.

Across all types of property, it is clear that larger and more-developed programs are more effective at courting and making use of the potential benefits from filming. Active personnel employed in a "film office" are critical to making processes move swiftly and efficiently. Additionally, film offices are best positioned to help handle negotiations about specific contract terms, particularly around protecting sensitive historic locations. Those organizations with full-time or dedicated staff have been able to turn on-location filming into a profitable part of managing a heritage site.

Government Film Incentives

Governments around the globe offer a variety of financial incentives to promote their locales for film production. While most are implemented at the national level, in the US these incentives are offered by states, with a high degree of variation. How well these tools work to build a strong film-centered economy depends on both vertical and lateral coordination among government agencies and with their local communities.

Film or movie production incentives (MPIs) were first introduced in the United States in the 1990s, in

JORDAN: BUILDING A NATIONAL INDUSTRY FROM LOCATIONS AND INCENTIVES

Jordan is home to two UNESCO World Heritage sites that have been used to film a number of movies: the ancient Nabatean city of Petra (a cultural site) and the desert valley of Wadi Rum (a mixed site), located around 70 miles from one another in the southern part of the country. The first film to put this area on the map for English-speaking audiences was *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962), which was filmed in Wadi Rum. *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade* (1982), filmed at Petra, again highlighted Jordan.

More recently, the country has hosted productions that utilize the desert scenery as a stand-in for outer space, with *The Martian*, *Dune*, and the newest *Star Wars* trilogy filming in Wadi Rum. The current head of Jordan's Royal Film Commission, Mohannad Bakri, has highlighted his country's ability to stand in for a number of different locations, particularly war-torn countries in the Middle East, as it has in films like *The Hurt Locker*, *Zero Dark Thirty*, and *A Private War* (Hingorani 2021). The country has 70 locations listed on the location scout site LocationsHub, ranging from the skyline of the capital city to an abandoned shell of concrete housing structures to crusader castles. Jordan has also publicized the availability of around 1,000 industry professionals to attract foreign productions with the offer of trained and knowledgeable local staff (Bakri 2020).

The country offers a very robust film incentive program, including both tax exemptions and cash rebates for expenses. Production companies can get cash rebates ranging from 10 percent (for expenses of at least $1 million) to 25 percent (for expenses greater than $7 million), with any rebate capped at no more than $2 million. Arab or Jordanian productions are eligible for rebates starting from a budget of $500,000, although the maximum potential subsidy is only $353,000. Depending on the level of Jordanian involvement in the project—based on expenditures, staffing of actors and crew, and other metrics—films can get tax exemptions for import duties, sales tax, and payroll taxes for international staff (Royal Film Commission n.d.).

Wadi Rum, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, has hosted a number of films, including movies set in the region, like *Lawrence of Arabia*, and those where the desert is an otherworldly backdrop, like *Dune* and *The Martian.*

response to growing competition and the exodus of film production to countries that were offering lower production costs (NCSL 2018). In 1992, Louisiana was the first state to adopt state tax incentives for film and TV production, and successfully expanded its program in 2002. By 2010, 45 states had some form of film production incentives. Since then, 13 states have ended their film incentive programs for reasons that include budget constraints, while others have capped their annual funds. In an effort to rebound from the COVID-19 pandemic, at least 10 states have enacted measures to implement or expand film tax incentives. Generally, incentives focus on production, although they are also relevant to visual effects, post-production, and animated projects (Olsberg SPI 2019).

Globally, governments deploy a range of incentives, which include tax credits, tax shelters, equity investments and loans, and uplifts. Cash rebates are the most popular type of media production incentive. In 2019, these accounted for some 60 percent of all such incentives globally (Belcaid and Hammoud 2022). Tax credits are the second most popular type, accounting for around 35 percent of global incentives during the same year. Such tax credits, which are prevalent in the US, are generally equal to a percentage of a film or television production's qualified in-state spending and/or exemptions from sales tax on qualified transactions (Brainerd and Jimenez 2022).

Different locales have specific requirements for each type of incentive. Eligibility requirements refer to the media production formats that are eligible for the incentive, such as feature films, television series, or video games. Advertisement productions are often not covered by incentives. Qualification requirements establish minimum in-country investments, including the ratio of local to outside talent employed by the production, share of footage shot in-country (generally around 25 percent), number of shooting days, and local expenditures for each production. Incentive policies may also dictate what is considered a qualifying expenditure and the rate at which they are incentivized, generally between 10 percent and 40 percent. The incentive amount can be calculated by multiplying qualifying expenditures by the incentive rate (Belcaid and Hammoud 2022).

"Despite the questions surrounding the overall efficacy of film tax incentives...film projects are highly popular with host localities and the public and there's no denying that incentives are a factor in where companies decide to make movies. Furthermore, it is difficult to precisely quantify the extent to which film development benefits state tourism, and it is hard to ignore the success a state like Georgia has had in attracting new film projects with a tax credit program estimated to cost over $1 billion in fiscal year 2023."

—National Conference of State Legislatures

Governments frequently seek a strong film industry in order to spur economic development, attract tourism, create jobs, and increase soft power. In 2020, government spending on media production incentives in the top 14 jurisdictions globally (either countries or US states) amounted to around $6.5 billion. In the UK, the tax relief generated by production incentive programs created 181,000 full-time equivalent roles (FTEs) in 2017 and approximately 219,000 FTEs in 2019. In New Zealand,

between 2014 and 2021, the screen production activity contributed an estimated $4.0 billion in Gross Value Added to the economy, with an average annual growth rate of 20 percent. This is notable considering this period was amid the COVID-19 pandemic (Olsberg SPI 2022). Meanwhile, California's tax credit program supported about 110,000 jobs between 2015 and 2020 (Belcaid and Hammoud 2022). To ensure job creation, some areas have specific requirements to employ a certain percentage of local employees to get the movie production incentives. For example, in Colorado, productions must also hire a workforce (cast and crew) of at least 50 percent Colorado residents (Brainerd and Jimenez 2022).

A 2019 survey by the Korean Tourism Office suggests that 55 percent of inbound tourism was influenced by the popularity of South Korean drama and film.

Production incentives can also help to increase a country's or region's "soft power." For example, they can help make a country more attractive to tourists by boosting local cultural resources, from language to music, food, and more. A 2019 survey by the Korean Tourism Office suggests that 55 percent of inbound tourism was influenced by the popularity of South Korean drama and film. The number of foreign Korean language learners has increased dramatically over the past 30 years. Research shows that the number of non-native speakers taking the "Test of Proficiency in Korean" correlates to the number of Korean film releases (Belcaid and Hammoud 2022).

There are some criticisms of film incentives. First, some economists question the efficiency of using film tax credits to achieve development goals, as the money set aside for incentives may be more effective elsewhere. It is difficult to see the direct impact of these incentives in economic data (Brainerd and Jimenez 2022). Second, there is the question of spatial equity, in the sense that most of the benefits appear to be focused on major cities and may not spill over to outlying areas (Murray and Bruce 2017). In addition, economies of scale are difficult to manufacture outside the usual entertainment hubs, such as Los Angeles, New York, and, recently, Georgia.

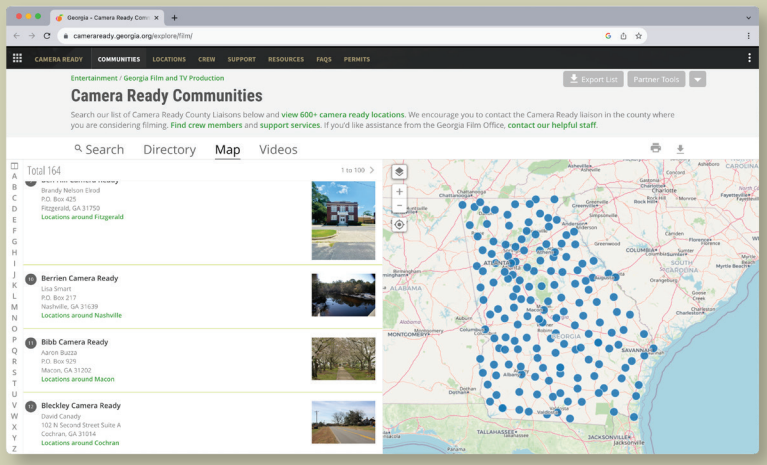
Government Marketing and Coordination

In addition to providing information about locations, permitting, and incentives, many governments provide support to film production by actively marketing and coordinating the development of the film industry within their jurisdictions. Government coordination and marketing may include the regulation of hiring and labor practices, investment in film production facilities and education, cooperation between local and state-level entities, cultivation of filming sites, engagement with local businesses and residents, and staffing state and local film offices. Georgia ranks high in the US film industry not only for film production tax incentives and but also for the robustness of their marketing and coordination. Cities like Cleveland, Ohio, and Cape Town, South Africa, have created municipal-level film programs that increase their competitiveness and supplement state- or national-level marketing and incentives. Other cities, like Miami, Florida, have developed more robust film programs to compensate for the loss of state-level incentives, aided in large part by their historic built environments, which serve as a draw for filmmakers seeking authentic and period architecture and streetscapes.

In addition to this vertical coordination across different levels of government, lateral coordination is also emerging in the industry, notably through co-production agreements between nations.

GEORGIA'S CAMERA READY COMMUNITIES

In 2010, the Georgia Film, Music, and Digital Entertainment Office launched "Camera Ready Communities" to ensure that each Georgia county has a local film-friendly liaison to assist producers and location managers and bring productions to their community. The state-led program designates districts invested in cultivating the entertainment industry, usually a county or a grouping of several municipalities, as "camera ready." The program, which has 165 districts as of December 2022, enlists a local municipal employee to work as a liaison, assisting production companies in securing locations through the program's locations database and providing communities of all sizes and geographies the opportunity to engage in the economic benefits associated with on-location filming (Georgia Film Office n.d.). The Camera Ready Communities program provides liaisons with a guidebook to streamline internal communication and outward collaboration with prospective film productions, covering topics such as filming procedures from "script to screen," uncovering unique locations for potential on-location filming, and tips for working with local media and community members (Georgia Film Office n.d.). Additional program resources include a Camera Ready Communities database that directs film productions and location scouts toward potential locations in that district (sorted by designated community or location specifications, and contact information for the community's liaison and local film office), a crew directory database highlighting local service industries, an introductory guide to on-location filming, sample filming documentation like neighborhood letters and location contracts, and film permitting resources organized by district.



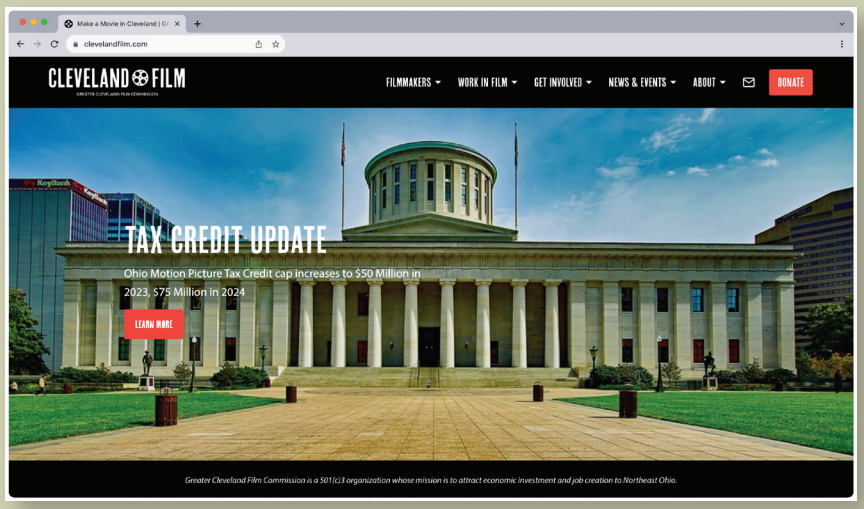
Georgia maintains a "Camera Ready Communities" searchable online database of shooting locations.

Blockbusters shot in Georgia.

Georgia's film industry is one of the largest among US states in terms of number of productions. The benefits brought by the film industry are actively publicized to market its positive impact on the state's economic development on the state's official website. The film and television industry has created more than 77,900 jobs and $3.8 billion in total wages in Georgia. Approximately 23,500 Georgians work in the motion picture and television industry in the state, 8,188 of which are production-related employees. "The film industry is a powerful economic generator and is creating jobs for Georgians as well as new opportunities to a highly skilled workforce," announced Chris Carr, commissioner of the Georgia Department of Economic Development, in a 2014 press release. "These new businesses are generating jobs and ensuring the industry's sustainability in Georgia well into the future" (State of Georgia 2014).

CLEVELAND. WHO KNEW?

The Greater Cleveland Film Commission's primary goal is to "push Ohio's media industry to the next level by leading efforts to increase the incentive and provide vital industry infrastructure that will allow the state to attract larger productions" (Greater Cleveland Film Commission 2022). Created in 2009, the Ohio Motion Picture Tax Credit provides "a refundable tax credit of 30 percent on production cast and crew wages plus other eligible in-state spending" (Ohio Department of Development 2022). At the city level, Cleveland's film industry is supported by the Greater Cleveland Film Commission and markets with the slogan, "Cleveland. Who Knew?" Part of Cleveland's marketing draw is its capacity to pass as other big US cities that might be too populated or too expensive to manage during filming (Butler 2020). In *Judas and the Black Messiah* (2019), filming transformed Cleveland's Slavic Village into "1960s Chicago…for three months,



Cleveland's municipal-level film program website

employing 118 local crew members and over 3,000 extras" and earned the film's location managers, Bill Garvey and Tim Kanieski, "the award for Outstanding Locations in a Period Feature Film at the Location Managers Guild International 2021 Awards" (Cleveland.com n.d.). In *Spider Man 3* (2007), *The Avengers* (2012), and *Captain America: The Winter Soldier* (2014), Cleveland was used as a pseudo New York City because it is "an easier city to film in as traffic is significantly lower, making it easy to shut down streets for days at a time and offers strong incentives like the Ohio Film Tax Credit" (Butler 2020). In *A Christmas Story* (1983), the movie's fictional setting of Indiana was recreated and filmed in Cleveland (Butler 2020). The street where the main character, Ralphie, grew up in the movies is named Cleveland Street, paying homage to the movie's filming location, a potential screen tourism draw (Butler 2020).

The Cleveland house that served as Ralphie's Indiana home in *A Christmas Story* is now a museum.

MIAMI'S DIVERSE HERITAGE

Florida cut state-level film tax incentives in 2016 due to low return on investments, but Miami remains a global metropolis able to attract filming (DiMattei 2016). Known as the "gateway to Latin America and the Caribbean," Miami-Dade County grants up to $100,000 to productions with a minimum expenditure of $1 million and that conduct at least 70 percent of work in the county. The City of Miami Beach's incentive only requires up to $25,000 in qualifying expenditures, helping attract even smaller productions (Miami Beach FL 2021).

Liberty Square, Miami—the setting for *Moonlight*—was constructed by the Public Works Administration under the New Deal in the 1930s. With more than 900 units, it was among the largest and earliest federally-sponsored housing projects for African Americans in the US South. In 2015, Miami-Dade County initiated the redevelopment of the complex.

Critical to Miami's draw for filming are its picturesque landscape, diverse architecture, and vibrant cultural enclaves, which have provided versatile backdrops for movies such as *Iron Man 3*, *Bad Boys II*, *Moonlight*, *Step Up*, and many more. Historically significant sites and neighborhoods, many of which are not officially protected as landmarks or historic districts, are indispensable elements of Miami's film industry and vital to storytelling about the city's diverse publics and legacies of exclusion. The historically Black neighborhood of Liberty City, for example, was the setting of the Academy Award-winning *Moonlight* (2016). The film centers its main character as he grows up in historic Liberty Square, Florida's first government-subsidized public housing complex, and showcases Virginia Key Beach Park, an 82-acre beach just minutes from downtown that is listed on the National Register of Historic Places, part of the State of Florida Heritage Trail, and designated by the City of Miami Historic and Environmental Preservation board. In the first half of the twentieth century, many of Miami-Dade County's beaches were developed into parks and public swimming facilities exclusively for the White population. Virginia Key Beach Park was established on August 1, 1945 as "The Colored Only Beach." Today, the Historic Virginia Key Beach Museum Park highlights this fraught history, and spotlights regional African American legacies, civil rights activism, and environmental preservation.

A MORE JUST FILM INDUSTRY IN CAPE TOWN

Cape Town, South Africa, has become a filming location meant to rival Hollywood with both on-location and in-studio filming. The city government has created a partnership with Film Cape Town to promote on-location filming that supports the local film industry, creates fair business practices, and furthers sustainability (Cape Town Film Pledge n.d.). The city is advertised to film scouts as being diverse enough in both sets and on-site locations to look like many other locales around the world (Cape Town and Western Cape Film & Media Promotion 2017). This marketing has been supported by the development of film infrastructure as well as incentives for both domestic and international productions (Carey 2017). This has recently attracted large productions such as the Starz show *Outlander* and BBC's *Doctor Who*.

The television series *Doctor Who* filming in Cape Town's historic Greenmarket Square, which dates to the seventeenth century. Ironically, the scene depicts Rosa Parks being escorted off a bus in Montgomery, Alabama.

South Africa has a robust incentive policy for both international and national filmmakers. For international films there is a 25 percent incentive for Qualifying South African Production Expenditure (QSAPE) if a production is filming on location in the country. The incentive increases to 30 percent if productions use Black-owned service companies for shooting and post-production in South Africa. For films by South Africans, there is a 35 percent rebate on QSAPE. This increases to 40 percent for productions hiring a minimum of 30 percent Black South African citizens as head of departments and procuring a minimum of 30 percent of QSAPE from businesses that have at least 51 percent Black South African ownership (Film Cape Town n.d). Film Cape Town has also partnered with the SA Film Academy to promote local talent and diversify who is working both in front of and behind the camera (Diversity in Cape Town's Film Industry n.d.).

To prevent adverse effects on communities and places, the film permitting process in Cape Town involves special consideration for "film-sensitive locations," including natural landscapes, heritage locations, and congested business districts. The process requires consultation with lawyers and community members, and a plan for site monitoring during the filming process (Cape Town Film Permit Office 2006). An Environmental Control Officer may also be required at the expense of the production company. In categorizing sites, Cape Town has also determined some "No-Go Locations" where film permits will be declined due to potential risks or concerns.

CO-PRODUCTION AGREEMENTS

New Zealand was one of the first nations to begin negotiating bilateral co-production treaties, to facilitate cooperation between two countries in filmmaking. The government agreements encourage collaboration and equitable hiring, streamline the pooling of financial resources, and resolve multiple taxation issues. These bilateral treaties have led to multilateral agreements to encourage regional cooperation in film production, including The Latin American Co-Production Treaty (1989), The Nordisk Film & TV Fond (1990), and The Council of Europe Convention on Cinematographic Co-production (1992, and revised in 2016 to allow the participation of non-European countries).

Several sites in Jamaica served as stand-ins for the infamous penal colony of Saint Laurent de Maroni in the 1973 film, *Papillon*, but Jamaica has seen limited on-location productions since. The original French Guinean site may have benefited from the film. In the 1980s, some of the buildings in the penal colony were restored and others conserved, and the site was listed as an Historic Monument in 1994.

While these agreements foster lateral coordination at the national level, they can also highlight embedded inequities. In 2007, Jamaica and the UK initiated a co-production treaty, which allows UK nationals to access UK film funding and tax breaks when co-producing films with Jamaican filmmakers, and was intended to encourage the creation of a strategic and sustainable series of economic and cultural partnerships with the UK (Ramachandran 2007). Once known as the "Little Hollywood of the Caribbean," Jamaica offers a staggering variety of film shooting sites. The 1960s and early 1970s saw two to three feature films shot there every year, including *Papillon* and several James Bond films, but political turmoil led to a decline in tourism and on-location filming. The treaty was cast as a means to help revitalize the industry. However, Jamaica has seen very few major film productions in recent years, in large part due to the limited incentives offered by the country. While Jamaican film officials support enhanced tax incentives to make on-location filming in the country more appealing to productions, agreements with the International Monetary Fund, which prioritize the country's fiscal responsibility, restrict the possibility for tax reform (Blackford 2017).

The stairs connecting Shakespeare and Anderson Avenues at West 167th Street in the Bronx are now commonly referred to as the "*Joker* stairs" because of their use in the 2019 film. Tourists regularly photograph themselves reenacting the scene at the filming site and at similar stairs elsewhere.

