AMENDMENTS

The examiners suggested some amendments, all of which had been considered when writing the thesis. Further clarification of the rationale behind the decisions to present the work in its current form was accepted, as outlined below.

One of the examiners suggested modifications for Chapter Six in terms of its placement in the thesis. It was suggested that Chapter 6 be disaggregated into 3 sections with the majority moved to Chapter Two, which specifically outlines the very limited literature relating to film-induced tourism.

The decision to produce a separate chapter was taken in order to single out the popular perception of film as a destination marketing device and the use of film images in that field. Currently, there is a general tendency for destination marketing organisations to see film simplistically in terms of attracting tourists to the region. This is only now receiving some specialised academic attention from the likes of Croy and Walker in New Zealand, after some broad initial studies from Roger Riley et al. There has been little, if any, thought about how the film and destination marketing process works and when/why it doesn't. This realisation came about through the thesis research process, with the timing of this study coinciding with a growing recognition of an emerging field of study in terms of film's destination marketing potential.

In addition, if the background literature on destination marketing was put into Chapter Two (as suggested), it would cut across the account of what is predominantly a community-based, attitudinal study. Bringing destination marketing theory into the thesis at Chapter Six links the community aspects of film-induced tourism with destination marketing, leading on to the following chapter on Community Planning.

I deliberately did not choose to follow the positivistic thesis model of an introduction followed by a review of all relevant literature, then methodology, results and conclusions, especially in the 'literature review'. In a field where there is little direct literature, it is necessary to spread out into other disciplines and travel a path that may not be as straight forward as others. This makes it difficult to incorporate all the threads of 'relevant'

literature into an early chapter. Rather, I have found that it can be far more logical to introduce additional literature when it becomes relevant to the work. In this thesis, it was deemed appropriate to introduce the general destination marketing literature in a special chapter dedicated to the topic so that this important aspect of film-induced tourism, while not the main focus of the thesis, could be treated in an appropriate manner.

In addition, a recommendation was made that the content relating specifically to Barwon Heads be included in the body of the case examining Barwon Heads, raising issues regarding the reporting of the case study and the structure of the thesis. In my view, taking appropriate aspects of the Barwon Heads case and discussing them in the specific places in the thesis where they are relevant is preferable to completely outlining all aspects of the case in one chapter and then having to continually refer back to it in subsequent discussion.

The use of citing secondary sources as opposed to the original was also criticised. Citing was only used when it was important to actually see the context in which particular authors had cited others, or when it was not possible to locate an obscure, yet relevant, reference. For example, the citing of J.R. Brent Ritchie in Riley et al's work (pp.15-16) was to demonstrate how they were using Ritchie's definition of hallmark events to support their argument that movies have the same characteristics to hallmark events. A similar situation relates to the citing of Kelly on p.32 – it was part of another author's argument which was being examined, not Kelly's work per se. The citing of Fehrenbacher et al on p.41 was due to the lack of initial referencing and general obscurity of the publication, however I judged that the example that the source provided was relevant and strong enough to be included.

Also requested was a fuller account of the factors which influenced the development of Australia's identity. This is an important field of study and one that I considered incorporating in more detail into the thesis. However, the decision was made to focus on film and tourism, particularly in the background literature. While it may not be treated in detail, the role of popular media in tourism imaging and the development of the Australian image is acknowledged throughout the thesis. The point was also made early in the work that "... in Australia ... the majority of tourist sites are ... products of the twentieth century. In other words they have developed in the age of film." (p.3). This, and other points made in the first few pages of the thesis support the rationale for the limited discussion on other forms of media influence on the Australian image and tourism.

ERRATA

P 3 para 2, 5th line: "1955" for "1995"

FILM-INDUCED TOURISM: IMPACTS AND CONSEQUENCES

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Monash University

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FILM-INDUCED TOURISM: IMPACTS AND CONSEQUENCES

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ABSTRACT

Films have always been a way for audiences to encounter other places, whether they be real-life documentaries or the fantasies of fictional stories. With the rise of on-location shoots, some films now actively promote such places, even if this is not a key intention of the producer. There is ample anecdotal evidence that tourists soon follow, looking for the sites, people, experiences and even fantasies portrayed in the film.

Film-induced tourism is an examination of the tourism that follows filming, both on-location at the site and off-location in the studio. This term has been used to broaden the more commonly applied term, 'movie-induced tourism' to incorporate other forms of filming, in particular television series. There has been limited research undertaken in this area, with much of the current work being small studies reiterating earlier pioneering work of Riley and Van Doren (1992), Cousins and Andereck (1993), Riley (1994), Tooke and Baker (1996) and Riley, Baker and Van Doren (1998). In Australia, there has been a reliance on North American studies that may or may not be applicable to this part of the world.

This dissertation goes some way towards furthering the field of study and our understanding of film and tourism by asking the questions:

- How does film-induced tourism in Australia affect the on-location communities and how can they benefit?
- Does tourism automatically follow the filming of a TV series or movie in a particular locale?
- What constitutes a successful film studio theme park and why did a new, well-capitalised film studio theme park in Australia fail?

Methods

A grounded, mixed method approach has been adopted, incorporating qualitative and quantitative methods within the framework of a case study – surveys, interviews, desk research of public documents and participant observation. Participant observation became a crucial element because of the increasing weariness of people to surveys and interviews.

Two major case studies were undertaken over three years, the first looking at the community impacts of on-location (or 'on-site') film-induced tourism of a television series

(*Sea Change* and the real-life village of Barwon Heads in south-eastern Australia), the other the development (and ultimate failure) of an off-location (or 'off-site), studio based theme park, Fox Studios Backlot in Sydney, Australia. Results were compared with overseas studies.

Results

This study has found that tourism levels and the associated community impacts are not as strong in Australia as at some overseas sites, with relatively few negative impacts at Barwon Heads. The Fox Backlot closed within two years of opening, raising questions about initial business planning and the opportunity cost of failure as well as immediate community impacts. Australia remains a small domestic market and a growing but modest long-haul destination for international travellers, limiting the level of community impacts and the potential of new tourism enterprises. Nevertheless, *Sea Change*, Australia's most popular television series during the study, has seen Barwon Heads move from a quiet summer holiday seaside destination to a year round up-market township boasting a plethora of restaurants and cafes, yet with inadequate residential services, tourist activities and community infrastructure.

A community tourism planning model has been developed to incorporate on-location film-induced tourism, while a film-induced tourism theme park model, based on research and general theme park theory offers a way of assessing the critical success factors for such operations.

STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other institution and, to the best of my knowledge, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Sue Beeton

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

SECTION ONE: INTRODUCTION

Chapter One: Introduction

Shortly after its 'discovery', Australia became known as 'the Antipodes' and the Great South Land. Such nomenclature indicates not only the spatial but also the intellectual distance between Australia and the rest of the world. Until the early 1960s ships remained the dominant form of transport to and from Australia. Time consuming and expensive, ships were used predominantly by incoming migrants, who were often subsidized. Only well-off Australians traveled regularly by ship. Such limited access to other cultures assisted to maintain the remote Antipodean concept and images amongst Australians as well as others. Instead of developing a national image from the intimate comparison of geographically neighbouring cultures, the popular media of the day became the major source of cultural identification and affirmation for Australians and the wider world.

The introduction of film at the beginning of the 20th Century, which Australians eagerly embraced, has had a dramatic influence on how Australians view themselves and are viewed. The world's first feature film, the Australian produced *The Story of the Kelly Gang*, resonates with images of the wild Antipodean bush and lawless bushrangers, while the internationally distributed *The Sentimental Bloke* (1920) proved successful in England as well as Australia, portraying a rough, romantic Antipodean lifestyle[1]. Both movies were filmed in Australia in the early decades of the 20th Century, precipitating a long and powerful relationship between film (and eventually television), the Australian people and their cultural representations.

Since the late nineteenth century, cultural representations through literary associations have become increasingly important in tourist visitation and promotion throughout the world, from the New England town of Concord with its famous 19th Century residents Henry Thoreau, Loiusa May Alcot and Nathaniel Hawthorne to the British Tourism Authority's (BTA) promotion of regions known as 'Burns Country' and 'Bronte Country'. This has now expanded into other popular media, in particular film, with *Movie Maps*

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[1] L. Bawden, *The Oxford Companion to Film*, Oxford University Press, London, 1976, p.43

developed by tourism and film authorities, many now available as interactive sites on the Internet[2].

However, most of the world's great pilgrimage and tourist sites were established well before the coming of film, limiting the effect that film had on establishing the iconic status of such sites. This is not the case in Australia, where the majority of our tourist sites are, in one way or another, products of the twentieth century. In other words, they have developed in the age of film. For example, the Sydney Harbour Bridge and Opera House, the Outback and High Country (as generic Australian bush heritage sites as well as relating specific legends) have reached iconic status through the influence of film, still photographs, documentaries and science fiction movies. Even the nation's most recognised inland icon and secular pilgrimage site, Uluru (Ayers Rock) gained early recognition through books and then the subsequent movies, *A Town Like Alice* and *We of the Never Never*.

The effect of film on human behaviour has long been debated, especially in terms of influencing acts of violence and effecting social change. When discussing film's power in influencing behaviour and effecting social change (or supporting the status quo), Slocum notes that many social scientists assume that "... Hollywood ... serve[s] as both an agent of social control and change"[3]. The 1995 movie, *Rebel Without a Cause*, was censored in the United States and Britain due to current public anxiety over juvenile delinquency, as it was believed that offensive scenes or dialogue would influence teenagers[4]. However, it is the influence of media violence on children that has received the greatest attention. The American Academy of Pediatrics claims that media violence affects children by making them less sensitive to acts of violence, increasing aggressiveness and anti-social behaviour, increasing their fear of becoming victims and increasing their appetite for violence in

[2] British Tourism Authority, *Movie Map*, BTA website, http://www.visitbritain.com/moviemap, 2001
Kirklees Economic Development Service, *It's a Wrap in Kirklees. TV film and location guide*, Huddersfield, c.2001
California Tourism, *California Movie Maps*, http://www.gocalif.ca.gov.movies, December 2001
Hong Kong Tourism Board, *Hong Kong Movie Map*, MPH Magazines, Singapore, 1999
W.D. Routt, 'The Australian Land in Australian Films' *Australian Movie Map*, Pub. Denise Corrigan, New South Wales, 1996
[3] J. David Slocum, 'Film Violence and the Institutionalization of the Cinema, *Social Research*, Fall 2000, Vol. 67, Issue 3, p.649, 2000
[4] Jerold Simmons, 'The Censoring of *Rebel Without a Cause*', *Journal of Popular Film and Television*, Summer 1995 Vol 23 No2, p.56, 1995

entertainment and real life[5]. According to Huesmann and Moise, over 100 studies in the past 40 years have supported the thesis that after being exposed to visual depictions of violence, some children behave more aggressively[6]. What we are now witnessing is not only the influence of film on the behaviours outlined above, but the recognition of the role that it plays in tourism motivation and behaviour. Just as extensive research has been undertaken on the negative behavioural influences of film, so must we develop our understanding of film's tourism motivational power.

If we acknowledge such influences, the development of Australia's identity, image and cultural representations can be traced through popular film and television series, from the 1950s film version of *A Town Like Alice* and its 1980s' resurrection as a popular television mini-series, movies such as *Crocodile Dundee* and *The Man from Snowy River* (circa 1988) through to current film and television series such as *Sea Change* which in 1999 and 2000 was Australia's most popular television drama series[7]. *Sea Change* depicts a high-flying city lawyer moving to a small seaside town with her children to take up the position of local magistrate in order to 'rediscover' herself and her children. The town is peppered with gentle, quirky, likeable characters and the obligatory male romantic lead. Its storyline relies as much on the physical setting of the series as on the quaint characterisations. A synopsis of the storyline and characters is in Appendix One.

Persuasive economic arguments have been presented regarding the money and jobs brought to a town or region during the filming process, such as US$21m and 183 full-time jobs to Illinois during the filming of *A Thousand Acres*[8]. There is ample anecdotal evidence that tourists soon follow, looking for the sites, people, experiences and even fantasies portrayed by the film (see Chapter Two). However, film producers, in general, have little concern for the impacts of film-induced tourism, as once they have completed their on-location filming, they leave. There is no evidence of initial site selection being based on any long term community impacts, positive or negative. An example of how such a lack of concern from the film industry can backfire is illustrated in the case of *Baywatch*, where the residents of the site chosen in Australia for filming the series (Avalon

[5] American Academy of Pediatrics, *Some Things You Should Know About Medial Violence and Media Literacy*, www.aap.org/advocacy/childhealthmonth/media.htm, August 2002
[6] L. Rowell Huesmann and Jessica Moise, 'Media violence: a demonstrated public health threat to children' *Harvard Mental Health Letter*, June 1996, Vol. 12, No. 12, p.5, 1996
[7] 'The ABC Counts', *The Age Green Guide*, 23 September, 1999, p.7

Beach, north of Sydney) protested vehemently against the series being filmed on their beach. Such widespread antagonism resulted in the producers filming the new series in Hawaii. Coincidentally, the Hawaiian Tourism Authority, in its first ever Strategic Tourism Plan, has identified encouraging filming in the state as one of its key tourism promotion strategies[9].

The popularity of certain movies and television series has not only increased tourist visitations to the sites featured, but has also created a range of niche tourism operations reliant on the storyline, notoriety and cultural aspects of such media representations. In this study, the importance and place of imaging in tourism and its construct in visual media such as film (which refers to both movies and television filming such as mini-series and even soap operas) is considered, along with the effects of film on tourism, specific film-related business ventures in the form of film studio theme parks and local communities.

This thesis is presented in four sections. Section One incorporates a general introduction, literature review and methodological discussion. Section Two focuses on on-location film-induced tourism with chapters looking at community impacts and tourism impacts related to *Sea Change*, followed by a consideration of film images in relation to destination marketing. The findings of the section are brought together in a community tourism planning framework. Section Three looks at off-location film studio tourism, utilising theme park theory to assist in the development of a film studio theme park model, which is subsequently applied to successful and failed enterprises. Section Four concludes the study and outlines areas for further research that have become apparent throughout the course of the study.

Differences and Similarities between Movies and Television Series

Before introducing the overall concepts of imaging and on-location and off-location film tourism, discussion of the rationale for the choice of study areas is central to understanding the research undertaken. Most of the academic studies of film-induced tourism have focused on movies, coining the phrase, 'movie-induced tourism' (see Chapter Two). However, movies tend to be a one-off or limited experience, for both the producers and the

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[8] 'Lures and Enticements', *Economist*, Vol. 346, Issue 8059, 14 March, 1998, p. 28
[9] Hawaii Tourism Authority *Ke Kumu, Strategic Directions for Hawaii's Visitor Industry – Draft*, June 29 1999, http://www.hawaii.gov/tourism, 1999

majority of viewers (in spite of the availability of videos and television screenings), whereas television series have a longer screening and filming period. For example, the UK series *Last of the Summer Wine* has been screened on British television for over 28 years[10]. Consequently, the viewer's empathetic relationship with the story, characters and setting is developed and maintained over a period of time. This not only keeps the region where the series is filmed in people's minds, building on and reinforcing desires to visit, but also sees the film crews spending extended periods of time over many years at the on-location locations.

TV series tend to have more long-term impacts than a movie, unless it proves enormously popular. *Crocodile Dundee* is probably the only movie filmed in Australia to have instant recognition in the United States (see Chapters Four and Five). Because of evidence about the long term impact of successful series, the thesis' pays particular attention to one series site in Australia, namely the village of Barwon Heads, portrayed as Pearl Bay in the ABC TV series, *Sea Change*.

While they are not a central focus, movies have not been ignored in this study, with evidence from movie sites applied to the general background (Chapter Two). Their significance in relation to film studio theme parks, which focus more on movie imagery and themes, is examined in Chapters Eight and Nine.

Tourism Imaging

It has been well documented and taken as given that there are numerous elements that motivate people to become tourists and to select particular destinations and activities. The socialist, John Urry postulates that one of the basic consumer motivations is the desire to experience, in reality, imaginary pleasures that have been developed in the consumer's mind[11]. Tourism, by its very nature, involves daydreaming and the anticipation of different experiences, suggesting that it is the image in a tourist's mind that is the most powerful motivator. Butler and Hall support this view, adding that mental images not only form the basis for selection of a destination, but also for post-experience evaluation[12]. While supporting the notion of imagination as a tourism motivator, Davidson and Spearritt

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[10] Kirklees Economic Development Service, op.cit., c.2001
[11] J. Urry, The Tourist Gaze: leisure and travel in contemporary societies, Sage Publications, London, 1990

conclude that society may be drifting from desiring authentic tourism experiences towards the staged authenticity of a society focused on infotainment[13]. They note that the cost of producing the movie, *Titanic* (which included the construction of an entire studio complex in Baja Mexico), was more than the inflation-adjusted cost of building the original ship.

Tourism images are developed from the stories of returning travellers as well as the media of the day. During the 19th Century, novels, poetry and painting were the main sources of image-creation and reinforcement, with the growth of communication techniques and media sophistication in the 20th Century bringing radio, film and television to the fore[14]. For some time, authors and poets have influenced tourist visitation to certain areas to the extent that they have become synonymous with the destination, creating tourist destinations in their own right, as in 'Hardy's Country', 'Bronte Country', 'Yeats Country' and 'Burns Country' in the United Kingdom, which the British Tourist Authority continues to use extensively in its tourist literature[15].

On Site: Film, tourism and country town development

The majority of reports in relation to film-induced tourism produced by local government agencies, tourism associations and film companies tend to focus on the numbers of visitors that are attracted to an area and how much money they spend, creating the distinct impression that economic gain is the first (and only) tourism performance indicator. However, one of the quandaries of tourism is that it carries with it the seeds of its own destruction that may contribute to (or even cause) the deterioration of communities and the environment, leading to justified questioning of short term economic rationalist justifications. This 'love it to death' dilemma has been well documented in terms of the natural environment and nature-based tourism, particularly in relation to ecotourism, where overcrowding and over-commercialisation may dramatically alter, if not destroy, those elements people wish to experience (see Richardson, Leiper and Harris, Buckley and Pannell, Beeton[16]). Such losses can also adversely affect the local culture, particularly (but

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[12] R.W. Butler & C.M. Hall, 'Imaging and Reimaging of Rural Areas', Richard Butler, C. Michael Hall, John Jenkins (eds) *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas*, Wiley & Sons, Chichester, 1998, p. 156
[13] J. Davidson & P. Spearritt, *Holiday Business. Tourism in Australia since 1870*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2000, p.358
[14] R.W. Butler & C.M. Hall, op.cit., 1998, p. 157
[15] R.W. Butler, 'The Influence of the Media in Shaping International Tourist Patterns', *Tourism Recreation Research*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 1990, p.46
[16] J. Richardson, *Ecotourism and Nature-based Holidays*, Choice Books, Marrickville, 1993, p.2;

not exclusively) indigenous cultures that rely heavily on (and are intricately connected to) the environment. A case in point is Uluru, where the pressure of visitors and their needs threatens to not only damage the environment of 'the Rock', but also the culture of the indigenous community[17].

The term 'tourism development' has become over-simplified by the economic rationalist camp through equating it solely with economic growth, which continues to ignore, or even suppress, any social well-being and community benefits or drawbacks[18]. Economic development is important, but is only one aspect of the influence of tourism on an area. Intangible benefits are certainly more difficult to measure, but this in itself makes them even more important to the overall impact and influence of tourism development in small communities.

Consideration must be given to flow-on effects of such development, for example, the impact of house price increases on the local rental market and low-income households. This is particularly relevant in communities such as Barwon Heads, the real-life site for the TV series, *Sea Change*, where a proportion of residents who have "done a *Sea Change*", and moved to the area for the relaxed, small community lifestyle, taking a drop in income in exchange for a more modest seaside life. Consequently, they may not have as much income as they had prior to their move. These communities also tend to have a high level of retirees and people on a range of pensions who, unless they are owner-occupiers, stand to be affected by increased land and, as a consequence, rental prices. Of course, some may find increased rental prices to their benefit if they own their property and are able to rent it out during the peak holiday season.

Consequently, this study is not merely concerned with the immediate increase in visitors to Barwon Heads as induced by the success of *Sea Change*, but also the overall effects that

R. Harris & N. Leiper (eds.), *Sustainable Tourism, An Australian Perspective*, Butterworth-Heinemann, Australia, 1995, p.xxix;
R. Buckley & J. Pannell, 'Environmental Impacts of Tourism in Recreation in National Parks and Conservation Reserves', *The Journal of Tourism Studies*, Vol. 1, No.1, May 1990
S. Beeton, *Ecotourism, A Guide for Rural Communities*, Landlinks Press, Melbourne, 1998, p.2
[17] R. Christianson, *The Spectator*, London; cited in *AUS1040 Introduction to Tourism*, Peter Spearritt and Janet Baker eds, National Centre for Australian Studies, Monash University, 1995, pp.63-64
[18] P. Murphy, 'Tourism and Sustainable Development', Theobold, W. (ed) *Global Tourism: the next decade*, Butterworth-Heinemann, Oxford, 1994, p.203
D. Suzuki, *Time to Change*, Allen & Unwin, Toronto, 1993, p.123

occur within the community over time, particularly from the aspect of changing attitudes and social representations. The level of importance of the economic and social impacts to the Barwon Heads community will be relative to the social representations held by each community member, therefore it is important to identify the range of attitudes that are dominant in the town. Social representation theory looks for similarities in the attitudes ("representations") that people have, then considers the similarities between such attitudes and those who hold them.[19] This provides a sound methodological basis for tourism related community research which is preferable to more prescriptive social research methods. Further discussion of these alternatives can be found in the methodology section, Chapter Three.

Increased tourism may create an increase in the standard of living in the town by helping to maintain current levels of employment (against a possible regional decline) and possibly creating jobs for the unemployed and welfare-dependent. Tourism may also lead to a higher level of pride in the town and sense of belonging, in addition to the recognition that they possess something that others desire – such as the tranquillity of a small fishing village. The imaging power of film can work constructively, providing residents with a positive view of their town, if they see the complementary film portrayal as realistic, evocative and desirable.

It is postulated in this study that many of the economic benefits of increased tourist visitation will go to those who rely on earning their living from the town, such as those directly involved in tourism, local traders and associated services (such as tradespeople) as well as rental and investment property owners. Those whose living is made away from the town or are already on retirement incomes may have a stronger desire to resist the economic changes associated with tourism growth, as they are not dependent on the economic health of the area, rather they chose to live at Barwon Heads precisely because it is a slow, sleepy backwater. The aforementioned adverse reaction of residents of Avalon Beach in Sydney towards the filming of *Baywatch* is a pertinent example, and such issues are supported by academic researchers such as Leiper[20].

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[19] P.L. Pearce, G. Moscardo & G.F. Ross, *Tourism Community Relationships*, Elsevier Science, Oxford, 1996

Increased development has the potential to dramatically change the nature and visual landscape of the town, particularly if more motels, units, marinas, or condominiums are built. According to the City of Greater Geelong's Economic Development Unit, the visitor accommodation base of Barwon Heads is heavily concentrated on caravan parks and holiday homes, with capacity for 2,490 overnight visitors in holiday homes, 2,620 in caravan parks and 60 in hotels, motels and units[21]. With a total of 6,170 overnight places available, the town has a greater overnight visitor capacity than the higher-profile, long-established resort town of Lorne with 5,820; however the mix is different with Lorne having 1,020 places in hotels, motels and units, compared with Barwon Heads' 60[22]. The preponderance of holiday homes and caravan park spaces at Barwon Heads reflects the current nature of the town's overnight tourism market (including longer stays), which is predominantly families holidaying in the town regularly, especially annually. A change in the type of accommodation base usually alters the visitor demographic. If holiday rents go up, some families will be forced to chose less well-known beachside locations, probably much further from Melbourne.

Increasing tourist numbers may not be entirely positive even in a town that appears to be reliant on the tourism industry. This study considers places that are affected not only by increased tourist visitation, but also by changing visitor patterns as well as the potential alteration of the commercial focus of the town from servicing residents to providing for tourists. Those aspects that affect the main stakeholders in the town (the local community, traders, weekender residents and regular visitors) are considered in some depth.

Off Site: Film Studios and Tourism

Taking the concept of tourists visiting the on-location locations of certain films to its next logical step has seen the creation of purpose-built tourist attractions at the movie studios themselves. Paramount Studios in Hollywood runs guided tours of its site, creating a workplace tourism site in the same vein as other industrial tourism enterprises (from chocolate factories to car plants), while other Hollywood studios (in particular Universal and Warner Brothers) have developed tourist specific theme park entertainment themed

[20] N. Leiper, 'What is Tourism Worth? Some alternative approaches and techniques for finding answers.' Kristine Corcoran, Alison Allcock, Tom Frost, Leanne Johnson (eds) *Valuing Tourism, Methods and Techniques*, BTR, Canberra, 1999, p. 124
[21] City of Greater Geelong, *Geelong Economic Indicators Bulletin 1997/8*, 1998, p.18
[22] ibid., p.18

around their hit movies such as *Back To The Future, Jurassic Park, The Blues Brothers, Bugs Bunny* and *Superman*.

Fox Studios Australia attempted to produce a hybrid of the working studio/industrial tourism attraction and theme park, with its development of the Fox Studios Backlot and commercial precinct in inner Sydney. The studios have been used to film *Mission Impossible 2, Moulin Rouge, Babe, Pig in the City*, the *Star Wars* prequels and *The Matrix*. In spite of the box office success of such movies, the cost of production is high, hence the interest in developing other income-generating ventures at the site. The tourism theme park outlet developed at Fox Studios proved a dismal failure, with the Fox Studios Backlot closing within two years. Such a reversal of fortunes suggests that film-induced tourism is not as simple as it seems, in this case failing to attract enough paying visitors to the site. The failure of the Fox Backlot is studied in detail in Chapters Eight and Nine.

The study of film-induced tourism is complex, incorporating aspects of disciplines such as sociology and psychology, as well as industry-based sectors from film-making through to destination marketing, community development and strategic planning. Consequently, this is an untapped and little understood field of tourism research. The initial research questions posed in Chapter Three are aimed to further our understanding of the community and commercial aspects of film-induced tourism. The findings from such elemental questions allow researchers and industry professionals to move on to further areas of study and consideration outlined in the final chapter.

Chapter Two: What is Known about Film-Induced Tourism

As noted in Chapter One, the effect of film on behaviour is acknowledged as significant. The power of film to motivate travelers, create new images, alter negative images, strengthen weak images, and create and place icons is recognised by many as a major factor in tourism promotion. For example, James Herriott (author of *All Creatures Great and Small*) won a special award from the British Tourist Authority for "...making even more people aware of the delights of Yorkshire and Britain"[23], and the popular UK television series *Take the High Road,* set on the banks of Loch Lomond, won an award from the Scottish Association of Tourism Officers for promoting Scottish Tourism[24].

Tooke and Baker suggest that the effect of film-induced tourism may be sufficient to warrant tourist destinations encouraging film producers as a formal policy. This is already occurring in some parts of the US, where the tourism commission is partnered with the local film commission, indicating that the connection is considered to be extremely important. For example, the film offices of Montana, Wisconsin, North Dakota and South Dakota are part of their state's tourism operations and funded through their respective tourism departments[25]. In an English Tourism Council publication on developing film tourism, the Head of Borough Liaison at the London Film Commission, Harvey Edgington, advised that "[i]f a film office exists in an area, I would advise all tourism intermediaries to make use of it.... Even a scuzzy housing estate is of interest."[26]

Tooke and Baker also suggest that the producers themselves should consider approaching locations for financial investment or seed funding for their films[27]. It has certainly been recognised that the value of promotional advertising provided by some films would be out of the price range of tourism offices (for example, Vieh[28]), and Bayard Spector, the creator of a new TV variety show in Miami applied to the Miami Beach Visitors and Convention Authority for a grant, arguing that the program will have positive tourism flow-ons, if

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[23] N. Tooke & M. Baker, 'Seeing is believing: the effect of film on visitor numbers to screened locations', *Tourism Management*, Vol. 17, No, 2, 1996, p. 90

[24] ibid., p. 90

[25] K. Cobb, 'Lights! Camera! Profits!', *Fedgazette*, Vol. 8, Issue 2, 1996, p. 6

[26] English Tourism Council, 'Rolling Benefits; providing a location for film, television and commercial work allows three takes on a very lucrative script' *NewsETCetera*, 5 July 2000

[27] N. Tooke & M. Baker, op.cit., 1996, p. 93

successful[29]. Unfortunately, the literature does not inform us as to the success of the grant application.

Many cities, states and even countries are touting themselves as "film-worthy", with an interesting illustration of the extent to which some places will go is provided by the Hollywood film, *A Thousand Acres*. The script required a farm with "..a sea of corn as far as the eye can see"[30] and had specified Iowa, in the middle of America's cornbelt as the location. However, Illinois wanted the economic benefits of filming in their region (which came to US$21m local economic benefit and 183 full-time jobs) and also hoped for induced tourism in the future. Consequently, the Illinois Film Office provided the producers with pages of data on Illinois corn, and even suggested a range of hybrid varieties that could simulate an entire growing season in just six weeks. They were successful in their bid, and the movie was filmed in Illinois, just outside of Chicago.[31]

In a similar manner, an article from *Inside Tucson Business* exhorts the entire business community, not just tourism, to get behind its film office, stating that everyone has "..an obligation to aggressively campaign for Arizona as a good place to produce motion pictures and TV programs"[32], citing examples of the potential tourism value to the state as the most valuable aspect of filming in an area. The examples used include the notion that *Titanic* is helping the cruise industry to surge (which is an interesting example of selective adoption of parts of the storyline as a positive motivator, namely the romance, as opposed to the negative motivational aspect of the sinking of the ship) and that *Forrest Gump* provided a tourism boon to the Louisiana bayou[33].

Such intriguing suggestions beg further investigation into the imaging power of film and its relationship to tourism, so that it can be used effectively in tourism planning instead of in an ad hoc manner.

[28] J. Vieh, 'Movies Bring Excitement, Dollars to Arizona', *Business Journal Serving Phoenix & the Valley of the Sun*, Vol. 17, Issue 26, 1997, p.47

[29] F. Levine, 'Producer Aims to Bring TV Spotlight back to SoBe', *South Florida Business Journal*, Vol. 17, Issue 21, 1997, pp. 3-4

[30] 'Lures and Enticements', op.cit., p. 28

[31] ibid., p. 29

[32] 'Tucson's future Oughta be in (Motion) Pictures', *Inside Tucson Business*, Vol. 8, Issue 8, 18 May, 1998, p. 4

[33] ibid., p. 4

Defining and Describing Film-Induced Tourism

It is generally accepted that the term "movie-induced tourism" relates to on-location tourism that follows the success of a movie made (or set in) a particular region. By using the term "film-induced tourism", this can be expanded to include television, video and DVD. However, such simplistic definitions belie the variety and complexity of film-induced tourism. In an attempt to capture this complexity, Busby and Klug[34] summarised the literature in terms of the various forms and characteristics of film-induced tourism as outlined in Table 2.1, and while there are some aspects that are questionable (especially in terms of 'characteristics') it is nonetheless an interesting synopsis that has incorporated academic researchers as well as popular media commentators:

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[34] G. Busby & J. Klug, 'Movie-induced tourism: the challenge of measurement and other issues' *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 2001, p. 318

Table 2.1 Forms and Characteristics of Movie Tourism

Form	Characteristic
Film location as an attraction in its own right	In some cases, movie locations were not considered to be tourism destinations until seen on the screen, while others were already perceived as attractive destinations
Movie tourism as part of a main holiday	Some tourists will visit a TV or film location or book a film tour while on holiday without any previous knowledge of the location
Movie tourism occurring as the sole and main purpose out of special interest	The booking of a holiday to a special destination as a direct result of its profile on TV
Movie tourism packages created by the private sector	Coach companies and tour operators set up packages such as 'Heartbeat Holidays' and 'Peak Practice Breaks'
Movie tourism icons for tourists to gaze upon as focal point for visitation	Natural scenery, historical background, storyline theme, actors, symbolic content and human relationships can serve as icons and 'hallmark events' for movie tourism
Movie tourism to places where the filming is only believed to have taken place	Visitors go to the places represented even if the film represents a different actual setting. The fact that the place filmed is not in every case the place represented does raise questions about illusion, reality and authenticity in the context of what visitors are expected to see and why.
Movie tourism as part of the romantic gaze	The romantic tourist likes to gaze on places which have been constructed and reinforced by TV and film in solitude and privacy, establishing a semi-spiritual relationship with the place that is gazed upon.
Movie tourism for reasons of pilgrimage, nostalgia and escape	Movie tourism elevates the consumer beyond the mundane reality of everyday life. The movie sites of the films *Field of Dreams* and *Steel Magnolias* became pilgrimage points in their own right. In the case of the latter example, the notion of escape was taken literally as people imitated the storyline by committing suicide.
Travel programmes	A vehicle through which places and people have been reinterpreted and communicated to wider audiences

Source: G. Busby & J. Klug, 'Movie-induced tourism: the challenge of measurement and other issues'
Journal of Vacation Marketing, Vol. 7, No. 4, 2001, p. 318

Riley and Van Doren liken film-induced tourism to that of hallmark events as defined by Brent Ritchie as:

> Major one-time or recurring events of limited duration developed to primarily enhance the awareness, appeal and profitability of a destination in the short and/or long term. These events rely for their success on uniqueness, status, or timely significance to create interest and attract attention.[35]

They argue that as a movie lasts for a limited duration, can be seen once or repeatedly (including on video or DVD) and that it relies on its uniqueness and status to create attention, then it can be considered a hallmark event. However, there are some major flaws

in their rationale, one being that films are not developed to primarily enhance the destination, which is a primary goal of hallmark events. Riley and Van Doren concede this point, but fail to adequately explain why it has been ignored in their proposition. They also fail to acknowledge that the film is rarely consumed at the destination, therefore its viewing is not part of any destination-based event, 'hallmark' or otherwise. Such spatial and temporal separation makes film more of a promotional vehicle such as a brochure or television advertisement rather than a hallmark event. That Riley and Van Doren's point has not been questioned or discussed in any of the literature indicates tacit acceptance of what they are offering as evidence of film's links to tourism and events, or an inability to disaggregate and assess the variety of impacts that any individual film, and the entire genre, can have on a society.

Cousins and Andereck see the recognition of a movie as a hallmark event to be central to maximizing its tourism benefits. They took two cases of movies, one that was not seen as a hallmark event by the associated tourism agencies (*Bull Durham*) and another that was (*The Last of the Mohicans*), comparing their visitation numbers and interest after the release of each movie[36]. They found that the movie that was treated as a hallmark event, *The Last of the Mohicans,* resulted in higher tourist interest and visitation than the other. However they caution that aspects such as storyline and perception of the setting, as well as aggressive marketing also contribute to the flow-on effects (or not) of tourism[37].

The Reach of the 'Small Screen'

According to Schofield, "TV viewing is probably the greatest single domestic pastime"[38], and the influence of visual media has increased through the development of cable and satellite television as well as VCRs. This is important in terms of the decision-making process and influence of TV, with popular programs acting as "pull" factors for tourism destinations. Such a statement is supported by Australia's television-viewing habits, with

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[35] J.R. Brent Ritchie, cited R. Riley & C.S. Van Doren, 'Movies as tourism promotion: A 'pull' factor in a 'push' location', *Tourism Management*, September 1992, 1992, p. 268
[36] A. Cousins & K. Andereck, 'Movie Generated Tourism in North Carolina: Two Case Studies', *Expanding Responsibilities: A Blueprint for the Travel Industry*, Proceedings of the Travel and Tourism Research Association Conference, October 1993, pp.81-88
[37] ibid., p.87
[38] Peter Schofield, 'Cinematographic images of a city, Alternative heritage tourism in Manchester', *Tourism Management*, Vol. 17, No. 5, 1996, p. 334

98% of all Australians watching some television each day, with an average daily consumption of two to three hours[39]. Tooke and Baker cite Avis as claiming that as the average worldwide screen audience for a movie was 72 million, a film can provide significant exposure to a particular tourist attraction, town or region[40]. Film and television are pervasive educators and persuaders, even when entertaining.

Schofield also propounds the theory that many tourists (especially mass tourists) tend to experience the world through a series of framed images, from the brochure through to car/bus windows and the camera lens.[41] The TV screen is yet another frame through which tourists vicariously experience a destination/attraction. Through its image-creating potential, film can also provide strong motivation to actually visit the places.

The Effect of Film on Tourism

While figures relating directly to the impact that films (both movies and television series) have had on tourism are limited, there is still some impressive data. In 1978, the year after *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* was released, visitation to Devil's Tower National Monument increased by a staggering 74%, while in a survey conducted eleven years after the film's premier, one-fifth of respondents attributed their initial knowledge of the monument to the movie[42]. Lazarus noted that tourist interest in visiting the sites of the western movie, *Shane*, was prevalent 40 years after its filming, and that television programs can move to syndication and Pay TV, enjoying extended periods of public exposure[43].