PART 2

SCREEN TOURISM

People choose tourism destinations for a myriad of reasons: climate, culture, connections, and more. In the past decades, tourists have begun targeting certain places because they are featured in films and television. This phenomenon, dubbed "screen tourism" and "set-jetting," differs from other forms of tourism, like heritage or nature tourism, in its reliance on the film and television industry. The impact of media, both in popularizing a place and setting a narrative for that place, often proves difficult to predict or control, meaning that tourism can grow before communities or governments have adapted to accommodate it. Because screen tourism has increased rapidly in the last twenty years with access to the internet and social media, most actions and policy have been reactive rather than proactive. Despite this rapid shift, there is a growing body of scholarship on the dynamics and impacts of screen tourism.

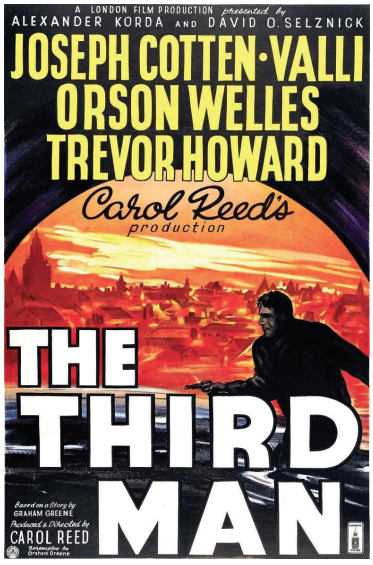
Emergence of Screen Tourism

The impact of on-site filming is not limited to the production period. Films can also foster interest for a site and encourage visitors, harnessing the power of screen tourism. Because the rise of cinema coincided with the rise of mass tourism, screen tourism has been anecdotally documented since the mid-twentieth century. One of the first recognized instances of noticeable screen tourism was an increase in US visits to Austria after the 1949 release of

"Two-thirds of global travelers have considered and 39 percent have booked trips to destinations after seeing them on streamed shows or movies. Advice from friends and family topped streaming services by only 2 percent as the most influential source of travel inspiration."

—The No-Normal, Expedia's 2023 Travel Projections

The historic center of Vienna, Austria, a recognized UNESCO World Heritage site and the setting for *The Third Man* filmed in 1949.



The Third Man, filmed on location in Vienna (Bolan and Ghisoiu 2020). Even 75 years after the film's release, *Third Man* tours are still listed on Vienna's tourism website. The historic center of Vienna was included on the UNESCO World Heritage list in 2001, joining the long list of World Heritage sites that have also hosted on-location filming. Sites like Bath, Rapa Nui, and Dubrovnik show how recognized and well-preserved heritage sites can become intertwined with on-site filming and screen tourism.

There are more one-off examples throughout the twentieth century: increased tourism to Italy following *La Dolce Vita* and *Roman Holiday* in the 1960s or more interest in Petra after *Indiana Jones* in the 1980s (Bolan and Ghisoiu 2020). By the 1990s and early 2000s, screen tourism was a recognized and exploited economic opportunity: Australia used the star of *Crocodile Dundee* to shoot tourism ads, which launched the remote country as a tourist destination (Taylor n.d.). Major franchises with large followings like *Lord of the Rings* and *Harry Potter* increased tourism to New Zealand and the UK, both of which have highlighted the fantasy plots as cultural draws to their countries (Bolan and Ghisoiu 2020). At various destinations in the UK, *Harry Potter* has become ingrained in cultural sites. At King's Cross, a Grade I listed heritage building, a fake Platform 9¾ was even built as a photo op for visiting *Harry Potter* fans.

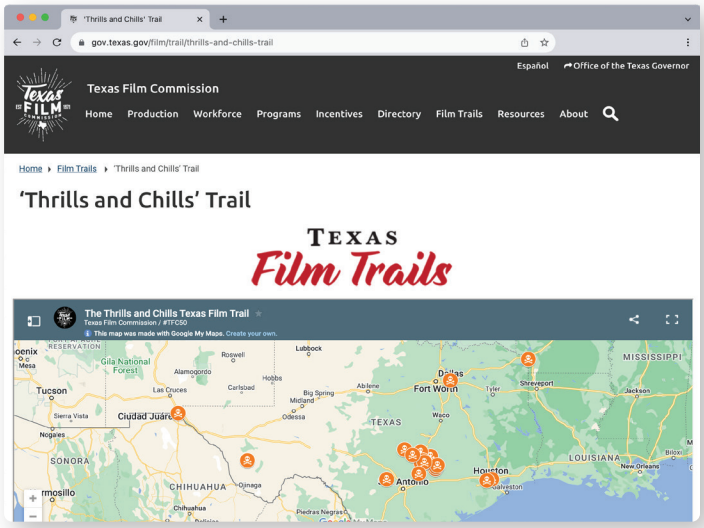
Tourists line up to get their photos taken with platform 9¾ at Kings Cross Station, a Grade I listed historic building in London. This location is meant to emulate a fictional location in the *Harry Potter* series.

Finding and Marketing Screen Tourist Sites

Realizing its potential, governments at the national and sub-national levels capitalize on previous films shot on location through other tools as well. In the US, these include state-promoted film trails. Some locations use physical markers at film sites while others are beginning to utilize websites and mobile apps to guide tourists to destinations. Many other tourist agencies publish information about filming locations on websites, or promote tour operators who offer specific itineraries for fans of films or TV shows.

But screen tourism is not only driven by government action. The internet has provided individuals access to information on filming locations, both through movie industry sites like IMDB and databases more geared toward tourism. These sites are sometimes run by tour providers or are crowdsourced wikis. Previously, tracking down film locations would have taken a lot more time or inside knowledge, but with these online databases and social media, finding where a production was filmed is easier than ever (Worldwide Guide to Movie Locations n.d.).. This poses challenges for property owners. For example, if a new owner of the hotel in *The Shin-*

This marker records the site where actress Diana Rigg was tied to the track at the Stapleford Miniature Railway, Leics, UK, during filming of the 1965 "Grave Diggers" episode of televisions series, *The Avengers*, suggesting that screen tourism first emerged decades ago.



Texas has developed a series of film trails to help screen tourists navigate visits to filming locations across the state.

Footprints at the top of the steps leading to the Philadelphia Museum of Art commemorate the 1976 film *Rocky*. The building is on the Philadelphia Register of Historic Places.

ing wanted to disassociate from the film, it would be nearly impossible due to websites like movie-locations.com, which even go as far as noting places to stay while visiting film locations.

Regardless of government actions toward screen tourism, which range from heavy promotion to indifference, this phenomenon has a major impact on tourists and the sites and communities they visit. It is not uncommon for tourists to recreate film scenes when they travel, especially for the social media-connected younger generations. Whether it is reenacting *Rocky* in Philadelphia or the *Joker* in the Bronx, films are informing how visitors interact with space. In the digital age even more than ever, film and place are inextricably linked, and screen tourism is one of the clearest manifestations of that connection.

Lack of Screen Tourism Policy

While screen tourism has become more popular and many sites are experiencing its effects, there are few resources or policies to guide screen tourism. In fact, among locations that have published screen or cinematic tourism policies, the policy focuses on incentivizing filming with the intent of drawing screen tourism down the line but does not explicitly plan for the management of resulting tourism. Governments often want to attract filming or screen tourism through incentives, but are often underprepared for an influx of visitors. Sites that struggle with unsustainable tourism are often on the defensive, dealing with the issue after it emerges. Educational tools such as the one released by Creative England urge sites to consider the change

LARA CROFT: *TOMB RAIDER* AT ANGKOR, CAMBODIA

The UNESCO World Heritage site of Angkor in Cambodia is a vast archaeological park that served as the center of the Khmer Kingdom from the ninth to fourteenth centuries. A number of temples characterize the site, which were used for on-location filming of *Lara Croft: Tomb Raider* (2001). The movie brings to life the heroine from a popular video game series, and shows her exploring the ruins of the temple complex. The Cambodian government took pains to ensure the on-location filming would not damage the historic fabric, but had limited control over how the site was represented in the film and its ensuing consequences (Winter 2002). As a result of the blockbuster movie, tourists began to expect a more exploratory and unrestricted experience of the site, with one Canadian visitor noting that she "climbed over the temple's delicate rooftops...[because] it made her 'feel like Lara Croft'" (Winter 2002). In the wake of the *Tomb Raider* film, UNESCO raised concerns about the detrimental effects of the film on both the cultural significance of the site and its conservation.

Angkor's Ta Prohm temple complex, with its striking root-entwined ruins, served as a backdrop for Lara Croft's movie adventures.

DUBROVNIK: FILM TOURISM, OVERTOURISM, AND DEMARKETING

The city of Dubrovnik in Croatia is an illustrative example of the benefits and challenges of a growing tourism economy based on both heritage value and filming. Croatia has become the third economy most benefited by screen tourism after the UK and New Zealand, bringing in approximately $200 million dollars over five years (Thomas 2022). While there are unarguable benefits to the economy, Dubrovnik struggles with overtourism in its historic city center. The city has a rich history and notable medieval architecture recognized in its listing as a UNESCO World Heritage site. Tourists visit Dubrovnik for a wide range of reasons, but its issues with tourism have been compounded by the popularity brought on by filming of major projects like *Game of Thrones* and *Star Wars*.

Dubrovnik is set apart from other heritage sites by the extreme increase in tourism related to *Game of Thrones*. In 2015, the mayor of Dubrovnik estimated that at least half of the ten percent increase in tourism was related to *Game of Thrones* (Valle 2019). This was an extremely popular fantasy TV show made by HBO from 2011 to 2019. Residents of Dubrovnik complain about the influx of tourists that make it impossible to navigate the city. This is also tied to the increase in cruise traffic to the city (Valle 2019). The historic area is becoming increasingly expensive with diminished quality of life for those who reside in the city. While Dubrovnik has limited the number of visitors that can enter the city on any given day, many fear that this is not enough (Pitrelli 2021).

Dubrovnik's response to filming and screen tourism has fluctuated under various political leadership. Some mayors have seen screen tourism as an economic advantage and continued to embrace filming, while others have seen it as a problem that needs to be remedied. The most recent goals are similar to other cities that face overtourism, but they do not address screen tourism explicitly. The city has implemented a new tourism plan titled "Respect the City" to combat the influx of tourists. Solutions provided include decreasing cruise ship traffic, stricter policies protecting public space from businesses catering to tourists, increased public transit and guidance for tourists (Dubrovnik Tourist Board, 2018). While extra caution is being paid to control tourist traffic, Croatia's relationship with the film industry seems to only grow stronger. Incentive programs, historic sites, and beautiful landscapes still make the country an ideal place to film, but Filming in Croatia (a government-backed film agency) is listing more sites outside of the historic city center and Dubrovnik entirely. This seems like an attempt to diversify the interest in filming in Croatia outside of this single area (Filming in Croatia n.d.).

Overview of Dubrovnik showing the historic city center. This location has been used for various films and TV shows including *Game of Thrones* and *Star Wars*.

Tourism in Dubrovnik will need to be monitored going forward to determine the success of these measures. If traditional tourism management tools are inadequate in handling the influx due to screen tourism, Dubrovnik and the greater Croatian government may need to reevaluate the costs and benefits of filming large productions in Dubrovnik.

AUSTRALIA: SCREEN TOURISM AT THE LOCAL, NATIONAL, AND INTERNATIONAL LEVELS

Australia provides an interesting case for the study of screen tourism impacts at both national and local levels. On a national level, Australia has several times used popular films to directly promote tourism. In order to capitalize on the 2008 film *Australia*, the country's tourism board hired director Baz Luhrmann to create a $40m advertising campaign, which was hailed at the time as a way to prop up the country's lagging tourism sector (Ryan 2008). Such an effort was not unprecedented, however. The 1986 film *Crocodile Dundee* propelled Australia into the American imagination, and star Paul Hogan was separately hired to create a series of advertisements in which he invited US tourists by offering to "slip another shrimp on the barbie" for them (Fullerton and Kendrick 2011). Those commercials began running before the film was released, but the continuity of character between Hogan in the commercials and in the film gave the advertising campaign staying power: it ran for nearly two decades (Taylor n.d.). The perceived power of that film as a tourist draw appears not to have faded over time: in 2018, Tourism Australia created "trailers" for a fake sequel as part of a publicity campaign (Moran 2018). In the eyes of national policymakers, the economic benefits of attracting international travelers are clearly enticing enough to attract millions in spending. Interestingly, *Crocodile Dundee* featured in tourism promotion despite the fact that the film portrayed the country as a laid back, almost "primitive" counterpoint to a modern and bustling New York, a juxtaposition that does not put Australia in an exclusively positive light (Riley and Van Doren 1992).

The 1986 film *Crocodile Dundee* raised the international profile of Kakadu National Park, which was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage list in 1981.

On a local level, however, film tourism has been seen with more skepticism, particularly when it comes to the question of a community's portrayal. A number of films produced for the Australian market have had lasting impacts on consumers' views of rural culture, and have influenced decisions to visit those areas (Beeton 2004). While the larger oeuvre of rural films has had a broad, cumulative impact on conceptions of rural Australia, there are several recent cases that provide more localized examples. The town of Barwon Heads was used as the setting for the popular 1998–2000 television series *Sea Change*, in which an overworked city lawyer moves with her children to a small coastal town after scandal and betrayal by her husband. The town, which came onto the tourism map following the series, was generally ambivalent to negative about the new notoriety and feared losing the small-town atmosphere that residents enjoyed. Even official tourism development schemes, like an offer by a regional tourism organization to train locals to give *Sea Change* tours, were met with little to no interest (Beeton 2016). This example underlines the potential for local pushback against screen tourism, particularly in smaller communities that do not see tourism as crucial to development.

in tourism during the initial conversations of filming on site. Some of the issues this guide highlights are the need to increase infrastructure at sites to anticipate more tourism, differing expectations from screen tourists, and the unpredictable nature of screen tourism. Not all films will be successful enough to draw tourists and not all sites featured in a film will get the same amount of interest (Filming in England n.d.).

The expectations of screen tourists can sometimes differ from that of other tourists. While Creative England highlights this point to prepare sites to provide for the expectation of these visitors, the expectations of screen tourists can be more problematic when their fundamental understanding of the location, culture, or history is defined by a movie or television program. Fictionalized retellings of history can distort historical events or the acts of real people. They can also misrepresent a culture in offensive or derogatory ways. Some new incentive programs in various states in India include requirements that productions must take into consideration the state's religion and culture to combat this issue (CMO Gujarat 2022).

When a site does not want to be affiliated with a film for any of the aforementioned reasons, there are few strategies to mitigate this relationship beyond "demarketing." This process could include tailoring marketing to certain sectors, implementing capacity limits, or increasing fees with the intent of reducing demand (Beeton 2016). However, given today's capacity for the general public to search for filming locales and post about them, a site may have limited recourse in disconnecting its narrative and popular significance from a film or television show in which it appeared.

The Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church has appeared in numerous films and television shows. Because of freedom of panorama laws, exterior views captured from a public space can be used without permission, acknowledgment, or recompense.

PART 3

FILMING IN ALABAMA: A CASE STUDY

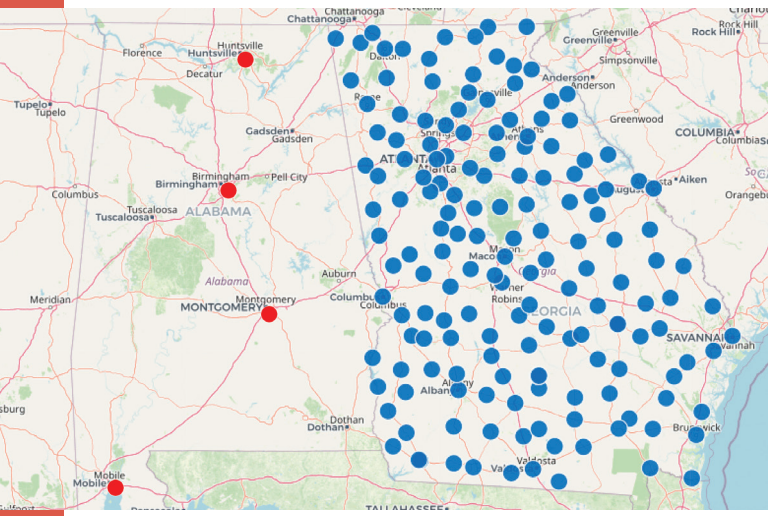
The studio's fieldwork focused on the City of Montgomery, the capital of Alabama, and Selma, a smaller city located about an hour west of Montgomery. By focusing on the particular locales, especially two so steeped in civil rights history, the team was able to interrogate more deeply the intersections of justice, heritage, and filming. In the field, the studio sought to understand the landscape of government support and investment in on-location filming, the role of heritage organizations and agencies, the perspectives of local filmmakers, and community impacts. The team broached a number of questions through interviews with individuals and organizational representatives involved in on-location filming in the two cities over the past two decades: After hosting production of the 2014 Oscar-nominated *Selma* and other films, how have heritage sites in Montgomery and Selma been impacted physically, socially, and narratively? After the release of these films, have community members witnessed meaningful changes in economic growth or the representation of the Civil Rights Movement narratives? What are some of the most important factors that impact how on-location filming functions in these cities? What works and what does not? Interviews also shed light on how community members define justice when filming in heritage locations.

State Government Investment

At the state level and under the Alabama Department of Commerce, the Alabama Film Office (AFO) manages tax incentives, city-state partnerships, and marketing

(Made in Alabama n.d). In addition to these services, the AFO provides resources, including a location owner's guide to working with production companies and a database featuring a location finder, a crew search, and a support services directory with local service contractors for hire (Made in Alabama n.d). The Code of Alabama grants the AFO power to award financial incentives, like the Film Rebate, to "qualified production companies" (Alabama Department of Revenue n.d). The Alabama Film Office's mission is rooted in economic impact, stating the desire to "accelerate the state's economy and create jobs by attracting film and television productions to Alabama" (Made in Alabama n.d). The AFO is a member of the Association of Film Commissioners International (AFCI), a "global non-profit professional organization for film commissions" (Made in Alabama n.d).

Section 41-7A-1 through Section 41-7A-48 of the Code of Alabama 1975 features Alabama's film industry incentives, extending to film, television, video game, and advertisement productions that cost at least $150,000. The AFO can award "up to $20 million each year in incentives to production companies" that prove some of their content is produced within Alabama. The AFO oversees this application review process (Alabama Department of Revenue, n.d). There are two types of incentives:



Comparison of Alabama municipal film offices to the 165 liaisons in Georgia's statewide Camera-Ready Communities.

the Income Tax Rebate, providing a 25 percent rebate on in-state expenditures plus 35 percent of payroll to Alabama residents hired on the project, and the State Sales, Use, and Lodging Tax Exemption, which offers an exemption from the state portion of related taxes for qualified expenditures in Alabama (Alabama Department of Revenue n.d).

From a regional perspective, these efforts in Alabama are less intense than those in neighboring Georgia, which offers more generous incentive programs that attract and support local film production. This difference may be in part due to Georgia's state gross domestic product (GDP), which is more than 2.5 times the GDP of Alabama, giving it a much larger state budget from which to allocate money to incentives (Bureau of Economic Analysis 2021).

Local Film Offices

At the local level, government interests and policies in Alabama vary by city. Larger municipalities like Birmingham and Mobile have more robust resources, infrastructure, and staff support to host on-location filming than smaller cities like Montgomery and Selma. Local film offices can be found in Mobile, Birmingham, Montgomery, and Huntsville.

Montgomery is home to a small but vibrant local filmmaking scene despite these potential limitations. During fieldwork interviews, local filmmakers expressed appreciation for the work done by MGM Film Works, Montgomery's film office, but were frustrated that it was not enough. Their filmmaking projects do not qualify for state incentives and support due to their smaller budgets, and they rarely get hired by the big productions that come to town (McKinney interview). Despite this, most interviewees recognized and expressed appreciation for Lois Cortell, the city's economic development officer who also runs the film office. However, while they saluted her passion they recognized that one person can only do so much, and they expressed frustration that the government was not more invested in growing the local industry.

Film-related sites in Montgomery, Alabama. Some sites have been used for on-location filming, while others are associated with the film's topic.

Filming in Montgomery and Selma

Montgomery and Selma have a long history of on-location filming. From *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* in 1956 to the reality show *College Hill* which was filmed in 2022, projects filmed in Montgomery have run the gamut of genres. But a significant number of them have focused on the Civil Rights Movement, like *The Long Walk Home* (1989), *Son of the South* (2019), and *Selma* (2014), or Black history and stories more broadly, like *Just Mercy* (2019) and the *Wonder Years* rebooted in 2021. Beyond larger-budget films, Montgomery is also home to a small but vibrant local filmmaking scene. For example, local filmmaker Josh Carples directed a documentary *Remembering Anarcha* (2021) that discusses the complex history of early gynecological experiments on enslaved women and more lighthearted fare such as the *Riding with the Rabbi Trilogy* directed by Yvette M. Hochberg.