As discussed in Chapter One, tourism boards have developed tourist precincts based on literary figures (such as Burns Country), which has now been extended to incorporate themed products based on film and television. There are a number of examples from the United Kingdom, including, '*East Ender* Breaks', '*Last of the Summer Wine* Country', '*Coronation Street* Experience', and 'In the Footsteps of Brother Cadfael', where fiction

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[ ] F. Papandrea, Measuring Community Benefits of Australia TV Programs, AGPS, Canberra, 1996
[40] N. Tooke & M. Baker, op.cit., 1996, p. 88
[41] Peter Schofield, op.cit., 1996, p. 334
[42] N. Tooke & M. Baker, op.cit., 1996, p.89
[43] P.N. Lazarus, 'Location filming: A Study of Its Impact on Tourism' *Florida Hotel and Motel Journal*, May 1999, 1994, p.21

has been incorporated into historic sites and events[44]. In such an instance of fiction being combined with fact, boundaries can become blurred between what is real and unreal, however tourists are often more interested in experiencing what has been promoted through the powerful visual media than gazing at so-called 'dead' history.

The Australian Case

Between 1981 and 1988 United States tourists to Australia increased by 20.5% per annum[45]. This remarkable increase has been attributed to a number of factors, not the least being the impact of Australian movies such as *Mad Max* (released in the US in 1980), *The Man from Snowy River* (1982) and *Crocodile Dundee* (1986). In 1987, tourism numbers increased more rapidly in Australia than in any other developed nation[46].

Crocodile Dundee can be considered to be the first movie that consciously and simultaneously developed tourism to Australia. According to Crofts, the drive to export film in the 1980s arose from a desire to develop foreign trade and tourism. Crofts goes on to explain that the US distributor of *Crocodile Dundee*, Paramount, introduced its promotional campaign for the US release directly after Paul Hogan's television advertisements for the Australian Tourist Commission ('throw another shrimp on the barbie'), when "his face, if not his name, [became] widely known"[47]

An entire tourism activity has grown on the back of the two *Man from Snowy River* movies, particularly in the Mansfield district in Victoria where the movie was filmed (even though the story was actually set in country further north-east, where the Snowy River really flows), from horseback tours through to restaurants such as the Snowy River Steakhouse, canvas and saddlery suppliers such as the Snowy Mountain Rug Company[48]. Horseback tourism in Australia's High Country increased ten-fold in as many years, from

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[44] Peter Schofield, op.cit., 1996, p. 335

[45] N. Tooke & M. Baker, loc.cit.

[46] Tom O'Regan, '"Fair Dinkum Fillums": the Crocodile Dundee Phenomenon', Elizabeth Jacka & Susan Dermody eds. *The Imaginary Industry: Australian Film in the late '80s*, Australian Film Television and Radio School and Media Information Australia, Sydney, 1998, p. 173

[47] S. Crofts, 'Re-imaging Australia: Crocodile Dundee Overseas' *Continuum: The Australian Journal of Media and Culture*, 1989, Vol. 2 No. 2

[48] S. Beeton, *Horseback Tourism in Victoria*, Masters thesis, Monash University, 1998

three operators before the movie's release to over thirty by 1996[49]. The Hunt Club Hotel in the tiny village of Merrijig, where most of the cast and crew stayed and/or socialised, has decorated its walls with photographs and memorabilia from the movie, and locals still dine out on stories of the stars.

During the 1980s, there was a range of high profile international events that influenced the growth of Australian tourism, including the Commonwealth Games (Brisbane, 1982), America's Cup Defence (Western Australia, 1986-7), Australian Grand Prix (Adelaide, 1985 onwards) and Australia's Bicentenary (especially Sydney, 1988) and World Expo (Brisbane, 1988), as well as the floating of the Australian dollar in 1985. Its subsequent drop in value against the US dollar made Australia even more attractive and affordable to North American and Japanese visitors.

Relationship Between Tourist Attraction and Storyline

The physical environment or site of a film can relate to the storyline in varying degrees, from being a passive backdrop to the action (as in many of the older westerns), right through to being an integral part of the storyline as in *The Man from Snowy River* where the specifically Australian 'High Country' played a major role as friend, protagonist and enemy. Riley and Van Doren note that the Australian movies attracting interest in the United States had three things in common, namely, they used the natural environment as a backdrop to the action, there was interaction and struggle of man with that environment and the lifestyles depicted were relatively uncomplicated[50]. Tooke and Baker tend to see the storyline as providing a contextual package in which attractions and experiences for the tourist can be grounded, supporting earlier suggestions that many tourists are wanting to experience at least part of what was depicted in the film as opposed to merely gazing at the site/sight[51].

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[49] Department of Natural Resources and Environment (NRE) Permit issuance for season of 1996 (unpublished)
[50] R. Riley & C.S. Van Doren, op.cit., 1992 p. 273
[51] N. Tooke & M. Baker, op.cit., 1996, p. 93

However, as Riley et al postulate, "... the locations need not be beautiful nor the storylines positive in order to attract visitors"[52]. An excellent example of this is provided by Riley et al in relation to Rayburn County, CA where the movie *Deliverance* was shot. Despite the story being of a frightening and dangerous experience of three men on a river trip, the movie was the catalyst for the introduction of numerous raft and expedition operations in the county. It has been estimated that the area sees 20,000 tourists per annum, with a gross annual revenue of between US$2 and $3 million[53]. It seems that the beauty of the scenery and inherent adventure provides people with enough motivation to overcome the negative aspects of the storyline. This can also be seen in the *Mad Max* movies where the desert is depicted as a hostile, barren, dangerous environment, and in *Titanic* where the burgeoning cruise industry has benefited from a movie about the sinking of the most famous passenger ship of all[54].

In his seminal 1975 work, *The Image; A Guide to Pseudo Events in America*, Boorstin believes that the public's interest in visiting sites depicted in film is based on curiosity about whether the depiction is 'real', postulating questions such as

> Is the Trevi Fountain in Rome really like its portrayal in the movie *Three Coins in the Fountain*? Is Hong Kong really like *Love is a Many Splendored (sic) Thing*? Is it full of Suzie Wongs? We go not to test the image by the reality, but to test reality by the image.[55]

Cohen considers the relationship of the setting with the storyline to be crucial to the magnitude its touristic attraction, stating that "... the most basic issue is whether the setting must be in the foreground of the story to truly leave an impression on the viewer's mind"[56], tentatively concluding that such is the case.

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[52] R. Riley, D. Baker & C.S. Van Doren, 'Movie Induced Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 25, No. 4, 1998, p. 932

[53] ibid., p. 932

[54] 'Tucson's future Oughta be in (Motion) Pictures', *loc.cit.*

[55] D.J. Boorstin, *The Image; A Guide to Pseudo Events in America*, Atheneum, New York, 1972, p.116

[56] J. Cohen, 'Promotion of Overseas Tourism through Media Fiction' *Tourism Services and Marketing: Advances in Theory and Practice: Proceedings of the Special Conference on Tourism Services*, Cleveland, Ohio,1986, p.232

The relationship between storyline and tourism is examined further in the destination marketing discussion in Chapter Six, yet is an area little studied or understood. Another aspect of the viewer's relationship with representations in the story can be found in the emerging field of semiotics, which is considered briefly in terms of film in the following literature review.

Representation and Semiotics in Film and Tourism

According to Hall, culture is produced through shared meanings which can be represented by a variety of modern media, including film[57]. Film, as a visual language, can create a 'meaning of place' in terms of the representational system shared by members of the same (or similar) culture. Such representations and meanings can be transferred to perform specific destination marketing roles by creating a desire in the viewer to experience the place in a less vicarious form (that is, visit the site of the film).

The meaning and representational systems behind language and shared culture can also be examined through semiotics. First coined by the linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure as "a science that studies the life of signs within society"[58], the theory of semiotics deals with the connection between meaning, experience and signfication (code). In other words, it deals with the signs and codes of messages[59]. Semiotic analysis has been applied to many areas of the arts, marketing and advertising in an attempt to explain and even predict consumer behaviour and cultural responses to certain signs. In relation to film and semiotics, Kindem stated that,

> An understanding of the semiotic sources and possibilities of meaning based upon a
> semiotic, typological analysis can be of value to both the film maker and the film
> viewer, critic and theorist.[60]

When we consider the reasons for the popularity of certain films (including television series) and the tourism to the sites ('on-location tourism') that follows some films,

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[57] S. Hall, 'The Work of Representation', *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, Stuart Hall (ed), Sage Publications, London, 1997, p. 4
[58] ibid., p. 36
[59] K. Tomaselli, 'Cybernetics, semiotics and meaning in the cinema', *Communicare*, Vol.4 No.1, 1985, p. 48
[60] G. Kindem, 'Pierce's Semiotic and Film', *Quarterly Review of Film Studies*, Vol. 4 No. 1, 1979, p. 65

representations, signs and meanings play an important role in not only establishing motives for the visitation but also ways to present the site to the tourist.

Urry also uses the term, 'tourist gaze', in representational terms, explaining that "[t]he gaze ... presupposes a system of social activities and signs"[61] noting that film and television are instrumental in constructing and sustaining the anticipation of the visitor[62].

Kindem believes that it is difficult to predict the popularity of a certain film through simply using semiotic analysis as factors such as economics, ideology and psychology come into play[63]. As far back as the 1940s, analysts such as Rosten commented that "..more people lament the fact that reality does not reflect the movies"[64], pre-empting the desire of viewers to visit the sites featured in film 'in real life'. Incorporating social science analytical approaches into an analysis of the popularity of film-induced tourism appears important when the significance (signs and codes) that the rural idyll plays in the popularity of current television series such as *Heartbeat, Ballykissangel* and *Sea Change* is considered.

The Benefits and Drawbacks of Film-Induced Tourism

A range of benefits has been identified by the researchers looking at this phenomenon, however they do not appear to have been adequately quantified, most likely due to the limited work done in this area to date. Schofield commented that due to their association with fame, buildings and streets that were formerly considered commonplace and ordinary suddenly acquire interest, status and ambience[65]. This could also be said for some aspects of the natural environment and people. Riley et al identified numerous tourism benefits flowing on from filming, including the introduction of organised tours, expansion of community festivals, new use of sites, memorabilia sales, and the exposure received by the hotels and guest houses that were used as film locations [66]

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[61] J. Urry, op.cit., 1990, p. 2

[62] ibid., p. 3

[63] G. Kindem, loc.cit.

[64] L. Rosten, *Hollywood: the Movie Colony – the Movie Makers*, Harcourt and Brace, New York, 1941

[65] Peter Schofield, op.cit., 1996, p. 336

[66] R. Riley et.al., op.cit., 1998, p. 930

One of the major economic benefits and factors of film-induced tourism is that viewing past locations can be an all-year, all-weather attraction, thus spreading out the inevitable seasonality inherent in so many tourist attractions. Also, both movies and television have a wide socio-economic appeal, potentially broadening the base of the visitor market[67]. According to the Executive Director of the Madison County Chamber of Commerce, Doug Hawley, the tourism generated from the movie, *Bridges of Madison County* kept the region alive, creating an international market for their covered bridges[68]. The Scottish Tourism Board (STB) recognised the promotional benefits of such Hollywood movies as *Rob Roy* and *Braveheart*, working hard to capitalise on the images that were being presented to the world. Derek Reid, the Chief Executive of the STB, persuaded MGM to run, free of charge, a Scottish travel advertisement before each screening of *Rob Roy* in the US[69]. This also provided them with the opportunity to diversify their market beyond their mainstay English visitors.

Bringing new business people into the tourism industry, and encouraging them to take it seriously is a major challenge facing the industry worldwide, and film-induced tourism provides some opportunities in this area by introducing other members of the business community to the flow-on benefits of film-induced tourism. Tom Kershaw, the owner of the Bull and Finch hotel in Boston has become extremely active in both the local and national tourism industry ever since his hotel was used as the site of the bar in the long running television series *Cheers*, to the extent that in 1994 he was appointed by President Clinton to the US Travel and Tourism Administration's advisory board[70]. (The direct economic benefits of *Cheers* that Kershaw has realised include around 500,000 visitors to his pub per annum, an annual food and beverage turnover of US$6m and *Cheers* merchandising sales of around US$7m.[71])

As always however, there is a range of potentially negative attributes or drawbacks of film-induced tourism, which are mainly in the less-quantifiable areas of social and environmental impacts. Tooke and Baker consider the (usually limited) carrying capacity of a site to be a major concern for an area that gains sudden tourist significance,

[67] Peter Schofield, op.cit., 1996, p. 338
[68] D. Edgington, 'The Iowa Passage', *Des Moines Business Record*, Vol. 92, Issue 22, 1996, p. 16
[69] 'Rob Roy to the rescue', *Economist*, Vol. 335, Issue 7914, 13 May, 1995, p.57
[70] S. Neale, 'Tom Kershaw: Everybody knows his name', *Boston Business Journal*, Vol.14, Issue 22, 1994, p. 18

particularly in relation to increased vehicle traffic and pedestrian congestion[72]. Riley et al have identified the drawbacks of main concern as the exploitation of locals and visitors, increasing prices, lack of preparedness from locals when dealing with the tourist influx, that the location appears different to how it is portrayed on film, resulting in a loss of visitor satisfaction, and the various effects of souvenir hunters, especially those that seek highway and street signs. [73] The first three elements relate to any increased tourist visitation regardless of the reason, whereas the remainder can be seen to be specifically related to film-induced tourism.

A poignant example of the drawbacks of film-induced tourism can be found in Juffure, the African village on which Alex Haley based his book and mini-series, *Roots*. Tourists are visiting the town, and Gambia's tourist trade is now its number two industry after agriculture, largely due to the success of *Roots*. However, the villagers are disillusioned, poor and resentful of the promises of a lucrative future that did not eventuate for them. They feel that Haley and others made fortunes out of them, but that they received too little in return, both financially and socially, resulting in resentment towards tourists and the *Roots* phenomenon.[74]

After the success of the TV series, *Pride and Prejudice*, the Friends of the Lake District expressed concern over what they termed the 'Darcy Effect', which included negative social and environmental impacts. They were concerned that money would have to be diverted from other community projects to repair wear and tear and provide additional infrastructure and services for tourists, which they saw as more than mere opportunity cost[75]. However, they failed to recognise any additional benefits that increased tourist numbers would bring, indicating a lack of community consultation and education in this area, which is not surprising when one considers who would be responsible for such consultation - the film-makers who will be long gone by the time the impacts become evident, or the tourist association who most likely had little to do with the filming or choice of location. Perhaps the local councils, who have to approve certain aspects of the filming such as closing public areas, need to take a more proactive role here. The Friends

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[71] loc.cit.
[72] N. Tooke & M. Baker, op.cit., 1996, p. 92
[73] R. Riley et.al., op.cit., 1998, p. 931
[74] 'African village says it did not profit from Alex Haley's 'Roots", *Jet*, Vol. 87, No. 22, 10 April, 1995, p. 26
[75] 'The Darcy Effect', Friends of the Lake District Report and Newsletter, Autumn 1996, p. 41

of the Lake District suggest, somewhat naively, that the producers and film companies consider the effects and costs to the community of the success of their projects.

A further example of the immediate problems that film production can bring can be seen in Thailand, where 20th Century Fox filmed the movie, *The Beach*. It appears that the beach being used for the film was bulldozed, widened and much of the native vegetation removed. On the other hand, Fox claims that they removed three tons of rubbish from the isolated beach and posted a US$150,000 bond, promising to return the beach to its former state[76]. Nevertheless, such was the concern about the destruction of the natural environment that North Americans were asked to boycott the film, sign a petition or write to the producer by conservationists such as Prof. Paul Eagles, the Chair of the Task Force on Tourism and Protected Areas, World Conservation Union[77].

An important, potentially ambiguous aspect to be considered when attempting to maximise the benefits of film-induced tourism, is that of the actual versus imagined (as created by the film). Butler points out that films are often not shot at the locations they purport to be, for example the Philippines was used to depict Vietnam in *Platoon*, and Canada is often used in the stead of the United States, as in the case of the sequel to the *Blues Brothers* [78]. This can create a situation where people are basing their knowledge on false information as well as developing false expectations of sites they choose to visit, resulting in dissatisfaction with the experience. This notion is confirmed by Hall, who sees the appeal of tourist attractions relating directly to the image that the tourists have brought with them[79].

To illustrate the above point, journalist Jim Keeble relates his pilgrimage to Normandy to visit the sites from the film *Saving Private Ryan*. Keeble found that "unfortunately, most of the film was shot on the coast of Ireland ... ... Spielberg only spent one day in France .... I spent two days cursing Spielberg ... "[80].

[76] D. Gritten, 'Battle of the Beach' *Electronic Telegraph*, 13 March 1999, http://www.portal.telegraph.co.uk, 1999
[77] R. Bushell, *Hollywood Movie Damages Thailand National Park*, (unpublished email correspondence), 1999
[78] R.W. Butler, op.cit., 1990, p.51
    'Lures and Enticements', op.cit., p. 29
[79] C.M. Hall, *Introduction to Tourism in Australia, development, dimensions and issues*, 3rd edition, Longman, Melbourne, 1998, p. 64
[80] J. Keeble, 'Picture Perfect' *Electronic Telegraph*, http://www. travel.telegraph.co.uk, 1999

The Day-Visitor Effect

An interesting phenomenon has been noted at some tourist sites that have featured in film, which is a negative shift in certain types of visitation. Demetriadi found that hoteliers in Goathland (the town portrayed as Aidensfield in the TV series *Heartbeat*) were experiencing lower occupancy levels after the success of the series, even though the town of 200 residents experiences upwards of 1.1 million annual visitors. He conjectures that the town has been repositioned as a day visitor attraction as opposed to its earlier role as a quiet location which has been virtually destroyed by the sheer number of visitors, increased traffic and loss of privacy. It appears that the economic benefits of *Heartbeat's* popularity is being experienced in the neighbouring towns where the day trippers are staying.[81]

Demetriadi also comments on a fundamental change in the nature of the village and its relationship with visitors, which has become more resentful due to crowding and the loss of opportunities for the local community to use its own facilities, not unlike the residents of Juffure[82]. The potential for this day-visitor effect to occur in other film sites is rarely acknowledged, particularly from the predominantly boosterist film and tourism offices.

Film as a Destination Marketing Tool

It is well documented (albeit often anecdotally) that destination marketing organisations (DMOs) have used the success of film-induced attractions to promote their region to visitors. However, apart from the aforementioned work of Riley, Tooke, Baker and Van Doren, there is limited literature relating directly to this phenomenon. They introduce this aspect of film-induced tourism, but have not undertaken detailed research into it. There are, however, some newer academic researchers undertaking studies in this field and building on the work of their predecessors, particularly PhD and Masters students, many of whom have grown up in a culture aware of the influence of multi-media on their decision-making patterns.

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[81] J. Demetriadi, 'The Tele Tourists', *Hospitality* October/November 1996, p. 14
[82] J. Demetriadi, 'The Tele Tourists', *Hospitality* October/November 1996, p. 14

Nevertheless, as far back as 1986, Cohen mooted 'media fiction' as a tourism promotional tool. Cohen noted that "... no empirical research has been done on this subject ...[83]", theorizing that "... media fiction [has] a definite effect on tourism – but not for all tourist markets"[84].

In a study of the effect of *The Sound of Music* on visitation to Salzburg, Austria, Im et al found that over half of the respondents (who were on a '*Sound of Music* Tour') cited the movie as creating the desire to visit the film locations[85]. Unfortunately, the report of the study is very brief, rendering it impossible to extract any further data with confidence.

In 2000, Croy and Walker initiated research into the importance and use of feature films in imaging destinations in New Zealand[86]. After surveying New Zealand's local government offices and regional tourism organisations, they found that 71 percent of respondents believed that film produced in their area could be used as destination image promotion and that 58 percent considered the use of films produced in the area in tourist promotions to be important[87].

While the use of film in destination promotion has received attention from most commentators, it is worth noting that the message that a specific destination is the one featured must be relayed to the target audience. An example of this is Riley and Van Doren's statement that *The Man from Snowy River* was filmed in the Blue Mountains of New South Wales, when it was actually in the Victorian High Country, hundreds of kilometers away. They also referred to 'Kakadu National Forest', not Kadadu National Park.[88]

Croy and Walker recognise the limitations of their research and the lack of other destination marketing research in this field stating that "research is needed at the destination level to assess the evaluative components of image and to measure the effect ...

[83] J. Cohen, op.cit., 1986, p.229
[84] ibid., p.230
[85] H. Im, K.S. Chon, M. Peters & K. Weiermair, 'Movie-Induced Tourism: The case of the Movie, 'Sound of Music'' *Conference Proceedings of the First Pan-American Conference: Education, Investment and Sustainability*, Panama City, May 1999, p. 78
[86] W.G. Croy, & R.D. Walker, 'Tourism and film: issues for strategic regional development' Morag Mitchell, Irene Kirkpatrick (editors) *Conference Proceedings, New Dimensions in Managing Rural Tourism and Leisure*, CD ROM, Scottish Agricultural College, Auchincruive, 2001
[87] ibid.

film [has] on image"[89]. While such research is not the main focus of this study, some aspects of destination marketing have come to light through the research and are outlined in Chapter Six.

Film-induced tourism does not merely occur at the external, on-location locations, but can also exist off-location. The production studios and sets provide opportunities for industrial-style tourism activities such as tours of the working studios and hands-on experiences with the technology. Even places further removed from the film itself, such as the homes of the stars and tourist constructs such as Hollywood Boulevard, play a strong role in the tourism industry. These phenomena have not been studied at all in terms of film-induced tourism, hence the literature is even less forthcoming than in other areas of this field of study. The most relevant area of literature in terms of film studio tourism is that relating generally to industrial tourism and theme parks, which is covered in Chapter Eight. The creation of Hollywood Boulevard and its current re-development and re-imaging as a major tourist precinct, and the appeal of gazing at the homes of movie stars as well as the fascination with other minutiae of their lives, is outside the boundaries of this study, but will be considered in future work.

The State of Knowledge on Film-Induced Tourism

While earlier exploratory studies such as Cohen's 1986 paper speculated on the nature of film-induced tourism and recommended further research into the field, its progress has been slow. Riley, Tooke, Baker and Van Doren took up the challenge in the 1990s, but after publishing their interesting results in some four or so papers, appear to have moved on to other areas of study and research. Much of the more recent academic literature has not specifically added to the body of research, rather focused on replicating (and supporting) these earlier studies, looking mainly at the promotional value of film in relation to tourism. While reinforcing the results of earlier research, there has been little new material actually added to the literature on film-induced tourism, with much of the research being conducted in a piecemeal, ad hoc manner. Each paper published concludes by stating the need for further research, but few have taken on their own recommendations,

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[88] R. Riley & C.S. Van Doren, op.cit., 1992, p. 273
[89] W.G. Croy R.D. Walker, loc.cit.

leaving the impression that such statements are merely escape clauses for those undertaking short-term, one-off research projects.

It is hoped that the work in this study, plus other studies currently underway at doctoral level will actually progress our knowledge of film-induced tourism, which is more far complex than being merely a simple promotional tool. It is anticipated that a mixed social sciences approach will open up the discussion to areas beyond merely the economic imperative of increasing visitor numbers and creating jobs.

Chapter 3: The Research Approach and Theoretical Framework

In undertaking this study, a mixed-method inductive approach has been adopted. By using a predominantly inductive method in studying film-induced tourism, the research questions outlined below have developed throughout the research process, as opposed to the deductive approach of proposing hypotheses at the outset. Such a mixed approach opens up the opportunity to develop theories that incorporate possible explanations, contrary to the more constrained quantitative/deductive process of proving or disproving an hypothesis. As Cohen states,

> [Qualitative researchers'] often acute insights and theoretical framework
> in which these have been embodied provided the point of departure for
> several "traditions" in the sociological study of tourism, which endowed
> the field with its distinctive intellectual tension... [90]

The questions that are posed throughout this thesis are considered from three aspects, namely the economic and socio-cultural effect of film tourism at a site (on-location film tourism), the viability of tourism at the production studio (off-location film tourism) and the relationship between the two (on-location and off-location film tourism).

More specifically, the questions examined from each of the above aspects include,

> How does film-induced tourism affect the on-location communities and
> how can they benefit? Is on-location film-induced tourism an effective
> regional tourism product or simply a destination marketing tool?

> When is a tourism venture deemed a 'failure', what does it mean and
> why has a major film studio theme park 'failed'? Can critical success
> factors be identified? Who is at fault?

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[90] E. Cohen, 'Traditions on the Qualitative Sociology of Tourism' *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol.15, 1988, p.30

Is tourism an automatic adjunct to film - should film tourism be created
or allowed to occur organically? Is there a symbiotic relationship
between on and off-location film tourism, or should one be developed?

METHODOLOGY

The mixed method approach utilises surveys, observation and interviews, as well as the
application of a range of analytical instruments, from quantitative analysis through to
social representations and hermeneutic textual analysis. A combination of qualitative and
quantitative methods have been employed in this thesis. The outcomes are presented in the
thesis as a series of case studies in the relevant chapters. Following consideration of the
nexus between qualitative and quantitative research in tourism, this chapter considers in
some detail the case study method, followed by a discussion of the approaches taken in the
case studies for this thesis, including participant observation. The chapter subsequently
introduces Social Representation theory and its applicability to the study of film-induced
tourism. Then follows details of the manner in which the methods outlined in the chapter
will be used to study the two main empirical subjects of this thesis, namely the effect of
Sea Change on Barwon Heads and the failure of the Fox Studios Backlot in Sydney.

There has been much debate over the benefits of quantitative versus qualitative analysis,
with supporters of each methodology tending towards a polarised view, supporting one
over the other. However, it is a rare case where a combination of qualitative and
quantitative research would not enhance the study of tourism. By focussing on one method
at the expense of the other, the researcher may fail to take into account documentary or
statistical evidence that will enrich the analysis and provide further context or depth.

The main difference between quantitative and qualitative analysis is that the statistically
based quantitative method concentrates on the *what, who* and *when* questions, whereas
qualitative research is more interested in *how* and *why*. A further differentiation is that
quantitative tends to be sequential in nature, starting from a hypothesis then on to data
collection, analysis and writing up the results, whereas due to its concurrent data collection
and analysis, qualitative analysis is more fluid and recursive.

Denzin and Lincoln describe qualitative research as taking an interpretative, naturalistic approach to the matter being studied, with

> ...researchers study[ing] things in their natural setting, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the study's use and collection of a variety of empirical materials – case study, personal experience, introspective, life history, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts – that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individual's life.[91]

Quantitative research, within its framework of closed question surveys tends to impose the researcher's view on to the situation being studied, whereas much qualitative work is based on the premise that those being studied are best placed to analyse and describe their responses.

State of Qualitative Research in Tourism

Supporting the recursive nature of qualitative research in the leisure field, Kelly[92] outlined a range of benefits, including that the method brings people back in to leisure research and is able to encompass personal change over time. Kelly also thought that as leisure itself involves interaction between people, involving symbols and gestures, qualitative research was well suited to such investigations.

Veal summarises the benefits of a qualitative survey methodology as providing quantified information for tourism planners and government agencies in a succinct, easily understood form. Veal counteracts Kelly's claim that qualitative research is better placed to encompass change, pointing out that longitudinal surveys provide the opportunity to study change over time[93]. However, numerous researchers have questioned the use of quantitative research, stating that it cannot fully address questions of understanding and meaning[94].

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[91] N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln, 'Introduction: Entering the Field of qualitative Research' *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln eds, Sage, Thousand Oaks, 1994, p. 2
[92] cited A.J. Veal, *Research Methods for Leisure and Tourism; A Practical Guide*, 2nd edition, Financial Times Management, London, 1997, pp. 129-130
[93] ibid., p.146
[94] k. Hollinshead, The Tourism Researcher as Bricoloeur: The New Wealth and Diversity in Qualitative Inquiry, Tourism Analysis, Vol. 1, 1996, pp. 67-74

In an attempt to quantify the level of qualitative research in tourism and to examine whether the predominant paradigm in tourism research was the quantitatively centred positivism (as claimed), Riley and Love undertook a study of four major journals, the *Journal of Travel Research, Annals of Tourism Research, Tourism Management* and the *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing*[95]. Riley and Love concluded that the dominant tourism research paradigm was the positivist quantitative method, with interpretive paradigms lagging behind. They noted that the journals with a higher rate of qualitative papers were those with a social sciences orientation, such as *Annals of Tourism Research*, as opposed to those with a more applied focus. Reasons mooted for this range from the predominance of quantitative research training through to the driving need for economic justification of tourism.[96]

In spite of the preoccupation of many researchers regarding the quantitative/qualitative argument, the differences between the methods often become blurred, and while this thesis takes a predominantly qualitative view, a significant proportion of my research draws on quantitative data and analysis. The results are presented in a case study framework, as the following discussion explains.

The Case Study Framework

The case study is such a pervasive methodology in tourism research and education that it appears that its justification is no longer deemed necessary, if it ever was. Leading scholars in world tourism take for granted the application of case study methodology, yet when queried decry it as an over-simplistic option (see Pizam[97]). Accepted (and at times celebrated) 'case studies' include work by Harris and Leiper, T.V and S. Singh, Craik,

R.W. Riley, 'Using Grounded Theory Analysis to Reveal the Underlying Dimensions of Prestige in Leisure Travel' *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing*, Vol.5, Nos.1-2, 1996, pp.21-40

A.H. Walle, 'Quantitative Versus Qualitative Tourism Research' *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 24, No.3, 1997, pp. 524-536

[95] R.W. Riley & L.L. Love, 'The State of Qualitative Tourism Research' *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 27, No. 1, 2000, pp. 164-187

[96] ibid., pp. 181-2

[97] A. Pizam, 'Planning a Tourism Research Investigation', J.R. Brent Ritchie & Charles R. Goeldner (eds), *Travel, Tourism and Hospitality Research, A Handbook for Managers and Researchers*, 2nd edition, 1994, pp.91-104

Page and Ryan, Murphy, Rapoport and Raporport[98], yet they have not discussed the pros and cons of the methodology within the reporting of their cases. Is it that they take the case study as such a well established method that it does not need to be justified, or are they concerned that tourism research will be dismissed by scholars from other areas because it is so extraordinarily dependent on the case study, avoiding any real discussion of the method for fear of being labelled 'unscientific'?

Tourism, in the form of recreational travel and experience, has existed for hundreds, if not thousands of years, arguably dating back to ancient Egyptian and Roman times, yet as an academic field of study it is among the most recent. Consequently, the majority of those currently studying tourism lack any grand academic heritage, other than the disciplinary training in one or more of the humanities or social sciences. Such scholastic 'youth' has circumscribed the pool of tourism knowledge, which academics have attempted to ameliorate through concerted research efforts. However, the need for recognition from the wider academic community is an imperative that has driven much of the research agenda and has continued to restrict the work of many researchers. It appears that, in order to achieve such recognition, tourism research has focused on a research modality within a hypothetico-deductive hegemony. This has resulted in undue focus and reliance on quantitative research methodologies, with qualitative work generally being relegated to a non-scientific/academic status, and case studies virtually ignored within the methodological debate. Nevertheless, case studies are central to most research in the humanities and social sciences, and have certainly found their way into tourism research.

There has been criticism regarding the over-use of 'simplistic' case study research from the more quantitative-based research disciplines, sustaining the endless debate about what is 'scientific' in research, while often ignoring the underlying principles guiding research activity in any discipline, namely to ask questions, accept that there are no areas that are

[98] R. Harris & N. Leiper (eds.) op.cit.
T.V. Singh & S. Singh, 'Coastal Tourism, Conservation and the Community: Case of Goa', in *Tourism Development in Critical Environments*, Singh and Singh (editors), Cognizant Communication Corporation, New York, 1999, pp.65-76
J. Craik, *Resorting to Tourism; cultural policies for tourist development in Australia*, Allen and Unwin, North Sydney, 1991
P.E. Murphy, 'Data Gathering for community-oriented tourism planning: a case study of Vancouver Island, British Columbia' *Leisure Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 1991, pp.68-80
R. Rapoport & R.N. Rapoport, *Leisure and the Family Life Cycle*, Routledge, London, 1975

immune from questioning and that there is no absolute, 'scientific' truth[99]. The vast majority of tourism researchers are either based in or have come from disciplines which at times have also struggled to gain mainstream academic recognition, such as geography, psychology and education. As a consequence, their disciplines were often forced into the straight-jacket of 'scientific rigour', which at times led to a *rigor mortis* of research analysis and impact. These researchers are now attempting to do the same to tourism, which as an applied-oriented, personality-dependent field does not always fit comfortably in to the mainstream quantitative research paradigm[100]. Nevertheless, Jafari has noted a move from a quantitative paradigm towards more inclusive, qualitative research methods through tracing articles published in *Annals of Tourism Research* over the past 28 years[101].

For a broad-ranging, psychologically complex field such as tourism, where behavioural motivation may vary with time, place and income, there can be no singular research modality. In order to achieve the desired outcomes of tourism research, alternative methods must be considered and used conjointly, from experiments and surveys through to participant observation, histories and ethnographies as well as the case study. Researchers in allied social science disciplines such as psychology, anthropology and sociology utilise a range of research methods that can be applied to tourism, providing a variety of modes that can be selected, depending on the type of research question and control the researcher has (or requires) over events and behaviour. The information-rich, inter-related nature of the case study is one such methodology.

Case studies have the advantage of being suitable for both the more quantitative hypothetico-deductive and the holistic-inductive paradigms of tourism research, demonstrating a flexibility not evident in many alternative research modes. Consequently, they are used extensively in tourism research, yet in the disciplinary literature there has been scant methodological discussion of the case study (some examples include brief discussions from Hall & Jenkins, Pizam and Veal[102]). In their seminal text, *Tourism:*

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[99] F. Lewins, *Social Science Methodology; a brief but critical introduction*, 1992, pp.6-7
[100] see J.R. Brent Ritchie & C.R. Goeldner, *Travel, Tourism and Hospitality Research; A Handbook for Managers and Researchers*, 2nd edition, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1994
[101] J. Jafari, 'Retracing and Mapping Tourism's Landscape of Knowledge' *ReVista – Tourism in the Americas, Harvard Review of Latin America*, , www.fas.Harvard.edu/~drclas/publications/revista/Tourism, Winter 2002
[102] C.M. Hall & J. Jenkins, *Tourism and Public Policy*, London, Routledge, 1995
A. Pizam, op.cit., 1994, p. 98
A.J. Veal, op.cit., 1997, p.75

Principles Practices and Philosophies, Goeldner, Ritchie and McIntosh introduce basic research methods, incorporating focus groups, factual groups, opinion surveys, interpretive surveys, personal interviews, telephone surveys, mail surveys, the observational method and the experimental method, but fail to mention case studies as a prominent tourism methodology[103]. In one of the few reference books dedicated to tourism research, *Research Methods for Leisure and Tourism*, the case study is mentioned in one paragraph only, once again dismissing it as an 'unimportant' methodology[104]. In order to address this shortfall, this paper sets out to identify the case study as a valid tourism research methodology, initially considering the role of the case study within the broad area of the social sciences, then extending the discussion to encompass the discipline of tourism.

The Thrust and Parry: Criticism and Defence of the Case Study

Case studies have been broadly criticised as speculative, unreliable and too specific to be replicated or applied generally. However, this was not always the case. In the pre-war years of the 1930s, case studies were considered a valid methodology and social science researchers such as Angell and Burgess began to address these criticisms within their own research, however their recommendations were only applied specifically to their own work as opposed to case studies in general[105]. Unfortunately, much of the work on developing, defining and justifying the use of case studies from that time was neglected after World War II when methodologies such as content analysis and schedules to measure attitudes replaced the case study as the main research mode, diminishing its recognition and distinctiveness[106]. Platt notes that it was considered that a new paradigm had arisen that addressed the criticisms of the case study, ending the discussion along with any need to scientifically consider the case study as a research method[107]. However, he argues that the term "case study" disappeared from methodological discussion in the 1940s and 1950s social science literature, while the approach continued to be popular[108]. In spite of this decline in overt recognition, there is growing evidence in the social sciences supporting

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[103] C.R. Goeldner, J.R.Brent Ritchie & R.W. McIntosh, *Tourism: Principles, Practices, Philosophies*, 8th edition, Wiley and Sons, New York, 2000, pp.597-602
[104] A.J. Veal, op.cit., 1997, p.75
[105] cited in J. Platt, 'Case study in American methodological thought', *Current Sociology*, Vol. 40, 1992, p.22
[106] ibid., p.31-2
[107] ibid., p.33
[108] ibid., p.34

their use today, particularly in situations where other research methods are not possible, due to pragmatic, physical or psychological constraints[109].

For much of the 20th Century, research methods have been viewed in a hierarchical manner with the case study being considered as appropriate only for the exploratory phase of an investigation. Surveys and histories were then utilised for the descriptive phase, and experiments provided data for explanatory or causal studies. Social scientists, Dixon and Bouma stress that a case study is singular and as such can only establish whether there is a relationship between variables, not whether they are causally related[110]. Such a view limits the use of the case study to merely the early phases of an investigation which tend to devalue its importance as a research methodology[111]. However, in his 1994 publication on case study research, Yin argues compellingly that each strategy can be used for all three purposes (case studies, surveys and histories, and experiments), challenging the common hierarchical view of research modalities as well as maintaining that there are large areas of overlap among each method[112].