With such a rich history, it is not surprising that Alabama has seen many films about the Civil Rights Movement. However, creators of each film made choices about when and not to film on location at the exact sites where history happened. For example, *Son of the South* chose to re-enact the violent riot that met Freedom Riders in May 1961 at the very Greyhound bus station in Montgomery, where it occurred sixty years earlier. Similarly, a scene set at Ralph Abernathy's First Baptist "Brick-a-Day" Church was filmed in the actual building. By contrast, while *Selma* did use the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma for some exterior shots, the production did not film scenes at the still extant Brown Chapel in Selma but instead at an unrelated church in Rutledge, Georgia.

The building that housed the first office of the Equal Justice Initiative was saved from demolition by the Landmarks Foundation of Montgomery, and is now located in Old Alabama Town. The office was portrayed in *Just Mercy* (2019), but a different building was used for on-location filming.

The historic Kress Building was a catalytic redevelopment project in downtown Montgomery and represents a critical effort to preserve the surviving historic fabric of Dexter Avenue.

In *Just Mercy*, exterior shots of the Equal Justice Initiative's first office did not utilize the actual building, which had been rescued and preserved by the Landmarks Foundation of Montgomery as part of Old Alabama Town. Similarly, the large selection of sites associated with Hank Williams was not included in *Your Cheatin' Heart*.

How places significant to the Civil Rights Movement are used and treated also speak to how these narratives are interpreted and stewarded. A dialogue with Ms. Nikki Tucker Davis, Ms. Wanda Anderson, and Mr. Vincent Hall at the Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church underscored the lack of control site stewards often have in protecting the sacredness of spaces and the legacies of those associated with them, particularly in an era of social media. Exterior imagery of the church has appeared in a number of films and television shows, including *Just Mercy*. Because of freedom of panorama laws, any view visible from a public space can be captured and used, without permission, acknowledgment, or recompense. And because of the public-facing nature of the church, those visiting the interior often take photographs and videos, and then post them online. In one instance, a lead actor in the remake of the television series, *The Wonder Years*, tap danced down the main aisle of the church and then posted it online, which was considered disrespectful. How some choose to celebrate the significance of a place in moving imagery may not always recognize the solemnity of its history and meaning. Site stewards are grappling with how to navigate on-location filming and new media platforms, engage younger generations in their stories, and still preserve the dignity of their spaces and stories.

(Mis)Interpretations of the Civil Rights Movement

To understand how on-site filming in Alabama interacted with and impacted the telling of civil rights stories, it was essential to understand the previously predominant interpretation of the Civil Rights Movement and emerging perspectives. The

dominant and traditional narrative of the Civil Rights Movement often put forth in pop culture and education de-centers the role that gender played, especially as it relates to Black women's activism at a local and unified level. Scholarship is extending and challenging this narrative. For example, McGuire (2010) documents Black women's resistance to racial and sexual abuse and how these were crucial to the Civil Rights Movement and the resistance to White supremacy. Lott (2017) studies key women in the movement and their lack of portrayal in films such as *Selma* (2014) and *The Help* (2011). Finally, Jeanne Theoharis, author of *A More Beautiful and Terrible History,* highlights how Rosa Parks, Coretta Scott King, and plenty more women that elevated and pushed the movement forward have all been reduced to fragments that neglect their long histories of activism and political thought (2018). Their substantial leadership roles and collective organizing are portrayed in a shorter and more ambiguous way, if they are represented at all, in relation to stories put out by journalists on the charismatic "great men" like Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and others. This narrow view of the movement places specific leaders on a pedestal while minimizing the influence everyday people had on them, and the meticulous organizing required for events such as the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the Selma to Montgomery March, and the Freedom Rides.

Under-Recognized Places and Stories

By visiting Montgomery and Selma, the studio witnessed how some of these marginalized narratives are brought to life by historic sites and their stewards. It is because of their efforts that the film industry has tangible places upon which they can build their storytelling, whether these sites serve as sets for on-location filming or inspire the use or construction of alternative filming locales.

The Alabama African American Civil Rights Heritage Sites Consortium (AAACRHSC), a collaboration among 20 historic places that played significant roles in the African American struggle for freedom, has worked tirelessly to protect and uplift these sites and facilitated much of this fieldwork. Yet, despite their passion and hard work, they face an uphill battle. In light of limited resources and threats by government-sponsored redevelopment, World Monuments Fund put the AAACRHSC's sites on the 2018 World Monuments Watch.

The studio saw the precarious state of this heritage up close. Speaking with Dr. Valda Montgomery at the Dr. Richard Harris House was a privilege. It

Studio speaking with Dr. Valda Montgomery outside the Richard Harris House.

Top left: Remaining stoop from a demolished home razed by the RSA. This was once a prominent Black community home to many educated professionals, particularly professors at Alabama State University.

Above: The Ben Moore Hotel today. Once a thriving refuge for Black residents, visitors, activists, and artists, the building has fallen into disrepair due to neglect by landlords.

Left: The historic marker in front of the Holt Street Church, where the first mass meeting for the Montgomery Bus Boycott was held. The highway interchange that tore apart the neighborhood is visible in the background.

was humbling to witness the room where Freedom Riders sought shelter after being met by a violent mob at Montgomery's bus station on May 20, 1961. Standing in Richard's Roost—the attic bar where her father served his favorite bourbon to leaders like Dr. King and where John Lewis was offered his first beer—was a powerful reminder of the humanity of these civil rights icons (Montgomery interview). Being in the space where it happened and speaking with someone who lived through it underlined how preserving this heritage is crucial to telling these stories. But when stepping out of the beautiful historic home, one is confronted with the present realities.

Centennial Hill, once a thriving Black neighborhood in Montgomery, has been continually ripped apart. The whole block across from the Harris House has been razed by the powerful Retirement Systems of Alabama (RSA), a state-affiliated investment fund that has bought up vast tracts of Montgomery. Only

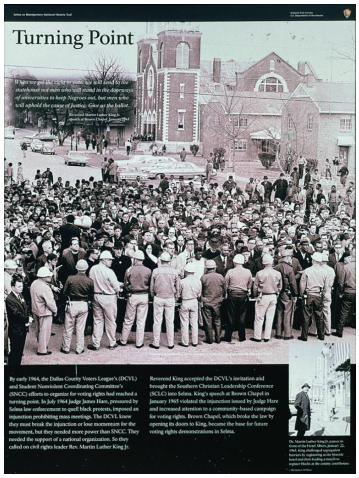
the curb cuts and steps up from the sidewalk remain for many demolished houses, hinting at the lost stories the block represents. Nearby is the Ben Moore Hotel, a significant organizing site now in disrepair due to a neglectful landlord. A few blocks away, the ironically named Martin Luther King, Jr. Expressway and I-82 have also torn apart the neighborhood around Holt Street Church, which hosted the first meeting for the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Highways, many built in the 1960s at the orders of a state commissioner who was a member of the Ku Klux Klan, have devastated Black neighborhoods across the city and their historic fabric (Retzlaff 2019).

In Selma, the team spoke with First Baptist Church member and community organizer Ms. Louretta Wimberly, who organized for voting rights as a teenager and later helped establish the Black Heritage Council, an arm of the Alabama Historical Commission. In the basement of First Baptist Church, she illuminated how the space was used to organize and educate for voting rights decades before the famous Selma to Montgomery marches

Left: Studio team standing on the steps of First Baptist Church in Selma with Louretta Wimberly. This church played an important role in organizing for Black voting rights before and after the Selma to Montgomery March.

Bottom left: Sign outside of First Baptist Church, which focuses on the Selma to Montgomery March but does not mention the voting rights activism that took place before and beyond this event.

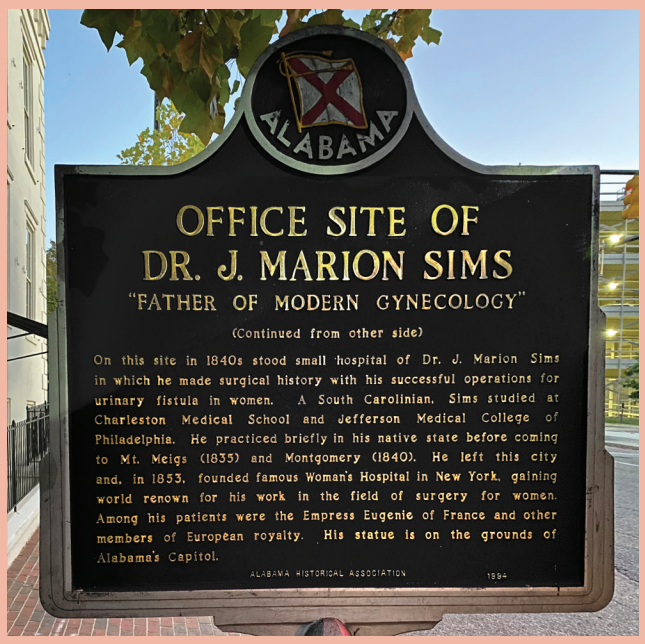
Below: The home of Sullivan and Richie Jean Sherrod Jackson, now a museum, was portrayed in the movie *Selma*, as were they and their daughter Jawana. However, the production used a house in Georgia for on-location filming and failed to consult the family. In late 2023, the house was acquired by the Henry Ford Museum and is being relocated to Greenfield Village.



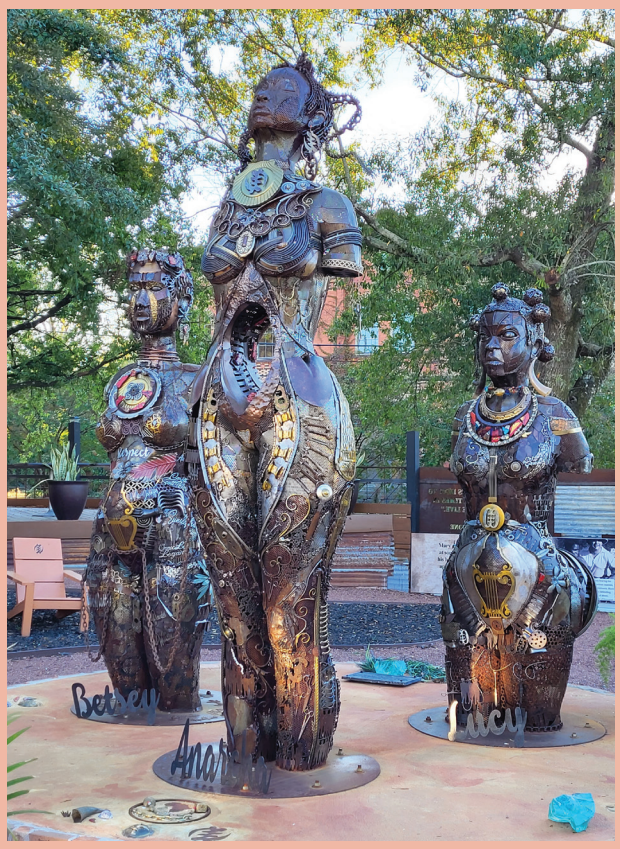
LOCAL ARTISTS RECLAIM HISTORY

Local Montgomery artist and educator Michelle Browder's work reclaims the story of three enslaved Black women—Anarcha, Lucy, and Betsy—who endured dozens of surgical experiments by a White physician whose statue still stands on the grounds of the Alabama State Capitol. Ms. Browder's More Up Campus claims space for this underserved narrative just a few minutes from Downtown Montgomery and houses Browder's striking *Mothers of Gynecology* installation. The campus sits behind the Equal Justice Initiative's National Memorial for Peach and Justice, recognizing victims of racist lynching, and is a few blocks away from I-85 and the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Expressway, which tore apart Black neighborhoods in the surrounding area beginning in the 1960s. Browder's stake in correcting history and calling attention to the health disparities Black women still face today, surpasses art and the campus' location. It entails the preservation and adaptive reuse of a historic building. Recently, she purchased the historic site in downtown Montgomery where the physician once performed horrible experiments on enslaved women. Ms. Browder plans to turn the space into a museum, teaching clinic, and training center. She has also worked with local filmmaker Josh Carples on a documentary on the same subject, *Remembering Anarcha*.

Beyond this work, she is involved in multiple projects to lift untold local stories and arts. During the studio's afternoon with her, she spoke at an Indigenous Peoples' Day event and introduced the team to Kevin King, whose art studio, The King's Canvas, embodies creative placemaking and community building to develop local talent and opportunities for youth. The incredible work of local artists like Browder, King, Carples, and others, highlighted the multiplicity of local stories that are waiting to be told, but also underlined how much is left out when large, out-of-town productions come just to shoot a few scenes.



Above: Historical marker of the building where Dr. J. Marion Sims performed gynecological experiments on enslaved Black women.



Right: Anarcha, Lucy, and Betsy in the *Mothers of Gynecology* Park on the More Up Campus.

(Wimberly interview). The significance of this space was captivating, but films do not adequately communicate the intimate and clandestine nature of these locales, nor does the historical marker outside the church. This drove home how much organizing happened in furtive sites rarely visible to a broader public, and thus more challenging to preserve and transmit across generations.

The Sullivan and Richie Jean Sherrod Jackson Museum, also in Selma, exemplifies the challenges faced by stewards of historic sites. Ms. Jawana Jackson, only child of Sullivan and Richie Jean, has worked tirelessly to share the stories of her family and maintain the historic house, where her "Uncle Martin" (Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.) stayed and gathered the members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in preparation for the Selma to Montgomery march. Again, so much of this planning purposefully happened in locales like residences and church basements, in order to maintain secrecy and protect participants. These are not places that were quickly celebrated or protected publicly as historic resources; their survival is due to individuals who steadfastly safeguard their legacies. With limited government or institutional support for these privately-owned properties, their futures are in question. Yet, their survival has benefited the film industry. The Jackson home was visited by members of the *Selma* production team, and a memoir authored by Mrs. Richie Jean Sherrod Jackson served as a resource for cast and crew. The Jackson family and the home were portrayed in the film, but a house in Georgia was used as a stand-in; the movie did not actually film in the Jackson house nor did they consult with Ms. Jackson at the time. Individuals involved in these stories often have limited agency in how they and the places they steward are represented due to the power imbalance between film studios and the public.

Not all communities experience on-location filming in the same way, and much depends on the nature of the film and its narrative, as well as the government infrastructure in place to manage filming and the potential of related screen tourism.

Others are working to tell these spatialized stories in a more nuanced way. For example, local Montgomery artist and educator Michelle Browder, who has focused on reframing the history of forced gynecological experimentation on young enslaved Black women, recently purchased the site where the "father of gynecology," Dr. J. Marion Sims, experimented on his subjects. But this important story, which entails the preservation and adaptive reuse of a historic building, has relied on the grassroots work of local artists (Browder interview).

Unmet Expectations

Not all communities experience on-location filming in the same way, and much depends on the nature of the film and its narrative, as well as the government infrastructure in place to manage filming and the potential of related screen tourism. In 1976, *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* was the first movie filmed in Bay Minette, Alabama, and the L & N Railroad station. Thousands of local townspeople acted as extras in the film. Even today, the town and its people boast a proud legacy for their part in the film and have many fond memories of that day (Sweet Home Alabama 2022). When the television series *The Wonder Years* was filmed on Montgomery's historic Dexter Avenue, the local news reported, "Lights, cameras, and action! We are so excited to welcome the production team from the Wonder Years television series reboot! It is a very exciting

day for Eastdale Mall. We'll keep you posted as more of the set is created for future filming of the new hit television series!" (WSFA 12 2021).

For residents and other property owners, allowing use of their property for filming can have economic benefits. Payments to homeowners vary widely depending on the length and intricacy of production use, but compensation can range from $1,000 to $2,000 for limited use, and upwards of $10,000 for longer and more intensive use. For the movie *Son of the South,* the Montgomery Public School Board voted to rent out the old Booker T. Washington school building for film production for three months at a rate of $4,500 per month (Kennedy 2019). Economic benefits extend to the patronage of local hotels and food establishments by the production, and the employment of local residents as crew members and extras; for example many Alabama residents participated in the march in the movie *Selma*.

Filming on location can also commandeer public and private space, and inevitably impact the lives and livelihoods of local community members. For example, during filming of *Son of the South*, several Montgomery intersections were closed temporarily for a couple of days, and roads near the Court Square Fountain were closed for a day for the production of *The Wonder Years* (Alabama News Network, 2021). When filming in residential neighborhoods, early call times and lights, generators, and noise can create disturbances (Jeff McKinney interview).

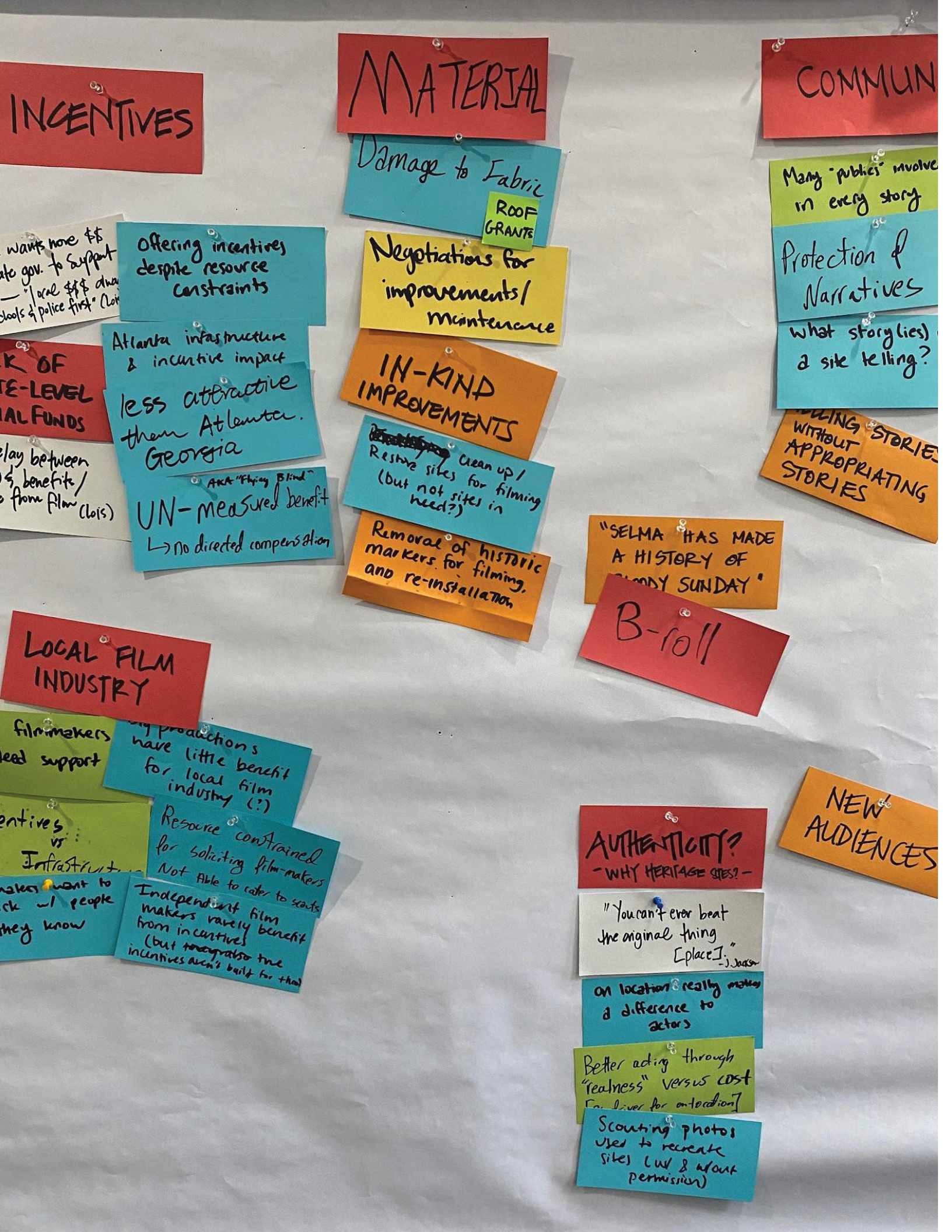
The town of Selma embodies how filming can fail to benefit the community meaningfully. In many cases, the prospect of on-location filming raises expectations within communities; residents, government officials, and business proprietors may anticipate how their story will be told, or that the production will generate revenue and jobs, or promote tourism. When asked about the impact of the film *Selma*, interviewees revealed that the city has not notably benefited from the associated increase in tourist interest, as most visitors only stop at the Edmund Pettus Bridge at the entrance to town and return to Montgomery, never staying the night or stopping for a meal to interact with the community. This is perhaps because the only scenes filmed in the town were those on the bridge, ignoring the city's historic downtown, Black residential areas, and even the Brown Chapel AME Church, which was depicted by a church in Georgia. Ms. Joyce O'Neal, Historian and Tour Coordinator for Brown Chapel, expressed the congregation's disappointment about the lack of on-site filming and the expectation that more people would want to help Selma after the film's release. She said that the church now receives visitors who are aware of the film, and the tours must provide clarity and context to the film's plot. Still, Selma has not seen the economic benefit that the town anticipated from the film.

Opposite: The city of Selma realized little economic benefit from the movie *Selma*, which only filmed on-location at the Edmund Pettus Bridge and did not utilize its historic streetscapes, Black neighborhoods, and churches.


SWIFT DRUG CO.


PILCHER - McBRYDE
Rexall
DRUGS


QUEEN CITY
market


INCENTIVES
wants more $$
ate gov. to support
— "local $$$ alwa
schools & police first" (Lois)
Offering incentives despite resource constraints
Atlanta infrastructure & incentive impact
less attractive than Atlanta. Georgia
AKA "Flying Blind"
UN-measured benefit
↳ no directed compensation
K OF
TE-LEVEL
AL FUNDS
lay between
$, benefits/
from film (Lois)
MATERIAL
Damage to Fabric
ROOF GRANTS
Negotiations for improvements/ maintenance
IN-KIND IMPROVEMENTS
clean up/ Restore sites for filming (but not sites in need?)
Removal of historic markers for filming, and re-installation
COMMUN
Many "publics" involve in every story
Protection of Narratives
what story(ies) a site telling?
LING STORIES WITHOUT APPROPRIATING STORIES
"SELMA HAS MADE A HISTORY OF
DDY SUNDAY"
B-roll
LOCAL FILM INDUSTRY
filmmakers
need support
productions have little benefit for local film industry (?)
Resource constrained for soliciting film-makers
Not able to cater to scouts
Independent film makers rarely benefit from incentives (but they also true incentives aren't built for them)
ntives
vs
Infrastruct
akers want to
ck w/ people
they know
AUTHENTICITY?
- WHY HERITAGE SITES? -
"You can't ever beat the original thing [place]."
- J. Jones
On location really makes a difference to actors
Better acting through "realness" versus cost
Scouting photos used to recreate sites (w/ & w/out permission)
NEW AUDIENCES

PART 4

KEY ISSUES

Based on the research undertaken by the studio, both in Alabama and more broadly, the team articulated a series of key issues that encapsulate their findings. While there are numerous challenges with the film industry, on-location filming, and heritage management broadly, these persist across multiple cases and locales, and thus are critical to understanding this complex intersection. In addition to capturing essential themes, the key issues underpin feasible avenues of action.

The nine key issues are grouped into three broad categories. Those that deal with matters of **government and policy** include how preservation and on-location filming are intimately related, the challenges of capturing the economic benefit of on-location filming, and the lack of coordination between different government bodies in the creation and management of a local film industry. The second category discusses **heritage site management**, with a focus on how on-location filming can damage heritage, the lack of industry action based on academic studies, and the challenges historic sites have managing on-location filming. The final category discusses **community concerns**, including the impact of screen tourism, the ways in which non-industry stakeholders like third-sector organizations have remained uninvolved, and how films can misrepresent the narratives of different publics. These key issues are not exhaustive of all the challenges in the film industry or heritage sector, but they represent the most potent avenues for change.

KEY ISSUES

GOVERNMENT AND POLICY

1. Link between preservation and on-location filming
2. Capturing economic opportunity from on-location filming
3. Coordinating heritage, development, and tourism policy for film

HERITAGE SITE MANAGEMENT

4. Damage to heritage sites
5. Translating research and experience into practice and policy
6. Managing filming at heritage sites

COMMUNITY CONCERNS

7. Third sector's role in the film industry
8. Unpredictable impact of screen tourism
9. (Mis)Representations of narratives and publics

Link between Preservation and On-Location Filming

There are under-exercised mutual benefits between preservation policy that protects historic sites and the use of those sites for on-location filming. Historic buildings and streetscapes are invaluable to filmmakers who seek genuine, unique, and visually interesting locations to film movies. The level of authenticity and historical accuracy of heritage locations is often hard to find. However, the film industry is primarily interested in the use of these locations, and does not recognize that their preservation is critical to their survival and thus their availability for filming. Similarly, preservation agencies do not readily look to the potential of the film industry as a rationale for preserving sites and districts. Entities like the National Trust in the UK and the General Services Administration in the US have developed programs to encourage the use of historic buildings in their care for film and television productions. But the potential benefits from filming for both historic preservation and the film industry is largely unexplored.

The examples of Wing Lee Street in Hong Kong and Dexter Avenue in Montgomery illustrate the duality of film and preservation. In the case of the former, a film promoted preservation by igniting the public's memory and interest. In the case of the latter, the lack of surviving original fabric along a historic corridor limited on-location filming potential to a few blocks.

FILMING INCITES PRESERVATION: *ECHOES OF THE RAINBOW* AND WING LEE STREET

Filming in Hong Kong has a century-long history, producing more than 10,000 films and earning the city the reputation of "Oriental Hollywood" (Chow 2019). Many classic Hong Kong movies have been filmed in heritage locations, such as *Chungking Express*, *Infernal Affairs*, *Rouge*, *The King of Comedy*, and more. One particular movie, *Echoes of the Rainbow* (2010), stands out because of how it evoked memory and nostalgia to catalyze the preservation of historic Wing Lee Street.

Wing Lee Street, located in Sheung Wan, was one of the first Chinese settlements in Hong Kong. It consists of 12 *tong laus*, traditional low-scale, mixed commercial and residential buildings. Wing Lee Street incorporates terrace design into the tong lau typology, making it a unique form of Hong Kong architecture. In addition to evoking nostalgia for those who remember when this kind of architecture dominated, the street's tong laus provided a rare traditional streetscape for on-location filming, because of the loss of many of these older buildings.

Wing Lee Street back lane

In 2001, the Urban Renewal Authority (URA) took over the Staunton Street/Wing Lee Street redevelopment project (Hong Kong Commissioner for Heritage's Office, 2010). In 2003, it planned to build a Sun Yat-Sen Memorial Park at the site, retaining just three tong laus, and the rest of the neighborhood would be replaced with 24-story residential buildings (Qi, Zhang, Wu, and Ma 2015). Conservation groups and academics joined forces to question URA's plan to build a high-rise residential and shopping complex in the area (Pan and Ryan 2013). In response to public outcry, the URA held a community workshop in late 2007, where 80 people, including residents, district councilors, preservationists, university professors, students and government officials, discussed the preservation of Wing Lee Street. A compromise plan was laid out, which highlighted the unique terrace design and followed the original ratios of the streetscape. However, only three tong laus were to be retained as historic buildings, the rest were to be demolished for a small plaza and three-to-four-story tong lau-like replacement buildings (Qi, Zhang, Wu, and Ma 2015).

In 2010, *Echoes of the Rainbow* was filmed on location at Wing Lee Street and told the story of a shoemaker's family struggling to survive from 1967 to 1977. The production relied on support from the neighborhood during the filming process. The warm memory of Wing Lee Street reflected in the film drew the public's attention once again, and people appealed to the government to preserve Wing Lee Street as a whole. The film's director, Alex Law, supported the movement and emphasized the importance of preservation both for filming and tourism (Pan and Ryan 2013).

Echoes of the Rainbow won the Crystal Bear Award at the Berlin Film Festival in 2010, and just 22 days later, the URA put forward a new, more comprehensive conservation project that was in principle supported by the Town Planning Board (TPB) (Pan and Ryan 2013). After that, the Hong Kong government included Wing Lee Street in the "Revitalizing Historic Buildings Through Partnership Scheme" (Hong Kong Commissioner for Heritage's Office 2021). Today, Hong Kong non-profit organizations actively organize cultural and educational activities here to retell the history of Wing Lee Street and how life in the city has changed over time. One of the terraces was renovated into a public space, the G7 Center, where residents can meet and socialize. The URA spent HK$14 million to revitalize four old buildings on Wing Lee Street, renovating 15 units and renting them to preservationists at nominal rents, conducting field studies on how to revitalize Wing Lee Street, and inviting artists and writers to live there to add cultural and artistic activities. In addition, an artist-in-residence program was also implemented at 5 Wing Lee Street, providing a dedicated creative base for artists (Oriental Daily 2011).

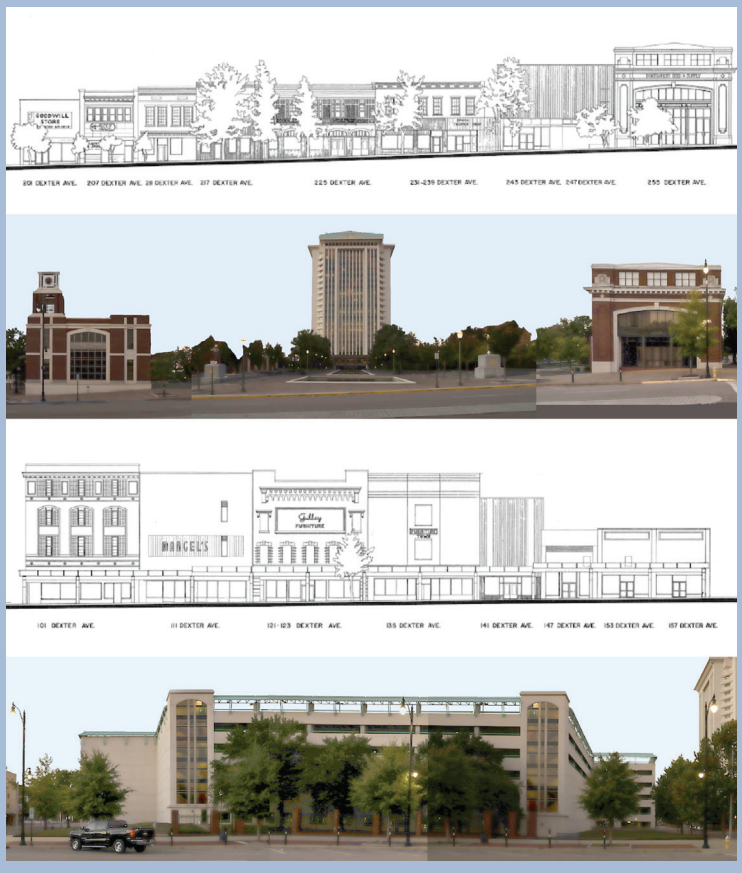
The popularity of *Echoes of the Rainbow* aroused public memory and the community's concern for districts such as Wing Lee Street. In the movie, food is overflowing, people gather on the terrace to eat and chat, and children run between the tables, asking for the dishes of each household. Wing Lee Street is preserved not simply because of "historical value," "cultural significance," and "architectural features," but because of these social-spatial dynamics.

DEXTER AVENUE'S (LOST) HISTORIC FABRIC

The filming of *Selma* in May 2014 brought an all-star cast to downtown Montgomery to recreate the final stage of the voting rights marches from Selma to Montgomery that Dr. King led in 1965. Yet, despite the original march (and the annual memorial march) poignantly proceeding down Dexter Avenue, the historic heart of Montgomery, *Selma* was only filmed at the eastern end of Dexter Avenue near the State Capitol. This was in no doubt due to the incredible toll new development has taken on Dexter Avenue, which has markedly altered the historic corridor.

Until the 1980s, Dexter Avenue was a relatively intact street of lower-scale commercial buildings. Preservationists sought to retain this character by adding the street and surrounding area to the National Register of Historic Places as the "Court Square-Dexter Avenue Historic District" and supporting the preparation of a report on the commercial revitalization of the corridor through conservation and adaptive reuse (Holmes and Holmes 1985). However, the plans were thwarted and the Retirement System of Alabama (RSA) has since executed a series of demolition and redevelopment projects that have resulted in a corridor characterized by out-of-scale parking structures and office buildings. The streetscape of today looks little like the Dexter Avenue of 1965.

The demolition of historic fabric not only signifies a loss of heritage, it undermines the capacity for the city to fully capitalize on its potential as an on-location film hub. Authentic streetscapes can serve as a critical factor in attracting productions. There are other intact portions of Montgomery that the city seeks to promote as filming locations, including Cottage Hill (Cortell interview). However, even as these places are pitched as on-location filming locales, they are threatened by new development. The benefits these locations provide if preserved or rehabilitated are lost in the debates about new development. As one former preservation official in Montgomery noted, "there's a disconnect between [film as] economy generation dollars and [how that requires] protecting what's unique and special [about Montgomery]" (Anderson interview).



Top drawings document storefronts along Dexter Avenue as they appeared in 1985 during the creation of the Downtown Montgomery Revitalization Plan. Bottom photographs document the same portions of Dexter Avenue as it appears today.

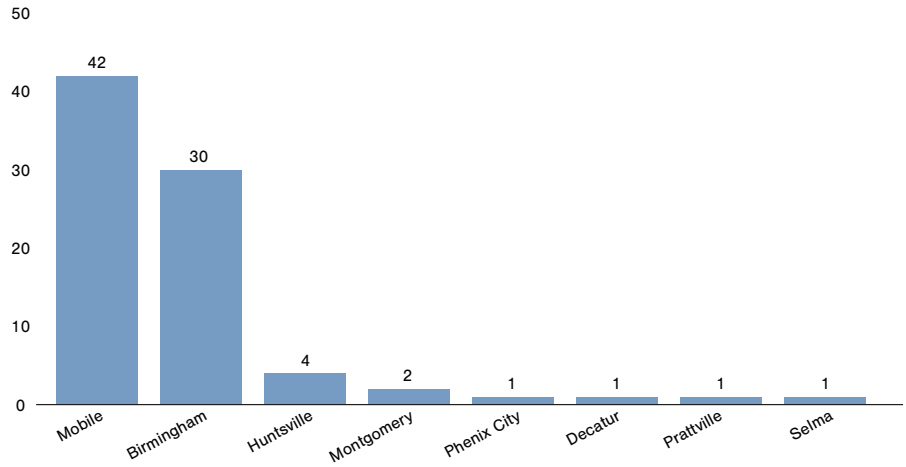
Capturing Economic Opportunity from On-Location Filming

Capturing meaningful, long-term economic development from on-location filming is difficult, and tax incentives are not necessarily enough. In order to generate long-term growth in a local film industry, governments must invest in comprehensive policy and action.

Some cities are able to parlay on-location filming into sustained economic opportunity, but Montgomery has so far been unsuccessful.

While tax incentives are certainly an important tool, there are outstanding questions about their efficacy. Pennsylvania found that their tax credit program provided only 13.1 cents for every dollar of state tax credit, and other states have expressed doubt (Brainerd and Jimenez 2022). Even Georgia, which is cited as a success story, is not so straightforward. State auditors have repeatedly called for the program to be capped, as the total credits offered have ballooned to more than $1 billion per year. While there are clear benefits, with 2022 seeing $4.4 billion in film industry spending in the state, many believe that subsidizing the film industry is not the best use of government dollars (Williams 2022). A lot of wages tend to go to out-of-state production staff, further calling into question the benefit of tax credits. Supporters often cite the knock-on effects of in-state filming, like new jobs for support services and even increased tourism, but it is difficult to concretely link these broad-reaching economic markers to the film incentives themselves, and there may be more direct and budget-efficient ways to achieve that growth (Brainerd and Jimenez 2022).

For film incentives to have optimal benefit, additional action is required. As incentives are a state-level initiative, individual cities essentially have to compete with one another to benefit from those tax breaks. Buffalo is an example of a city that has made use of generous state incentives and a wealth of period-appropriate locations to grow a bustling film industry. In Alabama, Montgomery is missing out on the relatively small incentive pot of $20 million, with Birmingham and particularly Mobile seeing significantly more productions. Mobile has been able to nurture a growing local film industry through concerted municipal effort. The Mobile Film Office has two full-time staff members with more than 30 years of combined experience in film and film policy experience, and serves as a single point of contact to help films coordinate with various city agencies and locations (Fell interview). The Montgomery film office, MGM Film Works, does similar work, but is run by the city's economic development officer, who must dedicate most of her time to other roles, thereby limiting the kind of proactive steps the Montgomery Film Office can take (Cortell interview). Mobile also has more studio locations, and a local production company was even given space in the convention center to build an LED



Tax-credit films made in Alabama by City (2010–2022)

BUFFALO'S RISE AS A FILM HUB

Buffalo, NY, is an emblematic American Rust Belt city filled with architectural marvels but lacking in economic development following deindustrialization. The city, however, has seen success in developing a thriving film industry, thanks in large part to that built heritage as well as significant government support. This is an excellent example of the kinds of efforts and investments that can generate a thriving local film industry, namely by including local professionals and investing in film infrastructure to capitalize on historic fabric and filming incentives.

The facade of the historic Dillon Courthouse, a federally owned building that helped kick-start Buffalo's recent film renaissance.

Although the city had occasionally been used for filming in the past, Buffalo's emergence as a film center began with the filming of the 2016 biopic *Marshall*, which depicts an early trial in the career of former Supreme Court justice Thurgood Marshall. The film shot at several locations throughout the city, including the Dillon Memorial Courthouse, Buffalo Central Terminal, and Buffalo City Hall, with the city serving as stand-ins for 1950's New York City and Bridgeport (Trivedi 2021). But the film was able to use more than just the buildings: a local casting company was able to supply 26 actors for speaking roles and 10 actors for nonspeaking roles as jury members (Buffalo Film Casting n.d.). Warehouses in the city have also been converted into soundstages, allowing studio filming in addition to on-location filming. Recently, Buffalo FilmWorks opened a $3 million soundstage that is now the largest in New York state and rivals the size of one of the facilities that propelled Atlanta to the top of the film industry (Sommer 2022). This supplements investments of $50 million and $75 million in two separate studio facilities in the city (Plants 2022). A number of other factors, like lower costs, less traffic, and less competition for filming sites, have further contributed to the city's appeal (Preval 2022).

These more active local interventions have allowed Buffalo to build on strong government support in the form of tax credits and funding for film industry infrastructure. The New York state film incentive offers a 25 percent rebate on related expenses for any films with budgets over $500,000—which allows even non-blockbuster productions to benefit—up to a statewide total of $420 million. Buffalo in particular benefits from an additional 10 percent tax credit on film labor expenses that is only granted to counties outside of the New York City area, up to a statewide total of $5 million (Empire State Development Corporation n.d.). A state grant was used to partially finance the construction of Stage 4, the record-breaking new soundstage (Plants 2022). Beyond that, a local organization, the Buffalo Niagara Film Office, was organized by the city and county governments with the Destination Niagara Organization, which manages tourism to nearby Niagara Falls, to promote the area for filming. In this case, consistent funding and government support were able to parlay built heritage into a much larger economic revitalization.

screen that can be used to film projects with various backdrops (Nicholls 2022).

While government-sponsored incentives can generate significant economic benefits, these do not also extend to local filmmakers. Because most states require some minimum budget (Alabama's minimum is $150,000), many local filmmakers' projects, especially those early in their career, do not qualify. Montgomery is home to a vibrant filmmaking scene, particularly "guerilla" filmmakers who use handheld equipment to shoot horror films in their free time (Hochberg interview). There are also other indie filmmakers doing shorts, documentaries, and other projects. But none of these can access the state-level support given to out-of-state projects. Additionally, it is rare for local filmmakers to get brought on to big Hollywood projects. This is in part due to a lack of communication early on in the planning process, both between the film company and the local film office and between the film office and local filmmakers. Additionally, many producers and directors prefer to work with teams they have worked with in the past, or simply do not have the time to look up local talent when they are planning a shoot (McKinney interview).

Ensuring that state-level incentives translate to work for local filmmakers is an underserved issue of concern. Local film offices may serve as a critical linchpin in bridging the gap between local filmmakers and out-of-state production teams, and also by facilitating the identification of filming sites and assisting through other forms of financial support (Hochberg interview, Carples interview). As filmmaker Josh Carples noted, "Montgomery is full of stories." Making sure incentive programs and film offices benefit local filmmakers could help those stories get told.