Case studies need not be 'too specific to be applied' as they have the capability to take into consideration the effect of numerous study focii by consisting of several groups of individuals within the boundaries of the case, such as in a town or other social grouping[113]. Such case studies often have sub-cases embedded in them, providing a further richness and complexity of data and analysis[114]. For example, a town dependent on tourism will have groupings of sub-cases that could be identified as new residents, old residents, regular visitors, day-trippers and entrepreneurs, all of whom may contribute their own cases to the overall study and analysis, providing a range of results which may be applied on a broader scale.

The case study certainly has a significant place in the exploratory stage of an investigation, which can also be extrapolated beyond that stage. The application of rigorous interpretation, combined with reason and logic enables the researcher to obtain place-specific conceptual insights that may then be tested for wider applicability through further

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[109] C.M. Hall & J. Jenkins, op.cit., 1995
[110] B. Dixon & G. Bouma, *The Research Process*, 1984, pp.98-103
[111] J. Platt, op.cit., 1992, p.28
[112] Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research. Design and Methods*, 2nd Edition, 1994, pp.3-4
[113] R.E. Stake, 'The case study method in social inquiry', *Case Study Methods I*, 2nd edition, 1983, p.75

case studies or the use of additional methodologies. Conversely, theoretical concepts can be tested against local experiences using a case study[115]. For example, Pearce et al utilise case studies to illustrate the aptness of applying social representation theory to different types of tourist settings, using empirical and descriptive appraisals within the case studies themselves[116].

However, the criticisms of case studies are valid and can not be simply passed off as mere historical or etymological aberrations. According to Yin,

> Investigators who do case studies are regarded as having deviated from their academic disciplines, their investigations as having insufficient precision (that is, quantification), objectivity and rigour......... [Yet] case studies continue to be used extensively......[117]

One explanation for this continued use of case studies may be that learning from what is observed is intrinsic to the development of the human psyche. From the moment of birth we learn from analysing and processing our observations of the world around us, from both direct and vicarious experience. Consequently, the case study is a process that provides instant recognition and understanding. This stance is supported by Stake who claims that case studies may be "epistemologically in harmony with the reader's experience..."[118]. However, such simple explanations belie the power and contribution to knowledge of the case study when it is rigorously planned, applied, reported and analysed.

Recognition of the inherent misunderstandings of the case study methodology is illustrated in the following conference extract relating to the use of case studies in educational research:

> Over the last ten years there has emerged a tradition of educational research and evaluation whose procedures, methods and styles of reporting have come to be collected under the general rubric of 'case study'. Although case studies have made

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[114] M.B. Miles & A.M. Huberman, *Qualitative Data Analysis: an expanded sourcebook*, 1994, p.26
[115] Robert K. Yin, op.cit., 1994, p.10
[116] P.L. Pearce et.al., op.cit., 1996, p.109
[117] Robert K. Yin, op.cit. 1994, p.xiii
[118] R.E. Stake, op.cit., 1983, p.73

a considerable contribution to the corpus of knowledge and practical wisdom about education, they are often regarded with suspicion and even hostility. Their general characteristics remain poorly understood and their potential underdeveloped.[119]

Adelmen et al's comments from almost 20 years ago still resound within the discipline of education as well as tourism, and must be addressed through methodological discourse as well as actively demonstrated through the development and application of rigorous case studies.

It has also been argued that case studies tend to reflect the bias of the researcher who is the primary instrument of data collection and analysis. Hoaglin et al maintain that the value system of the author tends to influence the presentation of the facts as well as analysis, and the value system of the reader can influence the usefulness of a case study, who tends to remember results that support his/her values, rejecting the others that do not fit as neatly[120]. Bias can also enter into the conduct of other research modalities such as the design of questionnaires and experiments, so while the possibility of bias in any case study must be recognised and dealt with, this issue is not restricted to this research method[121]. One method proposed in the social science literature that may overcome some of the criticisms of researcher bias is 'triangulation'. By combining (or triangulating) a range of methodologies (including qualitative and quantitative), it is postulated that inherent bias would be neutralised and a convergence of results achieved[122]. Triangulating these within a case study should ameliorate criticism of researcher bias.

One particular strength of taking a case study approach lies in its holistic-inductive nature and grounding in actuality with an emic (insider's) perspective, which is pertinent to applied disciplines such as tourism as well as to areas of policy development and examination. Such an approach is able to operate on a level of complexity and subtlety that is difficult to identify using purely experimental research methods[123]. When deciding

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[119] C. Adelman, D. Jenkins & S. Kemmis, 'Rethinking case study: notes from the second Cambridge conference', *Case Study Methods I*, 2nd edition, 1983, p.1

[120] D.C. Hoaglin, R.L. Light, B. McPeek, F. Mosteller, & M.A. Stoto, *Data for Decisions; Information Strategies for Policymakers*, 1982, p.135

[121] Robert K. Yin, op.cit., 1994, p.8

[122] J.Q. Creswell, *Research design: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*, 1994, p.174

[123] C. Adelman et.al., op.cit., 1983, p.2
S.B. Merriam, *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education*, 1998, p.41

on methodology, it should be the type of questions being asked in the research aims that inform the process. The types of research questions considered by a researcher are often broken down into the basic 'who', 'what', 'when', 'where', 'how' and 'why' categories. A case study may be used to respond to various aspects of all the questions, however the 'how' and 'why' questions are especially pertinent to this method as they deal with complex operational links that cannot be adequately examined using other research paradigms such as experiment and survey[124]. Case studies are able to satisfy research aims that include the extension of experience and an increase in understanding[125].

During the 1980s, international development agencies such as the World Bank were dominated by economists and quantitative social scientists, whose evaluation and assessment of the agency's work was undertaken using large-scale quantitative surveys and probabilistic sampling techniques. However, a study undertaken by Patton subsequently revealed that the data could not be trusted due to its scale and was so expensive to collect that there was little time or money left to analyse it, reducing its reliability and utility. Consequently, the use of case studies is now being advocated by the World Bank (along with other international agencies) as they are more manageable, especially in the third world countries that such agencies operate in.[126]

Features of the Case Study

Further to the preceding etymological and historical narrative, there are a number of aspects of the case study that support its use as a valid methodological tool in tourism research. Table 3.1 (adapted from Hoaglin et al) summarises the main features of the case study[127]:

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[124] Robert K. Yin, op.cit., 1994, p.9
[125] R.E. Stake, op.cit., 1983 p.74
[126] M.Q. Patton, *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods,* 1990, pp.99-100
[127] D.C. Hoaglin et.al., op.cit., 1982, pp.138-9

Table 3.1 Features of the Case Study

1	Can explain why an innovation worked or failed to work
2	Has the advantage of hindsight, yet can be relevant in the present and to the future
3	Can illustrate the complexities of a situation by recognising more that one contributing factor
4	Shows the influence of personalities and politics on an issue
5	Can show the influence of the passage of time through longitudinal studies
6	The reader may be able to apply it to his/her situation
7	Can evaluate alternatives not chosen
8	Can utilise information from a wide variety of sources
9	Can present information in a wide variety of ways
10	Can illuminate a general problem through examination of a specific instance

An example of the powerful application of using case study methodology is given by Patton who describes the rationale behind taking a case study approach by the US based Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory in an evaluation of an Experience-Based Career Education (EBCE) program:

a) The ECBE program is highly individualized. The case study approach ....
   concentrates on the individuality of the student. Thus, outcomes directly
   related to individual needs are easily assessed. For example, it might be an
   EBCE goal learning goal to help a shy, withdrawn student become more
   outgoing and to help an overly aggressive person become more restrained.
   Changes in these two students would cancel each other out in a purely
   nomothetic approach... ...

b) ....The holistic nature of the case study approach also fits well with a
   systems approach. It does not reduce the learning process to independent,
   isolated parts, but describes the Gestalt as it traces a student's progress,
   frustrations and challenges throughout the program year.

c) .... It describes the student, the situation, and the resulting interaction. [128]

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[128] Fehrenbacher et al., 1976, cited in M.Q. Patton, op.cit., 1990, p.101

These features and the case outlined illustrate the power of the case study as a research method, begging the question, why does it receive such bad press from the scientific community? While there are limitations (and the importance of recognising them is discussed below), this does not adequately explain such attitudes.

Limitations of the Case Study

While many of the criticisms of case studies can be eliminated or at least ameliorated (as illustrated in the earlier discussion on researcher bias), there are some limitations that need to be recognised. One of the major constraints being that of the length of the case study report. Due to the richness of data and complexity of analysis, case studies can be extremely long, deterring the intended audience, especially if they are in areas that already deal with intense information supply such as policy making - a significant field that case studies can inform[129]. While this can be reduced by designing the case study report in such a way that the main analysis is provided in the body of the work (with appendices providing the supporting data), or by producing a series of smaller, related sub-cases, it remains a core methodological limitation. Attempting to reduce the size of the report can be problematic, as the researcher may fail to include all the material required for the reader to evaluate the outcomes of the study.

As in the participant observation modality (which is closely related to the case study methodology), case study research places particular constraints on the researcher in the area of privacy and inside stories that cannot be disclosed. Consequently, a decision is often made to provide the results in an anonymous format wherever information provided is considered sensitive and may impact adversely on individuals within the community. While this can eventuate in some distortion because of the necessity to generalise sensitive data, awareness, recognition and discussion of such a limitation can reinforce the validity of the results.[130]

Notwithstanding the methodological limitations, the social/anthropological nature of tourism leads to widespread use of case studies. To date, they have been met with varying degrees of success, depending on the academic rigour applied and their original intention (as entertainment, instructional or research cases outlined in the following section).

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[129] D.C. Hoaglin et.al., op.cit., 1982, p.144

Uses of the Case Study – To Entertain, Teach or Discover?

Journalists regularly utilise real-life examples (or 'cases') to explain the more complex aspects of their articles, especially if they are in the medical, scientific, business or political fields. At times, the simplification of concepts through the use of a case is utilised as an effective lead-in to a discussion of more elaborate concepts. Other times, the simplified version is all that is presented to the reader. However, journalists tend to adopt the anecdote with the most memorable features and extreme storyline available as the 'case', which can distort or even manipulate public understanding of an issue[131]. While this usually renders an article easier to comprehend, helping to sell media publications and popularise broadcasts, such sweeping and ill-conceived use of case studies, or even just anecdotal evidence, has tended to devalue the scholarly standing of the case study.

In tourism academe (as in other social science areas) there has been some confusion between instructional case studies that have more in common with the journalistic versions of a case, and the more rigorous, independent research case studies. Many of the case studies that are used to instruct students have been manipulated and/or simplified to illustrate a particular point or focus on just one aspect of a complex social system, whereas research-based case studies that are used to add to knowledge tend to be more complex, analytical and qualified. This is an important distinction that has been missed by many tourism researchers who have equated instructional case studies with research case studies in their own work, resulting in under-developed research cases producing overtly biased and inaccurate results. Such instances support the rampant criticism of case studies as a valid research methodology.

In order to identify these differences, a definition must be established that specifically differentiates research case studies from the other illustrative and educational forms. According to Yin,

> A [research] case study is an empirical inquiry that
> * investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when

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[130] C. Adelman et.al., op.cit., 1983, p.7

[131] D.C. Hoaglin et.al., op.cit., 1982, p.131

- the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident... .....
  [and]
- relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion......[132]

Such a definition enables some differentiation between the teaching case study and research case study, particularly when the third aspect concerning multiple sources of evidence is applied. Merriam further identifies the use of the case study approach as a holistic method used to gain an in-depth understanding where the emphasis is on process rather than outcomes[133]. Supporting Yin's multiple sources of evidence, Miles and Huberman define the case study by scoping it in terms of the nature and size of the social unit as well as temporally. They point out that a case, as well as being a unit such as an individual or community, can be an event, episode, encounter or sustained process[134].

Combining the main contentions of these interpretations results in a more defined description of a research case study as being:

> A holistic empirical inquiry used to gain an in-depth understanding of a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context, using multiple sources of evidence.

It needs to be re-emphasised that the purpose of the research case study, as outlined in the above discussion and resulting definition, renders it significantly different from a teaching case study that tends to focus on specific aspects of the case in order to illustrate or reinforce a specific aspect. Such a situation tends to occur in disciplines that may be more vocationally oriented, including tourism, where students are required to apply aspects of their education directly to specific circumstances. In order to assist in this application of theory (with which many students struggle) and develop their cognitive processes, specifically designed case studies and "real-life" examples are presented. Even though they may be based on some research, they are rarely, however, research case studies.

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[132] Robert K. Yin, op.cit., 1994, p.13
[133] S.B. Merriam, op.cit., 1998, p.19
[134] M.B. Miles & A.M. Huberman, op.cit., 1994, p.26

Establishing Boundaries of Case Studies

All research must operate within boundaries, imposed either by physical research resources (such as time or funding) or by the nature of the research itself. The unit of analysis in a case study (that is, the case itself) must have defined boundaries, such as a person, group or town, which is often used as the defining element of a case study[135]. The case study forms the focus or "heart" of the research as the unit of analysis, while the boundary defines the edge of the case, identifying what will not be studied. Miles and Huberman illustrate this graphically, below:

Figure 3.1 The Case as the Unit of Analysis

BOUNDARY
(setting, concepts, sampling, etc.)

FOCUS
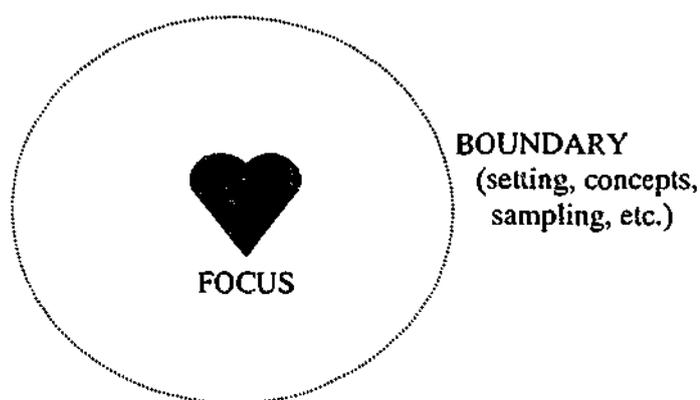
Source: Miles, M.B. and Huberman, A.M. (1994) *Qualitative Data Analysis: an expanded sourcebook,* p.25

Establishing boundaries is crucial to any research, however having to limit a study due to physical resources such as availability and number of researchers and financial concerns, may reduce the efficacy of the study as relevant variables or activities may transpire outside the set boundaries that are not able to be adequately considered. According to Yin[136], a preferable analytic periphery or boundary would occur naturally when the information decreases in relevance to the case study. Such an ideal situation does not always transpire, with many case studies being wound up due to physical resource constraints (such as the end of semester or the end of funding), resulting in incomplete, unsatisfactory studies. This has reflected on and reinforces the overall negative opinion of case studies. Therefore, identifying boundaries and developing appropriate research methods (which may or may not include case studies) is crucial to all tourism research.

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[135] S.B. Merriam, op.cit., 1998, p.27
[136] Robert K. Yin, op.cit., 1994, p.149

The Need for Exemplary Case Studies

Due to the limited understanding and recognition of research case studies in tourism, it is important that a range of exemplary studies be identified, recognised and promoted. While not all case studies (including those that can be considered 'true' research case studies as opposed to instructional studies) will be exemplary, what constitutes an exemplary case study must be considered within this methodological discussion. An exemplary case study must do more than merely document a case. It must go beyond the technical aspects of methodology, producing insightful work that can be used not only to demonstrate appropriate use of the mode but also the insights obtained from the results of the case study. It must illuminate.

Yin identified five general characteristics that constitute an exemplary study, namely that it must be significant, complete, consider alternative perspectives, display sufficient evidence and be composed in an engaging manner. A case study is significant if it is atypical and of general public interest, and/or has national importance in policy or practical terms, combining the concepts of discovery and theory development. In order for a study to be complete, the boundaries must be clearly defined at the outset, while considering alternative perspectives is crucial for any balanced, realistic discussion and discovery to occur. Sufficient evidence to support the propositions or conclusions is central to any research, however there are numerous incidences where it has not been provided, making this somewhat obvious criteria one that must be enunciated. Finally, as noted previously, case study reports can be extensive, therefore they must be written and presented in a manner that engages the intended audience. [137]

Such characteristics should be at the heart of all research, not just case studies, and as such the above discussion provides a valuable check-list at all stages of the tourism research process. It becomes crucial in this discussion due to the continued relegation of the case study methodology to the lower ranks of the tourism research hierarchy.

According to Stake, "[there] is something that we do not sufficiently understand and want to - therefore, we do a case study."[138] By organising the data gathering and reporting around an issue or theme, the research case study possesses focus and relevance to specific

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[137] ibid., pp.147-152

areas, being more than a general descriptive piece of work as in cases used for teaching purposes. Stake also stresses that the quality and significance of case study research is based on whether the meanings generated are valued, not its replicability or even impartiality[139].

Case studies themselves are not the problem – the intent, use, application, development and understanding of their potential appear to be the main issues that in turn reflect not only on the reputation of the case study as a valid research method, but also on those disciplines and individuals utlitising it. In the field of tourism research we must now face the imperative to 'get our own house into order' by establishing and applying rigor, recognition and understanding to tourism research case studies before we criticise the attitudes of others towards our discipline. Further methodological discussion, debate and development in this area is urgently required. Tourism academics need to constructively consider their research methodologies as well as their ontological and pedagogical stances.

Methodological Approaches - Textual Analysis, Participant Observation, Surveys and Interviews

Textual Analysis

The analysis of text in tourism was developed in the humanities disciplines such as English, cultural studies and media studies. The term, 'text', has now come to represent not only the written word but also images and sound, including pictures, recorded music, film and television[140]. A textual analysis of photos, brochures and the *Sea Change* series itself forms and important aspect of the study of this thesis. Promotional material such as brochures, posters and post cards from Fox Studios and Barwon Heads has also been studied in terms of textual analysis, especially in relation to destination marketing.

Participant Observation

Participant observation comes from an anthropological tradition where researchers spent some time (possibly years) participating and observing the minutiae of the daily life of a

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[138] R.E. Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research*, 1995, p.133
[139] ibid., p.135
[140] ibid., p.141

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culture. Participant observation in tourism does not always require such an in-depth view, particularly if it is concerned with a particular tourist activity which may only entail a day or even an hour to experience. Nevertheless it is a powerful research tool that operates well within a case study framework. As Veal maintains, "observation is capable of presenting a perspective on a situation which is not apparent to the individuals involved."[141] In the case of Barwon Heads and Fox Studios, participant observation was undertaken at certain stages over a two to three year period.

Participant observation examines interactions and behaviour in real world settings, providing first hand information and enabling a wide range of data to be collected. Observer bias can be an issue for this method, hence triangulation with other data is desirable.

Participant observation is in itself a simple research method, but it requires high levels of attention to detail and an active interest in the subject. Ethical considerations of privacy invasion are the main concern, requiring the participant observer to be aware of any intrusion that may distress the subjects. The selection of observation points and the role taken by the researcher are crucial, however as tourism activities tend to occur in areas open to the public gaze, these concerns can, to a certain extent, be ameliorated. However, as tourism itself can become intrusive when dealing with small, fragile communities, issues such as personal privacy need to be carefully considered.

The participant observation undertaken in this study is relatively unobtrusive due to the public nature of the activities being examined. Observation of activities and movements of visitors and locals at Barwon Heads was undertaken in the main shopping strip and at the *Sea Change* sites, which are all on public land, with the main activities of visitors (and many locals) taking the form of gazing. Participant observation at Fox Studios was also in (gated) public areas that encouraged gazing as well as participation in the activities offered.

Junker identified four states of participant observation that can be viewed on a continuum, from complete observer through to complete participant[142]. The level of participant

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[141] A.J. Veal, op.cit., 1997, p.70
[142] B.H. Junker, *Fieldwork: An Introduction to the Social Sciences*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1960

observation at Barwon Heads and Fox Studios have been mapped onto a continuum in Figure 3.2, and correlates with the level of investigator immersion discussed later in the chapter.

Figure 3.2 Level of Participant Observation

Complete Observer	Observer as Participant	Participant as Observer	Complete Participant
	Fox Studios	Barwon Heads	
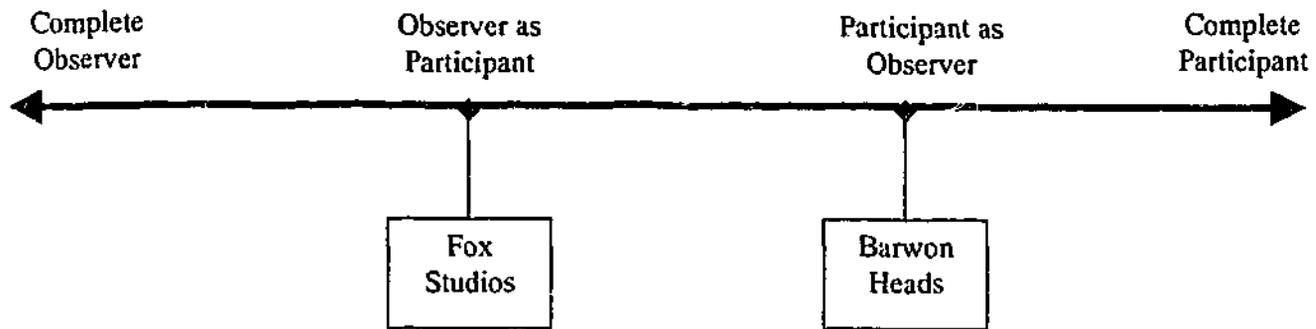
Further evidence of the importance of utilising the participant-observation technique can be seen in the case of *Goathland* in the UK (see Chapter 2). As well as an enormous increase in visitors to the village (peaking at 1.5 million), residents and visitors alike have had to deal with a plethora of 'researchers' whose intrusive studies have caused much community resentment[143]. According to Breakell, many of these so-called 'studies' are conducted by secondary and undergraduate tertiary students whose education regarding research approaches has been minimal[144]. The local National Park Authority has now produced an information sheet advising would-be researchers that

> [t]he number of self-completion questionnaires and face-to-face interviews with visitors and especially residents can reach the point where not only is it an intrusion into privacy, but the results may become fundamentally flawed due to sampling problems and even false responses.[145]

This is a major concern and one that has not been previously identified in the literature on film-induced tourism, requiring a re-assessment of traditional research methods where participant-observation by skilled researchers may have become the only reliable research tool.

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[143] Personal correspondence with Bill Breakell, Tourism and Transport Officer, North York Moors National Park authority, 28 January, 2002

[144] ibid.

[145] North York Moors National Park Authority, *Research and Studies into Visitor Impact in Goathland*, Information Brochure, United Kingdom, c.2001

Surveys

Questionnaire-based surveys are commonly used in tourism research, and consequently are well understood. The main issues facing researchers are in obtaining a significant response rate from self-completion surveys and the selection of an appropriate sample size. In addition, self-completion questionnaires can tend to skew results as there is a tendency for those with strong opinions on the topic, or the time to complete the questionnaire responding, while others do not. Demographic comparison of the response sample with the overall population can provides some indication this, while triangulation with other methods such as observation and interview can provide collaborative proof of the reliability of the results.

A range of self completion surveys have been utilised for the Barwon Heads *Sea Change* study. Self completion surveys were used to obtain a general overview of the demographics of visitors to Barwon Heads in the early stages of the study and as the sample was a convenience sample, tend to be of an exploratory nature only. Mail surveys provide a means to access residents who may not be observed or intercepted in the town at a specific time, providing a broader view of resident attitudes and opinions. Further discussion of the specific uses of the survey methodology is in the section, *The Sea Change Case Study Research Methods.*

Pearce et al illustrate the differences between responses to open and closed questions, suggesting that lists of impacts (closed questions) tend to prompt responses, especially ones that are more negative[146]. This could be due to the fact that people have not articulated them and consequently may require someone to put it into words, but it is more likely to provide a methodological bias through suggestion. While it is illogical to ignore the listed impacts that researchers such as Lankford and Howard, Madrigal, Pizam and others have developed, they can become over-used, suggestive and proscriptive[147]. Also, as community attitudes and fashions change, it is important that we provide them (community members) with opportunities to express such changes through the application of open-ended questions, no matter how problematic they may be to analyse. Too often

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[146] P.L. Pearce et.al., op.cit., 1996, p.73

[147] For example, S.V. Lankford & D.R. Howard, 'Developing a Tourism Impact Attitude Scale', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol 21, 1994, pp.121-139
Madrigal 'A Tale of Two Cities' *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol 20, 1993, pp.336-353
A. Pizam, op.cit., 1994, p.98

researchers are driven by ease of data analysis rather than a desire to reveal a range of perspectives, even if it may be difficult, potentially vague and non-empirical.

Table 3.2 below, cited in Pearce et al from a Canadian study by Keogh in 1990 which surveyed Canadian residents about a specific tourism development, examines the response rates of open versus closed questions[148]. It demonstrates that response rates are lower for open questions, indicating that acceptable rates of response in open questions should be considered in terms of the type of question, not merely frequency.

Table 3.2 Comparison of Percentage of Respondents in Open and Closed Questions

Impacts	Open Questions	Closed Questions
Increased traffic	17	63
Increased noise	9	37
Price inflation	3	28
Change in character of village	9	24
Congestion of services and stores	6	21
Congestion of beach facilities	2	4
Creation of jobs	39	83
Increased incomes	26	61
Increased opportunities for social encounters	11	26
Increased opportunities for cultural exchanges	2	9

Source: Keogh, 1990, cited in P.L. Pearce, G. Moscardo & G.F. Ross, *Tourism Community Relationships*, Elsevier Science Ltd., Oxford, 1996, p. 73

Interviews

At their most basic, interviews can be viewed as conversations with a purpose, usually with a set of rules to follow that may be formally or loosely structured. Interviews form an important aspect of tourism research, particularly in situations where attitudes and opinions are being assessed, and are characterised by their length, depth and structure[149]. Body language as well as verbal language provide a richness and depth that is not possible through surveys alone.

Informal, unstructured interviews can be viewed as an extension to, or aspect of, participant observation in tourism research. Due to the nature of participating in a tourism activity or gaze, informal conversations are often struck up between participants and service personnel. Ignoring these opportunities would restrict the actual participation process as communication and 'meeting people' is a highly desired tourist motivator.

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[148] P.L. Pearce et.al., op.cit., 1996, loc.cit.

Traders, tour operators and staff are also primed to communicate as part of their service provision.

Intercept interviews have the benefit of questioning people while involved in the activity and have been used to identify the strength of empathy between the series, *Sea Change*, and the site, Barwon Heads. Such interviews tend to be more structured than informal or even in-depth interviews as they often require the use of a number of interviewers simultaneously. Such structured interviews allow more people to be interviewed that unstructured interviews as they tend to take less time and effort from the interviewer and can be conducted simultaneously by several interviewers, producing a larger sample size. Structured interviews also tend to reduce differences in researcher-participant interactions. An issue with intercept surveys is that the interviewees may not wish to have their activity interrupted by the interviewer. Interviewers must be instructed as to the appropriate protocols of approaching potential participants.

In-depth interviews can be either structured or unstructured, tending more towards the latter. In those of an unstructured nature, the interviewer must take care not to dominate the conversation, rather elicit responses from the interviewee and encourage the flow of their thoughts. However, if the interviewee requests reciprocity from the interviewer, this may need to be provided in order to maintain the relationship between the parties and flow of the conversation. Nevertheless, the interviewee is encouraged to lead the direction of the interview by their thoughts or reflections. Further discussion of the specific uses of the interview process is in the sections, *The Sea Change Case Study Research Methods* and *The Fox Studios Case Study Research Methods*.

Triangulation

Triangulation has been mentioned previously in the chapter, but it is important to consider whether triangulation can really be achieved. Triangulation is generally used because no single method adequately resolves the issues of multiple causal factors, necessitating multiple methods of data collection and analysis.

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[149] A.J. Veal, op.cit., 1997, p.132

Triangulation may not completely counter the problem of validity, but it provides an important additional check on the data. In particular, participant observation, in combination with interviews and surveys provides an opportunity to discover any distortions or discrepancies in the information. This is particularly important for open ended questions and those that seek the subject's opinion, as it is often their actions and other observable phenomenon that tell us what is really happening by checking description against 'fact'.

Triangulation can be used to validate data, investigator bias, proposed theories and methods. In this study, all of the methods outlined above are applied, often being used to test their validity through triangulation as well as identify aspects that may not be apparent in using just one method. For example, observation is used to test data results (and vice-versa) as well as the soundness of media and company reports. In some instances, interviews were used to ratify and expand on concepts noted during the observation and survey phases.

Social Representation Theory

Many community tourism studies have considered communities on a broad scale, focussing on entire towns or regions, regarding them as having a homogenous attitude towards tourism development issues, notably the pioneering work of Pizam in 1978 and Murphy in 1981[150]. However, greater sophistication of individual groups within communities, particularly in relation to lobbying and exerting influence, has given rise to the effect of multiple groups within a given community. As to be expected, some of these interest groups (or stakeholders) maintain different values, attitudes and viewpoints from others and may have a stronger 'voice', which can at times mask the disenfranchised, disadvantaged, weaker and less articulate community members[151].

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[150] P.E. Murphy, 'Community attitudes to tourism. A comparative analysis' *International Journal of Tourism Management*, Vol.2, Sept 1981, pp. 189-95
A. Pizam, 'Tourism's Impacts: The Social Costs to the Destination Community as Perceived by Its Residents' *Journal of Travel Research*, Spring 1978, pp.8-12
[151] J. Ife, *Community Development: Creating community alternatives – vision, analysis and practice*, Longman, South Melbourne, 1995, pp.62-3

In their monograph, *Tourism Community Relationships*, Pearce, Moscardo and Ross build on Murphy's macro-based work by introducing the concept of social representation as a means to understand micro-community relationships regarding tourism[152]. Social Representation Theory (SRT) was introduced by French social psychologist, Moscovici, who first mooted and then developed the SRT concept in the early 1970s[153]. Relying heavily on Moscovici, Pearce et al present their argument for the application of social representation theory to tourism community research in a most compelling manner, providing examples from their own research (in the form of case studies) as well as building on recognised earlier work.

The theory of social representation can provide the means with which to consider individual attitudes within communities, then groups them according to their similarities. This is the reverse of the commonly used process of identifying the groups and then looking for their attitudes, and provides a more comprehensive examination of communities at the micro level. Community attitudes and interactions are dynamic, requiring a dynamic, evolving vision from any researcher or student. As it is driven by the subjects, SRT is an emic form of study, providing the actors the opportunity to drive the research, rather than the researcher prescribing (and at time proscribing) the investigative path. In addition, in-depth analysis of small communities can provide a sound basis for the development of broader, more complex tourism models on a larger scale.

Identifying Social Representations
Pearce et al identified three criteria to help establish and identify social representations, the first being looking for commonality or consensus among the respondents. The next criteria is to locate the connections between tourism impacts and related ideas, then finally to locate a central cluster or core of images that portray the social representation[154]. In other words, by identifying individual concerns and the intensity of these concerns, a list of priorities and levels of importance can be established and groups identified through conducting cluster analysis.

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[152] P.L. Pearce et.al., op.cit., 1996
[153] S. Moscovici, 'Society and Theory in Social Psychology' *The Context of Social Psychology*, J. Israel and H. Tajfel, editors, Academic Press, London, 1972, pp.17-68
  id., 'The Phenomenon of Social Representations' *Social Representations*, R.M. Farr and S. Moscovici, editors, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984 pp.3-69
[154] P.L. Pearce et.al., op.cit., 1996, p.62

According to Pearce et al the more commonly used approaches to studying people's attitudes, from both the psychological and sociological aspects, do not take into consideration the place of origin of such attitudes and how they inter-relate[155]. However, SRT holds as its central tenet consideration of the interaction between individuals and their social world, thereby integrating the more individualistic concepts inherent in psychology and the deterministic nature of much sociology[156]. It provides a more contextual, inter-related study of the human community condition, providing a framework that assists explanations of how groups of people understand and react to certain phenomena, social representations framework provides a linked explanation of how groups of people understand and react to phenomena[157].

The key to SRT lies in the research process being driven by the subjects generating their responses to the survey instrument, thus providing the relevant terms and conditions for community research in an emic (contextual) manner. By identifying the different types and content of each group's social representations and their inter-relationships, community attitudes and motivations can be studied in a holistic manner. As such, SRT provides a sound framework from which to study the development of community attitudes and reactions towards film-induced tourism and development.

The case study provides an excellent framework into which SRT can be incorporated. Pearce et al demonstrate this by applying SRT to data from a series of studies on Hawaii, New Zealand and Australia, presenting them in a case study format[158]. The flexibility of the case study format allows for the incorporation of a range of theories and analyses, empirical as well as naturalistic.

Analytical Methods

The methods used to analyse the data in this study vary according to the nature of the research (qualitative or quantitative) and of the form of the data itself (observational, verbal, textual, prescribed). In one of the few texts devoted to tourism research methods, Veal identifies two approaches to quantitative methodology, labelling them Type A and

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[155] ibid., p.50
[156] ibid., p. 47
[157] ibid., p.59

Type B. Type A utilises statistical methods and tests such as chi-square tests, t-tests, and variance, correlation and regression analysis. Type B tends to be more informal and closer in approach to qualitative research, using mainly percentages as the main analytical tool. Veal notes that the Type A approach has tended to predominate much research undertaking in the United States, whereas Type B has been used more extensively in the United Kingdom.[159]

Quantitative data such as demographic details has been analysed using SPSS with simple percentage and cross-tabulation analysis, following Veal's 'Type B' approach discussed at the beginning of the chapter. The qualitative data has been analysed using the NUD.IST software package that enables the study of semantics, which is of interest in open ended questions and interviews. Another strength of NUD.IST is that it enables the researcher to code data progressively into areas of interest as they arise, permitting a more recursive analysis, developing themes as they appear. The data coded into NUD.IST is also analysed within a SRT framework.

Text analysis is also possible through the use of NUD.IST, which has been utilised to enrich the comments (both written and verbal) to the open questions posed in some of the surveys as well as the in-depth interviews. A socio-semiotic analysis is undertaken in relation to the *Sea Change* storyline, while photographs are analysed to illustrate changes over time. Tourism promotional brochures from Barwon Heads and Fox Studios are also analysed in this context.

Observational data is analysed in terms of personal discourse by the researcher, often emphasising or illustrating a points from other analytical methods. As this is a personal discourse, the first person is at times used, which, while not widely used in tourism research analysis, is used extensively in social and ethnographic research and is becoming more accepted in tourism.

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[158] ibid., pp. 109-179
[159] A.J. Veal, op.cit., 1997, pp. 34-35

THE *SEA CHANGE* CASE STUDY RESEARCH METHODS

Participant observation, quantitative and qualitative surveys, in-depth interviews, informal discussions and secondary data such as media and government reports have all been utilised. The use of these various methods enables triangulation of the results. Participant observation has been undertaken at all stages of the project, with photographic, anecdotal and personal data collected over a three year period.

A major limiting factor for this research was that as the town is a small fishing, holiday and surfing town on the Bellarine Peninsula near Geelong in Victoria, there are no visitor statistics available at the local level. Keeping this in mind, it was crucial that some basic demographic data be collected as soon as possible. As the town had limited commercial accommodation, with two caravan parks, one motel, one hotel and two bed and breakfast establishments, the peak summer Christmas period from Christmas to February is virtually booked out with regular visitors. Surveying these visitors provides some base demographic data with which to compare new visitors, hypothesised as attracted by *Sea Change,* to visit the town.

A basic questionnaire was developed to obtain data on the overall visitor demographics to Barwon Heads, from day visitors as well as overnight visitors. The self-completion questionnaire was distributed through the commercial outlets in the town, such as restaurants and take-away food premises as well as accommodation outlets, including the caravan park and motel. Members of the Barwon Heads Traders and Tourism Association agreed to assist, providing a distribution base of more than 30 commercial operations. A list of the traders is in Appendix 4.

The selection of questions for the survey was based on the prime need to obtain basic tourism data for the town, so the questions covered the usual demographic and length of stay questions included in such surveys. Three basic questions related to *Sea Change* ("have you heard of the series?", "did you know that some of the series was filmed at Barwon Heads?" and "are you planning to visit any of the sites featured?") were placed on the reverse side of the survey, towards the end so as not to bias those respondents who were not aware of the television series. In an effort not to lead responses, as well as to

ascertain the level of accurate knowledge respondents had regarding the filming of the series, the filming sites were not nominated.

Film-Induced Visitor Motivation

Two waves of survey-based, formally structured intercept interviews of visitors to Barwon Heads were conducted at the film sites in the Barwon Heads Caravan Park in April 2000 and September 2001. As the interviews were conducted by a group of interviewers simultaneously, the questions were written out in full on the interviewer's form in order to maintain consistency of reporting. However, there was a section for the interviewer to add their own comments as well as one for the interviewee, allowing for any aspects that were not covered, yet deemed important to either party to be included. Interviewers were instructed as to the appropriate protocols of approaching potential participants and given a script to work from as well as a covering letter of introduction and explanation for the participants, which included contact details of the main researcher and the university's ethics committee. Permission to conduct the interviews was obtained from the Barwon Coast Committee of Management, and the office at the park was also notified.