Coordinating Heritage, Tourism, Development, and Film Policies

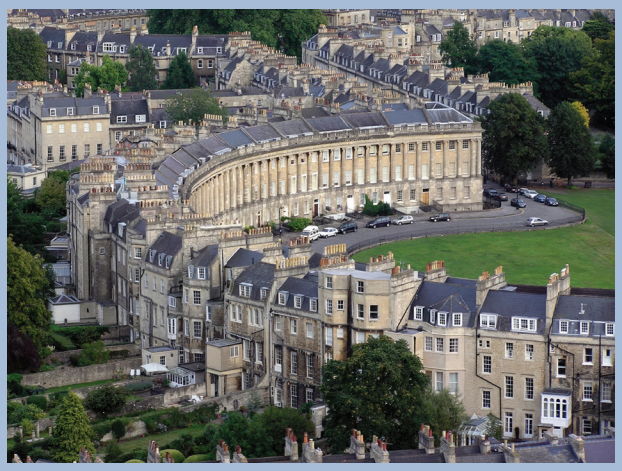
Coordinating government policies related to film, heritage, development, and tourism is difficult due to staffing, budget, and capacity issues. These challenges are both vertical and lateral, meaning they require coordination between different levels of government (for example, state and local) and between different municipal departments within the same locality (for example, film offices and tourism agencies).

There is frequently a lack of support for municipalities from state-level entities. Cities do not receive the necessary training and funding from the state, but also miss out on basic information sharing, including more advanced notice about productions that are considering filming in an area. While this is often the case in Montgomery (Cortell interview), it is not the case everywhere. Some states, such as the aforementioned case of Georgia, have strong programs for integrating and coordinating between levels of government.

Laterally, very rarely are government officials responsible for managing and regulating heritage or tourism sector officials involved in decision making around film incentive programs. It should be noted that this is often due to staffing and budget challenges. Regardless, this can lead to situations in which the expertise of preservation authorities goes unheeded and jurisdictions find themselves unprepared for any major changes to the tourism sector due to the popularity of a film. For example, heritage officials may be best positioned to direct production companies to specific historic sites for on-location filming. Similarly, tourism officials may be able to work in tandem with film productions to generate the most impact from publicity related to on-location filming. However, it is often economic development offices that are responsible for film incentive programs, and they may not have these more nuanced insights. There are better models where both government and industry are more closely aligned, including the city of Bath, where hospitality, tourism, heritage, and the film industry partner to great success.

BATH, ENGLAND: LINKING HISTORIC PRESERVATION, FILM, AND TOURISM

Above: Filming of *Persuasion* (2007) in Bath.
Below: Preservation of Bath's period architecture has made it a highly sought location for filming.



Historic preservation and film go hand-in-hand. "Every time we lose a historic building, I think, there goes another great location," said Dallas Film Commissioner Janis Burklund in a 2020 article about historic preservation and the film industry (Eubank 2020). Yet, while historic preservation could be a great boon to the film industry (and vice versa), few municipalities have been able to fully capitalize on this. The city of Bath, England, is a notable example of local policymakers capitalizing on this synergy.

Bath fields a host of filming requests due to its capacity to afford "360 degree views of uninterrupted period architecture from many points across the city. This level of aesthetic integrity is also one of the reasons why it is on the list of UNESCO World Heritage sites, and evidences the relationship between historical authenticity and desirability for filming" (Reynolds 2016, 49). The Film Friendly Partners program of the Bath Film Office brings together a multitude of industries, including preservation, education, and tourism, in order to make sure that productions cross-pollinate and use partnering organizations. Through this program Bath is able to capitalize on screen tourism, the film-industry, and heritage (Visit Bath n.d.). Today visitors to Bath can experience the city any number of ways, including through a movie map that highlights the many historic dramas filmed in Bath, including two versions of *Persuasion* (1994 and 2007). Visit Bath also offers tours of filming locales in the city, including one dedicated to the recent television series *Bridgerton* (2020–present). In an interview with the Bath Film Office, the Bath Preservation Trust, which welcomes filming at a number of their properties, said "Some visitors have told us that they have seen The Royal Crescent...in a film or TV drama, and that it inspired them to visit us... each of our special museums has a very different character in terms of their individual stories, their interiors, exteriors and atmospheres, and it is a wonderful thing to be able to showcase these to a wider audience" (Bath Film Office 2022).

Damage to Heritage

Damage from on-location productions can occur on varying scales, from objects to buildings to communities, and filming can likewise negatively impact social conditions in a heritage locale. Historic sites are sensitive environments, and damage is often a result of poor monitoring, large volumes of people involved in the production, complex equipment and cables, and intense lighting and special effects—all of which can be avoided with appropriate protocols, knowledgeable personnel, and generally more concerted planning and management.

Material damage is a constant challenge, whether filming in an historic house or archaeological site, and ranges from structural, to chemical (often due to special effects like smoke, snow, and pyrotechnics), to high-intensity light-related, to material wear and tear (Flynn 2017). Even the use of historic streetscapes can pose risks. While filming the James Bond movie, *Skyfall*, a stunt motorcycle accidentally crashed through the storefront window of a fifteenth century jewelry shop in Istanbul's Grand Bazaar (Reynolds 2016). Environmental damage can also compound material impacts. Filming of *Star Wars: The Force Awakens* on the UNESCO World Heritage Site of Skellig Michael, which is also a special protection area for birdlife, brought the risk of destroying the habitats of the gannets and puffins who breed there, and harming the monastic ruins that date to the sixth century (Andrews 2016).

Social impacts can be the most destructive. The authenticity afforded to a film production by a traditional settlement or sacred site may also be accompanied by deleterious effects on local populations and their social-spatial dynamics, during on-location filming and beyond. The infusion of millions of production-related dollars into the Easter Island community during filming of *Rapa Nui* (1994) spurred a social division within the local population from which it has yet to recover, and which has only been exacerbated by increased tourism.

Pride and Prejudice **(2005) filming on-location in Stamford, Lincolnshire, where the market square was used for the fictitious village of Meryton. Significant coordination among public and private actors was needed to enable the use of streetscapes and protect historic fabric. Several false fronts were erected to hide buildings of the wrong period and several tons of sand used to hide the pavement.**

Filming of *Star Wars: The Force Awakens* on the UNESCO World Heritage Site of Skellig Michael, which is also a special protection area for birdlife, brought the risk of destroying the habitats of the gannets and puffins who breed there, and harming the monastic ruins that date to the sixth century.

RAPA NUI: FILM COLONIZATION

The 1994 production *Rapa Nui*, which filmed on the island of Rapa Nui (also known as Easter Island), illustrates the negative impacts of poorly managed on-location filming. The large production brought huge numbers of cast and crew, as well as money. New demands for production-related services and commercialized products shifted the island's economy (Atam interview). The increased market for commercial goods grew faster than the infrastructure for waste management, creating environmental issues for the island (Kim 2020). The influx of people and money from the production also swiftly increased the island's capacity for tourism by kick-starting visitor infrastructure (Atam interview). However, the uneven distribution of production-related revenue and pursuant screen tourism benefits contributed to societal divisions that persist today. The documentary *YORGOS* explored the local effects of filming *Rapa Nui* and coined them "film colonization" (Talatala Filmmakers n.d.).

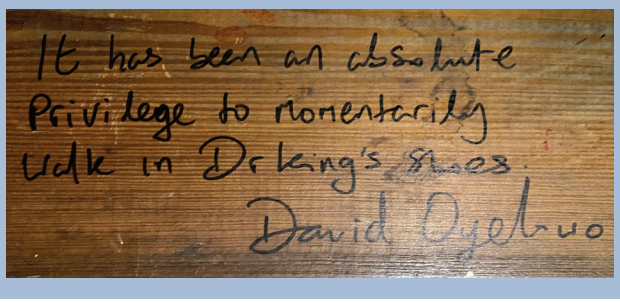
The Moai monolithic human figures on Rapa Nui (Easter Island). Reproductions were made for the filming of *Rapa Nui,* but this did not prevent damage to at least one of the original statues.

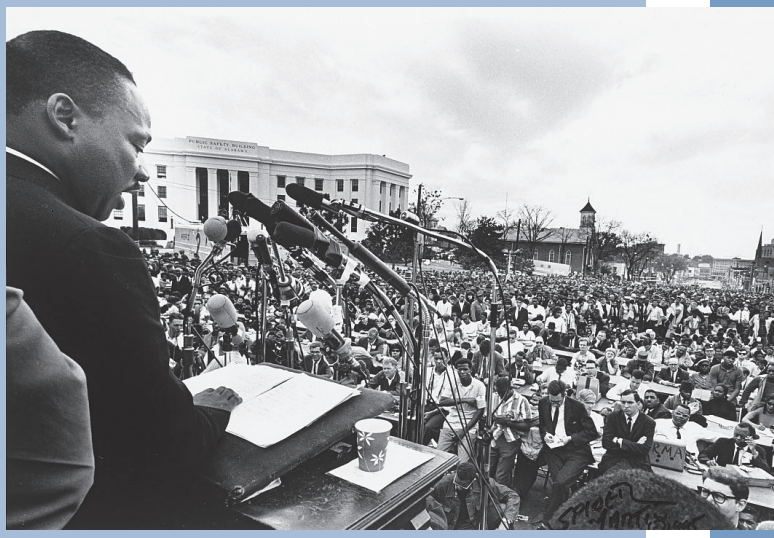
Many protected landscapes and anthropological sites were used on the island, without sufficient precautions taken. Reproductions of Moai statues were created as sets, but their erection caused the collapse of a small nearby house (Charola 1994). Despite the use of replicas, some of the island's original Moai statues were scratched (Long 1994). Heavy traffic, use of fire in scenes, and lighting damaged ceiling paintings in the Ana Kai Tangata cave (Charola 1994). After the experience with this production, policy on the island shifted, restricting access to archaeological sites for both visitors and locals, thereby changing how Indigenous publics interact with their own heritage (Atam interview).

The content of the movie also perpetuated the misrepresentation of the island's culture and was critiqued by archaeologists for conflating different eras of history and mixing elements of different island cultures with that of Rapa Nui. Prior to the filming of *Rapa-Nui,* there was little interest in filming on the island, and after the experience with this production, the island has not hosted any other productions. However, Rapa Nui may soon reopen its doors to filming, with recent press releases announcing the filming of an upcoming Chilean limited series (Secuoya Studios 2020).

MATERIAL INTEGRITY AND THE LEGACY OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

For the filming of the final scene of *Selma*, Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist church graciously granted the production use of the very lectern that Dr. King used 50 years earlier at the conclusion of the Selma to Montgomery March. Filming of the scene required placement of the lectern at the foot of the Alabama State Capitol, and the production team took care to protect this important historical object from the elements. However, to memorialize his portrayal of Dr. King, the actor David Oyelwo chose to sign the lectern with a permanent marker (Moon 2015). This defacement of an historical artifact was concerning for the studio team, but it also raised many questions about the interaction between film and heritage. Do films potentially add a layer of significance or new story to heritage? How do these added narratives affect the values various publics ascribe to heritage and seek to preserve? Whose values are paramount?

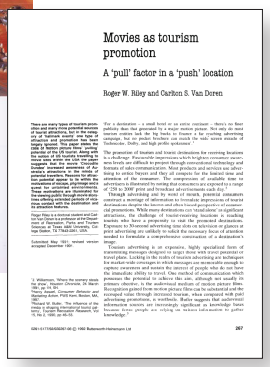




The original lectern from which Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his famous "How Long? Not Long" speech at the conclusion of the Selma to Montgomery voting rights march. The Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church loaned the lectern to the *Selma* production team for use in on-location filming. Upon return, it had been signed by the actor who portrayed Dr. King in the movie.

Translating Research and Experience into Practice and Policy

There is a disconnect between academic research into issues related to film and the policy and practice of on-site filming. As discussed earlier in this report, on-location filming is not new. Film tourism has existed for nearly 75 years, today there are 100+ film incentive programs globally, and heritage has been the site of on-location filming since the very beginning. Films such as *Tomb Raider* (Winter 2002), *Crocodile Dundee* (Moran 2018), and *Pride and Prejudice* (Shimko 2022) are just a few examples of productions with related academic articles published in the last twenty years. The topics of articles span from screen tourism to narrative effects on locations. Despite these decades of experience with on-location filming, the studio observed few changes in policy and practice over time, with many of the issues discussed in the literature still prevalent. Researchers and academics are not working to apply these lessons to future productions or make the findings accessible to those who need it. Interviews showed that heritage site managers still feel ill-prepared to deal with the topics that are highlighted in these papers.



Movies as tourism promotion

A 'pull' factor in a 'push' location

Roger W. Riley and Carlton S. Van Doren

Left: By 1992, researchers (Riley and Van Doren) were already publishing studies about the impact of *Crocodile Dundee* (1986) on the Australian tourism economy, and anticipating the phenomenon of "screen tourism" decades before the tourism industry recognized its potential.
Below: Scholars have long studied the interrelationship of preservation, tourism, and film in the use of English country houses for on-location filming. Several homes have served as the fictitious Pemberley in multiple productions of Jane Austin's *Pride and Prejudice,* including Lyme Park for the BBC's 1995 version.

Filming Challenges Heritage Managers

An issue that emerged repeatedly through studio interviews with heritage site managers was that managing on-site filming can be difficult. Various interviewees mentioned being approached by a production for use of their spaces for filming, but they had many questions before they could agree or sign a contract, for example:

- "How much is a fair rate to charge for my space?"
- "What will happen to any b-roll or supplemental footage that goes unused?"
- "How do I negotiate a contract with a production company? Will I need a lawyer?"

Heritage organizations and site managers often have limited resources and little to no experience in film production. Since film studios frequently negotiate these kinds of agreements, there is a major imbalance, putting heritage sites at a disadvantage. This issue is most problematic for sites that are not part of a larger entity or network, or in locales with less government oversight of preservation. In the UK, sites managed by the National Trust and Historic England are part of larger on-location film programs with full-time staff. They are able to provide resources to site managers to help them through the filming process. The General Services Administration (GSA) in the United States has a robust program for on-location filming their historic sites in the Northeast, where staff member David Anthone has developed a robust program to work with filmmakers. Other regions GSA participate in film outleasing, but have less active programs because they do not have the same kind of leadership.

Unpredictable Impacts of Screen Tourism

While screen tourism can result from on-location filming, managing screen tourism can be difficult when the success of a movie, or an excited fan base, are not guaranteed. Given the many unknowns in filmmaking, proactively planning for screen tourism is difficult, and leaves local governments in a reactive position. Capitalizing on screen tourism requires appropriate infrastructure and advertisement, but not all sites are eager to affiliate with productions that were filmed on location or represent a heritage locale.

The film and television industry generally frames screen tourism as a positive phenomenon, providing opportunities for less-known areas to attract new visitors, or for under-represented cultures to increase their profile. A recent Netflix-funded study touted the ability of streaming content made in countries like Turkey, Spain, and Japan to not only increase viewers' interest in traveling to those countries, but also general interest in and affinity for those foreign cultures (World Tourism Organization and Netflix 2021). The study emphasized the

power of content to generate income in countries hosting productions (through increased tourism) and, on a broader scale, to educate overseas audiences about the production country's culture, and foster a curiosity or affinity for it. The positive findings of this study, however, gloss over thornier issues, especially by focusing on a broad national scale. Other research has found that communities sometimes feel misrepresented by media filmed on location, and screen tourism acts to perpetuate the narratives and opinions that residents find objectionable (Beeton 2016).

As with non-film-related heritage tourism, screen tourism can lead to deterioration of sites in the long term, especially if physical preservation concerns are not prioritized. Petra, which is well known as a UNESCO Heritage Site but also gained increased popularity after being featured in the 1989 film *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade*, has faced significant deterioration from growing numbers of visitors without appropriate policies and infrastructure to manage them, as short-term profit and economic development have been prioritized (Comer 2012). Similarly, as tourism increased in Dubrovnik after the filming of *Game of Thrones*, UNESCO went so far as to say that, if the city continued with plans to develop more tourist infrastructure without proper management, it risked the outstanding universal value of the site (ICOMOS 2018).

OLD ALABAMA TOWN: UNTAPPED FILMING POTENTIAL

Old Alabama Town consists of more than 50 historic buildings in a neighborhood setting near downtown Montgomery. Many have been rescued from the wrecking ball (including state-sponsored demolition due to highway construction) and relocated to the neighborhood, and represent various styles and periods significant to Alabama history. While a number of the properties are actively leased to commercial tenants, management has less experience with outleasing their historic buildings for filming. At the time of the studio's visit in October 2022, management was in active negotiations about filming a *College Hill* reality show segment at one of their properties that includes quarters used by enslaved peoples. The on-location filming represented an opportunity to engage a broader and more diverse public in the complicated questions of history and preservation that Old Alabama Town seeks to explore. However, management felt unprepared for negotiating the contract, particularly around the thorny issues of compensation and risk management (Neeley interview), and there are few resources available to heritage managers facing similar challenges.

The enslaved quarters and kitchens of the Ordeman-Shaw House (c. 1853) in Old Alabama Town are one of the few surviving sites of urban slavery in Montgomery, and represent a critical spatial encounter with an underrepresented history.

Visitors at the large Onofrio Fountain (c. 1438) in Dubrovnik, which served as a filming locale for *Game of Thrones*. Residents have expressed frustration at the amount of people who enter the city and fear that the current level of tourism is unsustainable.

Overtourism directly linked to a site's use as a filming location can also decrease quality of life for locals regardless of the physical impacts on heritage sites, as was found in a survey of residents of Dubrovnik, Croatia (Abbassian et al. 2020). Similar complaints have been lodged by smaller communities like Barwon Heads in Australia (where *Sea Change* was filmed) or Goathland in England (where the popular English period television show *Heartbeat* was filmed). While these communities include listed heritage buildings, they were not notable tourist destinations prior to on-location filming, as in the case of Dubrovnik. Nonetheless, residents were displeased with the influx of new tourists and changes to their daily routines (Beeton 2016).

Negative reactions to screen tourism are sometimes mitigated by sharing economic benefits with locals. For example, a survey in Croatia found that those involved in the tourism industry were positive about tourists and did not want to limit tourism per se, rather they wanted to find better ways to control its negative impacts (Abbassian et al 2020). In the case of Goathland, the production studio, Yorkshire TV, allowed residents to keep signage, props, and other paraphernalia from the show and market their businesses using the *Heartbeat* brand, which helped mitigate some of the frustration caused by increased tourism (Beeton 2016).

But communities can also be left frustrated when no benefits are reaped from screen tourism. It is nearly impossible to guess which films will generate the kind of engaged fan base that drives screen tourism. Additionally, jurisdictions that are unprepared to host tourists often fail to capture meaningful economic development. Speaking with heritage professionals in Montgomery and Selma, the studio found that many tourists were mentioning *Selma* during their visits. However, conversations with community members in Selma emphasized that these visitors usually stay in Montgomery, and come only for a walk across the bridge, a photo, and a brief visit to the National Park Service (NPS) interpretive center. Without many hotels, it is difficult to keep tourist dollars in town, and the fact that the bridge is the most iconic part of the movie means that tourists rarely even enter Selma's downtown or other areas.

The Edmund Pettus Bridge sits at the entrance to the town of Selma, and has become a draw for tourists in the wake of *Selma* (2014). However, most visitors simply visit the bridge and visitor's center and leave, without spending time in town.

Ballintoy Harbour in Northern Ireland is actively promoting screen tourism after serving as a filming location for *Game of Thrones*.

One of the biggest challenges in sharing the benefits of screen tourism while reducing its negative impacts is the balance of power. With the introduction of the production company itself as an actor, communities and governments can have a harder time finding equitable solutions. While the government and the production company generally hold the most power, with the former able to control access to public film locations and the latter able to dangle the possibility of economic development and increased marketing in front of policymakers, the local community is often left with relatively little say in the matter (Beeton 2016).

In Ireland, there is an explicit effort to capitalize on screen tourism by their national tourism board. The board has a user-friendly web page to guide tourists to film destinations. Information and maps on filming locations are easy to find. In the case of the TV show *Game of Thrones*, Tourism Ireland even provides links to private companies that run *Game of Thrones* tours (Tourism Ireland n.d.). However, the economic benefits can sometimes be accompanied by negative effects. Unsustainable tourism on the island of Skellig Michael following the filming of the most recent *Star Wars* trilogy is damaging cultural heritage and natural habitats (Lucy 2019).

INDIAN STATE FILM INCENTIVES FOR CULTURE AND SCREEN TOURISM

Anticipating potential screen tourism as part of a multi-phase process of planning and implementing on-location filming may mitigate negative effects and better prepare communities. Recently, many states in India have released multi-year "film tourism" policies. While these plans focus on government incentives for filming in each state, heritage and screen tourism are integral to planning the incentive structures. These new plans include requirements that productions must be considerate to the state's religion and culture (CMO Gujarat 2022). Madhya Pradesh offers increased incentives if movies are released in local languages (Madhya Pradesh Tourism Department 2020). The Gujarat Cinematic Tourism Policy promotes local branding by including the names of sites in the film or subtitles wherever possible (Government of Gujarat 2022). This makes the connection between a film and a destination clearer. While these plans still focus heavily on the economic draw of filming and its subsequent tourism rather than the effects of tourism itself, connecting filming and tourism as early in the planning as possible could benefit historic sites in the long run.