Informal, unstructured interviews (or conversations) and participant observation were used to aid in triangulation by supporting (or not) the survey-based data. In order to retain the natural flow of such a naturalistic mode, details of the informal conversations were not noted during the conversation, rather immediately afterwards in the field (away from the participants) and correlated the following evening. These were undertaken only by the main researcher. The manager of the Barwon Heads Park was also interviewed regarding her impressions of the importance of the series to the town and the park.

Impacts and Marketing

A self-completion questionnaire was mailed to each household in the town of Barwon Heads in March 2000. In an effort to reduce the bias of suggestion, the open-ended social representation questions were placed before structural questions such as ranking lists of impacts. In order to verify the results, participant observation was undertaken, utilising field notes, photographs and maps as well as informal conversations and in-depth interviews.

Due to the confidential nature and commercial concerns relating to individual economic analysis among the traders, avenues of secondary data were utilised, such as the Australian Bureau of Statistics and Real Estate Institute of Victoria figures. Data on regional development was also obtained from the City of Greater Geelong and the Department of Infrastructure. In order to ascertain the degree of use of *Sea Change* as an imaging tool for marketing the town and region, promotional material was gathered at each site visit, along with the data obtained from the visitor surveys, being the primary destination marketing resources. The material has been used for textual analysis of the influence of film-induced tourism on destination marketing.

Depth of Investigator Immersion

Riley and Love describe the level of immersion of the investigator in the project as a continuum from 'omnipotent observer' on one end to the author's self-reflexivity of the personal lived experience on the other. Other points along the continuum could include living in the setting but outside the phenomenon, especially as temporary observers or foreigners.[160]

In relation to the television series *Sea Change* and the township of Barwon Heads, there was a high degree of immersion. As a fan of the series myself, there was a desire and interest to meet the characters and gaze on the sites 'for real'. On the three occasions that I stayed at Laura's Cottage, I felt part of the series and shared the gentle ambience of *Sea Change*. Barwon Heads has also been a town that featured predominantly in my early years. From the age of 15 to 21 I spent many weekends and holidays there as well as working at the local hotel, becoming accepted as a 'part time local'. The personal experiences encountered during that time had a major effect on my transition from teenager to adult. The following photographs are from that period.

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[160] R.W. Riley & L.L. Love, op.cit., 2000, pp. 172-3

Figure 3.3 Visions of Barwon Heads, 1974: View of the Barwon Heads Bridge and a group of holidaying students waiting for the local bus.

Consequently, my return to Barwon Heads some 20 years later was not only emotional and nostalgic, but my earlier connections with the town gave me an entrée to the current residents and traders who saw me as having an emotional investment in the town. This facilitated an openness from those I met that would not have been possible, yet I still had a certain amount of detachment due to not having been there for some time. This immersion is illustrated on the continuum in Figure 3.4 and correlates with the level of participant observation illustrated previously.

Figure 3.4 Level of Investigator Immersion in Barwon Heads and *Sea Change*

Self-reflexivity

| Omnipotent Observer | Living in the community, but outside | Living outside the community, but inside acceptance | | Total immersion |
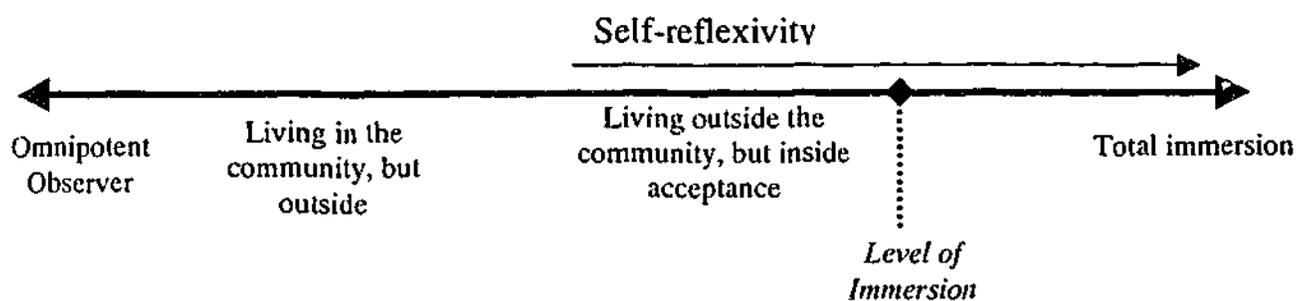
Level of Immersion

Due to the high level of immersion, many of the personal experiences and observations at Barwon Heads are recorded in the first person (as in the discussion above).

THE FOX STUDIOS CASE STUDY RESEARCH METHODS

Access to data and permission to conduct interviews was not forthcoming due to commercial-in-confidence concerns at Fox Studios. When I first began the study the Backlot was already trading badly, so commercial concerns were heightened. By the time I finished the study, the Backlot had closed with losses of hundreds of millions of dollars.

Participant observation, in-depth interviews, informal conversations and secondary data such as media, stock exchange and government reports have all been utilised, once again providing opportunities for triangulation. Triangulation of the findings is important as they are relying heavily on personal observations and media reports which can also be coloured by personal opinion.

Secondary data was available from Australian Stock Exchange Reports, press releases, company reports and announcements of Lend Lease Corporation and the Fox Corporation. Media articles were used to illuminate the areas of most interest to the general public and investors. Tourism data from the Australian Tourist Commission and Tourism New South Wales was utilised as well as reports from statutory authorities such as Film Victoria (the New South Wales Film Commission's equivalent in Victoria).

As the parent companies involved in Fox Studios Australia, Lend Lease Corporation and News Corp are publicly listed companies, minutes of public meetings, annual reports, stock exchange reports, media releases and articles can be accessed. According to Frost, the advantages of using public records is that "... they have already been subject to public scrutiny..."[161] and therefore are intrinsically reliable. While the reliability of media reports can be questioned in relation to the angle taken and the platform of the writer/editor (positivist, boosterist etc), such public documents can be considered in relation to each other and more legal documents such as Australian Stock Exchange Reports.

Participant observation of the Fox Studios site was undertaken three times over the study period and proved effective in not only observing the activities and types of visitors, crowd dispersion and site planning, but also in triangulating with the secondary data. As with the Barwon Heads study, field notes, photographs and maps were used as well as informal conversations to optimise the method.

In addition, participant-observation can augment, prove or disprove (or at least bring into question) the publicly accessible material. Using such a methodology, the site was visited three times during 2000 and 2001 on a range of days and weather conditions. Examination

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[161] W. Frost, 'The financial viability of heritage tourism attractions: three cases from rural Australia', Morag Mitchell, Irene Kirkpatrick (editors) *Conference Proceedings, New Dimensions in Managing Rural Tourism and Leisure*, Scottish Agricultural College, Auchincruive, CD ROM, 2001

of the experience in a real world setting, provided first hand information. Also, participant-observation can highlight behaviours that those being observed may not discuss in an interview or survey situation, such as the exit surveys and brand tracking employed by consultants, Newspoll, at the site.

Informal conversations were used to aid in triangulation by supporting (or not) the observations and secondary data. In order to retain the natural flow of such an informal, naturalistic mode, details of the conversations were not noted during the conversation, rather immediately afterwards in the field (away from the participants) and compared the following evening. During the informal discussions with staff and visitors, I made it clear that I was conducting a study of film and tourism. Subterfuge was not used, with most information actually gained from observation and direct participation.

One of the limitations of participant-observation in terms of Fox Studios is that the researcher can be only in one setting at a time. By spending much of the observational time in the areas of the site that visitors traveled through and stopped at, such as the main access routes, cafes and shops, this limitation can be ameliorated. As there is only one major road through the Backlot on to which all activities fronted, this was possible.

The temporal comparability of the site has been focused into the actual days of visitation, on which there were no special events occurring which may have altered the mix of visitors and activities. The potential of observer bias and subjectivity must also be recognised, however some objectivity has been maintained through informal discussions with visitors and staff at the site, reinforcing and at times temporising personal observation.

Depth of Investigator Immersion

The depth of investigator immersion is not as reflexive as in the Barwon Heads and *Sea Change* case, however as the Fox Studios Backlot is a tourist experience, visiting it as a participant-observer still provides a high level of immersion as a tourist. The continuum in Figure 3.5 below illustrates the level of immersion, demonstrating the greater degree of observation, also correlating with the level of participant observation.

62

Figure 3.5 Level of Investigator Immersion in Fox Studios Backlot

Self-reflexivity

Omnipotent
Observer

Visiting the site

Working at the site

Total immersion

Level of
Immersion
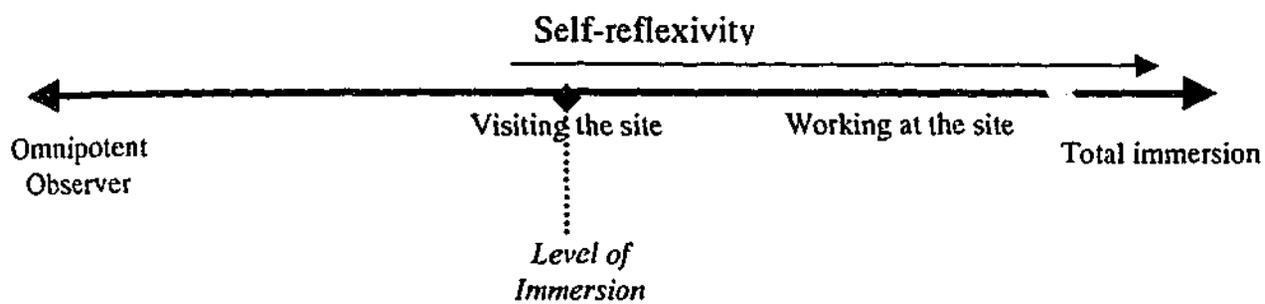
BOUNDARIES OF THE CASE STUDIES

As discussed previously, it is crucial that the boundaries of any study be set, not the least for case studies that can, but their emic nature, continue indefinitely. As noted earlier, a preferable closure point would occur when the information decreases in relevance. In the case of Barwon Heads and *Sea Change*, the effects that could be directly attributed to *Sea Change* started to decrease in 2001, indicating a timing boundary of late that year. The focus (or heart) of the study has been the sites featured in the series, being centred around the Barwon Heads camping ground, with the town and its near neighbour, Ocean Grove providing the setting and external boundaries.

The Fox Studios Backlot did not initially have a time-frame boundary as the area continued to be developed and methods to attract people to the site were ongoing. However, the sudden closure of the Backlot on October 17, 2001 provided the most definite time-frame boundary possible! The physical boundary has its focus as the Backlot site, and the overall setting of the Fox Studios precinct delimiting the boundary.

CONCEPT MAP OF METHODOLOGIES USED

In order to summarise the methodological approach of this study, a concept map has been developed in Figure 3.6. Due to the recursive nature of the research, the map has been developed progressively throughout the study period. The thickness of the line indicates the depth of the analysis of each method.