Narsingarh Fort in the Madhya Pradesh region of India is advertised by the regional tourism board as a filming location.

(Mis)Representations of Narratives and Publics

Artistic license allows filmmakers to fictionalize people and places as a form of entertainment. However, film often represents real-life individuals or communities, interpreting them, their narratives, their culture, and their environment. The extent to which the film industry shoulders responsibility for the accurate portrayal of people's stories and truths is limited. All too often, the film industry fails in its role as a steward of peoples' stories, and neglects consideration of how a production's use or replication of a heritage site may engender negative effects.

Since productions do not always consult with communities when filming on location or recreating an existing location elsewhere, they may lack awareness of the complexities of underserved narratives and run the risk of mischaracterizing heritage and its associated publics. Such mismanagement of stories can leave the descendants or keepers of a legacy dissatisfied or feeling as if they were wronged. At a macro scale, this inadequate consultation contributes to a lack of diversity and authenticity in the narratives that make it to the screen, particularly in the case for people of color and Black communities.

The Sullivan and Richie Jean Sherrod Jackson home, where Dr. King and members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference strategized to plan the voting rights marches, serves as a poignant example. Beyond just that event, this home represents

ETHICS OF STORYTELLING

As a creative industry, ethics in filmmaking are very loosely addressed. Other storytelling industries and professions, like journalism, establish common principles, which may include honesty, fairness, public accountability, harm minimization, avoiding false statements that damage a person's reputation, and maintaining proper attribution. Examples include The Society of Professional Journalists' Code of Ethics, The Radio Television Digital News Association's Code of Ethics, and *The New York Times Ethical Journalism Guidebook* (MasterClass 2021c).

Documentaries represent a distinct form of filmmaking, akin to journalism but unique from feature film productions in that they "attempt to tell a true story, often from a particular perspective, [often] trying to elicit a feeling of what the real event or person was like" (Maccarone 2010). Documentary films are often not objective as they take a particular position. The dynamic between filmmakers and filmed subjects is unique because they can have "relationships with their subjects that gives them special information that can give rise to moral obligations beyond what art demands" (Maccarone 2010).

By the late 1990s, the demand for documentary-style productions was accelerating as these films came to represent independent voices. With this demand emerged a concern for integrity of production, considering the "assembly-line nature" of a traditional narrative film's production process and the lack of consistency between producers who interact with subjects and those who oversee post-production editing. However, despite the sensitive nature of documentary production, and the power dynamic between subject and storyteller/filmmaker, there remains a lack of consistent ethical guidance for documentaries. The use of standards or principles is at the discretion of the individual production teams, and may simply include preventing resale of images, sharing decision-making with the subject, and compensating subjects (Aufderheide, Jaszi and Chandra 2009). Within the most prestigious film festivals, the status of a film qualifying as a documentary rather than a narrative feature is generally determined by simply evaluating if the film is regarded as nonfiction, and documentaries that use "re-enactments or other fictionalized depictions of actual events" are assigned to either of the two categories upon further assessment (Sundance Institute 2022).

LIFE RIGHTS

Narratives and stories are deeply personal, and their adaptation, appropriation, or misrepresentation can cause real harm to people. Unfortunately, in the US legal system, there is little recourse in cases where a filmmaker uses a real-life story without the approval of those involved. While it is common to hear of people "selling their life rights," this is actually a misnomer. "Selling one's life rights" really refers to a series of contracts between a writer and an individual in which an individual agrees not to sue for defamation or invasion of privacy and grants publicity rights (the right to use their real name and image to make money) and some level of cooperation or access to sources (Creative Future n.d.). Such agreements can also help filmmakers gain a competitive advantage in telling a story if they believe others will try to tell it as well, as cooperation of the subject can usually lead to a better project (O'Falt 2019). If a nonfiction story has been told in a book or article, studios will sometimes "option" the piece, but just retelling the same facts without a contract does not entail copyright infringement. Under US law, copyright only applies to the framing or structure of telling a nonfiction story, so studios will still choose to option works just to avoid lawsuits if there is any gray area (Rosini n.d.). In general, as long as a filmmaker does not defame a subject or use their name and image to make money without their consent, they will be protected by the First Amendment's guarantee of freedom of expression (Creative Future n.d.). Because the hurt of seeing one's story misrepresented or told without one's permission often falls short of legal standards of harm, it leaves publics powerless to fight against large production companies.

decades of Black history: the home of three generations of Black professionals, a dining room that hosted the first two African-American Nobel laureates, and a welcoming center for the local community. Ms. Jawana V. Jackson, the only child of Sullivan and Richie, graciously shared these stories with the studio team during a visit to the home, which is now a museum. After the production team visited the house, the home was depicted in the film *Selma*. Details gleaned from a memoir published by Ms. Jackson's late mother, *The House by the Side of the Road*, were also integrated in the film. However, Ms. Jackson was never consulted during the making of the film, and neither she nor her mother's book were credited. The production team found and used a different house in Georgia as a stand-in after taking inspiration from her home, without her knowledge.

By using details from her mother's memoir and a separate location to film scenes set in the home, and not consulting her during production, *Selma* stripped Ms. Jackson of agency in her family's story. Unfortunately, in the United States' legal system, there is little recourse for people like Ms. Jackson and stories like these, especially in the face of wealthy production companies. The film industry is not held accountable for using and representing personal stories without consent from and consultation with their keepers. By not actively consulting with Ms. Jackson and others in Selma who witnessed and participated in the extensive but furtive organizing that led to the marches—and by not investing in the use of the places where that organizing actually happened—filmmakers capitalized on their stories with limited reciprocity. This perpetuates a focus on the "great men" and marginalizes many others who played a critical, behind-the-scenes role in the Civil Rights Movement, especially women (Theoharris 2018).

Third Sector's Role in the Film Industry

There is a robust third sector of non-governmental, non-profit, and volunteer organizations that are heritage-oriented. While these organizations have a capacity to publish informational tools for sites and communities, they have done little to address the issue of on-location filming at heritage sites. The potential for influence and leadership by third sector heritage organizations in on-location filming is underexplored. This compounds the issue of academic research not being implemented in policy and practice, as the third sector can often play a critical role in facilitating and translating among governmental, academic, and industry actors.

In other aspects of filmmaking, the third sector is extremely active in promoting best practices and setting industry norms. For example, in the US film industry, the American Humane Association has taken the leading role in animal protection in film through their "No Animals Were Harmed" monitoring program. Their guidelines are now an industry standard due to a partnership with SAG-AFTRA, the main actor's union, which will not approve a union contract unless American Humane guidelines are followed and monitors are on set (Klein 1987).

Industry itself has also sought to improve practices in filmmaking through shared norms and incentives, as well as corporate social responsibility (CSR). By practicing CSR, companies can be conscious of the kind of impact they are having on all aspects of society—economic, social, and environmental—while boosting their brands (CFI 2022). For example, the Producers Guild of America's Green Production Guide/Toolkit was developed to encourage more environmentally sustainable filmmaking practices. Other industries have developed CSR standards to ensure the protection of heritage in their operations, for example, mining and hydropower. However, no comparable program for protecting heritage during on-location filming exists. This represents a critical opportunity for action.

NO ANIMALS WERE HARMED IN THE MAKING OF THIS FILM

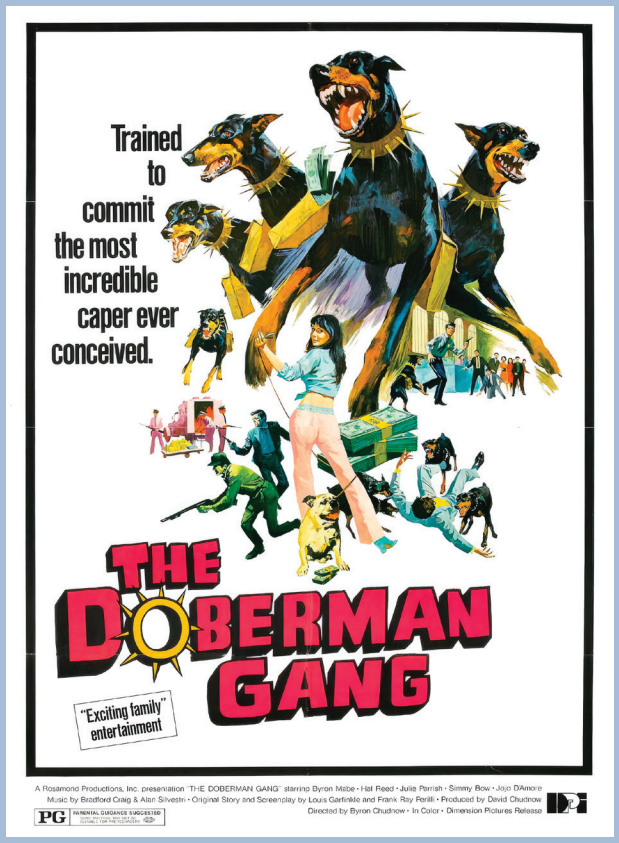
Animals have been central to film since its beginning, with Eadweard Muybridge's photographic work depicting a horse in gallop cited as an early precursor to movies. The first time a dog appeared as a hero in a film was in 1905's *Rescued by Rover* (American Humane, Our History). As the use of animals for filming expanded, so did concerns for their welfare.

In the US film industry, the American Humane Association (now known as American Humane) has taken the leading role in animal protection in film. As early as 1925, the organization was investigating reports of animal cruelty in the industry. The tipping point was the 1939 film *Jesse James*, in which a horse was tripped to fall to its death for a shot. In 1940, the Association entered an agreement with the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA), requiring all films produced in the country to seek Humane Association approval (American Humane, Our History). This arrangement lasted for several decades, but years of declining power for the MPPDA to control film culminated in the 1966 closure of the Hays Office and the loss of the Humane Association's mandate to monitor movie sets. The group still monitored some sets, and awarded its first official designation of "No Animals Were Harmed" to the 1972 film *The Doberman Gang* (American Humane, Milestones). Following popular uproar over animal cruelty in the 1980 film *Heaven's Gate*, the Screen Actors Guild began including a requirement that American

Humane be consulted on all SAG-approved films, returning the group to the powerful role it still holds today as the industry's official protector of animal rights (American Humane, Milestones).

In order to qualify for the "No Animals Were Harmed" certification, films must follow a list of specific protocols for different types of animals, from dogs and horses to reptiles and even insects. The guidelines for having any type of animal on set are compiled in a 130-page document that covers pre-production and on-set care, outlining how to keep animals safe in a wide range of situations, including stunts, scenes involving vehicles, and shoots that involve makeup or rigging for the animals (American Humane 2015). Productions are required to comply with animal cruelty laws, including the federal Animal Welfare Act (Beverley Boy n.d.). While gaining a full "No Animals Were Harmed" certification entails having monitors on set for every single scene involving animals, films can also get a "modified" certification for registering and having monitors present for at least some scenes; all films with any certification are listed on American Humane's website with detailed information about each scene that involves animals (American Humane, Productions). This documentation can end up benefiting the production if it is accused of misconduct, as American Humane will help provide evidence against false allegations (Klein 1987). One interesting note is that American Humane is content-neutral: a film can depict cruelty to animals as long as real animals are not harmed, as they prefer to be involved in all productions (Malamud 2012).

The American Humane Association is so effective in curbing animal abuse in part because of the power it is given in the production process. They are given scripts and then send monitors to shoots, where they have the power to step in and stop filming if they see something questionable (Klein 1987). By getting SAG, a powerful force in Hollywood, to mandate compliance on any production with a SAG contract, the AHA essentially ensures that any major production will comply with its guidelines. It also uses other methods, including mobilizing public opinion and coordinating actions like letter-writing campaigns against productions found to violate its standards (Klein 1987). While there remain some compliance issues, overall the efforts of American Humane have led to a meaningful shift in the film production industry toward one where respecting animal welfare is a powerful norm (Linzey 2013).

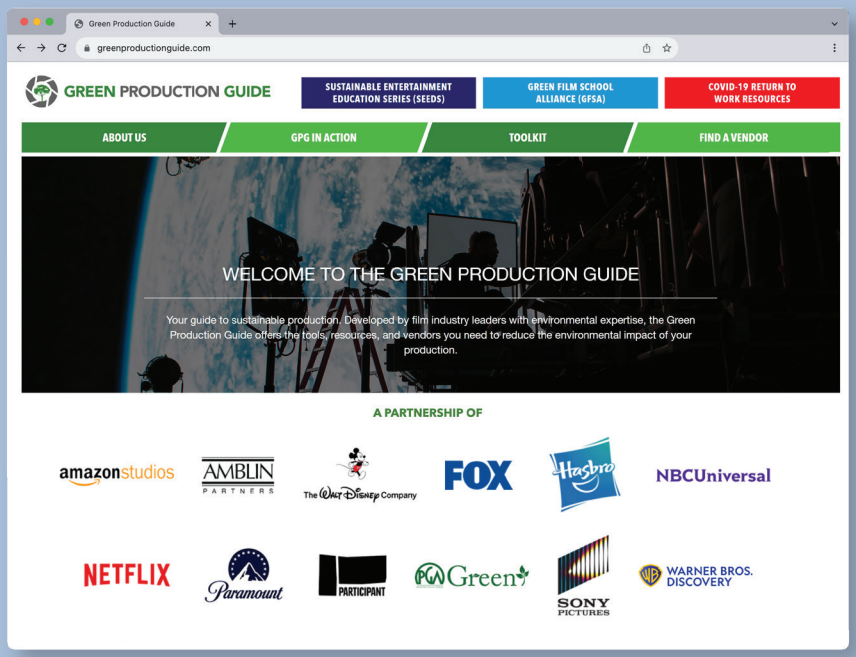


The Doberman Gang **(1972) was the first film to receive the Humane Association's official designation of "No Animals Were Harmed"**

Harm to heritage from filmmaking can involve physical fabric, stories, traditions, and/or cultural identities. This may be more ambiguous than bodily harm to an animal. However, the history of this mobilization on the part of a third sector actor could certainly inform collective action by one or more heritage organizations with regard to on-location filming.

ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY IN THE FILM INDUSTRY

Film trade associations such as the Producers Guild of America (PGA) and the British Academy of Film and Television Arts (BAFTA) have attempted to make the industry more sustainable by creating guides for sustainable productions, carbon calculators, and certifications for productions to prove and advertise compliance with sustainability benchmarks. These programs advertise their high profile alliance members, such as Netflix, Amazon, BBC, Disney, Sony, Warner Brothers, and Paramount. Unlike "No Animals were Harmed," these projects are much newer and have much less power to enforce best practices. Because they work as an incentive rather than a regulation, their use is more uneven and long-term impact is still to be determined.



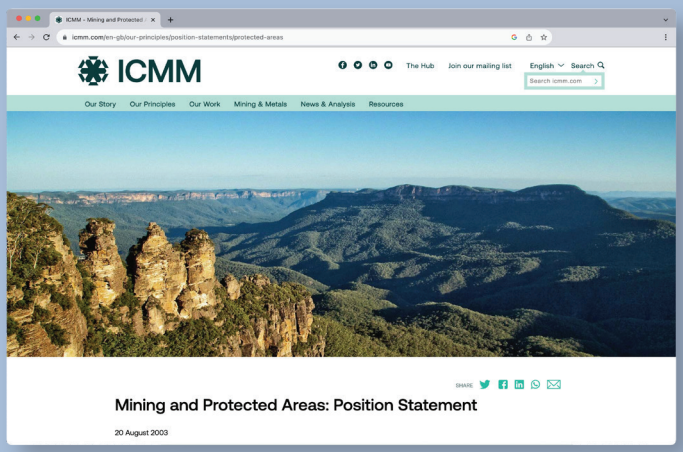
The landing page for the Green Production Guide stating their goal and various resources for film productions to consult to create a more sustainable production.

The PGA created a new task force called the PGA Green in 2008, and by 2010 they published the Green Production Guide. The toolkit provides a carbon calculator, best practices infographics, and the Sustainable Practices Checklist. The checklist has categories for all the different aspects of filming—accounting, wardrobe, lighting, and transportation, to name a few—with point-based options for improving the sustainability of the production (Green Production Guide n.d.). If enough points are earned, the production can get a Green Seal or a Gold Seal from the Environmental Media Association (EMA). The checklist includes points for climate storytelling, and the toolkit provides resources for organizations and companies that work on climate content. This is an interesting way that the toolkit bridges the gap from production to content, providing resources such as scientists, consultants, and researchers who can aid in creating informative and impactful climate stories.

The Albert certification, initiated by BAFTA in 2011, provides certification if a production Carbon Action Plan is created through their system. They require their members from major production companies, which they call Directorates, to use their Carbon Action plan set up. Albert also includes resources and membership for smaller filmmakers, and film-adjacent fields such as news and sports broadcasting (Albert n.d.). While the Green Production Guide and Albert represent some of the more robust programs, various countries also have sustainability pledges for their film industries, such as South Africa.

HERITAGE AND THE MINING INDUSTRY

The adverse impact of extractive activities on heritage sites has been a growing concern in recent decades. In 1998, the UNESCO World Heritage Centre and its advisory bodies initiated discussions about extractive industries and their impact on "protected areas and other ecologically sensitive sites" with the International Council of Metals and the Environment, which became the International Council on Mining and Metals (ICMM) in 2001. In 2003, all ICMM member companies committed to not explore or mine on World Heritage properties, which was a major milestone for the protection of heritage sites. After that, more and more companies announced similar bans, or agreed not to undertake



In 2003, all ICMM member companies committed to not explore or mine on World Heritage properties

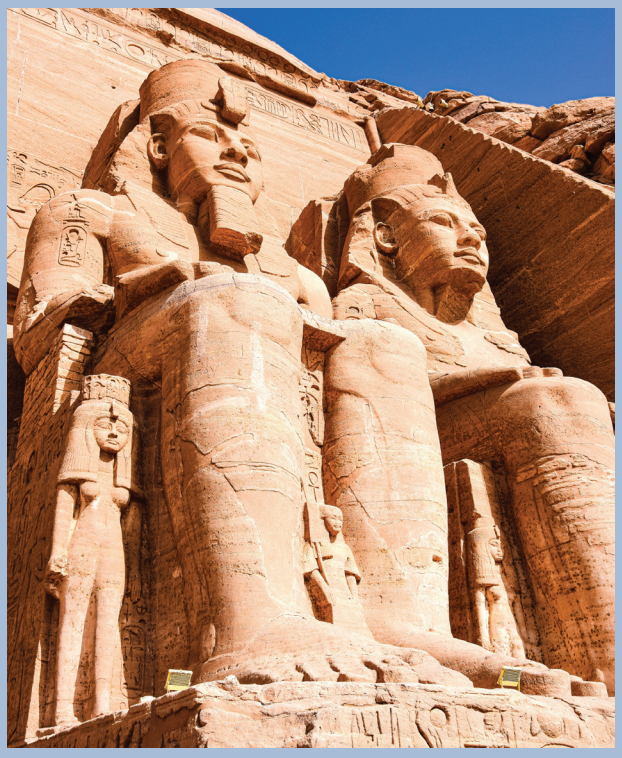
or commission any exploratory or other drilling activities in World Heritage sites, including Total, SOCO International (now Pharos Energy), and Tullow Oil (UNESCO n.d.).

Founded in 2012, the Responsible Mining Foundation (RMF) aimed to articulate what society expects from mining companies worldwide and encourage them to proactively benefit the economies, lives, and environments of producing countries (Skidmore 2022). The RMF has published studies to promote responsible mining practices, including *Extractive Commodity Trading, Harmful Impacts of Mining, Mine Site Assessment Tool (MSAT)*, and *Mining and the SDGs: a 2020 Status Update*. To deal with mining's threats to heritage and achieve Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the RMF publishes transparent assessments of company policies and practices, and engages with extraction-affected groups, civil society, investors, stock exchanges, labor unions, commodity traders, refiners, manufacturers, academics, industry associations, and mining companies themselves (Responsible Mining Foundation n.d.).

Rio Tinto is one of the largest mining companies in the world, and has taken company-specific actions to protect cultural heritage. The company encourages consultation with government agencies, religious institutions, national and local museums and cultural institutes, scientists, and NGOs throughout its projects to avoid impacts to cultural heritage. Efforts include working with Indigenous peoples to develop a cultural heritage management plan, conducting surveys with traditional owners to check for cultural heritage sites before undertaking any ground disturbance work, and asking traditional owners to monitor clearing work and provide advice on the appropriate way to manage any culturally significant sites. Other initiatives include creating buffers around any identified sites and providing cultural awareness training and cultural heritage inductions for employees on site (Rio Tinto n.d.). While these efforts do not completely eliminate harm to communities near mining sites, they provide an example of prolonged engagement with affected communities to protect heritage.