Figure 3.6 Methodologies Utilised

BARWON HEADS & SEA CHANGE   FOX STUDIOS

```
                          CASE STUDY

                          INTERVIEWS

         STRUCTURED         INFORMAL

                            IN-DEPTH

            KEY          PARTICIPANT
         PERSONNEL       OBSERVATION

  TRADERS   RESIDENTS   VISITORS         VISITORS   STAFF &
                                                    TRADERS

            SELF
         COMPLETION
          SURVEYS

    MAIL          CONVENIENCE

                          SECONDARY
                            DATA
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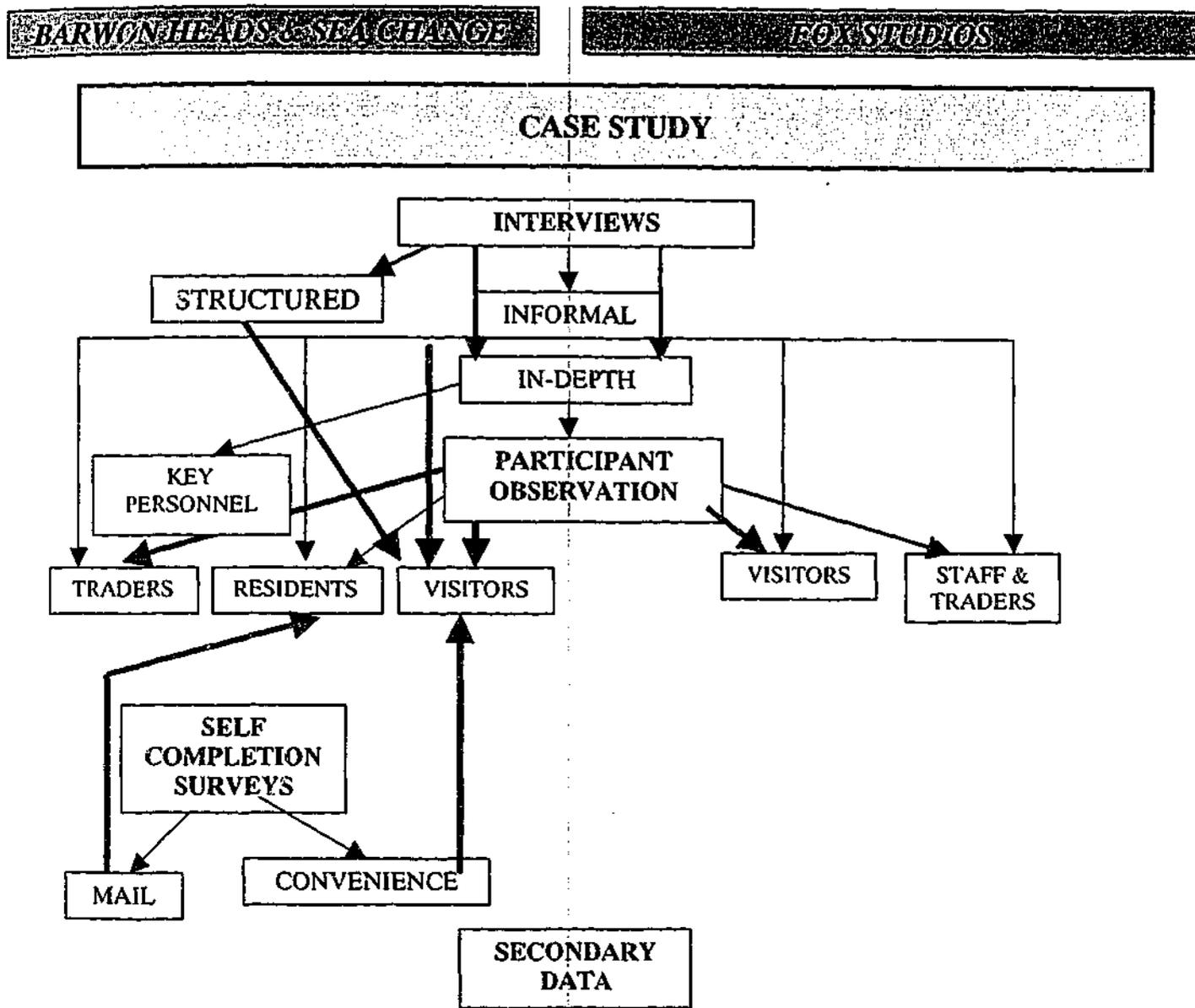
ETHICS

When studying people, it is imperative that the investigator recognises the ethical issues
that may arise, such as intruding on an individual's or group's privacy as well as
identifying them against their wishes. In order to address these issues, the codes of ethics
for both La Trobe and Monash Universities were followed. All observational work was
undertaken by myself, enabling me to control the level of impact that may occur. As an
experienced observer (and one whose own privacy was invaded by *Sea Change* fans at
Barwon Heads – see Chapter 4), I was aware of issues of privacy which I strove at all
times to respect. I also decided not to mislead any subjects either at the time of interview
or in informal discussions as a participant-observer. I made it clear that I was an academic
studying film-induced tourism and its effects on communities. This did not appear to

influence the responses of those I spoke with in any significant fashion, apart from rendering them, at times, a little more forthright in expressing their opinions.

The research undertaken received approval from the ethics committees of both Monash and La Trobe Universities, where appropriate. Approval for the initial surveys of visitors to Barwon Heads was obtained from the Faculty of Law and Management Human Ethics Committee at La Trobe University (where the researcher is employed) due to the fact that the PhD thesis was not underway with Monash University at the time and it was deemed necessary to start collecting data as soon as possible. The project number is 98/30.

All further research was approved by the Standing Committee on Ethics in Research Involving Humans at Monash University, project number 99/467. An amendment to the project was approved in August 2001.

As well as contributing to the overall body of tourism academic knowledge, such broad-ranging, longitudinal community research findings can be effectively used in many ways, such as assisting regional planning and zoning, community organisation and relationships and issues of community welfare and service. By viewing tourism planning and development from a more personal, socio-psychological perspective, as opposed to merely considering bricks and mortar development, the research intends to assist in broadening the scope of tourism development issues from mere economic rationalisation to a more incorporative, emic level.

By recognising the important role of film in the tourism industry and identifying the range of challenges and opportunities, development of the Australian film industry and its inevitable links with tourism will be aided, as well as the aforementioned planning, community and tourism aspects.

It is also anticipated that academic study and examination of the methodology and results of this work will contribute to the development of methodological bases for future community research in tourism and the social sciences. The results may also provide information that can be utilised by those attempting to effect attitudinal changes by increasing our understanding of the complex inter-relationships within communities and individuals.

SECTION TWO: FILM-INDUCED TOURISM ON LOCATION

Chapter 4: Community Impacts

The next two chapters outline the findings of the surveys, site visits, interviews and related fieldwork undertaken at Barwon Heads over a three year period from November 1998 to December 2001. Site surveys and visits were conducted throughout the study period, and relevant aspects from various visits are included in both this and the next chapter. Some comment on the commercial changes to the town are made in the first section of this chapter, followed by an assessment of attitudes from the residents' survey undertaken in 2000, at the height of *Sea Change's* popularity. Groups with similar social representations have been identified and the potential effects of these groups on the future of the community and tourism are outlined. As discussed in the methodology chapter, an initial demographic survey was undertaken to obtain some base-line data on visitors to Barwon Heads. The results of that survey are outlined in the first section of the following chapter on Tourism Impacts.

The effect of *Sea Change* on the traders of the town has been assessed through observing the changes in the nature of businesses in the commercial area of the village (the main street). Numerous informal discussions with shop-keepers and restauranteurs supplemented and supported the observations, while a series of in-depth interviews with key traders brings out the changing commercial dynamics of the town.

Main Street Changes following *Sea Change* – Site Visits September 1999 and January 2000

The main street shopping strip altered dramatically in the12 months from the commencement of the *Sea Change* phenomenon, which has seen visitors coming to the town with knowledge that the series was filmed there. In 1998 there were vacant shops and others in the process of closing down, in particular basic services such as the green grocer, butcher and baker. These shops have not re-opened to provide the same service, but as of January 2000 all shops were occupied, with the main shopping precinct now boasting a predominance of tourist services as opposed to general residential and product services. Of course, most smaller shopping strips in tourist localities have often lost

product services to supermarkets in nearby regional centres. There are now four cafés, a bar and restaurant, a second-hand book shop, gift shop (relocated from Point Lonsdale), Indonesian import shop, two fish and chip shops, a take-away chicken shop, two surf shops and an art gallery. Of these, one of the surf shops, two of the coffee shops, the gift shop, book shop, chicken shop, bar and restaurant have all opened in the12 months since the screening of the *Sea Change* series. For general services such as banking, hardware supplies and large supermarket shopping residents and visitors (particularly the self-catering budget holiday-maker) have to travel to Ocean Grove, some five kilometres away. The region is predominantly a car-based destination, hence the shopping distance is not a major issue for visitors, however just under ten percent of Barwon Heads households have no vehicle, and 17 percent of residents are over the age of 65 compared with 12 percent for all of Australia[162].
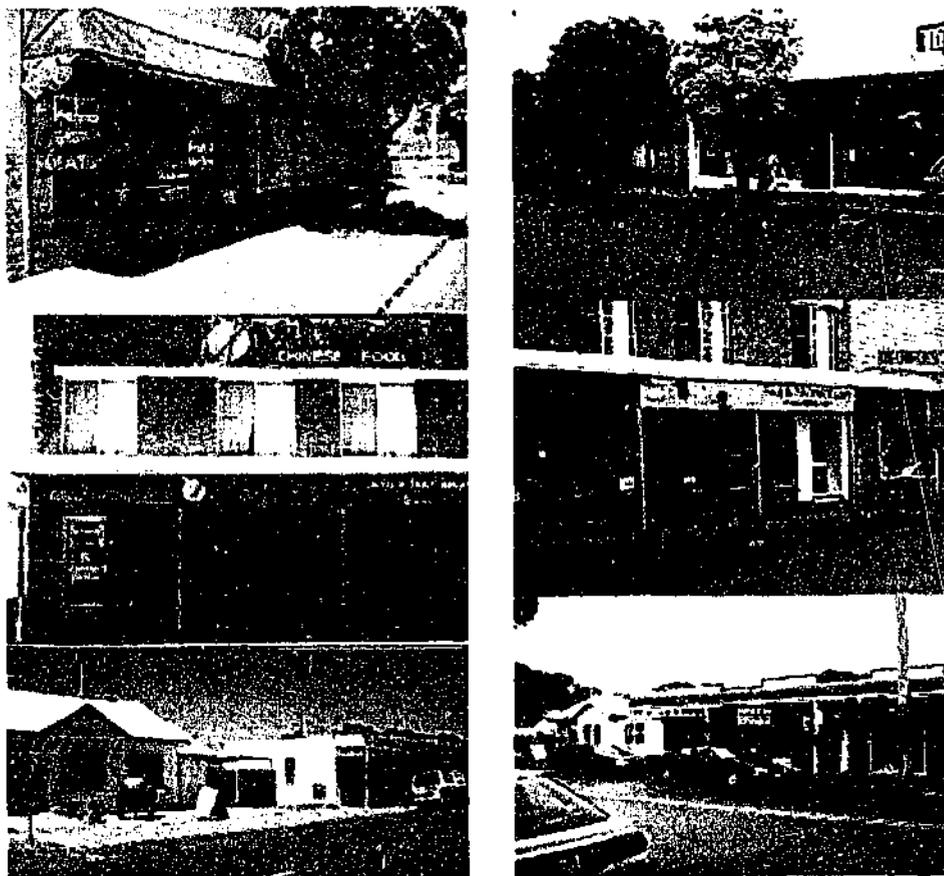
Figure 4.1 Changes within 12 months of *Sea Change* (Nov 1998 to Sept 1999)

1. Closed butcher becomes a surf shop

2. Closed Chinese restaurant becomes an up-market restaurant

3. Empty new shops now fully occupied by a bookshop, gift shop and cafe

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[162] Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'Basic Community Profile, 3227', *1996 Census of Population and Housing*, Catalogue Number 2020.0, ABS Canberra, 1997a;
id., 'Basic Community Profile, Australia' *1996 Census of Population and Housing*, ABS Canberra, 1997b

Real estate values have increased dramatically since the initial screening of the series, but cannot be totally attributable to *Sea Change* per se. According to local real estate agents, the buoyant economy, recovery from a major regional investment failure with the Geelong-based Pyramid Building Society and low interest rates create a favourable buying environment throughout the region[163]. However, it is recognised that the high prices now being seen for residences in Barwon Heads has been augmented by the *Sea Change* syndrome, with cheaper houses disappearing[164]. This phenomenon has occurred in hundreds of near metropolitan coastal locations – say, within three hours of a capital city – throughout Australia. According the state Valuer-General, median house prices in Barwon Heads have risen from $116,552 in 1998 to $126,000 in 1999 and $157,000 in 2000[165].

Site Visit to Barwon Heads, 21-22 July 2001

By the time of a site visit in July 2001, some seven months since *Sea Change* last aired on ABC TV (December 2000) there was little obvious additional *Sea Change* marketing in the town. However, in a cabin at the Riverview Caravan Park in neighbouring Ocean Grove, a poster on the wall promoted Barwon Heads as the place to discover *Sea Change*. The poster has been produced by Geelong Otway Tourism, one of the more quick-witted regional tourism bodies in Australia, and one that has embraced the region's 'film friendly' status.

The restaurant, *At The Heads,* occupies the site of Diver Dan's. While it is perfectly situated to take advantage of the *Sea Change* promotional opportunities, the proprietors decided to take a subtle approach. The Mulloway Room in the restaurant has photos of the stars of the series and the restaurant owners outside the façade of Diver Dan's. However, there are no captions or explanation as to what the photos represent, or any direct reference to *Sea Change*. While this lack of *Sea Change* cross-promotion may seem a little odd considering the popularity of the series and emotional links with Dan's shed, such reluctance to capitalise on the imagery may hark back to the vicious battle to stop the

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[163] R. Bodey, *Bodey's Summer Report 1998/9*, 1999

[164] A. Keenan, 'Driving for pearls: Melbourne heads to Barwon for a change', *The Sunday Age Property*, 3 October 1999, p.2

[165] Office of the Valuer-General, *A Guide to Property Values, Victoria*, Department of Natural Resources and Environment, Melbourne, 2001

development, much of which was based around the increased prominence of the site because of the series. One gets the impression that the owners want to steer clear of past associations. The development itself is congruent with its built and natural environments, making it difficult to recall what it was like before. The front part of Dan's shed has been retained and incorporated into the restaurant – it has not been re-painted, rather left with the 'distressed' façade that is now so familiar to millions of Australians. The photos below show the before and after development of the site.
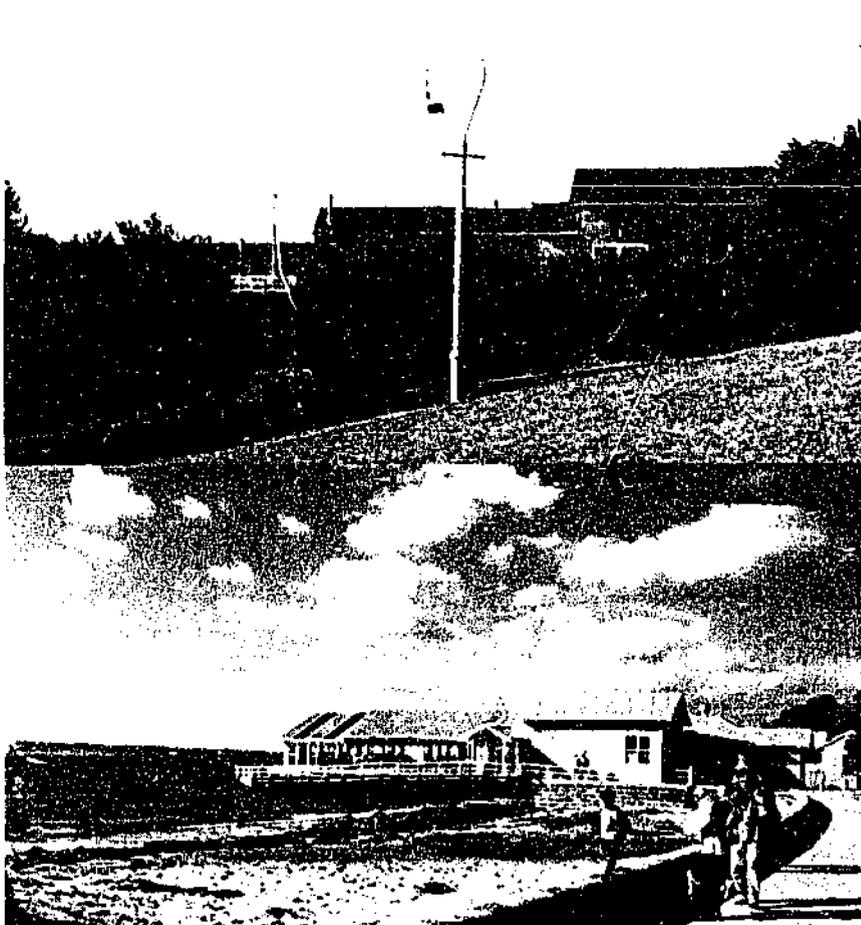
Figure 4.2 Diver Dan's shed as used in the first series of *Sea Change*, originally Fisherman's Cooperative (April 1999)

Figure 4.3 The new, initially controversial, restaurant development (July 2001)

Soon after this visit, the restaurant started providing souvenir menus in the form of a community newspaper (*At The Heads Gazette*) that include 'articles' about the restaurant for patrons to take home. There is an article on the background of the restaurant and associated buildings which refers to *Sea Change* being filmed there[166].

The main street now has another up-market restaurant, a further one due to open with an application for another before council, a new bakery and café, home-wares store and an art gallery mooted on the previous site of the town's only motel which closed in 2001 for

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[166] At The Heads, 'The Story So Far', *At the Heads Gazette*, Barwon Heads, 2001, p.1

reasons that appear to have more to do with the owner's finances than the potential profitability of the activity. On a winters day, the town was alive with people partaking of the café culture. The local supermarket remains remarkably inadequate and no butcher or greengrocer have replaced those that closed some years ago. The only new business that has closed, the Balinese import shop (as the owners have now moved to Bali), is being converted into a restaurant.

However, there is still no police station in the town, with the nearest in Ocean Grove. A trader commented that the young people from Ocean Grove come over to Barwon Heads to engage in petty crime such as car theft because of this lack of police presence. The same trader also complained that emergency '000' calls are answered by a call centre in Melbourne where the operators have no concept of the nature of the emergency or layout of the region, wasting precious time during an emergency. Such city-centric rationalisation, combined with lack of crucial safety information creates a sense of community dislocation and inconsequence that is contrary to the rural idyll and the *Sea Change* image of local empowerment.

A visit to the real estate agent showed an enormous increase in property values. Two years ago, the agent was looking forward to his first $500,000 sale – now, there are numerous houses in this range, going up as high as $900,000, with nothing advertised under $180,000. There is a new exclusive resort-style development at the back of the main surf beach with a golf course and new housing being sold.

Traders are still ambivalent about the impact of *Sea Change*, but admit that it has 'put Barwon Heads on the map' and that more people are stopping in the town rather than just passing (or bypassing) through. Locals generally appear tolerant and even happy with the increased numbers of visitors, however one commented that she hated the extra noise in summer.

Residents Attitudes to *Sea Change* – General Responses and Overall Representations

As outlined in Chapter Three, research of residents of Barwon Heads was undertaken using a mail-back questionnaire in March 2000, after the busy summer holiday season of late

December to February. Distribution of the self-completion questionnaire was by a systematic sampling of every second household in each street, starting at alternating odd and even numbers through a letterbox drop. Some 500 questionnaires were delivered, with 185 usable responses returned, resulting in a response rate of 37 percent. While this may be lower than desired in a survey-based thesis, the mixed-method approach adopted for this research, including the triangulation of survey results with participant-observation and other techniques outlined in Chapter Three bring this sample size into a satisfactory range, especially for a self-completion exercise. A copy of the questionnaire and covering letter is in Appendix Three.

Over 95 percent of the respondents to the self-completion mail survey were permanent residents, not holiday-makers or weekend regulars, which is significant as the results do not incorporate other stakeholders, such as weekenders and regular holiday-makers. The survey was purposely distributed during non-holiday time, in order to ascertain the attitudes and representations of a significant stakeholder group, namely the permanent residents. This group has chosen to live in Barwon Heads (according to the survey, 58 percent moved there from a large city, and 28 percent have lived in the town for less than 2 years with 32 percent more than 11 years) and are most affected by changes in the tourism patterns of the town.

Table 4.1 below shows the breakdown of gender, education levels and home ownership by age for the group of respondents. This is significantly different to the 1996 ABS data for the Barwon Heads region[167], which has a lower proportion of residents with higher education (36 percent compared to 50 percent in this sample) as well as an even gender balance, whereas this sample is skewed heavily towards women (who also happen to be the main viewers of *Sea Change*, which is discussed after the table). Such bias is not unusual in self-completion questionnaires, where there is a tendency for the more higher educated and those with strong community concerns/opinions to complete such surveys. Once again, these results have been triangulated against participant-observation and in-depth interviews, and the range of views expressed is congruent with the findings within the other methodologies, where no further new data was found[168]. Nevertheless, the results

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[167] La Trobe University Bendigo, *Community Profiler*, http://ironbark.Bendigo.Latrobe.edu.au/cp, 2001, (accessed January 2002)
[168] G. Jennings, *Tourism Research*, Wiley and Sons Australia Ltd., Milton, 2001, p.149

presented in this chapter should be considered as possibilities, not hard 'fact' (which is not always the aim of qualitative research, where it is often the points of difference, not congruence that are of interest).

Table 4.1 Gender, Education and Home Ownership by Age of Respondents (N=185)

	Male							Female						
	High School	TAFE	Univ	Post Grad	Rent	Own	Total *	High School	TAFE	Univ	Post Grad	Rent	Own	Total *
	% of age group	% of age group	% of age group	% of age group	% of age group	% of age group	% of total pop	% of age group	% of age group	% of age group	% of age group	% of age group	% of age group	% of total pop
18-29	50	0	50	0	50	50	1	33	13	33	20	67	33	9
30-39	46	27	9	18	27	73	7	25	8	38	29	21	79	14
40-49	27	0	54	18	18	82	7	36	20	36	8	8	92	15
50-59	0	29	57	14	0	100	4	31	23	23	23	0	100	8
60-69	17	33	17	33	17	83	7	47	12	24	18	0	100	10
70-79	57	29	14	0	7	93	8	73	0	20	7	13	87	9
80+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	33	33	33	0	0	100	2
Total %*	30	21	26	14	16	84	34	39	13	30	17	17	83	67

*some totals may not add up to 100 percent due to rounding

According to viewer figures provided by the ABC, the primary group of viewers of *Sea Change* were women over 40, with 710,000 female viewers over 40 in metropolitan areas compared with 536,000 men in the same grouping tuning in to the final episode of the second series in 1999[169]. A smaller, yet significant correlation within the Barwon Heads community can be seen in the male-female breakdown of the entire sample as well as within each segment. Most responses have a higher female representation, which is to be anticipated with the gender breakdown of respondents being 66 percent women and 34 percent men. (According to the 1996 census figures, Barwon Heads has a population of 48 percent men and 52 percent women[170].)

Value of Tourism to Barwon Heads

There were three questions relating to tourism in the region, covering the number of visitors that could stay at Barwon Heads at any one time (that is, the number of visitor beds), the average time visitors spend in the region, and individual expenditure for one overnight stay. The aim of these questions was to probe the community's understanding of the scope of local tourism. This is particularly important as it is the residents who deal with visitors on a long-term basis. Not all respondents replied to these questions, some

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[169] Australian Broadcasting Corporation, *Viewers of Sea Change*, unpublished, 1999
[170] Australian Bureau of Statistics, op.cit., 1997a

commenting that they had no idea. The percentage response rate for each question was between 65 and 69 percent, still providing us with a reasonable sample size. Eighty-five percent of respondents believed that the town had the capacity for less than 3,000 overnight visitors, whereas in 1999 there were 4,870 visitor beds in holiday homes, camping grounds and hotels/motels at Barwon Heads[171].

A high 47 percent estimated that the average stay would be 7 days, yet the average for domestic tourists to the region is 3.1 days[172]. Supporting this, research undertaken early in this study found that 62 percent of people were visiting for less than 7 days. Such over-estimation of length of stay may indicate that residents are actually aware of tourists, feeling that they are in town for longer than they really are. It may also reflect the timing of the survey, just after the summer holiday period when many visitors stay for longer periods than the rest of the year.

According to figures released by Tourism Victoria, general expenditure data for 1999 for the coastal region that includes Barwon Heads is a relatively low average of $59.62 per overnight visit, with many of the main activities undertaken being of no or minimal cost, such as sight-seeing, walking and camping[173]. Some 86 percent of respondents placed expenditure at over $76 for an overnight trip, which is much higher than the Tourism Victoria figures suggest implying an over-estimation of tourism's economic contribution to the town. So, the residents of Barwon Heads believe that fewer tourists stay longer and spend more in their town than actually do.

It was hoped that a correlation between knowledge and support of tourism and working in the industry would be found, however, of the entire sample, only 6 percent were employed in tourism and 18 percent with a relative in the industry, which is too small a number to break down any further. It is interesting to note that despite such a low number involved in tourism, 46 percent of the sample included it in their top two preferred industries for the region, second only to fishing at 56 percent.

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[171] City of Greater Geelong, *Geelong Economic Indicators Bulletin 1998/9*, City of Greater Geelong, 1999, p.22
[172] Geelong Otway Tourism, *Geelong Otway Tourism Strategic Business Plan*, Geelong Otway Tourism Inc, Geelong, 2001, p.60
[173] Tourism Victoria, *Visitors to Bays and Peninsulas, Summary Results Year Ending December 1999*, www.tourismvictoria.com.au, December 2001;
Geelong Otway Tourism, op.cit., 2001, p.92

Tourism as a Preferred Industry for Barwon Heads

When trying to ascertain the level of understanding of the value of tourism to Barwon Heads as a function of its importance, those respondents who had tourism in their top three preferred industries for the town were analysed in greater detail. The questions relating to this are those looked at above, where respondents were asked how many visitors can stay in Barwon Heads at any one time (that is, visitor bed numbers), the average time visitors spend in the region, and how much an overnight tourist would spend.

Of those who answered the first question on bed numbers, a significant 51 percent had tourism in their top three preferred industries for the town. Of this group, 45 percent felt that the number of beds available was at 3,000 or more, possibly indicating a greater level of understanding of the town's tourism capabilities when compared with the entire sample's response. This group, however, was also lower than the entire sample regarding the average lengths of stay, with 37 percent (compared with 47 percent) opting for 7 days or more, and 34 percent getting it right at 3 days (compared with 27 percent of the entire sample).

A slightly lower proportion of this sample also felt that visitors spend more than $76 per overnight trip -- 81 percent compared to 86 percent respectively. This is a small difference, but in conjunction with the other results, gives the impression that those who support tourism as an industry also have a slightly more realistic understanding of it. Nevertheless, the difficulty of local understanding of the role of tourism to Barwon Heads needs to be addressed by the industry itself as well as council. While it may be advantageous to the industry to have the community believe that tourism brings in more money than it does, this can result in ridiculously high expectations of tourism that cannot be delivered. The implications of over-estimating the benefits of tourism are discussed in detail in Chapter 9. The 'people in the street' appear to have adopted similar measures of community and personal well-being as the economic rationalists (particularly all levels of government), ignoring aspects of civic engagement, community pride and a sense of achievement as community strength indicators. Nevertheless, it is precisely the more intangible community indicators that are being considered by social researchers and planners who have recognised the limitations of assessing communities purely on economic grounds. An example of this is the broad range of benchmarks established by the Oregon Progress

Board for their *Oregon Shines Project* which is being used extensively in Australia as a basis for establishing community indicators[174]. These include economic performance, education, civic engagement, social support, public safety, community development and environment and is taken up in Chapter 7. This aspect is also noted when analysing social representations in the next section.

Residents Attitudes to *Sea Change* - Common Social Representations

As outlined in some detail in Chapter Three, one of the main aims of this research was to identify the various attributes of those within the Barwon Heads community holding similar attitudes and representations towards film-induced tourism, represented by the TV series, *Sea Change*. In this way, various groups or stakeholders can be identified that may be otherwise overlooked using a more traditional segmentation method. The questionnaire contained a series of open-ended questions that provides a rich source of attitudinal information. Possible social representations have been distinguished by identifying recurring themes outlined in Table 4.2. This was initially done with a smaller sample size of 100 to gain some early indication of groups with similar representations and has now been expanded to include the entire sample. The variables of age, gender, average length of residency in the town, whether coming from a city or not, home ownership status and whether tourism featured in the respondents' top three preferred industries for the town were found to define groups within a range of representations.

All the comments that make up the representations came from the unprompted responses to open-ended questions, therefore those that attracted similar remarks were considered within the context of the aim of identifying social representations. Comments that received a favorable number of corresponding responses of over 10 percent and supported the participant-observation and interview findings have been included.

It should be noted that the same person may have a range of different and at times contradictory social representations. For example, parents who have invested in a holiday house may see the increased tourism and profile of Barwon Heads as advantageous from the investment point of view, but detrimental to the future aspirations of their children

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[174] Oregon Progress Board , *Achieving the Oregon Shines Vision: The 1999 Benchmark Performance Report*,

(who may be trying to save a deposit to purchase their own property). This is a common flaw in the analysis of much psychographic related material, where it is assumed that people belong to only one psychographic group at a time, when this is rarely the case. To illustrate this point, take Plog's well accepted psychographic typology of allocentric and psychocentric personalities[175], which he describes as segments of a population bell-curve. Such a model does not allow for simultaneous, multiple representations from each extreme of the curve. For example, as a tourism academic I am personally interested in interacting with local communities and immersion in their cultures while traveling (allocentric). Yet, as a professional working long hours, I'd love to relax in a resort where I do not have to even make a decision (very psychocentric). Such interests and desires exist simultaneously, and while this argument may be considered as Plog's 'midcentric' group who want some cultural immersion along with comfortable hotels at the end of the day (for example), this is not the case. We are still referring to the desire for total cultural immersion and safe comfortable travel coexisting in one person. This is not a desire for a compromise between the two, but two separate, contradictory, yet valid, desires. Therefore, a more appropriate diagrammatic illustration of Plog's typology would be with a reverse overlay of the concurrent conflicting desires and needs.

Such is the flexibility of Social Representation Theory that it can incorporate such 'anomalies' as it does not set rigid parameters for each Social Representation group, merely describes them, perceiving them to be fluid. It recognises that conflicting representations can coexist, allowing them to be.

Report to the Legislative Assembly, March 1999, Oregon, 1999
[175] D. Weaver & M. Oppermann, *Tourism Management*, John Wiley and Sons, Australia, 2000, p.193

Table 4.2 Film-induced tourism aspects affecting residents of Barwon Heads (N = 185)

COMMENT/ REPRESENTATION	Age % of opinion group	Gender % of opinion group	Length of Residency % of opinion group	Ex-city Resident % of opinion group	Own home % of opinion group	Tourism in Top 3 Preferred Industries % of opinion group	Total % of total sample
POSITIVE							
Economic benefits - local business, upgrading of shops, employment	18-39 34 40-59 34 60+ 32	M 33 F 66	<5 yr 53 6+ yr 47	61	79	60	48
Increased tourism	18-39 33 40-59 40 60+ 27	M 29 F 71	<5 66 6+ 34	51	78	73	40
Raises profile of the town – put Barwon Heads on the map	18-39 28 40-59 35 60+ 37	M 27 F 73	<5 51 6+ 49	61	85	78	36
Increase property values (positive)	18-39 24 40-59 36 60+ 40	M 38 F 62	<5 46 6+ 54	70	85	64	18
NEUTRAL							
Great place as it is – retain "village by the sea".	18-39 32 40-59 32 60+ 36	M 25 F 75	<5 57 6+ 43	62	82	59	34
NEGATIVE							
Fiction vs Reality: Barwon Heads is not Pearl Bay.	18-39 32 40-59 42 60+ 24	M 37 F 63	<5 48 6+ 52	68	86	58	34
Crowding/congestion/traffic	18-39 35 40-59 37 60+ 28	M 35 F 65	<5 55 6+ 45	50	84	65	31
Increased property values - rental etc. (negative)	18-39 28 40-59 45 60+ 27	M 19 F 81	<5 39 6+ 61	44	78	47	10
FUTURE ISSUES (not necessarily film-induced)							
Planning – development must be managed, including tourism	18-39 37 40-59 35 60+ 28	M 27 F 73	<5 58 6+ 42	58	80	60	59
Maintaining infrastructure and services	18-39 30 40-59 34 60+ 36	M 33 F 67	<5 41 6+ 59	70	89	63	15
A COMMON VISION							
Village atmosphere and careful planning	18-39 33 40-59 37 60+ 30	M 28 F 72	<5 56 6+ 44	59	81	60	54
ENTIRE SAMPLE							
	18-39 30 40-59 33 60+ 37	M 34 F 66	<5 52 6+ 48	58	83	58	100

The groups that are of particular interest in this analysis are those that differ in some way from the entire sample, which also takes into consideration the aforementioned bias of the sample. Such groups indicate a higher propensity towards holding a certain representation or attitude regarding the effect of *Sea Change* on Barwon Heads.

Some of the responses that make up potential social representation clusters from the table include the high level of recognition of the economic benefits of *Sea Change*, with a 48

percent response rate from across all age groups, whereas a slightly lower 36 percent viewed the raising of the profile of the town as a benefit, including 8 percent who felt that the series brought increased pride to the community. However, during informal conversations in the town over the past two years, pride in the *Sea Change* phenomenon has been demonstrable at all levels from traders through to their local customers, school children and residents. Such a focus on economic gain, combined with the limited recognition of socio-cultural benefits supports the prevailing economic rationalist stance of first world countries, supporting the previously discussed evidence of the perceived over-importance of tourism to the economy of the town.

A further significant response is the recognition of the positive aspects of increased tourism as a benefit of the *Sea Change* series. This representation is held by 40 percent of the respondents with a higher response rate from the more recent residents than in the overall sample (66 percent compared with 52 percent). The need for sensitive planning, however, is high on the agenda of Barwon Heads residents, with 44 percent stating the need to preserve what the town has and plan carefully for the future. This representation appears to cross all groups and is also reflected in the desire of 34 percent to maintain the town's "Village by the Sea" atmosphere.

Increased property prices have been identified as both a positive and negative aspect of film-induced tourism by two distinct clusters, with 18 percent viewing it as a positive aspect and a further 10 percent considering it to be negative, particularly in terms of rental prices. In both representations, the majority of respondents were home owners, with the average length of residency differentiating the clusters. Forty-six percent of those who viewed increased property values as a positive outcome were in the lower average residency bracket of less than five years, while 61 percent of those who considered it to be negative were in the six years plus bracket. This could reflect the newer residents' attitude towards property investment and mobility (the newer residents being more cognizant of the prospects of capital gain, and possibly more motivated by it), whereas the longer residents have taken on the decision to settle in the area and are not interested, or perhaps less conscious of capital gain through their property. Also, 70 percent of those who saw increased prices as positive were originally from a major city, with 44 percent in the negative group, compared with 58 percent overall, indicating an interest in property speculation and possible short-term plans as far as living permanently in the town.

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Representation Clusters

The patterns that have been noted in the previous table provide the opportunity to identify nine groupings with similar social representations and concurring aspects. They have been labeled based on their over-riding stance, namely 'Good for Traders' (economic benefits), 'Good for Tourism', 'Raises Profile and Pride', 'Good for Property Sales', 'Bad for Property Purchase', 'Flash in the Pan' (fiction – Barwon Heads is not Pearl Bay, so will not last), 'Don't Crowd Me', 'Steady as she Goes!' (the need for careful planning) and 'Retain Village Atmosphere'. The model in Figure 4.4 below has taken these stances and posits their social representation on a three dimensional axis of average length of residency, ex-city dweller and listing tourism as a top three preferred industry, which are the main variables that differentiate them from the entire sample and population.

Figure 4.4 Social Representations regarding Film-Induced Tourism within clusters of the Barwon Heads Residential Community

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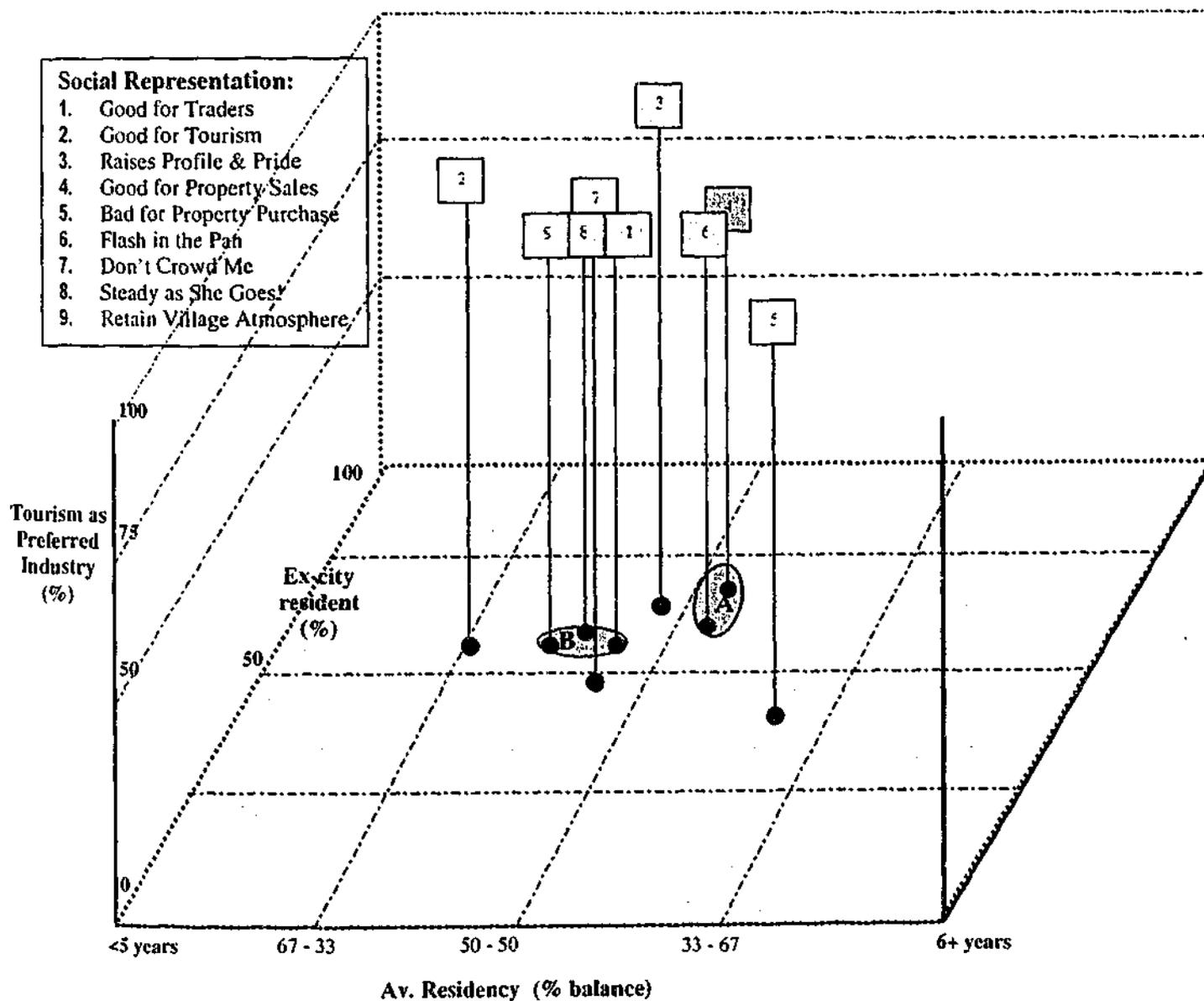
The model shows that two groups of representations, A (4 and 6) and B (1, 8 and 9), clustered in a common region on all three axes. The proximity of the members in these clusters could have rendered them invisible to standard research methods, yet they exist as quite separate representations and can certainly influence and impact on the Barwon Heads community. The differences between the actual social representations in the clusters suggests that we are seeing evidence of contradictory representations held by the same people or person, supporting the aforementioned concept that a person can hold contradictory beliefs or attitudes. In particular, Cluster A represents one positive and one negative attitude, suggesting that while this group recognises some benefits from *Sea Change* in terms of property prices, they are limited, short term and temporary (a 'flash in the pan').

Cluster B is a little more complex, with three representations in this group, indicating that they see tourism as important (at least for the traders), yet desire to retain the town's village atmosphere. This is contradictory insofar as the benefits to traders go, however, the third representation - careful planning for tourism and other development - can be seen as a proposed solution from this group. It is tempting to read a lot into this cluster, and while it is speculative, the stance outlined here has been found to exist in the town through the findings of three years of participant observation. Around 60 percent come from a major city and are slightly shorter-term residents. Consequently, we have a group who may have first come across Barwon Heads as a visitor, recognizing the role that traders play for visitors and tourists (and vice versa).

The stances represented by numbers 2, 3, 5 and 7 are not clustered, being quite separate social representation groups. Numbers 3 and 5 are of particular interest due to their differing preferences for tourism in the town. The third representation, 'Raises Profile and Pride' has an extremely positive view of tourism, with the highest response rate of all the representations and has a higher female representation of 73 percent compared with 66 percent of the entire sample, and 52 percent of the population, as well as more recent city dwellers. Recognition of the importance of intangible aspects of a community's well-being such as pride are often attributed to women who tend to view such aspects more favourably, however these intangibles have now been accepted by community planners as crucial. This is taken up in the community planning section in Chapter 7.

Along with number 3, the other representation that rates tourism highly is the group that sees *Sea Change* as being 'Good for Tourism' (representation number 2), an identifiable representation group which stands out as a function of being just over half from a major city, more recently arrived residents with slightly less than 75 percent support for tourism as an important, viable industry for the town. In contrast, the group that sees *Sea Change* as having a negative effect on home purchase (number 5) can be readily seen as an attitude/belief held by the longer term residents, the majority of whom previously lived outside major cities. This group has a relatively low view of tourism for the town. This group also has a lower home ownership rate than the entire sample (78 percent compared with 83 percent), even though it is still high. The predominance of home ownership in the town reflects the ability, prior to the prices escalating, of residents in towns such as Barwon Heads to embrace the 'Great Australian Dream' of owning your own home. Australian Bureau of Statistics figures show 74 percent owning or buying in the town, with the percentage of permanent tenants well below the national average of 32 percent[176].

The final representation, number 7, relates to concerns about crowding and congestion in the town. This group comprises slightly more recent residents, with more than 50 percent coming previously from a rural or small town environment. Even though they are concerned about crowds, they still prefer tourism to many other industries, demonstrating another group with contradictory attitudes.

So, what do these representations 'mean' in terms of film-induced tourism and community planning? As the sample size is not truly representative of the population, these results are being used as indications of the range of social representations in the residential community and as such do provide some strong evidence. As already stated, these results have identified representations that may not have been obvious until it was too late, resulting in a fragmented, hostile community (which has occurred to some extent at Barwon Heads, especially in relation to development issues). This issue is partly addressed when looking for a common vision below, with more detail in Chapter 7.

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[176] La Trobe University Bendigo, op.cit., 2000

A Common Vision for the Town?

Two representations in particular indicate a strong view held by many people in the town, namely representations 8 and 9, 'Retain Village Atmosphere' and 'Steady as She Goes!'. These representations, when combined, comprise 54 percent of the entire sample, which is significant considering that the actual representations have been obtained from the open-ended questions only. The other characteristics of this combined representation are evenly spread along the entire sample, with a few minor differences with older people and women more highly represented. Even so, the differences are not significant, so it can be assumed that this could form a common vision for the town.

Such a vision is essential when community planning processes are applied, and is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7, where the results from Chapters 4 and 5 are combined to assist and illuminate the process. It is interesting to note that *Sea Change* itself celebrates such a village atmosphere and community and condemns unsympathetic development, with much of the storyline devoted to the prevention of inappropriate development, such as tunnels, theme parks, marinas, shopping malls and so on. This vision and its reflection in the storyline are taken up in the discussion of destination marketing in Chapter 6.

In-Depth Interviews, September 2001

During the course of the three year investigation into film-induced tourism at Barwon Heads, leaders in the community who had particular professional and personal interest in the phenomenon were identified and spoken to on numerous occasions in an informal manner. These informal conversations offered personal insight into community attitudes. As discussed in Chapter Three, often such information does not come out in a formal interview or survey, where responses are often self-edited. Key personnel interviewed included the Executive Director of Geelong Otway Tourism, Roger Grant, the President of the Barwon Heads Traders and Tourism Association, Bernard Napthene, the Manager of the Barwon Coast Committee of Management, Bob Jordan, and one of the proprietors of At The Heads restaurant, Tim Caithness. The findings from the residents surveys and social representation clusters are supported by many of the comments from these key people who while benefiting professionally from tourism, (all but one - Grant) also live in

the town and are in positions to be in close touch with the general community, providing a direct link between the residents and tourists.

Interviews were conducted at their respective offices in September 2001, enabling them to provide opinion on the effect of *Sea Change* and if there are any ongoing aspects to the phenomenon. Questions were slightly different for each interview, depending on their focus and expertise, ranging from general changes to the town, aspects of film-induced tourism (including its importance to the region), and future directions of Barwon Heads as well as what were the current community issues. A copy of each of the interview reports is in Appendix Five.

Of interest in this chapter are the comments made and opinions expressed regarding the community and its response to tourism in general and film-induced tourism in particular, as well as the effect of *Sea Change* on Barwon Heads and current community issues. All those interviewed believe that the series placed Barwon Heads 'on the map', with both Grant and Caithness claiming that the series actually gave the town an identity. They all also noted the increase of visitors all year round, crediting *Sea Change* for creating the interest, with Jordan, Napthene and Grant stating that people were initially encouraged by *Sea Change* to visit Barwon Heads (usually on a day trip), then return for a longer visit as they recognise the extent of things to do in the region. The importance of such awareness-raising cannot be underestimated (yet often is).

All of those interviewed noted the revitalisation of the Barwon Heads shopping area into a tourism-focused area, with Napthene commenting that this has reversed the business flow from Barwon Heads to Ocean Grove with people from Ocean Grove now coming over to visit the restaurants and cafes. This is a pertinent observation, as there has been much said (especially by residents) of the lack of basic services at Barwon Heads, such as banks, butcher, green grocer and so on, yet few have noted the significance of the Ocean Grove visitors. This is not surprising as it really only impacts dramatically on the traders, not the residents. On the negative side, petty thieves are coming over from Ocean Grove due to the lack of a police presence in Barwon Heads. An equally plausible or additional explanation is that there is more to steal in houses and cars at Barwon Heads.

The importance of the series for the restaurant now at the site of Diver Dan's shed (the old Fisherman's Cooperative) is considered in more depth in Chapter 7, however it is worth noting that Caithness comments on the importance of retaining the façade of the shed, complete with its peeling paint. The restaurant has been designed so that photos can still be taken of 'Diver Dan's' without interference from the new structure behind it. Whether this was solely a decision of the restaurant owners, or if it was required by the managers of the land on which the restaurant is leased, the Barwon Coast Committee, is not clear.

Residents also commented on the beautification of the main street and lack of parking as current community concerns, with Napthene explaining that the nature of the businesses (cafés) means people are staying longer in the on-street parking places, resulting in lower turnover of vehicles and less free spaces. Issues regarding the cost of housing and rate of development were also mentioned, especially the preponderance of medium density dwellings now being build close to the river.

While a few of the interviewees commented on the limited range of accommodation available in the town as placing limitations on the development of tourism, especially the mid to up-market range, Grant noted that this was consistent with the *Sea Change* image, stating that people could stay on other parts of the Peninsula, such as Queenscliff which is only a 15 minute drive from Barwon Heads. These key personnel were also asked about the use of *Sea Change* as a destination marketing tool in the promotion of Barwon Heads. Their responses are included in the chapter on destination marketing, Chapter 6.