HERITAGE AND THE HYDROPOWER INDUSTRY

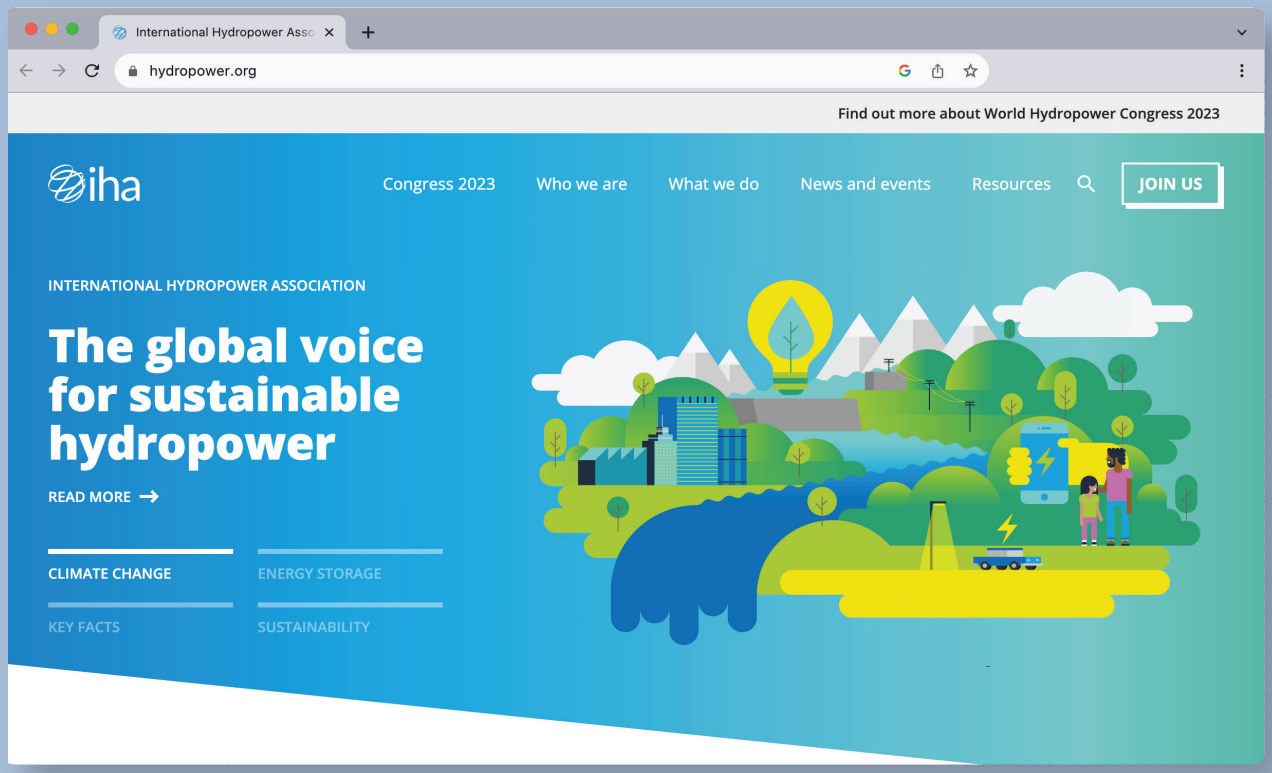
While hydropower has existed since the late 1800s, the construction of large-scale dams across the globe accelerated in the twentieth century. These dams resulted in the flooding of countless canyons and riverbeds, altering geographies, relocating settlements, and hiding histories beneath lakes. Early arguments against dams were environmental, as activists decried the loss of irreplaceable natural wonders such as Hetch Hetchy Valley in California or Glen Canyon in Utah. Concerns about historical and cultural sites surfaced later, particularly in the wake of the construction of Egypt's Aswan Dam, which resulted in the relocation of numerous archaeological sites as well as entire settlements. Decades later, the Three Gorges Dam in China, which resulted in the forced resettlement of over one million people, underscored such concerns (Gan 2020).



The 13th-century BC Egyptian temple Abu Simbel was relocated in the 1960s in the wake of the construction of Egypt's Aswan Dam.

A range of organizations and governmental agencies have raised awareness about the protection of cultural heritage from damage related to new hydropower projects. In many countries there are strict regulatory regimes that govern the impact of new projects on cultural heritage. For example, in the United States there are both federal level regulations and processes (e.g., the National Environmental Protection Act) and many state level procedures (e.g., New York's SEQR and California's CEQA). At the international level, the World Bank's International Finance Corporation (IFC), which funds dam projects, and the International Hydropower Association (IHA), consisting of manufacturers, operators, and consultants in the hydropower sector (International Hydropower Association n.d.) have been critical actors.

The World Bank is an international financial institution that provides funding to countries for large-scale capital projects, such as dams, through the IFC. Projects must meet regulatory requirements in their respective countries (including following any local laws that protect heritage), but also must meet the IFC's Performance Standards. As such, the IFC is able to project their standards onto foreign countries without impugning on the host country's sovereignty. Consisting of 10 topics, the Performance Standards define the IFC client's "responsibilities for managing their environmental and social risks" (International Finance Corporation n.d.). The "Cultural Heritage" standard dates to 2006, but was updated slightly in 2012 to include intangible cultural heritage. The requirements call to "protect cultural heritage from the adverse impacts of project activities and support its preservation" (International Finance Corporation 2012).



The International Hydropower Association has a sustainability council that has developed a relatively new certification process for hydropower projects that includes a cultural heritage component.

In order to meet these goals the IFC requires informed consent, but does not have hard and fast rules about what is too extreme a cost on cultural heritage for a new project. Further, projects are judged based on the standards that were in place at the time of the project, so projects prior to 2006 have no restrictions on damage to cultural heritage.

The IHA has a sustainability council that has developed a relatively new certification process for hydropower projects that includes a cultural heritage component. Early efforts of the IHA included a series of "how-to" guides for some of the typical challenges associated with hydropower development, including resettlement and relocation (International Hydropower Association 2020). The current certification process was developed in tandem with a September 2021 decision to not develop any new hydropower projects in UNESCO World Heritage sites (designated by UNESCO) and to place restrictions and requirements on Protected Areas (International Hydropower Association 2022). The full certification process covers 12 environmental, social, and governance (ESG) practices with both a lower "good practice" and higher "best practice" standard. For cultural heritage the principle goals are that "physical cultural resources are identified, their importance is understood, and measures are in place to address those identified to be of high importance." In order to meet this standard, cultural heritage must be adequately assessed before the project, and managed during and after the project. There are no specific standards for actually protecting cultural heritage; instead "negative cultural heritage impacts arising from activities of the operating hydropower facility are [to be] avoided, minimized, mitigated and compensated." As such, while the certification requires operators to be aware of the danger their activities may pose to heritage sites, there is little that actually protects heritage as lost heritage may always be "compensated" (International Hydropower Association 2021).


18-35mm

PART 5

PROPOSALS

On-location filming affords greater realism and authenticity by providing a unique visual aesthetic or sense of place. But there are issues with how on-location filming interacts with heritage sites, economies, and local communities more broadly, as discussed in the previous section. The following proposals take these challenges as their starting point and work toward potential actions to ameliorate the harms that on-location filming can cause. These recommendations may be undertaken by various actors, including governments, the film industry, and the third sector, to improve on-location filming practices at heritage sites and ensure a more positive impact on communities. These proposals were informed by the studio's broad body of research, including domestic and international perspectives as well as specific learnings from Alabama. While these proposals draw on the research of international policy and practice, they target the United States, with policies built around this specific legal system. That said, these proposals resonate in other regional and global contexts, perhaps with minor adjustments to account for different legal contexts.

PROPOSAL 1

STRENGTHEN LINKS ACROSS STATE AND LOCAL AGENCIES

KEY ISSUES ADDRESSED:	Link between preservation and on-location filming Capturing economic opportunity from on-location filming Coordinating heritage, tourism, development, and film policies
PRIMARY ACTORS:	State and local governments
PRECEDENT:	Georgia's Camera Ready Communities program

Encouraging a strong linkage between state and local agencies, a new state office extension focused on training communities to be "film ready" would address existing vertical government coordination discrepancies. This recommendation can apply to cities like Montgomery and Selma as well as state film offices looking to strengthen their local film industry nationwide.

Modeled after the Georgia Film Office's Camera Ready Communities program, the primary actor would be the state government as they hold the agency to implement stronger vertical government connections and could create a new department within the existing state economic department. The state-led program would designate districts, which can include more than one municipality, as "camera ready" or "film ready." The designation would be given to communities interested in "cultivating and attracting the entertainment industry" like Georgia's current district model (State of Georgia, 2014). Like the Georgia Camera Ready Communities program, municipal employees would be designated as film liaisons per district or city and tasked with engaging with film productions to promote local geography and assets (Georgia Film Office, n.d.). Other responsibilities would include streamlining location, crew, and services databases, providing sample filming-related documents to site owners and community members, sharing state-approved messaging with production companies and location scouts regarding the benefits of shooting in their locale, and educating local community service industries on how to prioritize camera readiness (Georgia Film Office, n.d.).

The new film-ready department would sit within the existing or comparable state economic development department, whose existing priority is monitoring the benefits of film production infrastructure and tax incentive programming. Within and under that department is the state film office, a managing force for day-to-day support for local film offices, providing scouting assistance as well as certifying projects for the tax incentive. It would mirror the relationship between the Georgia Film, Music & Digital Entertainment Office and the Georgia Film Office (State of Georgia, n.d.). County film liaisons would also be needed to work between the local and state film office and act as the local experts who coordinate using local knowledge by providing resources and assistance with local permitting laws. The liaison positions would be filled by a municipal employee already working for the county in an official capacity, such as a tourism or economic development office, much like the liaison guidelines set by the Georgia Camera Ready Communities program (State of Georgia, n.d.). The addition of the film-ready program and liaisons would offer stronger and more readily available local information, allowing "communities of all sizes to capitalize on the opportunity of on-location filming" (State of Georgia, n.d.).

The *Making the Most of Being Named a Camera Ready Community* guidebook covers state-approved messaging describing the advantages of filming on location in Georgia, filming's impact on Georgia, the requirements for becoming a liaison, and describes the filming process from script to screen as it relates to on-location filming.

Vertical Government Coordination for Filming in Georgia

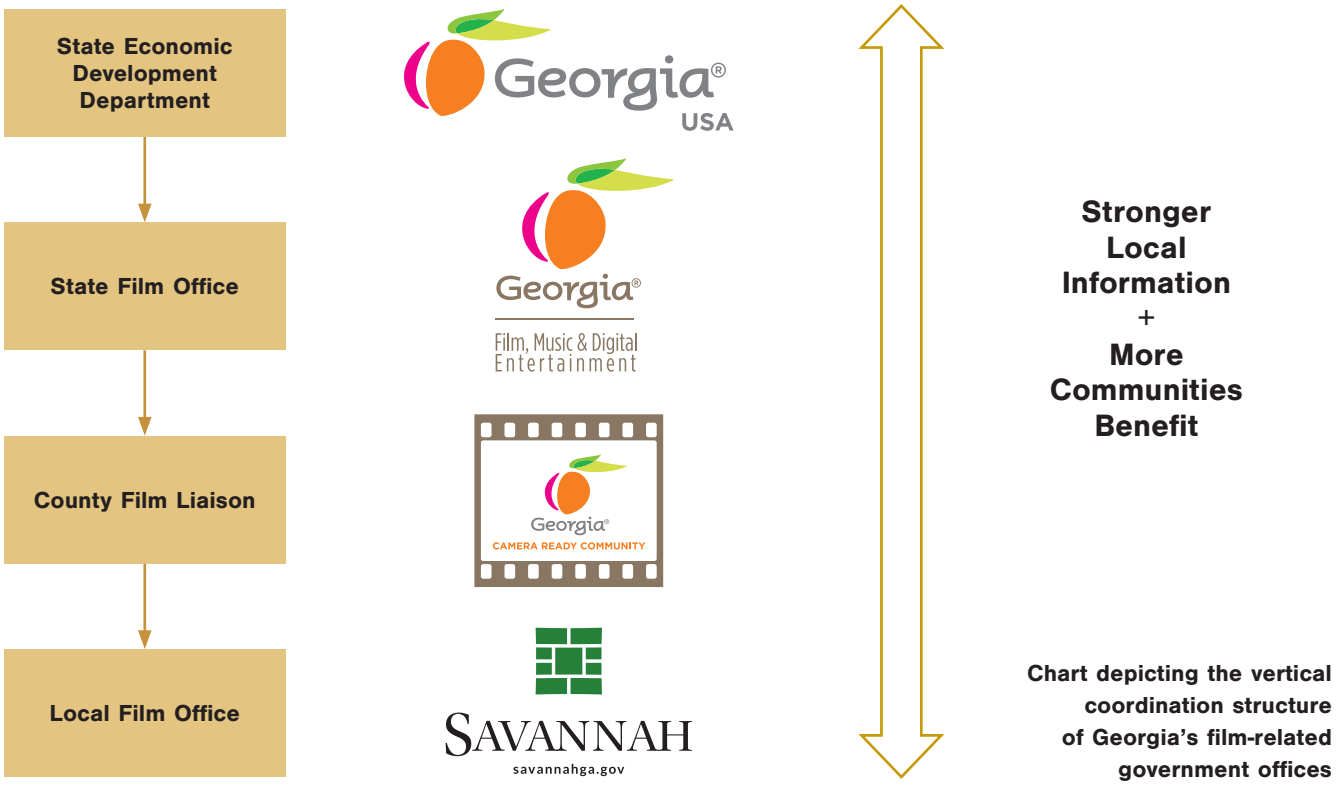


Chart depicting the vertical coordination structure of Georgia's film-related government offices

PROPOSAL 2

TRAIN AND COORDINATE HERITAGE MONITORS

KEY ISSUES ADDRESSED:	Link between preservation and on-location filming Damage to heritage Third sector's role in the film industry
PRIMARY ACTORS:	Third-sector heritage organizations
PRECEDENTS:	Monumentenwacht The Institute of Conservation The National Trust (UK) American Humane Association

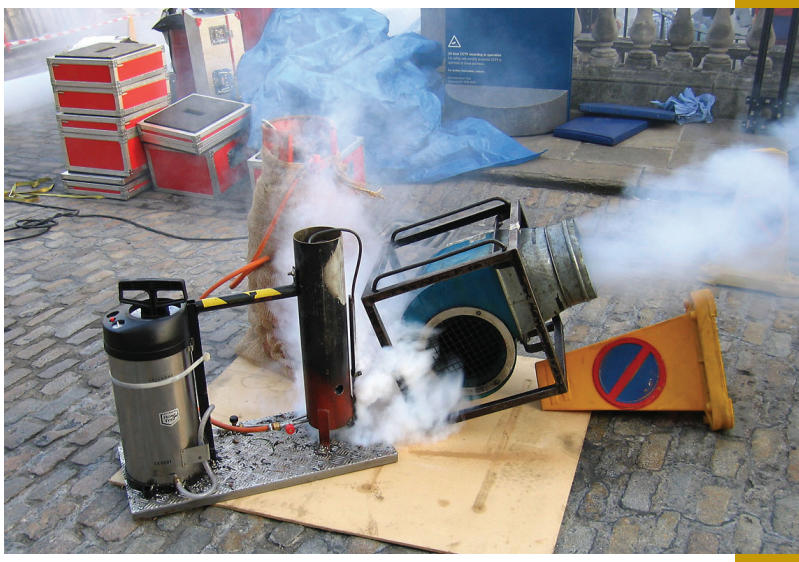
Third-party organizations, such as heritage non-profits, should train heritage monitors in the management of historic sites for on-location filming, to prevent physical damage before and during production. Heritage monitors could review filming plans in advance, monitor filming sites during the shooting process, and do site assessment post-filming to inspect for any damage, as well as share lessons for the next production. Heritage sites could become members of a coordinating organization, allowing them access to certified heritage monitors whom they would hire at an hourly or daily rate for the extent of the production process.

The goal of this proposal is preventive conservation, which includes evaluating a site's condition and vulnerable fabric, controlling risk factors to avoid sudden disasters, and minimizing deterioration or loss. Much of the physical damage to heritage sites during on-location filming can be prevented if planned and conducted carefully, such as controlling the amount of equipment and the time it spends on the site, ensuring proper use of electrical equipment, candles, and light, and prohibiting staff from smoking, eating, drinking, and other acts that can harm heritage sites. The third-party conservationists trained with filming knowledge can be hired by the heritage sites with the revenue produced by on-location filming.

While this proposal could be undertaken by any number of heritage organizations, the precedent upon which this recommendation builds is Monumentenwacht (Monument Watch), which specializes in the periodic inspection of built heritage to raise awareness among owners and caretakers of the importance of proper maintenance and preventive conservation. It originated in the Netherlands in 1973, and expanded to Belgium, Germany, the UK, Denmark, Hungary, Italy, Slovakia, Spain, France, and Portugal. Working off the philosophy that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure, it offers periodic professional inspection and review, monitoring, and minor repairs (Wu and Laar 2021). Sites must become members to use the service, and owners can register for an annual membership fee of 40 euros/year and an inspection fee of 45 euros/hour. Most of the initial start-up funds were provided by the King Baudouin Trust. Its funding came mainly from the Flemish government and provincial governments, membership, and inspection fees. Before 2014, the organization obtained 60 percent of its funding from the provincial government, 30 percent from the Flemish government, and 10 percent from membership and inspection fees (Wu and Laar 2021).

This proposal works to formalize the process for on-site supervision by experienced third parties, serving the need for on-site monitoring to manage unforeseen changes on set, as outlined in the UK National Trust's guide for on-location filming (Flynn 2017). In terms of monitoring heritage sites for on-location filming, The Institute of Conservation,

a professional organization in the UK, promotes "filming conservators" who have experience working with heritage organizations and private historic houses before and during on-location filming (Fry 2022). It also takes some inspiration from the American Humane Association, which trains and certifies animal welfare monitors that are required to be on set for any scene involving an animal.



Creating London fog at historic Somerset House with a smoke machine. The use of heavy equipment and special effects can create risks for historic fabric, underscoring the need for trained monitors.

Monumentenwacht monitors on site. The organization's model provides inspiration for the training and coordination of heritage monitors for on-location filming.

***Filming in Historic Houses* guidance**

PROPOSAL 3

ON-LOCATION FILMING "SCORECARD"

KEY ISSUES ADDRESSED:	Capturing economic opportunity from on-location filming Third sector's role in film industry (Mis)Representations of narratives and publics
PRIMARY ACTORS:	Government Third sector heritage organizations
PRECEDENTS:	Cultural tests and incentive qualifications in various countries

Governments could tie film incentive programs to a responsible on-location filming "scorecard" to ensure that the film productions benefiting from tax breaks are giving back to the community and treating heritage respectfully.

The primary actors behind this proposal are state governments and third-sector organizations. The state government is a major actor, since it would implement the scorecard as the qualifying factor for productions to access tax-based film incentives. It could develop these guidelines or partner with a third-sector organization to develop the different categories and metrics. The key element of this proposal is its flexibility. Filming is incredibly complex, and not every production can meet all the same metrics. By providing a list of best practices and granting points for implementing each one, films are encouraged to do better where they can. This proposal is modeled on similar scorecards in other countries.

Such a scorecard could focus on various elements of "responsible" on-location filming, helping to more clearly delineate and quantify expectations. The main ways for films to score more points would be to hire more local staff across roles, or more points could be awarded for "above the line" crew members or others in more senior positions. Films also could get extra points for spending money with local businesses. Digging deeper into the narrative side, there are still ways a government-backed scorecard can work toward the inclusion of heritage. For example, content-neutral guidelines like consulting local historians, heritage site managers, and community-based organizations can be included. Points can also be awarded for scripts that include stories happening locally or films that use designated heritage sites or film at locations where actual events occurred.

While a scorecard might be instituted by a state's film office, its development and ongoing management could potentially be outsourced to a third-sector organization, similar to how sustainable construction tax credits often use LEED certification levels as their benchmarks, thereby outsourcing review to the Green Building Council. Because most tax credits are disbursed at the state level, state agencies would link the scorecard to their programs. However, states could defer to local governments to add additional requirements for films produced in their jurisdiction, or outsource review to local agencies.

This proposal has many precedents in the world of film incentives. Most US states already have rules to qualify for tax benefits, but they tend to be very broad, focusing on minimum spending levels and minimum required ratios of local filming to filming elsewhere, as well as local hires to out-of-state hires. Other countries go further. In Croatia, there is emphasis on involving locals in more creative positions, including granting points for having trainees on set, which helps develop the country's film capacity (Filming in Croatia n.d.). In the UK, films can score points for including content related to British history or culture and for hiring

locals in specific technical or creative roles (British Film Institute 2022). In Jordan, subsidies for films are already tiered based on the film's budget, and a similar tiered system could work based not on spending but on the total score (Royal Film Institute n.d.). By employing this kind of scorecard, governments can better manage film incentives and direct them more actively toward projects that promote the local economy or history.

As a government tool, these must be content-neutral and based on objective metrics like residency or heritage listing. Relying on measures like these still does not address the fact that many stories and narratives associated with heritage places are not fully recognized in government heritage designations, and the way a story is told can have a huge impact on publics. These issues cannot be adequately addressed by government action but could be addressed by other actions (see, for example, the Location Managers Guild Heritage Events proposal).

SCORECARD		Points
Economic requirements	**Share of local creative staff** *(10% = 1pt, 10–20% = 2 pts, 20–30% = 3 pts, etc.)*	3
	Share of local post-production staff *(10% = 1pt, 10–20% = 2 pts, 20–30% = 3 pts, etc.)*	1
	Total local spending *($100–200k = 1pt, $200–500k = 2 pts, $500k–1,000,000 = 3 pts, etc.)*	2
	Total time on location *(1–3 days = 1pt, 4-5–days = 2 pts, 5–7 days = 3 pts, etc.)*	3
Narrative requirements	**Consulting local community** *(1 point per meeting)*	2
	Film tells a local story *(5 points)*	0
	Number of heritage sites used in filming *(1 point per site)*	3
	Number of on-location sites depicting themselves in the film *(1 point per site)*	1
	TOTAL POINTS	**15**

This mock-up illustrates how a scorecard might be structured.

PROPOSAL 4

SITE MANAGER'S GUIDE AND WEB TOOL FOR FILM LOGISTICS

KEY ISSUES ADDRESSED:	Damage to heritage Filming challenges heritage managers Third sector's role in the film industry Unpredictable impacts of screen tourism (Mis)Representations of narratives and publics
PRIMARY ACTORS:	Third-sector heritage organizations
PRECEDENT:	The National Trust for Historic Preservation 1995 Publication

A comprehensive guide for heritage site managers could demystify on-location filming and provide sites with the tools they need to get the most out of on-site filming while minimizing the risks involved. This proposal is intended to be a guide created by heritage professionals for heritage sites. The concerns of sites would be at the forefront and could be published by a preservation organization, such as World Monuments Fund or the National Trust. It would be a resource for managers and owners who are approached by a production and think "okay, now what do I do?" Inspiration for this tool came from site managers and stewards, particularly interviews at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, the Freedom Rides Museum, and Old Alabama Town, where the site stewards discussed the complexity of film contracts and managing the filming process.

The content of this publication and website would include a film vocabulary, information on contract negotiations, insurance, narrative considerations, and the risks and possibilities of screen tourism. The section on contracts could provide a variety of tips and tricks to request or look out for during contract negotiations such as pricing and in-kind contributions, site monitoring, b-roll, and unused footage rights. The screen tourism section could prepare sites to identify productions that may attract tourists and how to advertise to attract screen tourism. Information about tourist expectations and planning for an increase in interest would also be covered.

There is precedent for this type of tool produced by preservation organizations. In the UK, where there is more expertise in managing on-location filming at historic sites, guides are available for property owners and site managers. However, they are usually brief and only consider material damage, and do not delve into the way that film impacts extend beyond the hours that a film crew is present. In the US, the National Trust for Historic Preservation published a guide for on-site filming in 1995. This information needs to be updated and made more accessible. The National Trust publication claims that "physical damage" is the "most critical" to historic sites (Masterman 1995), but in fact, the studio research and interviews showed that narrative concerns were equally, if not more, important to some sites. This resource could inform heritage managers of this aspect of filming, preparing and empowering them understand potential narrative consequences.

PRESERVATION
information
One in a series of Historic Preservation Information Booklets

History for Hire: Using Cultural Resources as Film Locations

By Amy R. Mastermaw

Be prepared for the unusual when hosting a film production. A garden party scene with Glenn Close and Jeremy Irons on the lawn at Lyndhurst (re)side of wild animals.

The American film industry is changing shape; it is outgrowing Hollywood, its primary home since the early part of the twentieth century. As producers leave California in search of lower costs and new locations, numerous cities and towns across the country are finding themselves hosts to film productions. Because filmmakers often use historic resources as film locations, it is important for preservationists to become informed about all aspects of the process.

This booklet is designed to aid homeowners, preservation organizations, museums, and businesses in making educated decisions regarding film activity at historic sites. The booklet provides detailed information about what the location experience entails, examines both the benefits and drawbacks, and proposes solutions to potential problems. At first thought, the money, prestige, and excitement of meeting celebrities may seem to preclude the need for further consideration. It is important to remember, however, that the use of cultural resources as film locations involves considerable time and effort, as well as the responsibility of protecting valuable and often fragile historic resources.

From Hollywood to Your Town

What has caused the film industry to evolve from being almost exclusively rooted in Hollywood to utilizing facilities and locations nationwide? Although most people believe that filmmaking began in Hollywood, the truth is that the film industry originated in New York during the first decade of the 20th century. Small production companies could be found throughout the country in places like Chicago, Worcester, Massachusetts, and Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania. This brief period ended, however, when California began to dominate the industry through the rise of major studios and the advent of talking pictures. Since 1920 California has continued to hold the top slot for movie, television, and commercial production.

After the second World War, new technology led to improvement in the design and materials used in manufacturing camera equipment. The lighter-weight equipment launched a

National Trust for Historic Preservation

This 1995 guide published by the National Trust for Historic Preservation provides guidance about on-location filming to historic property owners and managers. An updated guide that addresses physical concerns as well as those related to tourism and narratives is warranted.

On-location filming can involve heavy equipment, as seen here for the filming of an episode of *Doctor Who* at Gloucester Cathedral, a Grade I-listed building. A guide could prepare site owners and operators for what to expect.

The use of historic streetscapes for on-location filming, as seen here for *Persuasion* (2007), can affect multiple properties, especially businesses. A guide for owners and tenants could provide information about the filming process and its potential implications.

PROPOSAL 5

HERITAGE CERTIFICATION

KEY ISSUES ADDRESSED:	Damage to heritage sites Third sector's role in the film industry (Mis)Representations of narratives and publics
PRIMARY ACTORS:	Third-sector heritage organizations Producers guilds Location managers guilds Production companies
PRECEDENTS:	American Producers Guild and the Environmental Media Association (EMA) "Green Seal" Ford Foundation's Just Films

A heritage certification, similar to the Environmental Media Association "Green Seal," could set responsible filmmaking metrics and guide how the industry interacts with heritage locations, people, and narratives related to them. Such certification is inspired by the Green Production Guide in the United States and Albert in the UK, both of which were created as a partnership between producers' guilds and a consortium of production companies intent on supporting sustainability (Green Production Guide 2026). In the case of heritage, this proposal would depend on similar actors as well as third-sector heritage organizations.

This heritage certification would function as a flexible points system; productions could gain points for community engagement, telling underrepresented narratives, protecting heritage sites, and committing to investment in community education programs. This kind of certification could open the door for heritage and film industry partnerships to advance shared aims around justice, cultural resource stewardship, and environmental protection. The certification could be marketable to investors, creating a draw for production companies in the same way sustainability is emerging in the field. Because this proposal is not tied to government action, there is more freedom to support the telling of underrepresented narratives. Points could be awarded for consulting multiple historic sources, engaging community members, or having heritage monitors on site during filming. Hiring practices, public outreach, and management could have longer-lasting effects on the communities where on-site filming takes place.

Creating the criteria would require the input of heritage professionals, filmmakers, activists, and storytellers. An effective way to accomplish this would be a summit that brings together stakeholders, organized by a third party organization. This would be the first step toward forging cross-field connections for equitable and respectful on-location filming, and setting up systems of checks and procedures that work to mitigate risk and harms. In this way, a certification like this is much different from American Humane's "No Animals Were Harmed," but could become a similarly recognizable seal for productions.

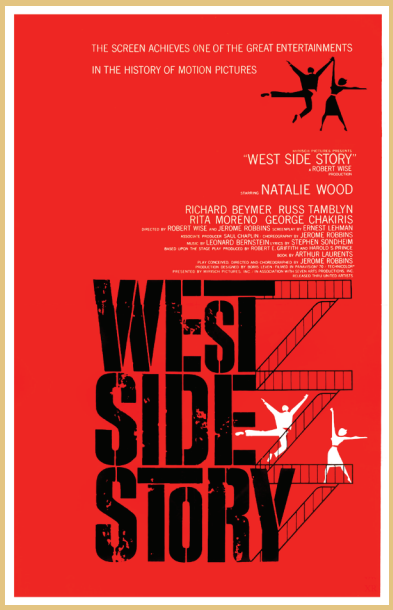
Justice in film is already emerging in the third sector, for example, the Ford Foundation's JustFilms initiative provides grants for documentary filmmakers engaging with underrepresented narratives (Ford Foundation n.d.). With growth and enough support from production companies and heritage organizations, the alliance brought together by the certification program could provide grants to filmmakers seeking to tell underrepresented narratives at historic locales, or provide more information and guidance to productions (like the "Green Production Guide").

Criteria	Description	Minimum Requirements (Good Practice)	Advanced Requirements (Best Practice)
Community engagement	Consult with Communities	Hold at least 1 public meeting about planned filming	Hold at least 3 public meetings about planned filming Hire history consultant for film
Underrepresented storytelling	Heritage Monitoring	Ensure on-location film contract has clear details about filming process	Hire heritage monitor for duration of filming Hire local personnel
Protection of heritage sites	Continuing Investment	Provide ongoing funding for heritage sites used on location	Provide ongoing funding for heritage sites used on location Provide resources for education in the community

Sample criteria for the certification, showing both minimum standards and best practices.

WEST SIDE STORY: CAN ENGAGEMENT IMPROVE STORYTELLING?

While the studio contends that a certification for responsible filming is an important step toward more just storytelling, it poses challenges. Community engagement brings up difficult questions: who is the community to be engaged? Who can act as a legitimate representative? What is to be done when there are differing opinions? And how far do the responsibilities of a creative production extend?



The case of *West Side Story*, the 1957 musical made into a hit movie in 1961, serves as a poignant example. Since its release, it has been widely criticized for problematic portrayals of Puerto Rican characters, and in the case of the movie, casting white actors in brownface (Negrón-Muntaner 2000). In 2021, Steven Spielberg remade the movie, promising to correct the errors of the past: he employed an all-Latine cast, going so far as to get voice coaching for people whose Spanish accents were not Puerto Rican, and even held town halls in Puerto Rico to ask people how they would like to be depicted in a better light.

Yet despite this, many were still dissatisfied. As Frances Negrón-Muntaner (2022) describes, this effort was essentially designed to fail. Negrón-Muntaner puts it quite bluntly, "It is impossible to present a universally accepted 'authentic' experience. There is also no consensus about what the 'mistakes' of the past are or how to address them." The remake still falls into the trap of numerous racial and ethnic stereotypes, makes historical errors, and fails to address the central issue of the original story: that real social and political issues play second fiddle to a Shakespearean love story. Her conclusion, then, is not to tell stories like *West Side Story* "better," but to simply tell other, more diverse stories. "There are countless other ways to 'live in America,' and it's time for America—and the world—to see them" (Negrón-Muntaner 2022).

PROPOSAL 6

LOCATION MANAGERS GUILD HERITAGE EVENTS

KEY ISSUES ADDRESSED:	Link between preservation and on-location filming Damage to heritage (Mis)Representations of narratives and publics
PRIMARY ACTORS:	Location Managers Guild International (LMGI) Third-sector heritage organization
PRECEDENT:	Other LMGI events

Location managers, scouts, and heritage managers would benefit from an opportunity to have an event to discuss on-location filming. Such an event could provide a platform for these professionals to share their experiences and knowledge, as well as to identify common challenges and opportunities related to filming on location at historical and cultural sites. One model for such an event could involve the Location Managers Guild International partnering with a large heritage organization to discuss a number of important issues, such as the following:

- The benefits and challenges of filming on location at historical and cultural sites.
- Best practices for working with local communities and stakeholders.
- Strategies for preserving and protecting the sites during filming.
- Approaches for interpreting and presenting historical and cultural sites to film audiences.

In addition to providing a forum for discussion and learning, such an event could also serve as an opportunity for location managers and heritage managers to network and build relationships with each other. This could lead to more effective collaboration and coordination on future film projects that involve historical and cultural sites. Heritage organizations are uniquely positioned to provide information about the history and significance of the neighborhood and address concerns or considerations that the community may have about the filming process. Even if this event does not specifically target one site or community, it would help inform location managers, and through them, scouts, about the ways in which heritage organizations can help represent a community. At the very least, this can raise awareness about the issue of portraying a neighborhood and its residents in film. By knowing how valuable heritage organizations are, location scouts can make better-informed decisions about how to approach filming in the neighborhood, including how to work with communities to ensure more accurate, respectful depictions in film.

Right: The Location Managers Guild International already hosts events that bring location scouts and managers to historic locales. There are opportunities to partner on a symposium-like event that dives into these issues more robustly.

Below: The Location Managers Guild International annual award event. Partnering on an event with LMGI could advance heritage issues in location scouting and management.

PROPOSAL 7

MUNICIPALITY-DRIVEN, LATERAL COORDINATION

KEY ISSUES ADDRESSED:	Link between Preservation and On-location Filming Capturing economic opportunity from on-location filming Coordinating heritage, tourism, development, and film policies (Mis)Representations of Narratives and Publics
PRIMARY ACTORS:	Local government agencies, universities, and business associations
PRECEDENTS:	Bath, UK and Capetown, South Africa film programs

A successful film economy, especially one based around heritage, requires collaboration and coordination among a variety of stakeholders, including municipal governments, film industry professionals, and local organizations. By working together and supporting each other's efforts, these groups can help to create a vibrant and sustainable film industry that showcases the unique heritage and culture of their city or region. Prioritizing lateral coordination can help to better represent the interests of a city's multiple publics.

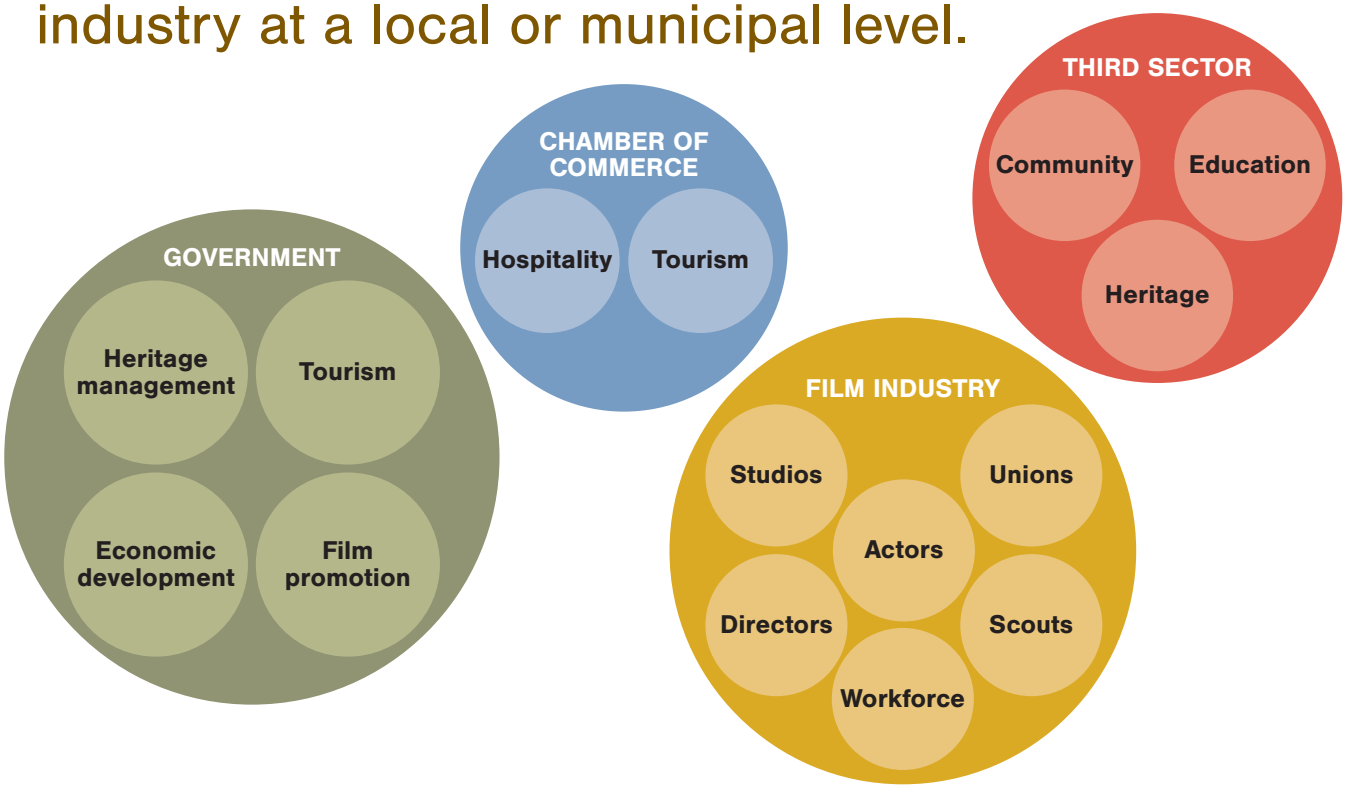
While not every town is going to have a fully staffed film office, there is still the ability to convene working groups to discuss on-location filming in all its facets, including questions such as:

- What are the long-term goals for local filming in this community?
- How can the municipality build a strong film economy through workforce development?
- How will the municipality manage the impacts of filming?
- What uses will heritage offer for on-location filming, and how will such heritage be protected?
- How can local narratives be highlighted in filming?
- How can procedural justice be sought in or through filming?

The various groups that need to coordinate—including government agencies, local businesses, third-sector organizations, and the film industry—already have some strong ties among them. However, bringing them all together in a unified and formalized setting where everyone is on equal footing rarely occurs. These are the groups that influence communities, their depiction, and their opportunities, and creating a sustainable dialog is critical to building a stronger future.

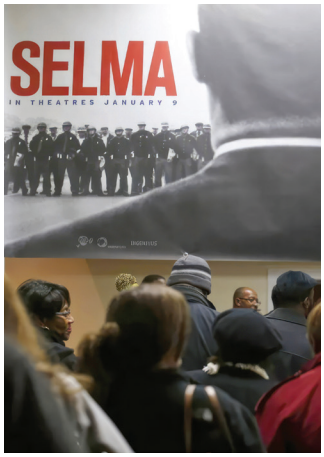
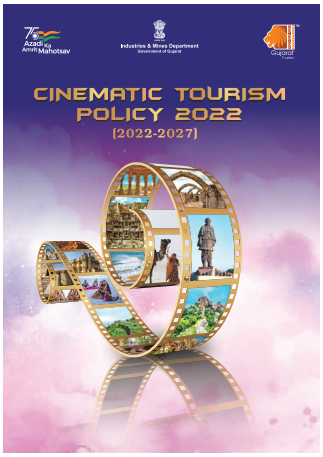
Advancing procedural justice in on-location filming is not something with a clear set of to-dos. Instead, each municipality would need an appropriate course for their community. At the most modest level, coordination could involve bringing together a community to discuss how on-location filming can work toward ameliorating some past problems. Imagine a symposium hosted in Selma in 2023, a decade after the filming of Selma, that would work to unpack some of the challenges of the production of *Selma*. At a larger scale, it may consist of regular meetings between communities and government agencies and officials. A 5– or 10–year plan for on-location filming could be developed. And at the largest scale, new offices could be created explicitly to target these challenges. Regardless of the scale, the key is that there is coordination, in particular lateral coordination between affected parties and officials in a locality so that they can work toward a better outcome in the future.

Various government and non-government actors need to be involved in coordinating the film industry at a local or municipal level.



Multi-party coordination can take various forms depending on the municipality

Less Intensive (suggested for smaller city) → More Intensive (suggested for larger city)

Ad-hoc Symposia	Scheduled Meetings	Five-Year Plan	Improved Office
			
"Selma: A decade later"	In person or online meetings	Indian regional film policies	Strong film offices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