It has been noted at various stages throughout the chapter that the findings outlined will be applied to issues of community planning in Chapter 7, particularly in terms of tourism planning and development, hence the concluding comments for this chapter are brief. While *Sea Change* has not been the sole influence on the town, it is evident that it arrived at a serendipitous moment, when Barwon Heads was 'ready to take off', and appears to have facilitated and sped up its development. The series may also have had some effect on the type of development in the town – for example, would the restaurant, At The Heads, have been so conscious of retaining the old fisherman's cooperative shed in its natural, distressed state if it had not been used as Diver Dan's shed? It is doubtful that those wanting to retain the town's heritage would have been able to justify the retention of such a

site without help from an emotive media construct such as *Sea Change*. The following chapter considers these aspects and issues from the tourists' point of view.

Chapter 5: Effects on Tourism

Where the previous chapter looked at the research findings at Barwon Heads in relation to the community, this chapter considers them from a tourism aspect. As outlined in the methodology, an initial demographic survey was undertaken to obtain some base-line data on visitors to Barwon Heads. The results of that survey are outlined in the first section of this chapter, followed by a discussion on the potential impact of the early changes noted in Barwon Heads on the main group of visitors to the town, the budget (or family) holiday-maker. In order to assess the impact of the series on visitation over a period of time, the attitudes and opinions of visitors to the *Sea Change* sites was surveyed at Easter, 2000 and in the September (Fall) School Holidays in 2001. The results of the surveys are augmented with detailed discussion of the observed changes to the town during that period, as well as interviews with key players in the Barwon Heads community.

A survey to track changes in the nature of visitors to Barwon Heads from the end of the first series of *Sea Change* in 1998, when the popularity was beginning to have some influence on the town, was undertaken, through to the heightened profile of the town gained from the immense popularity of the repeat of the first series in 1999 and the second series that followed immediately. The survey captured both the traditional, regular holiday maker as well as new overnight and day visitors. As outlined in Chapter 3, the questionnaires were distributed via the local commercial businesses, who displayed them in positions of varying prominence. This particular survey continued during the screening of two series up until the filming of the third in Easter 2000, with a total of 183 responses. Such self-selected sampling does not allow for definitive assessment of visitors to the town, however as it was random, it can be used to track changes in visitor motivation and length of stay.

Designed to capture all visitors to the town, not just those who were aware of *Sea Change*, there was no reference to the series until the second page. A total of 90 percent of respondents had heard of the series, with 94 percent of them aware that it was filmed in Barwon Heads. Of that number, 54 percent had plans to visit sites used in the series.

Those coming to the area purely because of *Sea Change* tended to arrive later in the study period, particularly in the period from September 1999, after the airing of second series, reflecting the growth in popularity of the series as well as recognition of where it was filmed. In addition, the *Sea Change* visitors tend to come from further afield than the regular visitors, indicating a broadening of the visitor market due to the television series.

Basic Profile of Visitors to Barwon Heads

As shown in Table 5.1, close to half of the respondents to the survey (47 percent) were in the 31 to 50 age group, with a further 19 percent in the 16 to 30 group, which is broadly consistent with figures for 1999 from Geelong Otway Tourism[177]. This indicates that the sample is reflective of the whole visitor population, permitting some inferences to be drawn from the data.

Table 5.1 Basic Barwon Heads Visitor Profile (percent)

Age (years)		Length of Stay (days)		Visited Previously		Frequency of visits	
16-30	19	1	26	Yes	82	Once a year	24
31-50	47	2-3	31			Twice a year	14
50-65	23	7+	39			Every 3 months	20
65+	11					Monthly	24
				No	18		

The preponderance of one to three day visitors reflects the importance of Barwon Heads as a short break destination, particularly in the non-summer periods which saw a steady growth over the survey period with over a third of short-break visits being in the non-peak periods, which appears to be related to the influence of *Sea Change*. Of those staying longer, their stays were almost exclusively over the peak Christmas school holiday break. Once again, these figures are consistent with overall visitation to the region in 1999[178]. The majority of respondents had visited Barwon Heads previously with 89.5 percent of them in the past 12 months, reflecting the strength of the regular holiday market. This reflects a strong, regular return visitor pattern that supports the premise of a regular, family

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[177] Geelong Otway Tourism, op.cit., 2001, p.66

oriented visitor market, especially considering the main times of longer stays are through the Christmas school holiday period.

When asked to describe Barwon Heads by selecting from a list of descriptors that ranged from 'boring' and 'unfriendly' to 'relaxing' and 'friendly', responses strongly supported the positive aspects as shown in Table 5.2 below.

Table 5.2 Descriptions of Barwon Heads

Peaceful	Relaxing	Friendly	Private	Boring	Unfriendly
69	80	62	21	4	1

The descriptor 'private' in relation to age was relatively high for the 41-50 group, with close to half of those who described Barwon Heads as being private in that group, reflecting a desire for privacy from the middle age sectors. While one may suspect that the negative responses of 'boring' and 'unfriendly' may come from the younger visitors, this was not the case - those who found it boring were in the broad age range of 15-40, while those who found it unfriendly were in the 21-30 and 41-50 age ranges. However, these numbers are low and may not be truly indicative, so are mentioned as a point of interest, not conclusive results.

The Impact of *Sea Change*

Eighteen percent of respondents were on their first visit to Barwon Heads, with just over one third prompted to come because of the *Sea Change* series. This was by far the largest motivator for new visitors, with the next one (usually the highest in domestic tourism), visiting friends and relatives at 23 percent.

As shown in Table 5.3, little under half of total visitors planned to visit some of the *Sea Change* sites, however, when asked to nominate what sites they were visiting, the responses were a little vague as not all of the sites in the series are filmed at Barwon Heads. A small group of visitors were hoping to see sites that are not in Barwon Heads, and a fifth of the respondents nominated sites in Barwon Heads that were not actually featured in the series, indicating disjunctions between image, expectations and reality.

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[178] ibid., p.63

Such conflict is of concern to tourism operators and the community, and is considered in the later research outlined in this chapter.

Table 5.3 *Sea Change* Site Visitation and Propensity to Move to Barwon Heads

Plan to Visit *Sea Change* Sites			Consider Living in Barwon Heads		
Yes (43%)	Jetty	42	Yes (64%)	Change of Lifestyle	51
	Diver Dan's Shed	33		Early retirement	12
	Laura's Cottage	36		Retire at 65	22
	Sites not actually featured	20			
	Sites not in Barwon Heads	7			

Of those who were looking for a change of lifestyle, half were aware of the connection between Barwon Heads and *Sea Change*, suggesting that the series has reinforced people's desire for their own 'sea change'. The growth in real estate prices (up to 60 percent in two years) also supports this finding.

In conclusion, the questionnaire indicated a shift in visitor motivation, from return visits and visiting friends and relatives to a desire to experience the *Sea Change* sites and ambience. These findings prompted the visitor interviews conducted in Easter 2000 and September 2001 as well as raising concern about the possible impact of the 'new' visitor on the traditional budget holiday-maker so prevalent in the town. Based on a participant-observer site visit in September 1999, a discussion of the potential social issues that such changes may bring follows.

High Yield Tourism Displacing Traditional Holiday-Makers?

When the Victorian state tourism body, Tourism Victoria, released its initial Strategic Business Plan in 1993, a key objective was to position the state as a significant tourism destination, through the development of Regional Tourism Development Plans for the

thirteen regions of the state[179]. The reports were released throughout 1997/8 in conjunction with Tourism Victoria's second business plan for 1997-2001 where a clear direction was given for regional tourism bodies to target high-yield market segments - reinforced by the main strategies in each of the regional tourism plans[180].

To identify the high yield tourist segments Tourism Victoria utilised the Roy Morgan Value Segments. These segments may constitute 53 percent of the population but ignore the remaining 47 percent, including the traditional family budget holiday makers (termed as the 'Basic Needs', 'Real Conservatism', Conventional Family Life' and 'Fairer Deal' value segments) who make up a further quarter of the population and 22 percent of the local budget holiday market[181]. As such, not only is a significant tourist group ignored, but also discouraged through the priorities of the proposed strategies.

Analysis of the regional tourism plans provides a similar scenario. Each of the thirteen plans refers to the need to attract the high-yield markets, ignoring the majority of the budget market. For example, the Regional Tourism Development Plan for the Bays and Peninsulas region (which includes the focus area of this paper) identifies the same high-yielding value segments as Tourism Victoria in both their primary and secondary markets, ignoring a large segment of the budget holiday market. This is repeated in all the regional plans.

While a superficial assessment might lead to a focus on high yielding tourist segments, it must be recognised that all sorts of people take holidays, particularly to regional and coastal centres. What we are now witnessing is the squeezing out of the budget holiday maker in the rush for the limited high-yield tourist, which can create middle class tourism ghettos and may result in further discrimination against lower socio-economic groups.

During the September school holidays in 1999, while staying in the cottage used as Laura's residence in the series on a site visit, amateur photographers snapped and visitors would run up onto the verandah to peer through the windows. It was at this time that park

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[179] Tourism Victoria, *Strategic Business Plan, 1993*, Tourism Victoria, Melbourne, 1993, p.87
[180] id., *Strategic Business Plan, 1997-2001, Building Partnerships*, Tourism Victoria, Melbourne, 1997
[181] ibid.

management (the cottage is part of the Barwon Caravan Park) erected notices that read, "Visitors are requested to respect the privacy of the beach house residents".

Figure 5.1 Placement of privacy notice on Laura's Cottage (September 1999)
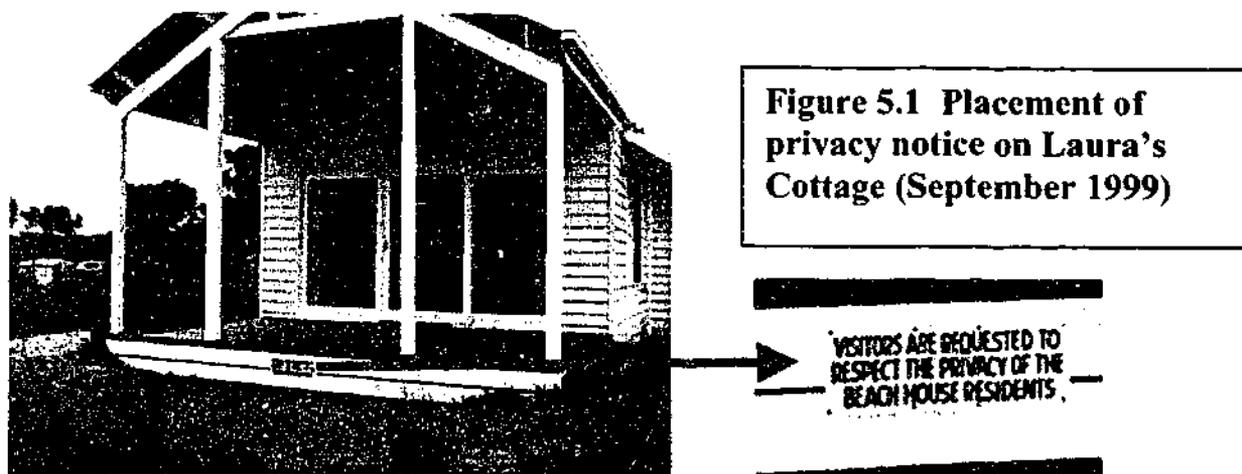
Park management expressed concern over the privacy invasions that were being experienced and suggested that they may need to eventually fence off the site, which would restrict public access to the foreshore walk. Campers adjacent to the cottage were being imposed on by the increasing number of visitors wishing to view and photograph the cottage and its surrounds.

The Barwon Heads Park and camping ground is the site of the most recognisable aspects of *Sea Change* (apart from some filming at St Leonards and Williamstown), namely the residences of the main romantic leads, now known as Laura's Beach House and Diver Dan's shed. Also, the images of fishing boats, the bridge (which is central to the narrative) and the tidal views feature significantly in the series, providing more than merely a visual backdrop to much of the action. The light and alterations due to the tidal flows in the area provide some of the most beautiful images in the series. These aspects are also among the main attractions for campers and other recreational visitors to the park.

The state government-funded Barwon Foreshore Committee, developed plans for the management of the park that include a series of actions that have been interpreted by some as precursors to privatising the publicly-owned and managed caravan park. Proposed priority action for the caravan park include comprehensive upgrades of the camping sites, adding four fully serviced cabins next to Laura's Beach House, and relocating the football club (traditionally based at the oval in the caravan park). Off-location developments that are adjacent to the caravan park (managed by the same management committee) include

the development of a restaurant at the site of the old Fisherman's Cooperative, or Diver Dan's Shed, completion of a new boatshed facility incorporating a coastal interpretation centre and picnic facilities and the creation of a conservation and education based walk.[182]

While tourism bodies remain focused on the high-yielding sectors of the tourism industry, disenfranchisement of the budget holiday maker is a real issue. Until the prevailing economic-rationalist attitude is tempered with a recognition of the value of intangible aspects that make up the quality of life, such a focus will remain with potentially dangerous results. The need for recreation and relaxation is recognised as central to a healthy, happy, productive life, but while the tourism industry is preoccupied with the apparently lucrative high-yield market segments, the health of the Australian community is compromised.

How much has this to do with *Sea Change*? Many of the actions outlined in the proposed management plans have been under discussion for many years, but increased demand from new visitors and the associated promise of economic gain from the success of *Sea Change* is extremely timely and provides an impetus for the implementation and eventual success of the developments, particularly those involved with the jetty and Laura's beach house precinct.

Each side of the development debate has appropriated the *Sea Change* effect to support their stance, with opponents to the restaurant development claiming that the sheds and jetty provide "an environmentally sound, sustainable and growing attraction for visitors.." while claiming that "in Britain, governments are ….. protecting the charming local sights of TV series…."[183]. On the other hand, supporters of the development claim that it is needed and that "*Sea Change* has certainly livened up Barwon Heads ……… a couple of local young men were enterprising enough to set up a make-shift outdoor café near …. Diver Dan's…… The café was so successful, the young men …. are about to convert the Fisherman's co-op into a restaurant."[184].

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[182] Barwon Coast Committee of Management, *Proposed Management and Business Plans*, Barwon Heads, 1999

[183] G. Oberin/Trayling, & B. Flick, 'Bigger Picture' *The Echo, Letters*, Aug. 4, 1999, p.13

[184] M. Ryllis Clark, 'Lou Stinson's Barwon Heads', *The Sunday Age – Escape Section*, 13 June 1999, p.4

In actual fact, the restaurant development did not result from the popularity of the series. Park management plans had recommended developing a restaurant on the site for a number of years, and when the contract was granted to the restaurateurs they could not commence immediate development as filming of the series was underway at the site. Consequently, they began by opening a small café on the first day of filming the second series of *Sea Change*, with the intention to commence the restaurant development on the completion of filming by Easter 1999. The story had been altered to support a particular perspective. Whether the perspective was the reporter's or the people interviewed, it is hard to tell.

In a stunning role-reversal the ABC itself appropriated the controversy to promote the series through a report on its television current affairs program, *The 7.30 Report*, where the anchor, Maxine McKew, introduced the report stating that "... some ambitious locals want to develop a $500,000 restaurant on the site where Diver Dan dallied with Laura Gibson."[185]. The report was heavily peppered with references to the series (which is shown on the ABC), and inferences of some real-life connection between the fictional characters of Pearl Bay and those living in Barwon Heads, with cuts to selected clips of the series featuring the real estate agent, Bob Jelly, interspersed with comment from the real-life Barwon Heads agent, Rodger Bodey. Discussion with some of those interviewed revealed a high level of dissatisfaction with the selective and inaccurate nature of the report. Supporting this stance, resentment towards being compared to characters in the series was evident in the findings of the residents' survey discussed in the previous chapter, where over a third commented that "Barwon Heads is not Pearl Bay".

Such blatant self-promotion from Australia's publicly-owned national broadcaster in the guise of 'current affairs' is misleading at the very least. *The 7.30 Report* is generally considered to be 'above' the cross-promotional antics of the commercial networks, with this particular current affairs program considered among the most balanced programs of its kind in Australia. The use of this reputation to promote a series that has been the station's most successful to date, and present a false 'angle' on the report, brings into question the reliability an bias of all of the station's current affairs reports.

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[185] Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC TV), 'Tourists and developers seek out their own Pearl Bay', *7.30 Report*, 21 July 1999

In order to better understand the motives and opinions of visitors to the *Sea Change* sites and the changes occurring there, an intercept survey was conducted during the 2000 Easter holiday period. Analysis and discussion of the results follows.

Sea Change Visitors - Results of Easter Visitors Survey, April 2000

Intercept surveys were conducted at various *Sea Change* sites, in particular the cottage known as Laura's Cottage and the old Fisherman's Cooperative Sheds known colloquially as Diver Dan's – both names adopted from the series. The respondents were split relatively evenly between male and females, with 52 and 48 percent respectively. A total of 94 visitors were surveyed during the Easter holiday break, 2000, with the main age groups represented being in the 26-35 (19 percent), 36-45 (29 percent), 46-55 (26 percent) age groups. The 36-55 age group, representing 55 percent of respondents is also the main age demographic of Sea Change viewers[186]. They mainly lived in Melbourne (64 percent), with a further 15 percent from western Victoria (the same general region as Barwon Heads) and 2 percent from other parts of the state. Only one respondent was from overseas, and 10 percent from other Australian states, reflecting the local nature of tourism in the region as well as the limited reach of the series, being mainly shown in Australia at this stage.

Most of the responses to the questions were open (apart from basic demographics), enabling respondents to express their opinions in their own language without the risk of being prompted by a checklist of responses. Therefore, the language used as well as the actual response has been studied using the Nud.Ist software package. Social representations theory was applied, identifying three distinct groups among the respondents. As discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, open questions result in lower response rates than closed questions. Nevertheless, those responses indicate personal representations, consequently rates that would be considered low from a quantitative methodology paradigm are nonetheless useful.

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[186] ABC Audience Research, *Sea Change, Summary of Audiences*, unpublished report, 2000

All respondents were aware of the series, and all but two were regular viewers – a clear indication of the popularity of the series. They all knew that the series was filmed in Barwon Heads, with 30 percent finding out by word of mouth and 28 percent stating 'publicity' as their source of information. Table 5.4 outlines the range of means through which respondents found out about the filming sites of the series. The responses were general when referring to 'publicity' and 'general media', with most respondents not differentiating between different types and placement of promotional media. This is one drawback of allowing open answers to questions, but for the relatively small sample size, differentiating aspects of these responses would not have provided meaningful response rates.

Table 5.4 Means of Finding Out Series Filmed in Barwon Heads (percentage)

Word of Mouth	Publicity	Recognised the Town	General media	Saw the film crew	Signage in the town	Series Credits
30	28	20	18	13	3	2

Compared with respondents to the earlier self-completion surveys, this later group did not expect to find sites that weren't actually at Barwon Heads, most likely due to the increased publicity of the series and town through news reports and ABC cross-promotion. However, in spite of the group's 100 percent awareness of Barwon Heads as the town featured in *Sea Change*, there were still over a quarter of respondents (27 percent) who did not expect to find any of the sites featured in the series in the township. A further quarter (23 percent) expected to find only the bridge and jetty, with only a small 14 percent looking for the dwellings of the central characters, Diver Dan and Laura. This has positive implications for tourism destination marketing, as it appears that it is the overall recognition of the town and region that has increased, not the individual sites, and is addressed in the following chapter.

Most of those interviewed had been to Barwon Heads previously, with only three actually coming to Barwon Heads specifically to see the *Sea Change* sites. However, they were nearly all avid viewers and fans of the series, while one of the irregular viewers stated that "I will watch it more often now I've seen Barwon Heads".

Series Appeal and Similarities between Barwon Heads and *Sea Change*

Table 5.5 summarises what respondents saw as the primary appeal of the series. Respondents were not prompted by a checklist, or limited to the number of elements they could include in their answer, rendering these results even more significant in terms of image and appeal than if prompted.

Table 5.5 Series Appeal (percentage)

Australian	Familiar, Relate	Friendly, Quaint, Quirky	Location, Scenery
16	26	14	40

These results indicate a level of empathy to the storyline, with a total of 96 percent responding positively to the question. The high unprompted response rate of 40 percent noting the appeal of the location and scenery demonstrates that there is a close link between the storyline and location of the series. This link augurs well for those wishing to maximise the film-induced tourism marketing potential of the series and reflects some congruence between self-image and the country idyll presented in the series (see Chapter 6 on Film Images and Destination Marketing).

When asked what similarities there were between *Sea Change* and Barwon Heads, 34 percent believed there were not any, while 56 percent found some, with the remaining 10 percent not sure. Of the 53 respondents who recognised similarities, the main aspects are listed in the table below:

Table 5.6 Similarities between the Series and Town (percentage, N=53)

Personalities & Politics	Small Town	Location, Scenery	Friendliness	Atmosphere	Buildings
15	23	50	11	13	6

Again, location and scenery ranks the highest, with the aspect of a small town, personalities, atmosphere and friendliness also featuring. In order to gain insight into how the appeal of the series and similarities with the town correlate, an overlapping matrix analysis was conducted. The results are outlined in the Table 5.7:

Table 5.7 Correlation between Series Appeal and Town Similarities (percentage)

Series Appeal / Similarities to Series	Friendly, Quaint, Quirky	Location, Scenery
People, Personalities	0	2
Location, Scenery	4	21
Friendliness	5	0
Atmosphere	4	0
Buildings	0	4

The strong correlation between the location and scenery may not be considered surprising in the light of previous results, however it is interesting as only part of the series was actually filmed at Barwon Heads, with other scenes being shot at St Leonards (a small seaside town on the other side of the Bellarine Peninsula) and Williamstown in Melbourne. The correlation between friendly, quaint, quirky and atmosphere is also notable as it indicates an emotional (or empathetic) link between the storyline and the town. Once again, these points can direct the marketing of the destination (Barwon Heads) and region as well as individual tourism products, as discussed in Chapter 5.

Opinions of Specific Sites Featured in the Series

The sites that have attracted most interest and recognition from the series are the dwellings of the romantic leads, Diver Dan and Laura. As explained earlier, the façade of the Fisherman's Cooperative was used as Dan's home and a relatively new cottage in the adjacent caravan park for Laura's. While little was altered for the filming of Dan's place (apart from the addition of props such as fishing and surfing equipment), the open verandah of Laura's cottage was enclosed with additional louver windows, weatherboards and lattice, rendering the original cottage unrecognisable.

Laura's Cottage

When asked to comment on Laura's Cottage, the reactions were primarily noncommittal, with 64 percent stating that it was "OK", 13 percent commenting on the good location and 12 percent stating that it was not like it was depicted in *Sea Change.* The fairly low response rate on this last comment deserves some study as the cottage is not at all as it is depicted in *Sea Change* with the façade completely altered. The only true similarity with the series is the location, incorporating the superb views from the cottage. The high

noncommittal "OK" response and general lack of recognition of the changes made to the cottage for filming indicates a lack of connection with the building itself in terms of the series. In order to ascertain what the link (if any) between the appeal of the series and opinions of the cottage may be, a matrix overlap was conducted between these two nodes. The results are outlined in the table below:

Table 5.8 Correlation between aspects of series and site appeal (percentage)

Opinion of Laura's Cottage \ Series Appeal	Australian	Familiar, Relaxed	Friendly, Quaint, Quirky	Location, Scenery
OK	0	0	3	11
Not like Sea Change	0	0	0	0
Good location	0	0	0	13

The results indicated in the table support the notion that it is the location, views and scenery that are most congruent with the cottage, not the building itself. In this case, relation to storyline through the scenery is most in evidence.

Diver Dan's

At the time of the interviews, the site used for Diver Dan's residence was being redeveloped into a restaurant, with much of the area boarded up and some of the buildings and jetty being demolished. Consequently, a high percentage of the comments of Diver Dan's were negative, not only indicating a desire to maintain the status quo but also little knowledge of what the final outcome of the development would be, even though plans were able to be viewed. Further research, undertaken after the completion of the development and opening of the restaurant, is discussed later in this chapter.

When coding the responses to Dan's shed outlined in Table 5.9, only those that definitely related to the redevelopment were included in the nodes, while those that were a little ambiguous were relegated to the 'overall good' section (the negative comments all referred to the development). The high negative response of 40 percent indicates a romantic longing for the site to remain as it was perceived in the series. As noted previously, such a romantic longing was taken advantage of by those opposing the development, claiming

that due primarily to the success of the series, the dilapidated sheds and unsafe jetty had taken on identifiable cultural significance[187].

Table 5.9 Opinions of Diver Dan's Shed and Laura's Cottage (percentage)

DIVER DAN'S SHED		
Good Development	Leave it Alone	Overall Good
15	40	39

LAURA'S COTTAGE		
OK	Good Location	Not Like *Sea Change*
64	13	12

When comparing the terms used to describe the two dwellings of the romantic leads of the series in the table above, we can see a very different relationship between the two properties and the emotional attachment placed on them. The comments relating to Diver Dan's are more attached to the building and the changes that are occurring ("good development", "leave it alone"), whereas those discussing Laura's Cottage are more attached to the scenery ("good location") or non-committal ("OK"). The views from the cottage are superb and include views of Diver Dan's, the river and Heads.

One of the most interesting aspects of the responses from those surveyed was in the unprompted section where any further comments made during the interview were incorporated, with just under a third contributing to this section. A quarter of them related to the effect of *Sea Change* on Barwon Heads, producing some interesting results. Of that 25 percent, 79 percent had positive comments relating to the benefits to the town, 20 percent were mixed and one percent felt that the changes were negative, particularly in terms of increased numbers of visitors. Closer examination of those making the positive statements showed that most of them related to the revival of the town, believing that *Sea Change* put it 'on the map', along with the fact that there were now a number of good cafes and restaurants in the town.

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[187] G. Oberin/Trayling & B. Flick, loc.cit., 1999

Implications and Social Representations

While the unprompted responses to open ended questions yield relatively low results, it is possible to identify three groups with similar social representations, characterised here as Café Society, Visual Aestheticists and Familiar Comfort Seekers. These three representations can be illustrated in the following diagram as quite distinct entities (unlike the more closely aligned social representations of the residents outlined in the previous group), using the differentiators of age group, development stance and residence.

Figure 5.2 Social Representations of *Sea Change* Visitors at Barwon Heads
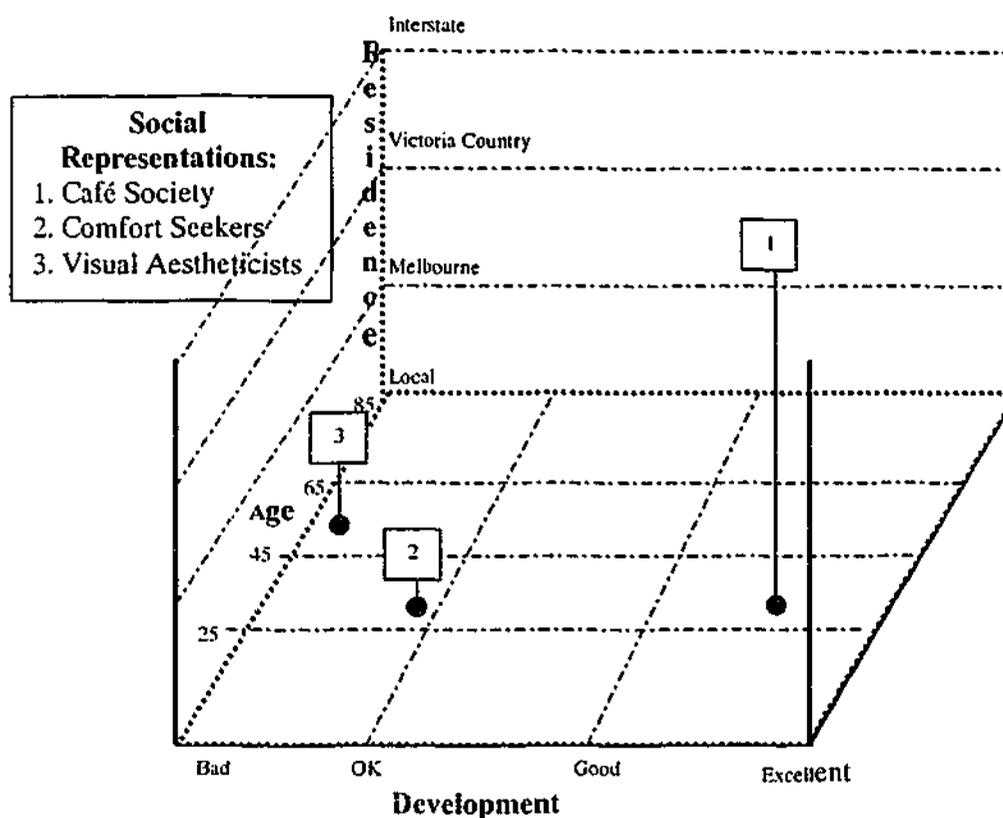
The Café Society was identified through respondents' additional comments about the improved nature of Barwon Heads in terms of cafes, restaurants and town revival. Only four percent were against the development of Diver Dan's shed into a restaurant, with two thirds making positive statements regarding the development. This group of 21 percent of overall respondents can exert a great deal of economic influence on the town. They were predominantly in the 26 – 45 age range, in full time or self-employment, originating from either Geelong or the eastern suburbs of Melbourne. The age range indicated is the predominant grouping of those who have spearheaded the exponential rise in and patronage of cafes and restaurants, in particular in Melbourne, whose tourism agencies have used the café culture as their core destination image. In addition, the Melbourne

residents in this group hail from the more well-heeled, eastern suburbs, including Toorak and Malvern – once again among the main consumers of café culture. This is not a group that traditionally stayed or even stopped at Barwon Heads, yet their influence is evident in the cultural development of the main street as well as the increase in housing prices. The Geelong residents represent a more local group (being a short 20 minutes' drive away) who also appreciate the increased gastronomic opportunities so close to home.

The Familiar Comfort Seekers are not looking for change from their daily lives. They rate *Sea Change* in terms of familiarity and relatedness and are overwhelming against the changes to Diver Dan's shed, with only 13 percent of them rating the development of the restaurant at the site as good. The main age group here is 26-45 and they have the greatest representation from the local region, with just under a third coming from Geelong. Even though they are predominantly in the younger age demographic, there is also a higher level of retirees in this group of around 21 percent.

Visual Aestheticists were initially identified through their positive comments on the scenery and location of Barwon Heads and *Sea Change*, constituting the largest group (40 percent) of respondents. This group consisted equally of men and women, with men more represented in the older age groups (especially 56-75). They are predominantly in the 36-55 age group, followed by the 56 – 75 age group, older demographics than those in the other representations. They are mainly city based, with 90 percent coming from Melbourne and only one respondent from the surrounding areas of Barwon Heads (in this case, Geelong). Such a predominance of urban dwellers for whom the location and scenery at Barwon Heads (and in *Sea Change*) rates highly indicates a longing for, or interest in, places that are aesthetically different from an urban center. Namely, they appear to appreciate and be looking for an ideal self-image (see Chapter 5) along the lines of the rural idyll with its open landscapes, slower lifestyle and cohesive community. Natural beauty and aesthetics rate highly, with only 5 percent approving of the restaurant development at Diver Dan's.

If we analyse the representations in terms of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, which considers behaviour as resulting from five basic needs presented in a hierarchical manner, we are able to further differentiate the representations. In order of decreasing importance, Maslow's needs are physiological, safety, love, esteem and self-actualisation. Maslow

maintains that each preceding need must be adequately satisfied in order to progress to the higher needs, each becoming the main motivator for people at those levels. Considering travel motivation from Maslow's aspect provides us with some basic insights into visitor needs. For example, visitors who situate themselves at higher levels in the hierarchy without fulfilling the lower ones can suffer discomfort and dislocation. This occurs in travel when a person arrives in a foreign place, anticipating aspects of self-actualisation without planning for the basic needs of housing and safety. For many travelers, such dislocation is extremely stressful, being one of the factors (along with price) for the continuing popularity of package tours.

Goeldner et al built on Maslow's hierarchy by incorporating Pearce's travel needs model which claims that people have a behavioural life cycle, producing a ladder of travel models[188]. Applying this adapted model to Barwon Heads visitors provides greater depth and richness to people's psychological needs and motives.

So, where are the representational groups situated in this combined hierarchy? Figure 5.3 below, based on Maslow and Goeldner et al's work, offers some suggestions. Each group can be demonstrated as belonging to a distinct level of the model, with some potential to move between two related levels, depending upon the individual's travel experience. This model recognises that several levels can work together while retaining Maslow's argument that lower needs must be met in order to realise the higher levels/rungs.

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[188] C.R. Goeldner et.al., op.cit., 2000, pp. 262-4

Figure 5.3 *Sea Change* Visitors' Representations on Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs
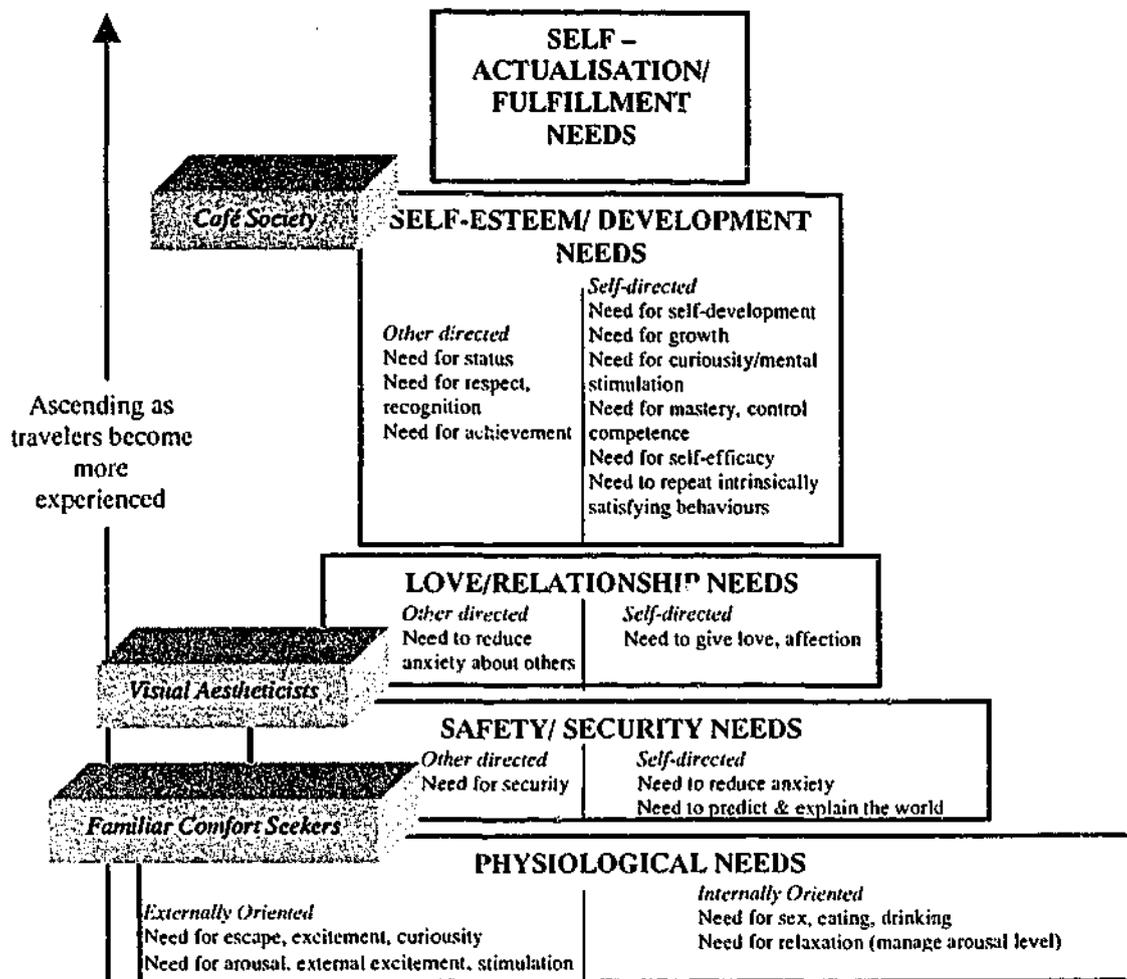
After Goeldner et al, p.263

The implications of the three distinct representations and their place on the model are that there are quite distinct needs for each group, which must be considered when planning for tourism and other community developments. The above diagram clearly shows that the Comfort Seekers are concerned with a need for escape and curiousity while addressing internal basic physiological needs of eating, drinking and relaxation. According the to model, the Visual Aestheticists tend to be more concerned with a need to reduce anxiety, explain the world and for security, while the Café Society tend towards the higher levels of status, recognition and control.

In order to see if any of these needs were being addressed by the town, site visits have continued at regular intervals, including one in July 2001, some 15 months after the visitor surveys discussed in the preceding pages. A follow-up visitor survey was undertaken in the September school holiday period of 2001. A discussion of the results and comparison of representations follows the site visit report.

Site Visit to Barwon Heads, 21-22 July

The current manager of the Barwon Heads Park camping ground is new, coming from South Australia in April 2001, and had not seen any *Sea Change* due to a time-clash with her previous work, but soon realised that she needed to know what this was about. She set about viewing the videos of all 3 series. In a casual discussion she commented it still has an enormous effect on the business and that visitors are always talking about *Sea Change*. Laura's cottage is booked out every weekend until March 2002 (9 months in advance).

The Park still has copies of its *Sea Change* Trail leaflets, and the manager said that it needs updating, which they will be doing soon. They have now built a second cottage next to 'Laura's', with plans to build a third. In order to gain some privacy for guests (a problem noted on earlier site visits), earthworks and vegetation plantings have been done to discourage people from walking right up to the cottages.

Figure 5.4 Earthworks developed to keep walkers and sight-seers away from the cottages (September 2001)

There are also a group of '*Sea Change* Cottages' in a different area of the park, which had nothing directly to do with the series, yet management saw obvious benefits in using the reference. The manager also explained that the camping site at the end of the park next to the Bluff is now the most popular site, as the tea-tree was cleared to provide views of the mouth of the Barwon River for the shooting of the third series where it was used by the romantic lead who replaced Diver Dan, Max, as his place. The actual building in the series was purely temporary (due to the sensitive environmental nature of the site), being constructed out of two shipping containers which were easily dismantled. Of course,

audiences do not always appreciate that even a locality-based TV series does not necessarily use many existing structures, let alone construct sets that will last. For example, all the major sites for *The Lord of the Rings* movie in New Zealand are in protected national parks, requiring the built sets (including entire villages) to be removed and the natural environment restored to its original state. Such restrictions and regulations may be to the detriment of the much touted tourism benefits of *The Lord of the Rings* to New Zealand. With councils and governments becoming more aware of the benefits of film-induced tourism, we could see some instances where producers and directors are encouraged to leave grander built legacies.

The position of the *Sea Change* sites is indicated on the map in Figure 5.5, with the photos indicating the nature of the temporary building for Max's 'home' in the park.

Figure 5.5 Location of main *Sea Change* sites at Barwon Heads
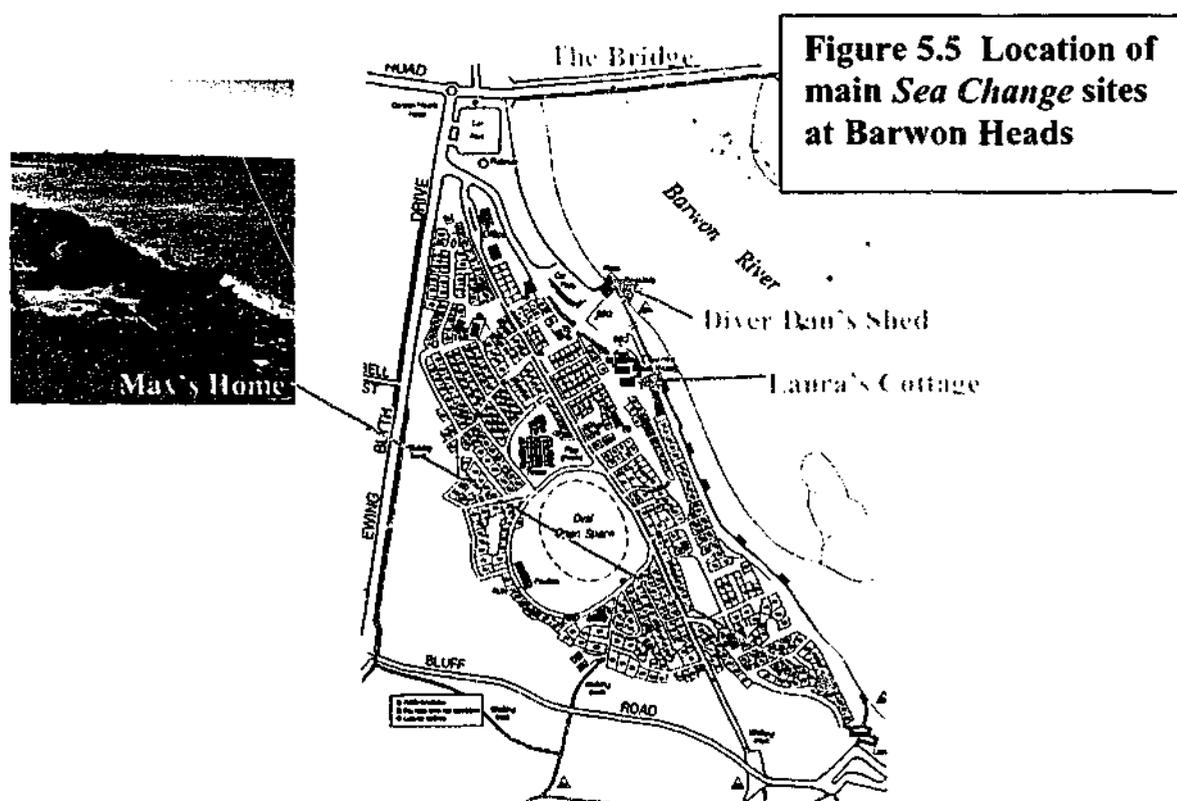
Barwon Heads has certainly benefited from the series in terms of a higher profile and altered demographic of visitors (evidenced by the increase in 'café culture' types), in turn affecting land prices. The series' timing was absolutely perfect for the town as it gave them a profile at a time people were looking for somewhere to spend their holidays and purchase their weekenders. However, there are other factors at stake here, with people now turning to Barwon Heads as a cheaper alternative to the Mornington Peninsula. This

demographic would have been less likely to consider Barwon Heads as a place to visit and stay prior to *Sea Change*, when it had two very plain cafes, fish and chip shops and no book or gift shops.

Due to the problems of selling Australian series overseas, *Sea Change* has not received the anticipated international profile, in particular in the United Kingdom. This could still happen and an influx of English tourists looking for the sites may yet tip the balance between resident and tourist in the town. The overwhelming popularity of 'quirky' rural-based UK series such as *Heartbeat*, combined with their demonstrated interest in Australian coastal series such as *Home and Away*, indicates that *Sea Change*, with its quirky characters and Australian focus on sun, surf and sex would be extremely popular.

Sea Change Visitors - Results of September School Holidays Survey, September 2001

During the 2001 Spring school holiday break in September, interviews were conducted with people at Barwon Heads, resulting in 23 responses from residents and a further 56 from visitors. The questions were similar to those posed in Easter 2000, with more of a focus on the impacts of *Sea Change* on the town and opinions of the restaurant development at Diver Dan's, which previously were quite negative. Once again, apart from demographic questions, the responses were unprompted, allowing for further examination of social representations. The lower number of interviews reflects the lower number of visitors to the town at this time of year, compared with Easter.

The most commonly cited similarities between Barwon Heads and the fictional town of Pearl Bay centered on the small coastal town and people and personalities as shown in Table 5.10 below.

Table 5.10 Similarities between Barwon Heads and Pearl Bay (percentage)

Similarities \ Residence	Local n = 23	Visitor n = 56	Overall n = 79
None	61	13	27
People, personalities	13	14	14
Small coastal town	40	11	19
Location, scenery	26	4	10
Atmosphere	17	2	6

It is interesting to note the differences between visitors and local residents, the latter displaying a much higher denial rate about any similarities between the series and the town. This is not surprising in one way as there has appeared to be a general resistance towards being 'pigeon-holed' into a quaint, quirky caricature, especially when the media strives to do exactly this. The ABC TV's report on the controversy surrounding the development of the restaurant at Diver Dan's Shed irritated the locals (as outlined earlier in the chapter). Nevertheless, of those who saw some similarities between the series and Barwon Heads, the people and personalities rated equally with locals and visitors. The atmosphere, location and scenery, and being a small town all had a higher response rate from residents compared to visitors.

When we compare the visitors' attitudes with those from the 2000 survey, there has been a dramatic shift in their belief that the location and scenery were similar to the series, from half to only four percent. The comment that rated consistently in both surveys was that the people and personalities were similar, at around 15 percent. It appears that it is the characters portrayed in *Sea Change* who have attained the highest lingering and consistent impression of the series. This raises the notion that it is the characters, not the Australian scenery that holds the greatest key to film-induced tourism for this type of program. Such quirky series tend to be character-driven, with these results supporting that notion, compared with than the power of the Australian countryside as seen in movies such as *The Man from Snowy River* and *Crocodile Dundee* that tended to use the uniqueness of the bush as a character in its own right.

The power of images and their varying relationship to the storyline has become apparent in the course of this study, and is as discussed in other chapters (in particular, Chapter 6). This is territory that is better explored with focus groups than questionnaires and could well be a future area of research. Questions relating to perceived similarities to the series

and its appeal provide some information, such as in the previous table where visitors and residents saw links between the characters in the series and the people and personalities in the town. General series appeal was also strong due to familiarity and being easy to relate to - aspects that featured in the 2000 survey.

The Sea Change Effect

Table 5.11 outlines the interviewees' comments regarding the impact that the series has had on the town. Due to the seasonal nature of visitors to the town during school holidays, most of those who were interviewed had visited the town previously (96 percent), with all but one respondent were aware of the series, so most of the comments tended to be based on their own personal observations and anecdotes of friends. Regardless as to whether they felt that Barwon Heads was similar to Pearl Bay as depicted in the series (27 percent overall saw no similarities), all those interviewed believed that it had an effect on the town. This is important as it indicates the range of changes that can be brought about by film-induced tourism. Comments were more favourable than negative, indicating that Barwon Heads was not suffering the negative effects seen at towns in the United Kingdom such as Goathland (see Chapter 2).

Table 5.11 Perceived Effects of *Sea Change* on Barwon Heads (percentage)

Residence / Effect of *Sea Change*	Local n = 23	Visitor n = 56	Overall n = 79
Positive			
Raised awareness	96	18	41
Real Estate increases - good	48	11	22
More people year round	74	20	35
Good for the economy	26	5	11
Good for tourism	22	7	11
Improved shops, cafes	30	18	22
Neutral			
No effect	9	2	4
Negative			
Loss of small town atmosphere	4	0	1
Price Increases	13	7	9
Real Estate increases - bad	9	4	5
Too much *Sea Change* signage & promotion	9	2	4
Crowds, lack of parking	9	2	4

Visitors noted the increase in the number and quality of shops and cafes as well as the increase in year-round visitation, reflecting the time of year of this survey -- while it was in a school holiday period, it is still traditionally a quiet time at Barwon Heads. Consequently, they would have been more aware of increased visitation at that time.

Local residents were particularly aware of the role that *Sea Change* played in raising the awareness of the town as well as the added benefit of spreading visitation throughout the year, away from the peak summer and school holiday times. Real estate price increases were seen more as a positive than negative aspect, even though a proportion (9 percent) of the residents commented that it was not good, especially for young people trying to purchase a home. Considering the small sample size of 23 locals, such a proportion would not be considered significant under a quantitative research paradigm, however as these were unprompted comments, they hold some importance, and in qualitative methodology it is often the exception that is of interest. As with the small group of residents who initially felt that *Sea Change* would not have any effect on the town, those with negative attitudes and representations must be considered, especially when we consider the power that negative attitudes can have on both individuals and groups. This aspect is considered further in Chapter 7 when community planning is discussed.

Development Issues

When the interviews were conducted at Easter 2000, the restaurant development that incorporated Diver Dan's Shed was under construction, prompting many negative comments regarding the changes to the site, with just under half wanting the place left alone – now the same percentage of visitors feel that it is good. This was also an issue for locals, evidenced in the survey conducted in April 1999. Results from the September 2001 interviews indicate a more positive outlook to the development, from visitors as well as locals, even though some, especially residents, felt it was too expensive, commercial and tourist-focused, as illustrated in Table 5.12. There has been some turn-around regarding the negative attitudes, with four percent of locals and 19 percent of visitors admitting that they were originally against it, but now support the development. While small, the direction of the change is worth noting as these were once again unprompted responses. The photos of the site shown previously in Figures 4.2 and 4.3 demonstrate the extent of the development and the retention of the shed's façade.

Table 5.12 Attitudes towards the Restaurant at Diver Dan's Shed (percentage)

Residence Opinion	Local n = 23	Visitor n = 56	Overall n = 79
Positive			
Good	65	48	53
Originally against, but now support	4	19	8
Neutral			
Indifferent	4	11	9
Negative			
Bad	9	11	10
Commercialised, expensive, for tourists only	26	5	11
Too much change, not like *Sea Change*	4	2	3

Social Representations

From the Easter 2000 survey of visitors to Barwon Heads, three distinct groups holding similar social representations were identified, namely the Café Society, Comfort Seekers and Visual Aestheticists. Are these groups still identifiable, or are there different representations expressed in the September survey? While the sample size is smaller, it is still representative of visitors to the region, enabling some conclusions and comparisons to be drawn, however it is not possible to identify as many groups. The strength of certain representations has been identified, as previously, by considering the additional comments made by visitors, 27 percent of whom made some comment. Once again, this is a small group, but the fact that they wanted to make additional comments indicates the strength of certain representations. The main stance that came out here, as opposed to the opinions expressed in Table 5.12 above is against further development, with other representations not as clear. Such a representation fits more with the findings of the residents' survey in 1999, with the 'Steady as she goes' group. Additional members of this representation group were identified by conducting text searches of their interviews, using the words 'development' and 'change', then examining the context of each entry, resulting in a group of 12, being 21 percent of the sample.

This group was evenly distributed among age groups, with three quarters being there because it was school holiday time Most were viewers of *Sea Change*, and the most significant change they noted was the increased numbers of people. All but one of the group were regular visitors to the town, which may explain their concerns regarding development as they have a sense of ownership of the town, bringing them more into line

with the aforementioned residents' social representation group than the visitors from the earlier survey.

The lack of similarities between the representations of those interviewed in 2000 and those in 2001 may have a number of explanations, such as the length of time from the series being shown on television as well as the time of year. As mentioned previously, Easter is a major time for visitors, with the September school holidays being much lower. Visitation figures to the Barwon Region for 1998 confirm this trend, with 80,000 visitors in the quarter for that year that contained Easter, down to 60,000 in September quarter[189]. Anecdotal evidence, as well as the in-depth interviews conducted with key players in tourism and the town, suggests that all representations are still relevant.

The *Sea Change* Legacy

The potentially negative effects of crowding and displacement of locals and regular visitors has not occurred to any great extent at Barwon Heads, despite the enormous popularity of *Sea Change* in Australia. This is most likely due to the dispersed nature of domestic tourism in Australia as well as the country's limited neighbouring tourism generating regions. New Zealand is our closest neighbour and one of our main inbound tourism countries, however the series has not been shown there. The problems faced in securing overseas distribution of the series has severely limited the numbers of international visitors to the site. Also, for most international visitors Australia is a long-haul destination with the major tourism icons attracting the bulk of visitors. The Great Ocean Road has become a significant international tourism destination, however most visitors tend to by-pass the Bellarine Peninsula and Barwon Heads. If the series is shown in the United Kingdom, where this type of character-driven, 'quirky' series is extremely popular, a concerted, cooperative marketing effort may be required to divert tourists to the region. Such issues of destination marketing are discussed further in the next chapter.

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[189] City of Greater Geelong , op.cit., 1999, p.22

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Chapter Six: Film Images and Destination Marketing

With the shift from predominantly manufacturing-based to information-based economies, developed and developing countries and communities are transforming themselves into "sellers of goods and services, ... proactive marketer[s] of [their] products and place value"[190]. Places have become products that must be strategically designed and marketed, and those that fail face the risk of economic decline. Destinations are "places with some form of actual or perceived boundaries – physical, political or market created"[191] and can include villages, geographic regions, whole cities or parts of those cities or they can be bounded by non-physical boundaries such as culture, language or habit. Some tourist attractions have been termed 'destinations' in their own right, especially large clustered theme park developments such as Disney World Florida and regionally-based heritage parks such as Sovereign Hill.

Destination (or 'place') marketing relates to strategic planning and the conscious use of publicity and marketing to promote business investment, visitation or in-migration to a particular country, state, region or town as well as to increase exports [192]. Often seen as purely economically driven, the health of a place must also be measured against other goals such as community well-being and lifestyle which, while closely linked with economic fortune are also quite separate. Therefore, place marketing (unlike business marketing) requires cooperation and input from all sectors of the community - the government, businesses, interest groups, residents and even visitors.

While encouraging tourism is only one of the development goals of destination marketing, which also targets business investment and in-migration, it appears that it is tourism that actually receives the greatest benefit from destination marketing initiatives. Consequently, destination marketing has been criticised by promoters of business as an ineffective means for increasing economic development in terms of industries such as manufacturing, mining and processing. Illustrating this point, Young and Kaczmarek question the effectiveness of place promotion activities in Lodz, Poland in terms of attracting new business to the town,

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[190] P. Kotler, D.H. Haider. & I. Rein, *Marketing Places*, The Free Press, New York, 1993, p. 10
[191] V. McCabe, B. Poole, P. Weeks & N. Leiper, *The Business and Management of Conventions*, Wiley & Sons Australia Ltd., Brisbane, 2000, p. 213
[192] C. Nielsen, *Tourism and the Media: Tourist decision-making, information and communication*, Hospitality Press, Melbourne, 2001, p.207

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citing commentators who felt that such external promotion is a costly and time-consuming method to achieve such a goal[193]. They did not consider the tourism aspects of destination marketing and the subsequent flow-on business development opportunities in this particular study, which may have provided them with a better understanding of the significance of destination imaging and marketing.

Young and Kaczmarek have fallen for the convenience of equating place promotion with place (destination) marketing, which is an all too common fault. Destination marketing provides a framework for not only a place's promotion but also planning and development, with a long term vision[194].

When planning the development of tourism, conscious destination strategies to create positive images of the destinations and cement them in potential visitors' imaginations are developed. According to Hall, such strategies have four main aims, namely to attract tourism expenditure, generate tourism employment, provide positive images for potential investors and attract professional workers to the area - all of which are central to the economic and social development of an area or region[195]. Hall maintains that imaging processes are characterised by a combination (of some or all) of the development of visitor attractions and/or facilities, the introduction of hallmark events, the development of leisure and cultural services and projects as well as the development of tourism strategies and policies. There is an additional process that could be added to this list, which is the powerful role visual media plays in the imaging process in terms of education and entertainment in film (TV programs and movies) as opposed to direct advertising. In support of this comment, Riley et al in their paper, 'Movie Induced Tourism', conclude that "the visual media of today appear to construct anticipation and allure that induces people to travel"[196].

Destination image has been shown to be a significant tourist motivator, playing an important role in travel decision making. It is also well documented and accepted that increased tourism affects a wide range of businesses, from transport and accommodation to

[193] C. Young & S. Kaczmarek, 'Changing the perception of the post-socialist city: place promotion and imagery in Lodz, Poland' *The Geographic Journal*, Vol. 165, i.2, 1999, p. 189
[194] P. Kotler et. al., op.cit., 1993, p. 16
[195] C.M. Hall, op.cit., 1995
[196] R. Riley, et.al., op.cit., 1998, p. 932

suppliers of products and services, as well as tourism businesses. Such wide-spread benefits support the case for government assisted/endorsed tourism destination promotion. As a function of the wide dispersion of tourism economic benefits, destination marketing is generally coordinated through public sector-based Destination Marketing Organisations (DMOs), predominantly at government level (federal, state and local). Supporting and reflecting this state, much of the general academic literature on destination marketing focuses on the larger DMOs and Visitor Services sector[197], neglecting the role of individual operators and principals in promoting a destination. For example, Ritchie and Crouch developed a model of Destination Competitiveness and Sustainability[198], yet relegated individual tourism and hospitality businesses to a supporting role, not as direct contributors to destination marketing. However, as stated earlier (and supported by Kotler et al[199]), place marketing requires active support from all community sectors, including individual operators. This becomes even more pertinent as our destinations move into the 'new economy' that is characterised not only by globalisation but also by small, flexible businesses working cooperatively with government[200].

Despite the limited academic recognition of the role of individuals in marketing their destination, it has been recognised by many in the field that it is in their interest to also take on some of the responsibility for promoting their destination. Such a notion of competitive cooperation has been refuted by some academic observers, such as Weaver and Oppermann, who believe that individual tourism businesses will not promote their destination as it benefits their competitors as well as themselves[201]. However, recent research indicates that those operators who promote their destinations first and product second are among the most successful - a point which is stressed at many tourism industry training sessions, such as the annual Global Markets seminars held by the Victorian state DMO, Tourism Victoria[202]. This is particularly pertinent for destinations that have an

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[197] see J.R. Brent Ritchie & G.I. Crouch, 'The competitive destination: A sustainability perspective' *Tourism Management*, Vol. 21, 2000, pp. 1-7

C.R. Goeldner, et.al., op.cit., 2000, pp. 457-469

M.J. Sirgy & C. Su, 'Destination Image, Self-congruity, and Travel Behaviour: Toward an Integrative Model' *Journal of Travel Research*, Vol. 38 No. 4, 2000, pp. 340-352

[198] R. Brent Ritchie & G.I. Crouch, op.cit., 2000, p. 3

[199] P. Kotler et.al., op.cit., 1993, p. 20

[200] P. Kotler et.al., op.cit., 1993,, p. 11

[201] D. Weaver & M. Oppermann, *Tourism Management*, John Wiley and Sons Australia Ltd., Brisbane, 2000, p.223

[202] Tourism Victoria, *Tourism Victoria Industry Site*, http://www.tourismvictoria.com.au, December 2000, 2000

overriding major image with a comparatively limited diversity and number of tourist product, such as regional centres and communities. Large, major cities and destinations that are promoted on a broad scale such as the countries themselves have a variety of products and markets require a more diverse destination image. In order to maintain some continuity of marketing image, such promotion must also be coordinated cooperatively by the DMOs. As destination marketing is now pursued by local trade and tourism associations and individual operators as well as the government based DMOs, the issue of maintaining a consistent marketing image has become complicated. Nevertheless, any study of destination marketing should consider those aspects that are used by individual operations, particularly in small towns and regions that are often overlooked by the larger DMOs. In support of this proposition, Buhalis notes that,

> [t]ourists' overall experience is composed of numerous small encounters with a variety of tourism principals, such as taxi drivers, hoteliers, waiters as well as with elements of the local attractions...... Their overall impression develops the image of a destination after their visitation. As a consequence there is much overlapping between strategic marketing of the destination as a whole and of each individual supplier of the region.[203]

One of the problems that can be addressed through a cooperative approach to destination marketing is the tendency for individual concerns (whether in the public or private sector) to take to a non-strategic approach to planning. Often with minimal consultation and consideration action is undertaken on the assumption that if something works in place A, then it is likely to work in place B. Such assumptions are evident in the development (and subsequent failure) of Fox Studios Backlot and is discussed in the following chapters. Generally, if all stakeholders are included in planning for a destination, such ad hoc development can be considered from a more holistic aspect.

Tourists' Destination Selection Process

According to Weaver and Oppermann, most consumers decide on a destination after considering from three to five options, demonstrating the importance of a powerful destination image and marketing process[204]. The actual process involved in a person

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[203] D. Buhalis, 'Marketing the competitive destination of the future' *Tourism Management*, Vol. 21, 2000, p. 99
[204] D. Weaver & M. Oppermann, op.cit., 2000, p. 178

selecting a holiday destination is extremely complex, relying on the needs and wants of the consumer as well as complex images, preconceptions and biases that person (or people) may hold. The application of aspects of Maslow's hierarchy and Goeldner et al's ladder of needs (see Chapter 5) can shed some light onto this, however the process is often clouded by cultural and popular representations. Weaver and Oppermann illustrate the destination selection process through the model reproduced in Figure 6.1 below.

Figure 6.1 The Destination Decision Process
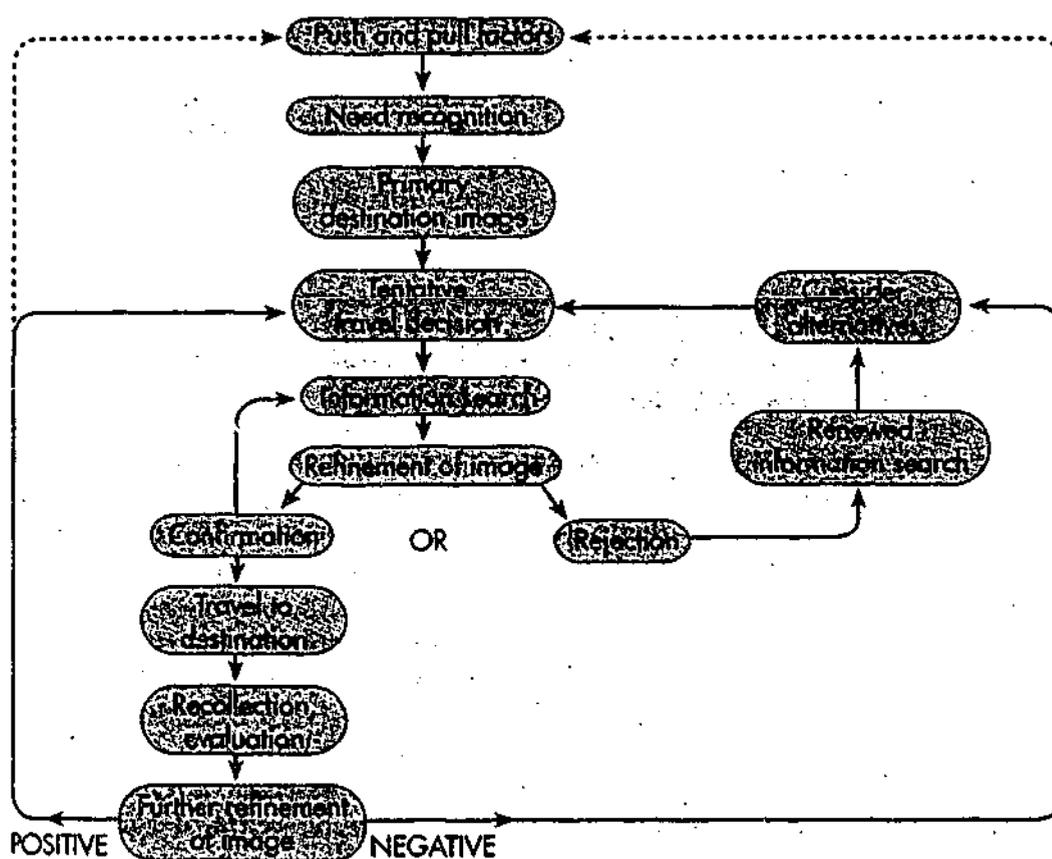
Source: D. Weaver & M. Oppermann *Tourism Management*, 2000, p. 224

This model outlines the process from the intrinsic push factors (such as those outlined in the discussion on Maslow, Chapter 3) matching with the pull factors of the destination through to image development and the decision to travel to a particular destination. While they list the push and pull factors as the first stage, it can be argued that it is the push factors only at the beginning, with the pull factors coming in between the stages of need recognition and primary destination image. Nevertheless, the model serves to illustrate the subjectivity, complexity and circularity of the destination decision-making process.

Destination Promotion Techniques

In general, DMOs rely on a mix of strategies to attract visitors and residents, business and increase exports, namely image, attractions, infrastructure and people marketing[205]. When considering tourism development, image and attractions promotion are among the most predominant in the mix, even though all four strategies need to be incorporated.

Perdue and Pitegoff identified ten of the most commonly utilised promotional activities by DMOs to encourage tourism, which has been reproduced in Table 6.1[206]. The list has been modified in light of the rapid growth and popularity of travel and lifestyle television programs (many of which are sponsored by the DMOs themselves, especially at the state and federal levels), the Internet and tourist signage, as well as promotions from individual operators, mainly in the form of brochures and souvenirs (additions are in italics). Also, the effect of creative media such as film on tourism promotion has been included, particularly in light of the enormous push DMOs are taking to have film (both television and movies) feature their regions. Postcards and souvenirs complete the circuit, being sent back to the homes of others.

Table 6.1 Common Destination Promotional Methods

Timing of Promotion	Promotional Technique
At home, prior to trip	Media advertising Familiarisation trips Sales blitz and trade mission Travel writer tours Consumer shows Direct mail *Travel and lifestyle programs* *Internet* *Individual operators' brochures* *Creative media (film and television, books)* *Maps*
While en route to the destination	Interstate welcome centres *(Visitor Information Centres)* Outdoor advertising Visitor centres *Creative media (film and television, books)* *Tourist signage* *Maps*
After arriving at the destination	Media programs Hospitality training *Tourist signage* *Maps*
At the homes of friends and family	*Postcards and souvenirs* *Creative media (film and television, books)* *Photos*

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[205] P. Kotler, et.al., op.cit., 1993, p. 33

[206] R.R. Perdue & B.E. Pitegoff, 'Methods of Accountability Research for Destination Marketing' *Travel, Tourism and Hospitality Research: A Handbook for Managers and Researchers,* RJ.R. Brent Ritchie and Charles R. Goeldner eds., 2nd edition, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1994, p.566

This list is used later in the chapter as a reference point and basis for the examination of destination marketing activities in Australia as well as the use of *Sea Change* imagery at Barwon Heads.

Understanding the Role of Destination Image in Destination Marketing

Image is central to marketing, even more so in tourism destination marketing which promotes an intangible product. As Ritchie and Crouch point out, "the fundamental product in tourism is the destination experience"[207] – an intangible, image-laden creation reliant on individual operators as much as the funded marketing organisations. Destination imaging is multi-dimensional, comprising both symbolic and tangible features[208]. 'Image' has long been acknowledged as a primary decision-making and motivational factor in holiday travel, and it has been a longstanding area of interest for tourism researchers such as Crompton, Pearce, Chon, Reilly, Echtner and Ritchie[209]. The power of film in relation to creating, changing or reinforcing a destination's image has been considered in previous chapters. As already noted, agreeing on and maintaining a consistent image throughout individual promotions has become an issue due to such an uptake of destination marketing by individuals, requiring DMOs to consult with these stakeholders to develop a destination image that is owned and therefore utilised by all groups.

The image a (potential) visitor may have of a destination is developed through a combination of factors and processes, from an initial cognitive perception to the effective translation of that perception into an attitude or 'mental map'. Such attitudes are pivotal to the evaluative aspects of image assessment which is crucial in the design of effective place marketing strategies[210]. According to Walmsley and Young,

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[207] J.R. Brent Ritchie & G.I. Crouch, op.cit., 2000, p. 1

[208] K. MacKay & D.R. Fesenmaier 'An Exploration of Cross-Cultural destination Image Assessment' *Journal of Travel Research*, Vol. 38, May 2000, p. 417

[209] J.L. Crompton, 'An Assessment of the Image of Mexico as a Vacation Destination and the Influence of Geographical Location Upon that Image' *Journal of Travel Research*, Vol. 17 No. 4, 1979, pp. 18-23
P.L. Pearce, 'Perceived Changes in Holiday Destinations' *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 9 No. 2, 1982a, pp. 145-164
K. Chon, 'Tourism destination image modification process: marketing implications' *Tourism Management*, March 1991, pp. 68-72
M.D. Reilly, 'Free Elicitation of Descriptive Adjectives for Tourism Image Assessment' *Journal of Travel Research*, Vol. 28 No.4, 1990, pp. 21-26
C.M. Echtner. & J.R. Brent Ritchie, 'The Measurement of Destination Image: an Empirical Assessment', *Journal of Travel Research*, Vol. 31 No. 4, 1993, pp. 3-13

[210] M.D. Reilly, op.cit., 1990, p. 21

Evaluative images are important because of their influence on discretionary trip-making behavior ... [and] ... they can serve as a basis for marketing places.[211]

Walmsley and Jenkins also recognise that places evoke an entire range of emotional experiences and evaluations[212]. In an attempt to measure such diversity, they utlised personal construct theory in a study of evaluative images in travel behaviour in Australia. They identified two principal evaluative components of the emotional meaning that people attach to environments, namely arousing-sleepy and pleasant-unpleasant. Such components are positively reflected in the comments of visitors to and residents of Barwon Heads and the story-line of *Sea Change* outlined in Chapters 4 and 5.

The Role of Destination Image in Travel Behaviour

As with other service-based products that cannot be sampled before using, the purchasing decision process of a tourism product calls for subjective judgements based on word-of-mouth and the formation of an impression of that product prior to purchase/consumption. The importance of the role of destination image in the travel decision-making process has been long accepted in tourism marketing, as noted by LaPage and Cormier over 25 years ago who state that, "in many cases, it is probably the image more than the factual information that produces a tourist's decision on where to travel"[213]. An accepted maxim is that a beneficial image would tend to increase desire to visit a destination, whereas a negative image would deter visitation.

Most tourist places already have an overall image that has been formed prior to any decision to strategically develop an image. Some will have a positive image that can be built on to attract visitors, while others may have a weak, negative, mixed, contradictory or even overly picturesque image[214]. Each type of image requires different strategies to either capitalise on or ameliorate the problems associated with the fit of the image with the target consumer groups. The process of developing a destination marketing strategy follows

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[211] D.J. Walmsley & M. Young, 'Evaluative images and tourism: The use of personal constructs to describe the structure of destination images' *Journal of Travel Research*, Vol. 36 No. 3, 1998, p. 65

[212] D.J. Walmsley & J.M. Jenkins, 'Tourism Cognitive Mapping of Unfamiliar Environments' *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 19 No. 2, 1992, p. 268

[213] W.F. LaPage & P.L. Cormer, 'Images of Camping – Barriers to Participation', *Journal of Travel Research*, Vol.15, 1977, p.21

[214] P. Kotler, et.al., op.cit., 1993, pp.35-6

basic marketing principles and is well documented by Kotler and others, and will not be discussed in detail here[215].

Some places appear to focus almost exclusively on finding a clever slogan, then using it in a blanket manner, from tourist promotions through to vehicle registration plates. While having a widely adopted slogan may be important, it alone cannot successfully market a place. As stated by Kotler et al, "[a] place's image must be valid and communicated in many ways through several channels if it is to succeed and take root"[216].

Consequently, a major goal of numerous tourism marketing researchers is to determine which image attributes influence the decision-making process, and the extent of such stimuli. Determining the relative importance of various attributes of image is a significant field of study, and Tapachi and Waryszak have synthesised much of the research in this field. They produced a Beneficial Image Model based on the work of Seth, Newman and Gross' multiple decision-making values of functional, social, emotional, epistemic and conditional values[217]. Assuming a holistic approach not unlike that posited by Walmsley and Young[218], Tapachi and Waryszak propose a theory of the formation of a beneficial image of a destination as,

> perceptions or impressions of a destination held by tourists with respect to the expected benefit or consumption values including functional, social, emotional, epistemic, and conditional benefits of a destination. These perceptions/impressions in turn lead to the decision to visit a country [region or town] as a vacation destination.[219]

Testing their theory, Tapachi and Waryszak studied the perceptions of potential visitors regarding the United States and Thailand. While the sample was small and non-representative, being exploratory in manner, they found that there were differing levels of

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[215] see P. Kotler, et.al., loc.cit., 1993;
E. Heath & G. Wall, Marketing Tourist Destinations, John Wiley and Sons Inc., New York, 1992;
I. Kelly & T. Nankervis, *Visitor Destinations*, John Wiley and Sons Australia Ltd., Milton, 2001
[216] P. Kotler, et.al., op.cit., 1993, p.37
[217] N. Tapachi & R. Waryszak, 'An Examination of the Role of Beneficial Image in Tourist Destination Selection, , *Journal of Travel Research*, Vol. 39 No. 1, 2000, pp. 38-39
[218] D.J. Walmsley & M. Young, op.cit., 1998, p. 65
[219] N. Tapachi & R. Waryszak, op.cit., 2000, p. 38

importance attached to the five values (functional, social, emotional, epistemic, and conditional). Their results relating to the United States are of more relevance to this study as it is a developed, democratic, western society, similar in many regards to Australia. They found that the emotional value rated highly, between 60.3% and 65.5%. This value is of interest to film-induced tourism which tends to rely on and emphasise an emotional response in visitors.

In a paper titled, 'Destination Image, Self-Congruity, and Travel Behavior: Toward an Integrative Model', Sirgy and Su posit a series of proposals, the most relevant to this discussion being that

> .... travel behaviour is affected by self-congruity. That is, the greater the match between the destination visitor image and the tourist's self-concept (actual, ideal, social, and /or ideal social self-image), the more likely that this tourist will be motivated to visit that destination.[220]

Sirgy and Su explain that the match between a tourist's ideal self-image and destination image is a powerful motivator, as visitors will tend to select a destination that allows them to experience their ideal self-image (which is usually different from their actual self-image)[221]. For example, a person who sees him/herself as working hard to make ends meet may choose to go to a resort with an up-market image in order to emulate the lifestyle 'of the rich and famous', even for a few days. By recognising such a desired (or ideal) self-image, a destination can tailor its imaging to attract this market, if so desired. This concept of self-image and its relationship to tourism destination marketing is widely supported by DMOs and other researchers[222], however identifying self-image and then matching it is an intricate and often difficult process.

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[220] M.J. Sirgy & C. Su, op.cit., 2000, p. 343
[221] ibid., p. 344
[222] H.K. Goh & S. Litvin, 'Destination Preference and Self-Congruity' *TTRA 31st Annual Conference Proceedings, Lights, Camera, Action: spotlight on Tourism in the New Millennium*, June 11-14 2000, 2000, pp. 197-203

Literary Tourism and Destination Marketing

Mention has been made earlier regarding the widely recognised influence of literature on tourism destinations. The main difference between literary and film tourism is that, in relation to the former, visitors often go to the regions that relate personally to the writer (such as place of birth and death), whereas film tourists visit the sites portrayed or places of the stars. Possibly the interest in the actors' personal lives is marginally similar to the interest in authors' lives, however rarely is a screenwriter viewed as a source of interest or tourism. As further evidence to support this premise, Herbert has identified the reasons for visiting a literary site as being to satisfy interest in the writer's life and work, to recall childhood memories (of reading the story), to visit a place imbued with special (additional) meaning, and to visit places that refer to events in the writer's life[223]. From Herbert's reasoning, it can be seen that literary tourism has more to do with the creator of the work, not least because the author produces the prose, the only product of a book, whereas film-induced tourism has a number of progenitors.

To demonstrate the relevance of literature as a tourist generator, Müller takes Leiper's model of a tourism attraction, comprising a sight, marker and visitor, explaining that,

> ... the site is formed by a place mentioned in the literature or in some way
> connected to the author's life. The marker that attaches meaning to the place
> can appear in various forms. In the case of literary tourism the literature itself
> plays a significant role as a powerful marker ... simply by naming them, by
> attaching meaning to them, and by exposing them for readership.[224]

Müller's comments support the agreed influence that literature has had (and still does) on tourism. However, as Busby and Klug point out (and is considered in the opening chapters of this work), by the beginning of the 21st Century film has become so pervasive that its influence and effect outstrips literature[225]. Film is to literary tourism what the Boeing 747

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[223] D.T. Herbert, 'Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience' *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 28, 2001, p.314
[224] D.K. Müller, 'Literally unplanned literary tourism in two municipalities in rural Sweden' Morag Mitchell, Irene Kirkpatrick (editors) *Conference Proceedings, New Dimensions in Managing Rural Tourism and Leisure*, CD ROM, Scottish Agricultural College, Auchincruive, 2001
[225] G. Busby & J. Klug, op.cit., 2001, p. 319

was to mainstream tourism – a major booster for mass tourism. We have moved from small, niche based personal pilgrimage literary tours to the mass (and at times over-full) visitation of film sites.

Nevertheless, literary tourism is popular and its impacts must also be considered and managed, often in conjunction with film-induced tourism. A study by Hilty regarding the manner in which tourism is induced through the promotion of literary locations concludes that authorities need to take steps to minimize social and cultural negative impacts of increased literary tourism[226]. Such steps include evaluating the existing infrastructure to ensure it is capable of coping with any tourist influx, preparing residents to deal with changes, and determining at what point residents and visitors will perceive the location as overcrowded. [227]

As the popularity and use of film and television have grown rapidly as major forms of obtaining information to gain knowledge as well as entertainment, the influence of movies, videos, DVDs and television is becoming even more important and pervasive, with fewer people relying on written information. The latest form of information-sourcing, the Internet, has not been considered in this research due to its relative newness, but if its import is as great in the future as some analysts predict, then words may find a new lease of life in a world that mixes both text and image. It may not be long, but the Internet is not yet as pervasive and accessible to a mass audience as television and consequently may be used in different ways to television, video and DVD. Places are already creating grand destination portal internet sites, with *ourbrisbane.com* being among the most elaborate and broad-ranging in Australia[228].

The Role of Film in Destination Imaging and Marketing

Place marketing, a central aspect of any tourism strategy, is aimed at either reinforcing the existing image in the potential visitor's mind, or constructing a new image to replace vague

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[226] A. Hilty, 'Tourism and literary connections: how to manage the image created' in Robinson, M *et al.* (Eds.) *Culture as the Tourism Product*, Centre for Travel and Tourism, University of Northumbria., 1996
[227] A. Hilty, op.cit., 1996
[228] Brisbane City Council, *ourbrisbane.com Your City Online*, http://www.ourbrisbane.com, August 2002

or negative images[229]. Once again, visual media is considered to be the most powerful image-creator in place marketing, especially when its effect is more subtle, when it has not been primarily developed to achieve this goal. In other words, a movie set in a particular destination may appeal to the audience as a place to visit, but it was a secondary (or later) motivation for them to actually see the film. This makes the promotional process more subtle and akin to word of mouth, as opposed to direct destination advertising. The natural scenery, exciting/exotic locations, storyline themes and human relationships portrayed in the film are recognised motivators for people to visit certain locations, and many movies present the backdrop of the setting of the film as more than mere "scenery", producing icons that are central to the storyline. An example of this is Devil's Tower National Monument in the Science Fiction movie, *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* where the monument played a pivotal role.

As such, movie icons can be recurrent (as in the previous example) or single, climatic events with which viewers (and then later as visitors to the site) identify. They do not necessarily have to be visual, but can be embedded in the storyline or character themes[230]. Riley and Van Doren also include the motivations of pilgrimage, nostalgia and escape as tourist attractions inherent in certain film and television programs[231]. Table 6.2 has been adapted from Riley et al[232], illustrating some of the locations and iconic attractions from a selection of Australian movies and television programs.

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[229] B. Holcomb, 'Revisioning Place: de- and re- constructing the image of the industrial city', G. Kearns and C. Philo (eds) *Selling Places: the city as cultural capital, past and present*, Pergamon Press, Oxford, 1993, p. 133
[230] R. Riley, et.al., op.cit., 1998, p. 925
[231] R. Riley & C.S. Van Doren, 'Movies as tourism promotion: A 'pull' factor in a 'push' location', *Tourism Management*, September 1992, p. 268
[232] R. Riley, et.al., op.cit., 1998, p. 924

Table 6.2 Iconic Attractions of Australian Film

Movie/TV Program	Location	Iconic Attraction	Australian vs International Appeal/Legibility
Man from Snowy River	Alpine National Park, Victoria	Australian bush culture – the land as nurturer and protagonist; Final frontier adventure; Man and horse striving together.	Reinforcement of an imagined bush heritage; International appeal of final frontier in a 'safe' visitor destination
Crocodile Dundee	Kakadu National Park, Northern Territory	Australian bush culture – humour; Laconic Australian identity.	Supporting an imagined outback culture experienced by few Australians; International appeal of final frontier in a destination that Americans can travel through safely
Neighbours	Melbourne, Victoria	Australian suburban culture; Gender relations in the suburbs.	Appeals to a predominantly urban-based Australia as local, able to relate to; International appeal of a clean, safe Australian culture
Home and Away		Australian coastal lifestyle (sun, sand, surf and sex); Youthful characters; Small, caring community.	Appeals to a predominantly coastal-based Australian culture as local, able to relate to; Reinforces international image of sun, sand, surf and sex
Mad Max	Silverton, New South Wales	Futuristic, post-nuclear world; Land as enemy; Foreign, barren landscape.	Landscape not perceived as Australian by either locals or internationals
Sea Change	Barwon Heads, Victoria	Change of lifestyle (competitive urban vs cooperative rural); Small, caring community.	Appeals to Australian 'baby-boomers' longing for a their own 'sea change'; International reinforcement of a friendly, quirky Australia

As illustrated above, the iconic attractions for many popular Australian programs include straight visual backdrops and those inherent to the storyline as well as emotional relationships between the place and characters. For example, the *Man from Snowy River* incorporates the Australian countryside as a visual backdrop, while at the same time presenting it as a final frontier to be overcome through the application of the bush culture and the symbiotic relationship between man and horse. *Sea Change* tends to use lifestyle change and the small, caring community as its main drawcard with the scenery providing

aspects of the storyline, but tending to be more of a peaceful backdrop to the small community's foibles and machinations. Australians recognise familiarity, even when it is to an imagined past or culture such as in the *Man from Snowy River* and *Crocodile Dundee,* while the predominant international appeal is the reinforcement of safety, often combined with adventure. Such a combination is a powerful tourism motivator.

Tooke and Baker postulate that a movie can fit Ritchie's definition of a hallmark event in that it is of limited duration and enhances awareness, appeal and profitability of the destination, which is supported by the discussion above[233]. However, visiting the site of a movie or other film (such as television series) relates more to a pilgrimage than event, particularly where visitors are motivated by the thematic contents rather than environmental attractions. Examples of such pilgrimages include visits to Arches National Monument in Moab as featured in the movie, *Thelma and Louise,* and even to Kakadu National Park, looking for the Paul Hogan character from *Crocodile Dundee,* Mick Dundee (and possible romance!).

When considering Surgy and Su's proposition that the match between a tourist's self-image and destination imaging is a motivator, film becomes a powerful method by which to develop an image that supports a commonly held ideal self-image. In their efforts to be successful, many television series look to their predominantly urban audience's desires and ideal self-images, often portraying communities of friendly, caring people who still have time for each other as opposed to the self-interest of those in large cities. Such series include the UK include *All Creatures Great and Small, Heartbeat, Ballykissangel* and *Hamish MacBeth,* and the Australian series, *Blue Heelers, Summer Bay* and *Sea Change.* This is a common dream (or ideal self-image) of many people in industrialised societies, for whom the small town rural idyll is 'still out there somewhere'. Therefore, the aims of film producers can be seen in many cases congruent with those of the DMOs – that of developing an image that is desired by their market through the medium of film. As discussed in Chapter 2, this has resulted in numerous cases of tourism marketing organisations working closely with their film office, with some regions offering attractive incentives to film producers for on-location filming. An excellent example of this has been the government appointment of a 'Minister of the Rings' to leverage the international

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[233] N. Tooke & M. Baker, op.cit., 1996, p. 90

profile of the country through the publicity brought by the *Lord of the Rings* movies[234]. The minister will be working with the government tourism, trade and film commissions in order to achieve this, and over NZ$6m over three years has been allocated to the task[235].

Filming a television series or movie in a region or town has been seen to have a dramatic effect on tourist visitation and expectations (see Chapters 2, 4 and 5). Those destinations and operations that have capitalised on the images portrayed in film have met with mixed and at times significant results. The interesting aspect of this is that often community members have not been party to the decision to film certain sites, nor have they any control over the image presented, resulting in often unrealistic and, at the extreme end of the scale, negative images. However, if the image is desirable, it stands to reason that tourism operators and DMOs alike will take advantage of this boon of 'free' publicity, even to the point of re-imaging the destination to bring it into concord with the film-generated imagery.

However, the promotional capability of film is not equal, with some television programs and movies having little impact, while others can be both influential and memorable – it may be the plot, the characters, the setting or all three that combine to create a film experience of lasting importance. While the level of importance and influence of a film depends upon its popularity, the size of the production company also plays a role in reaching a wide audience – a Fox Studios production has far greater reach than the smaller independent studios. Therefore, it is not merely the level of empathy and self-congruity with the storyline that creates a film tourism destination, rather a range of (sometimes competing) factors. Global factors also play a role in shaping a population's choice of film, such as in times of war or other hardship more positive, 'happy' and even patriotic films seem to abound.

When considering the range of emerging issues and aspects that affect destination marketing, Buhalis concludes that,

> Consumers are increasingly following special interests and regard their trips as both recreational and educational experiences. Therefore, destination themes and their interpretation become more important for the future.[236]

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[234] 'Minster of the Rings', *New Zealand Herald*, 7 September, 2001
[235] 'Extra $4.5m to help NZ cash in on 'Lord of the Rings'', *New Zealand Herald*, 7 November 2001

Such a statement augurs well for the application of film imagery as a cohesive destination image, providing that the image is congruent with the desired self-image of the community and tourism businesses of that destination and the level of reach of the film itself. The issue of what happens when congruity is not prevalent is considered in Chapter 7.

Braveheart – A Case of Destination Marketing through Film

Historically, the town of Stirling in Scotland has been an economic and politically strategic site, and many celebrated successes of the Scottish against the English occurred there. One such success was the Battle of Stirling Bridge won by William Wallace ('Scotland's liberator') in 1297. After decades of heated public debate regarding the site for erecting a national monument to William Wallace, in 1869 the National Wallace Monument was completed on the Abbey Craig in Stirling, a steep hill overlooking the site of the Battle of Stirling Bridge. The monument, a 220 foot high stone tower with a spiral staircase of some 246 steps to the top of the monument, was financed through public fund-raising and overseen by a building committee headed by a local minister, Rev Charles Roger.

On completion, the monument was leased to private individuals living on the site to run it as a public facility. In order to provide income for the lessees, a tea room was deemed essential and was certainly welcomed by those who made the steep climb up Abbey Craig to the foot of the monument. In 1995 a small bus was introduced to take people up the steep climb to the monument.[237]

In an indictment of the current push to privatise public amenities, the Monument was not an economically successful tourist attraction, in spite of the importance of Wallace and the Battle of Stirling Bridge to the Scots. Management of the site was taken over by the local council in the 1990s. It was not until the 1995 release of the Hollywood blockbuster, *Braveheart*, starring and directed by Australian actor, Mel Gibson that the Monument took on true iconic tourism status and turned a profit.

[236] D. Buhalis, op.cit., 2000, p. 114

[237] E. King, E. *Introducing William Wallace; the life and legacy of Scotland's Liberator*, Firtree Publishing, Fort William, 1997, p. 30

Notwithstanding the fact that much of the movie was filmed in Ireland and other parts of Scotland, with none of it being filmed anywhere near Stirling, let alone the monument, and with an Australian playing the part of the great liberator, visitor numbers to the National Wallace Monument increased immediately after the release of the film – up to threefold[238]. In 1996 a statue of Wallace was erected near the Visitors' Centre at the base of Abbey Craig, directly below the Monument. The statue bears an uncanny resemblance to Gibson as illustrated in Figure 6.2 below and is by far the most popular photographic site at the Monument.

Figure 6.2 Visitors are confronted with the imposing _Baveheart_ statue on arrival at the carpark and entrance to the Wallace Monument (June 2001)

In a most pragmatic take on reality, film and authenticity, Elspeth King, the author of a book about William Wallace available from the Visitor's Centre at the National Wallace Monument explains the use of Mel Gibson's image in the following manner:

> In the late twentieth century, the face of William Wallace, known and recognised world wide is that of Mel Gibson from the film Braveheart. As many of the episodes in the film are suffused with the spirit of, and closely based on the tales of Wallace's biographer Blind Harry, it is entirely appropriate.[239]

The use of Mel Gibson goes beyond the monument, with many souvenir items featuring him, as illustrated in Figure 6.3.

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[238] Argyll and the Isles, Loch Lomond, Stirling and Trossachs Tourist Board _Hollywood Legends_, http://www.scottish.heartlands.org/brave/brave.htm, 2001
[239] E. King, op.cit., 1997, p. 13

Figure 6.3 Australian actor, Mel Gibson has become the public face of Scottish hero, William Wallace through the movie *Braveheart*

Consequently, Mel Gibson and the film *Braveheart* are used openly (and successfully) to promote Stirling as a destination, not only at Abbey Craig and in so-called 'historical' publications, but also on the web site for the tourism region of the Scottish Heartlands[240]. By titling the web page, "Hollywood Legends", the DMO has also been able to access some of the 'magic' and glamour associated with Hollywood, which is rarely associated with Scotland! The success of the marketing of the Stirling Monument and consequently the town itself is also remarkable in that it was not used as a site during the filming of *Braveheart*, indicating that with the 'right' promotion, places referred to, but not seen, in film can capitalise on its imaging power.

Movie Maps as a Significant Destination Marketing Tool

Maps indicating the sites of film and television series have become a major destination promotional tool, especially in the United Kingdom and United States, with interactive versions provided on the Internet as well as hard copies available for potential visitors and film and television buffs. The map produced by the British Tourist Authority (BTA) in the early 1990s is now available as an interactive map on the Internet as well as a hard-copy brochure and has television as well as movie sites indicated on it. The hard copy of the map lists some 67 movies and television programs in England, Scotland, Wales and

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[240] Argyll and the Isles, Loch Lomond, Stirling and Trossachs Tourist Board, op.cit., 2001

Ireland, while the Internet site has over 107 film sites listed in England, Scotland and Wales[241]. The Internet site also has a special 'Bollywood' map for fans of Indian produced films and a site specifically devoted to the places featured in the *Harry Potter* movies[242]. These maps perform a dual purpose of promoting the films and television series themselves as well as the destinations at which they were filmed.

According to Busby and Klug, the main purpose of the BTA movie map was to even out the seasonal spread of visitors and was only promoted to overseas visitors[243]. Such limited market targeting may have had little effect on reducing seasonal variations as it has been shown by Croy and Walker[244], as well as in this research, that visiting a film site is rarely a primary motivator, consequently it may have little effect on encouraging international visitation at off-peak times. However, domestic tourists may have been encouraged to visit the sites, as they have with Barwon Heads in Australia. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to assess the success of BTA's target marketing due to limited available data, however they claim it has been successful due to the extent of media coverage('free ink') received and the overall increase in visitors to some sites featured[245]. There is no available data as to whether visitors were international or domestic, or what time of year they were visiting.

Following the success of the Movie Maps in the UK and US, in 1996 Denise Corrigan developed a *Movie Map* of Australia, with support from Tourism New South Wales, the Australian Film Commission, the New South Wales Film and TV Office, the Museum of Contemporary Art, Village Roadshow, the Australian Centenary of Cinema, the National Film and Sound Archive and Film Victoria. The Map includes information on movies from *The Story of the Kelly Gang*, the world's first feature film in 1906, through to *Babe* in 1996. The Map also includes information on the national Film and Sound Archive and a treatise on 'The Australian Land in Australian Films'[246].

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[241] British Tourist Authority, *Movie Map*, http://www.vistibritain.com/moviemap, November 2001a
[242] id., *Bollywood Movie Map*, http://www.vistibritain.com/moviemap/bollywood, November 2001b
[243] G. Busby & J. Klug, op.cit., 2001, pp. 324
[244] W.G. Croy & R.D. Walker, op.cit., 2001
[245] G. Busby & J. Klug, op.cit., 2001, pp. 325
[246] W.D. Routt, op.cit., 1996

The map itself was recognised by BTA as a competitor to their Movie Map[247], however it has not had the longevity of the BTA version. The financial support given was for a one-off production and, despite the growing popularity of film-induced tourism, Corrigan was unable to obtain further funding to produce an updated version, hence the films featured finish at 1996, just as Australia was once again making major inroads on the international film and television scene. The map also seemed to be distributed spasmodically and was difficult (if not impossible) to locate at Tourist Information Centres – in order to obtain some copies to pass on to interested visitors it was necessary to approach Corrigan directly. An opportunity to capitalise on the lucrative international tourism spin-off from popular Australian films was lost as destinations in other countries developed and updated their own movie maps.

Nevertheless, the publication of movie maps, both in hard copy and on the Internet has become a significant marketing tool in many DMOs' arsenal and appears to be one way to build on the growing interest in visiting film sites. Other interactive sites are available from the United States, especially in California and Hollywood, with extensive links and interaction. The California Film and TV Map, *Hollywood on Location*, has some 240 films and television programs listed[248].

New Zealand is publishing maps identifying the country as the 'home of Middle Earth', encouraging road trips to the sites, and has included a pictorial journey of the key movie locations. In the first week after the release of the first *Lord of the Rings* movie, *The Fellowship of the Ring*, the number of visitors to the Tourism New Zealand website doubled[249]. Chief Executive of Tourism New Zealand, George Hickton summarises the hopes that he has for film-induced tourism, saying that,

> The Lord of the Rings trilogy will be a very exciting event for New Zealand ... and
> we are hoping through the destination work that has been done that it will be a major
> driver for visitors to this country from some of our most important markets.[250]

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[247] G. Busby & J. Klug, op.cit., 2001, pp. 324
[248] California Tourism, op.cit., December 2001
[249] Tourism New Zealand, 'The Lord of the Rings Tourism feature popular offshore' *Tourism New Zealand*, www.tourisminfo.govt.nz/cir_news, 18 December 2001
[250] id., 'New Zealand Tourism Gets into the Ring' *Tourism New Zealand*, www.tourisminfo.govt.nz/cir_news, 11 December 2001

Destination Marketing in Australia

At the national level in Australia, the federally funded national tourism organisation, the Australian Tourist Commission, tends to operate as the country's tourism destination marketing organisation, with other DMO activities undertaken by the federal immigration and business portfolios. However, at the state and regional levels, such differentiations blur, with tourism destination marketing being an integral part of (and often driving) the overall destination marketing process. The majority of tourism organisations at the local level operate under the auspices of their respective Economic Development Units (EDU), where the responsibility for destination marketing lies. Nevertheless, in Australia, the majority of destination marketing is undertaken by the tourism organisations whether in conjunction with the EDUs or separately.

This can create some problems, as promoting a destination for purposes other than tourism by tourism agencies is fraught with conflicting imagery and needs. Tourism marketing is subjective, as tourism promotion tends to present images of the past and reinforce the images outsiders (the potential tourists) have of the area. Objective reality is not the aim in tourism destination marketing, rather reinforcement of the potential visitor's subjective needs and image are paramount. For example, much of Australia's tourism marketing by the Australian Tourist Commission relates to the outback and remote areas, such as 2002 being nominated the 'Year of the Outback', whereas Australia is one of the most highly urbanised societies in the world. While visitors may wish to see koalas and crocodiles, potential business investors and professional migrants may not, and even if they do they are receiving an unrealistic perception of the major population and business centres. Hence the need for such destination marketing to be handled by other agencies. Unfortunately, when dealing at the local level, such differentiation is not always possible due to resource limitations. Consequently, issues of representation and 'appropriate' imagery are faced by small towns and regions wanting to increase tourism and industry simultaneously.

By looking at the series, *Sea Change* and the seaside village of Barwon Heads as the local destination marketing case, the main activities undertaken at each destination marketing

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level and the extent to which film is utilised can be illustrated, moving from the international down to the individual operations. Table 6.3 combines the techniques listed in the previous table, identifying the appropriate DMO agency. For the purposes of analytical comparability in this chapter, we consider the tourism destination marketing organisations as the DMO, as they carry out all the activities identified by Perdue and Pitegoff previously in the chapter, and as already discussed, are most prevalent in the smaller regional areas and towns such as Barwon Heads and the Bellarine Peninsula.

Table 6.3 Destination/Place Marketing in Australia

Level	Tourism Destination Marketing Agency	Promotional Activities
International	Australian Tourist Commission	Media advertising Familiarisation trips Sales blitz and trade mission Visiting Journalists Program Internet
National	See Australia	Media advertising Consumer shows Direct mail Travel and lifestyle programs Internet
State	Tourism Victoria	Media advertising Consumer shows Direct mail Travel and lifestyle programs Internet Signage Hospitality training
Regional	Bays and Peninsulas	Media advertising Direct mail Travel and lifestyle programs Internet Brochure development
Shire	City of Greater Geelong – Geelong Otway Tourism	Media advertising Visitor Information Centres Direct mail Travel and lifestyle programs Internet Signage Brochures, maps, posters etc.
Local	Barwon Heads Traders and Tourism Association	Signage Brochures, fliers
Individual	Barwon Heads Tourism and Hospitality businesses	Brochures, maps, posters etc. Internet Business signage Souvenirs and post cards Art and craft Hospitality
	Independent	Movie Map

The television series, *Sea Change*, provides a range of positive and ideal self-images, tangible and intangible, that may be captured and utilised by Barwon Heads and the wider region. The tangible images include the sites such as Laura's cottage, Diver Dan's shed and the views of the Barwon River, bridge and ocean. Of those surveyed at Barwon Heads (see Chapter 5), 40% stated that the appeal of the series was its location and scenery, providing an excellent opportunity to promote these aspects of Barwon Heads. Locating Pearl Bay at Barwon Heads, a seaside fishing village, is reminiscent of hundreds of potential fishing spots around coastal Australia, endowing it with an even wider appeal. The logos and promotional material such as videos and CDs of the sound-track are also tangible products from the series.

The more intangible aspects of *Sea Change* are those that come out of the storyline, such as the small town ambience, the personalities and quirks of the characters, and even the nod to Shakespeare, with the use of lines from *The Tempest* (where the term "sea change" originates), as "something rich and strange"[251], as the sub-title of the series. Such intangible, almost subliminal, aspects can be seen as powerful travel decision-making motivators as they are among the main appeal of the series and support a common ideal self-image. Once again, of those surveyed at Barwon Heads (see Chapter 5), 40% stated that the appeal of the series was its friendliness, quaintness and quirkiness.

Making a *Sea Change* for Barwon Heads?
Considering the potential that film has to attract visitors to a site (as discussed in Chapter 2), the interest in the series, *Sea Change* (see Chapter 5) and the overall beneficial imaging possibilities outlined above, it is apposite to consider whether Barwon Heads and the surrounding region have capitalised on the popularity of *Sea Change* as a destination promotional tool.

Barwon Heads is on the Bellarine Peninsula, part of the state government's Bays and Peninsula's tourism region. It is also part of the City of Greater Geelong, co-ordinated through the DMO, Geelong Otway Tourism and included as part of the Great Ocean Road tourism region. The table below lists a range of promotional collateral gathered from these groups as well as businesses in the village itself. Sources that also contribute to the

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[251] Shakespeare, William, 'The Tempest', Act 1, Scene 2, *The Collected Works of Shakespeare*, James Matthew Farrow, http://www.it.usyd.edu.au, August 2002

promotion of the destination are media articles and reports that focus on Barwon Heads as the site of *Sea Change*. These have been considered as being 'tourism and destination independent' in that they are not primarily concerned with the development or promotion of either. Media reports are also time-sensitive, tending to lose their impact and efficacy soon after publication or broadcasting. A content analysis of the material is included in order to assess the level of use of the imagery created by the series, *Sea Change*.

Table 6.4 Level of Destination Marketing Material relating to *Sea Change*

Collateral with *Sea Change* & Barwon Heads References	Region					
	Regional	**Shire**	**Local (Barwon Heads)**		**Individual**	**Media**
	Bays & Peninsulas	Geelong Otway Tourism/ Great Ocean Rd	Township	Traders & Tourism Association	Barwon Heads Operators	Local, state, national
Articles & Reports	•	• Geelong Advertiser	• Bellarine Paper	•	•	• The Age • The Herald Sun • Royal Auto • ABC Radio • ABC TV
Brochures & Fliers		• Double page on "*Sea Change* now showing on the Peninsula" •	•	• Flier with List of traders with comment on *Sea Change*	• Map of *Sea Change* sites • Camp Ground Brochures	•
Internet	•	• Great Ocean Road site – no *Sea Change* refs	• Barwon Heads site comments on *Sea Change*	•	•	• ABC • *Sea Change* fan sites
Posters	•	• "Discover *Sea Change* at Barwon Heads"	•	•	•	•
Souvenirs	•	•	•	•	• Stickers • Mugs • Coasters • Post cards	•
Signage	•	•	• Directional: to the *Sea Change* Cottages	•	• Entry to camp ground (Home of *Sea Change*) • This is a *Sea Change* shop (on one shop only)	•
Creative Media (eg. Film)	•	•	•	•	•	• Barwon Heads noted in *Sea Change* credits
Misc.	•	•	•	•	•	• Melways Street Directory - Barwon Heads noted as the site of *Sea Change*

According to Roger Grant, Executive Director of Geelong Otway Tourism, filming (including advertisements as well as television and movies) is an important aspect of their destination marketing in terms of positioning, branding and adding a new dimension to a destination. He also recognises the power of film-induced tourism, commenting that

wherever he travels in the world he is shown 'famous' film sites, yet does not see it as a primary tourism motivator, rather something that adds another layer.[252]

Site visits to Barwon Heads in 1999, at the height of *Sea Change's* popularity, indicated a limited use of the series as a promotional tool, for local businesses as well as the destination. The only business that had taken advantage of this was the milk bar run by Nanette and Malcolm Cribbes, at the end of the bridge, across from the main focus of the series. They had taken a rather quaint stance, which also gained them much publicity from visiting journalists. Their activities included running a series of blackboards outside their shop with captions such as "Have Coffee and Cake like Sigrid" and repackaging their range of lollies as "Diver Dan Liquorice" and "Bob Jelly Babies". The photos in Figure 6.5 below indicate the style and techniques adopted. They took the friendly small-town appeal of the series and applied it to their business, creating the image for which visitors were searching.
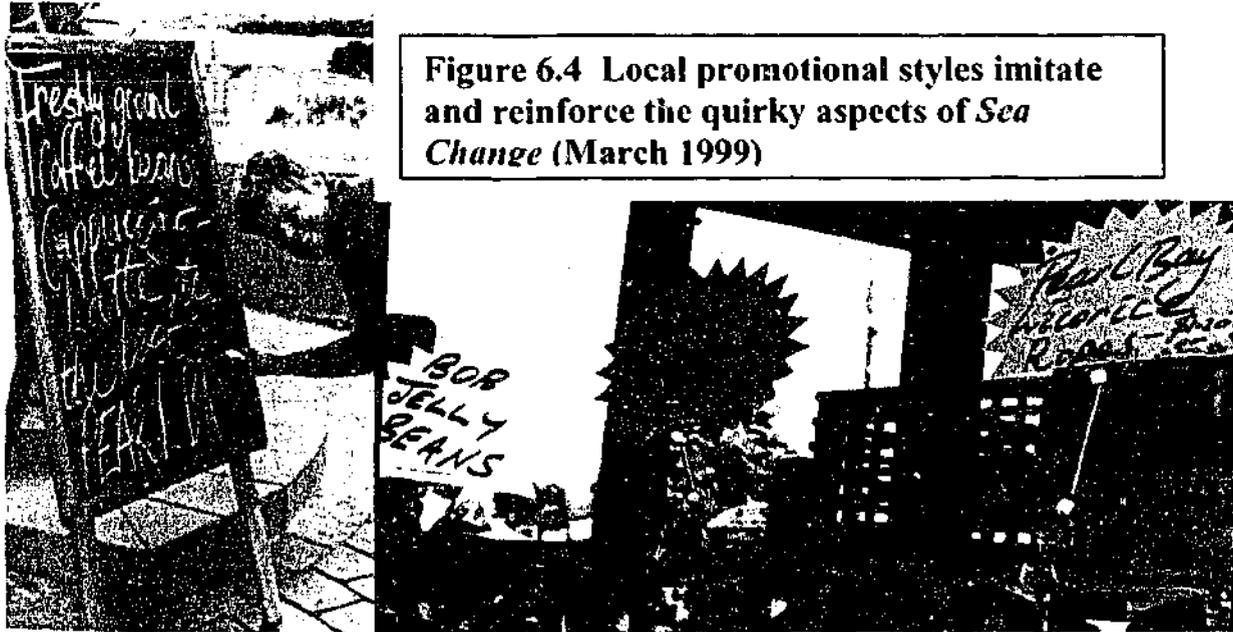
Figure 6.4 Local promotional styles imitate and reinforce the quirky aspects of *Sea Change* (March 1999)

While such simple promotion was considered rather 'twee' by some traders, it created a sense of fun and simple excitement from the series, and provided the Cribbes and Barwon Heads with some valuable destination promotion.

By 2000, the camping ground had a sign welcoming people to "Barwon Heads, the home of *Sea Change*", yet apart from the Cribbes, few other businesses were taking direct

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[252] Personal Interview, 28 September 2001, Appendix 5

advantage of the popularity of the series and its instantly recognisable title. Stickers were also being distributed by the Park and at the Cribbes' milk bar. The Barwon Heads Park had also developed a map and walking trail of *Sea Change* sites which were all on public land managed by the Barwon Coast Committee of Management, as shown in Figure 6.4.
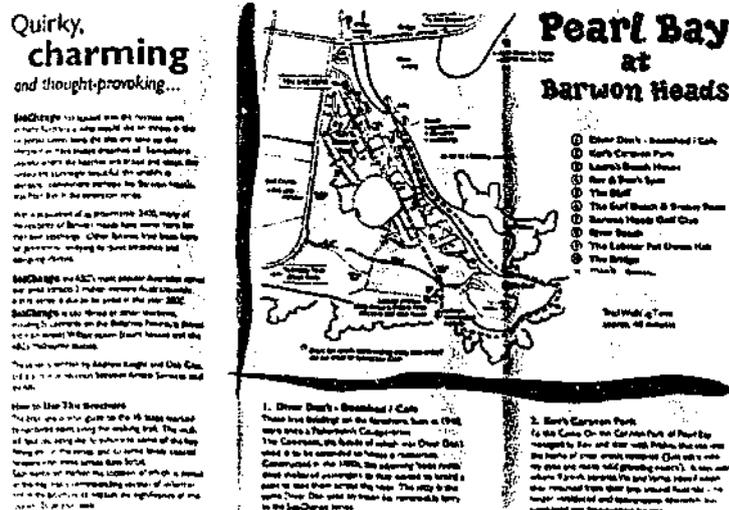
Figure 6.5 "Pearl Bay at Barwon Heads" Map
This free, one-colour low production map is an example of a movie map produced on an individual, local level and has met with some success even though its distribution was limited to the town itself and not used as a pre-trip tool in the decision-making process.

In 2000, the ABC added information on the actual sites to its *Sea Change* web page as well as constructing a map of "Pearl Bay", based heavily on the layout of Barwon Heads, even for the sites that were not filmed there, as shown in Figure 6.5.

Click the map to explore Pearl Bay...
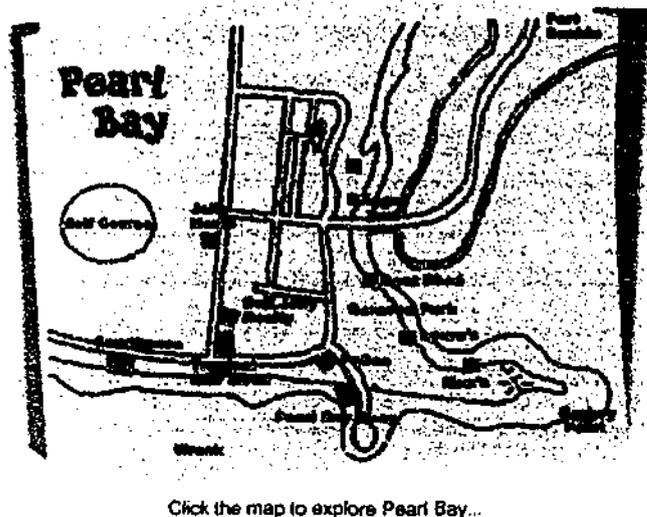
Figure 6.6 "Pearl Bay" Map produced on ABC web site
The basic geographic outline on this map is the same as the Barwon Heads/Sea Change walk map shown earlier, however additional "fictional" sites that were not filmed in Barwon Heads have been incorporated, such as the Tropical Star Hotel, Courthouse, Pearl Bay Coop, Police and Jelly House.

During my field trip to Barwon Heads in July 2001 (see Chapter 5), I was particularly interested in noting any additional destination marketing that may use *Sea Change*. The first destination marketing tool that I found was a poster on the wall of the cabin in which I was staying, produced by Geelong Otway Tourism. It is entitled, 'Discover *Sea Change*, Barwon Heads' and includes an inset photo of Diver Dan's complete with the little ferry he

used in the first series. While there are no other captions, the *Sea Change* references are certainly there – at an almost subliminal, subtle level. Roger Grant appreciates the cooperation of the ABC in permitting use of the series to promote tourism, and in particular Sigrid Thornton who was prepared to assist in regional promotion based on *Sea Change*, such as the promotion in the 2000-2001 edition of the Jigsaw brochure[253]. Geelong Otway Tourism has been using *Sea Change* to promote Barwon Heads and the Bellarine Peninsula through the jigsaw brochure mentioned above and sees the *Sea Change* image as compatible with the positioning of the region, celebrating the coastal lifestyle.

According to Grant, Geelong Otway Tourism has taken a proactive stance towards encouraging filming in the region by developing relationships with the major film studios, international and local PR companies and advertising agencies. Activities include providing relevant filming information regarding sites, tides, legal requirements and so on. Grant commented that much of this work is time-consuming and not always successful, but nevertheless crucial to attracting film activity, explaining that often film is considered 'free footage' in similar terms as 'fee ink', but that the effort required to encourage film can be costly and time consuming. Nevertheless, he recognises that free footage has a higher credibility than a tourism body promotion.

Other promotional material from individual accommodation and restaurants make mention of *Sea Change*, but have not taken on the promotional tags or logos to any great extent. This could in part be due to licensing issues for commercial operations as noted by Tim Caithness, one of the partners of At The Heads restaurant[254]. It is also interesting to note that in all tourist literature (including the Service Directory in the cabin), the *Sea Change* sites were not listed as tourist attractions. In one of the few examples of utilising *Sea Change*, Geelong Otway Tourism's destination brochure for the Great Ocean Road has a double page featuring the star of the series, Sigrid Thornton, promoting the Bellarine Peninsula (as noted previously). Further demonstration of taking advantage of *Sea Change* without open acknowledgement is illustrated by two local photographers who have produced a series of post cards focusing on Diver Dan's (past and present), but the actual site is not named on the cards. The local bookshop had artistic models of 'Diver Dan's' for sale, and labelled them as such. Nanette Cribbe's corner take-away food shop still has its

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[253] ibid
[254] ibid

signs in the window denoting it as a 'Sea Change store', but the blackboards out the front no longer invite people to "have coffee and cake like Sigrid".

The commercial establishment best situated to benefit from *Sea Change* is the restaurant that has now opened on the site of the old Fishermen's Cooperative known as 'Diver Dan's Shed', the *At The Heads* restaurant. When the restaurant was mooted for the site, residents and visitors alike were concerned that it would detract or destroy Dan's Shed (see Chapter 5), but the final result has received overall approval. In an extended interview, one of the proprietors, Tim Caithness explained that the impact of the series on the restaurant has been to get people to the site – they come to look at Diver Dan's and take photos of the shed, then go inside to the restaurant. When asked if they had thought about promoting the link between *Sea Change* and the restaurant more, Caithness pointed out that there were some copyright issues with them being a commercial venture[255]. However, they had made a conscious effort to retain the shed and photos that are on display in the Mulloway Room. Caithness commented that people ring and ask about the restaurant (if it is the one in Diver Dan's shed), and while this has been diminishing, it was still more than once a day in late 2001[256]. They are also looking at ways to preserve the 'stressed' and aged look of the shed, complete with its fading and peeled paintwork. As noted previously in Chapter 4, the daytime menu of the restaurant can be taken away as a souvenir and includes a mention of the use of the site in the series.

When asked if *Sea Change* should be used more to promote Barwon Heads and the region, there was a mixed response from the key personnel interviewed. Roger Grant from Geelong Otway Tourism believes that as the *Sea Change* image is compatible with the positioning of the region, it should be taken advantage of[257]. This is in direct contrast to the residents who do not recognise any similarities between Barwon Heads and Pearl Bay, which may cause some community issues if Sea *Change* image is take on without due consultation/education, which comes back to the community planning process outlined in the next chapter. Tim Caithness, from *At The Heads,* was surprised that more local people haven't cashed on the *Sea Change* phenomenon, especially as it has broadened the visitor

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[255] ibid
[256] ibid
[257] ibid

base and given people a reason to visit at other times of the year[258]. Bob Jordan, Manager of the Barwon Coast Management Committee tended to agree that *Sea Change* should be used to promote the town more, but felt that it would not happen due to those residents who did not see the town as similar to the series[259], which is also supported by the surveys. President of the Traders and Tourism Association, Bernard Napthene, did not think that it should be used to promote the town due to the lack of tourism infrastructure that would be required to support the increased visitation, especially in relation to mid to up-market accommodation[260]. While he is not aware of the problems Goathland has experienced, he expressed similar concerns.

If we accept that the *Sea Change* image is an appropriate destination marketing image for Barwon Heads, the question that needs to be addressed is, 'how long will the *Sea Change* image be relevant to visitors to Barwon Heads?' According to Uysal et al, there is a general belief that images and perceptions of a place do not change quickly (unless there is a natural or political disaster)[261], which supports the use of the imagery for at least a few more years. If there are re-runs of the show or a further series is filmed (not entirely unlikely), the image will remain longer. There is evidence from overseas that strong cinematic images remain for some time, as discussed in Chapter 2 in relation to the extended recognition of Devil's Tower National Monument from *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* of over 11 years[262].

Destination Marketing Recommendations for Barwon Heads

As previously pointed out, Geelong Otway Tourism uses the *Sea Change* imagery and atmosphere to promote the region around Barwon Heads (the Bellarine Peninsula) in its main destination brochures and through a series of posters. However, when the township itself was studied, there was little that had been done (and certainly not in a coordinated manner) to market the area through *Sea Change* as either a place to live or visit.

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[258] ibid
[259] ibid
[260] ibid
[261] M. Uysal, J.S. Chen & D.R. Williams, 'Increasing state market share through a regional positioning' *Tourism Management*, Vol. 21, 2000, p.89
[262] N. Tooke & M. Baker, op.cit., 1996, pp. 87-94

As identified in Chapter 4, the most commonly held community vision for Barwon Heads was that of retaining its village atmosphere and managing development. As the *Sea Change* image is one of a small community (or village) and often in opposition to unplanned development, as well as having high levels of self-congruity with visitors and the majority of residents (apart from the third of the population who felt that there was no congruity between the town and the series), it is one that can be used as a visioning image for the town. As Roger Grant pointed out, the *Sea Change* image is very close to the image that the DMO, Geelong Otway Tourism, promotes. Caution would need to be exercised, however, due to the group of residents who do not recognise any similarities between themselves and the characters. Such denial may be ameliorated through careful, strategic planning and consultation and such planning issues are taken up in the following chapter.

The *Sea Change* image can be a tool to promote the area to the (often desirable) high yield tourists, many of whom are fans of the series, by capitalizing on the emotive power of the series. While some of the images from the series may be subject to copyright, the sites at Barwon Heads featured in the series are in the public domain, so they could be used in a more concerted and conscious manner. The following recommendations are not considered to be exhaustive, neither should they all be taken on, but are aimed at opening up possibilities to broaden tourist visitation to the town and to use the series to even out the extreme summer seasonality of the seaside village.

One of the possibilities that springs to mind in this 'era of the festival' is holding some sort of '*Sea Change* Festival' that celebrates the local community as well as the atmosphere of the series. However, when Croy and Walker surveyed local government and film offices in New Zealand they found that some 71 percent of respondents did not consider festivals and facilities to celebrate films to be of great importance. Yet as Croy comments, "this is an interesting result, especially considering the media attention associated with film festivals.."[263], and one that the ongoing popularity of all types of festivals would refute. One of the benefits of running a festival that would have a community base through its film-induced tourism is that it provides the opportunity to bring people together under a common theme/banner/image.

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[263] W.G. Croy & R.D. Walker, op.cit., 2001

In a thought-provoking postmodernist monograph on the culture of festivals in the American South, *Ghost Dancing on the Cracker Circuit,* Brown studies the 'Mayberry Days Festival' at Mount Airy, North Carolina[264]. This festival is based on *The Andy Griffith Show,* a popular television program in the 1960s whose author and main protagonist, Andy Griffith, grew up in Mount Airy. At times he incorporated the names of people and places from Mount Airy into fictional Mayberry, the town depicted in his show. The series itself celebrated an era of emblematic middle class America not unlike *Sea Change,* with quirky, friendly small-town characters and goings on.

Mount Airy promotes itself as 'the real Mayberry', wearing its ordinariness as something extraordinary via the television series – it may well have become another declining mid-American small town if not for *The Andy Griffith Show*[265]. Even though it was written and first screened in the 1960s, the town is still able to ride on its back 40 years on, holding an annual Mayberry Days Festival where visitors can view back-to-back re-runs of some of the 249 episodes, see concerts hosted by character look-alikes, attend a tea party and other such 'small town' activities[266]. Mt Airy has been happy to present itself as a fantasy town from a time that never existed – Barwon Heads may well have the opportunity do the same. What is so appealing about this is that the town of Mount Airy has not had to change dramatically, as visitors tend to focus on the main street and the festival runs for only two days of the year – in the (even) slower tourist month of September. However, as explained earlier in this chapter, just because something has worked for Town A it does not necessarily follow that it will work for Town B, and any festival at Barwon Heads will need to consider the local conditions. Nevertheless, the increasing longing for a 'sea change' by many overworked and stressed urban Australians gives such a venture some plausibility.

Another possibility is to encourage visitation by providing a tangible representation of the series, such as the *Braveheart* statue in Stirling. While this sounds far-fetched, such a representation provides a focal point for visitors and can move them to (and keep them in) a specific area. Film memorabilia may be a little less dramatic than a statue of, say Diver

[264]R.L. Brown, *Ghost Dancing on the Cracker Circuit,* University Press of Mississippi, Jackson, 1997, pp.179-192
[265] ibid., p.183
[266] Surry Arts Council, *Mayberry Days,* www.surryart.org/MayberryDays, December 2001

Dan, but could well produce the desired effect and fit better with Australia's cultural sensibilities – just because it's tourism related, it does not have to be 'tacky'. Statues, signage, museums, interpretation centres and even individual collections could all be utilised.

When asked about whether *Sea Change* should be further used to promote the town, the tourism and trading leaders of the region and town responded in a mixed fashion, however most did not discount such possibilities. The most negative reaction was from the President of the Traders and Tourism Association, Bernard Napthene, who felt that the town did not have the appropriate infrastructure to support the increased tourism[267]. Roger Grant of Geelong Otway Tourism, expressed surprise that no locals were willing to take up his offer of free tour guide training and support to become a '*Sea Change* expert'[268]. Such a response supports the results of the resident surveys that demonstrate an ambivalence towards the series in relation to its tourism potential and their reluctance to be seen to embrace (and reflect) the images portrayed.

Education and awareness raising programs are urgently required in order to demonstrate that it is possible to have certain levels and types of tourism alongside local privacy, with one way being to create tourist precincts. In the case of *Sea Change*, this is quite feasible as all the sites are on public land that could be modified to cope with increased visitation. Impact on the local community would be minimal if planned appropriately.

Such a range of views and opinions illustrates, even from those who stand to benefit most from increased tourism, some of the difficulties inherent in obtaining community consensus for imaging a destination, and may go some way to explaining some of the insipid, commonplace, generic destination images and marketing campaigns evident around the world. Film can provide us with alternative, powerful images, but communities need the courage to follow them, and the cohesion to make sure that they maximise the benefits while minimising the problems related to the (often unasked for) boon of film-induced tourism. These issues are discussed further in the following chapter on Community Planning.

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[267] Personal Interview, op.cit, 2001
[268] Personal Interview, op.cit, 2001

Chapter Seven: Film-Induced Tourism and Community Planning

Destination planners and tourism marketers work within a fragmented, multi-faceted industry that, in spite of over 15 years of academic exhortation for cooperation and integration, remains contentious and problematic. Murphy in 1985 and Gunn in 1988 supported the concept of integrated tourism, social and economic planning, with both researchers proposing integrated planning models in a similar vein to the 1970s participatory planning movement in urban planning[269]. Nevertheless, as pointed out by Jamal and Getz, "[a]chieving coordination among the government agencies, between the public and the private sector, and among private enterprises is a challenging task..."[270]. While there are some commendable cases of integrated community planning and development, they are relatively recent and are yet to stand the test of time, with the concept of community *tourism* development even more recent.

As tourism is an integral component of many communities, the concept of community development needs to be reviewed before looking at community planning from a tourism perspective. Then, the role of film-induced tourism in overall community development and planning can be considered. There is a great deal of literature, especially in the social sciences, on community planning and development, with much debate on what constitutes a 'community'. For the purposes of this study, we have identified the township of Barwon Heads as a distinct community, which includes in its stakeholders regular visitors to the town.

Simply put, community planning is inclusive and participatory, aiming to incorporate the needs and wants of all members – Murphy and Murphy refer to it as a "round table planning strategy"[271]. According to the United Nations, community planning and development is a "process designed to create conditions of economic and social progress

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[269] P.E. Murphy, *Tourism: A Community Approach*, International Thomson Business Press, London, 1985, p. 168
C.A. Gunn , *Tourism Planning*, 2nd edition, Taylor and Francis, New York, 1988, p. 272
R. Prentice, 'Community-driven tourism planning and residents' perceptions, *Tourism Management*, Vol.14 No.3, 1993, p.218
[270] T.B. Jamal, and D. Getz, 'Collaboration Theory and Community Tourism Planning' *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 1995, p. 187

for the whole community with its active participation"[272]. Ife describes the process of planning as "the people of the community defining their needs and working out what has to happen to have them met, as well as how the existing services and resources can be coordinated and utilised to best effect"[273]. Of course, applying such principles is far from 'simple'. Without such inclusiveness and active participation, the results could well disenfranchise members and disrupt community cohesion. Few communities are truly 'cohesive', hence the enormous extent and range of study being done in this field in order to develop a model that goes beyond describing what should happen in a perfect world. The central tenet of community planning and development is self-sufficiency and local control over change, with the actual process itself considered to be more important than the outcome[274].

Kotler et al follow the shift from the Keynesian state of the mid 20[th] Century to a new economic era brought about, in part, by global competitive pressures, contrasting the key differences between the old and new economic eras. The characteristics noted by Kotler et al are reproduced in Table 7.1. While their analysis is over-simplified and dated (1993), being more suited to an introductory teaching role, it provides a basis from which the complexities of economic thought can be examined. Further research is needed to develop a more inclusive community-based model which acknowledges local, national and international settings.

[271] P. Murphy & A. Murphy, 'Regional Tourism and its Economic Development Links for Small Communities' *The Future of Australia's Country Towns*, M.F. Rogers and Y.M.J. Collins (editors), Centre for Sustainable Regional Communities, Bendigo, 2001, p.168
[272] C. Moser, 'Community participation in urban projects in the Third World' *Progress in Planning*, Vol.32, Part 2,1989, p.81
[273] J. Ife, op.cit., 1995, p.137
[274] M. Jopp, 'Sustainable Community Tourism Development Revisited', *Tourism Management*, Vol 17 No 7, 1996, p.476

Table 7.1 Characteristics of Old and New Economies

Characteristics	Old	New
Scope	Domestic	Global
Driving force	Mass production	Technology, innovation
Resource	Capital	Knowledge, information
Jobs	Stable, large firms	Dynamic, smaller firms
Organisations	Centralised/hierarchical	Matrix, fluid, decentralised
Markets	Stable	Fluid
Workers	Unedvcated, unskilled	Educated, skilled, adaptive
Tasks	Simple, physical	Complex, intellectual, participatory
Technology	Mechanical	Electronic, biological
Emphasis	Predictability	Innovation, creativity
Information flow	Top-down	Bottom-up, interactive
Opportunities	Limited, fixed	Fluid, rotational, mobile
Business/government	Minimum intervention	Cooperation, partnership
Symbol	Smokestack	Computer

Source: Kotler, P., Haider, D.H. and Rein, I. (1993) *Marketing Places*, The Free Press, New York, p.11

Kotler et al claim that "[p]laces whose industries and firms operate according to the old economic era concepts are headed for hard times"[275]. The new era is reflected in the move towards inclusive community planning and development such as that proposed by Wilkinson, who identifies four basic attributes of community development, namely purposive action, having a positive purpose, with a focus on the efforts, not the outcomes of the people involved, and being structure oriented[276]. Understanding the elemental bond of interaction among people in a community results in aims and objectives that become the purpose of community development. Such purpose is expressed in positive ways, in that the participants believe they are improving their lives and contributing to community well-being. Wilkinson reinforces the tenet that the benefits of community development are gained from participation in the process as much as the outcome is a central aspect of community development.

The concept that 'trying' is more important than succeeding is embedded in the complexity of community development – by coming together with a positive purpose, Wilkinson believes that community well-being is enhanced, even if there is no conclusive 'success'. The final attribute, being structure oriented, reflects the development *of* the community as opposed to *in* the community.[277] This final point may seem anathema in the new economic

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[275] P. Kotler et.al., op.cit., 1993, p.10
[276] K.P. Wilkinson, *The Community in Rural America*, Greenwood Press, New York, 1991, p.93
[277] ibid., pp.93-94

era, however 'structure' does not necessarily mean 'stricture' and can still be fluid and responsive to community needs.

This concept of structure and purposiveness is reflected in Rogers' identification of optimal community development actions that can be taken to increase community well-being, the first being to build community capacity to respond to changing needs through strengthening networks and community based learning. The second option is to improve participation through cultural development; the third to develop community-based indicators of progress; and finally triple bottom line auditing of community performance[278].

Triple bottom line auditing can increasingly be found in numerous corporate and government areas, but has only recently been adopted by the community planning field. The process takes an integrative approach that evaluates performance based on economic, social and environmental factors, as opposed to the prevalence of economic-rationalist assessments of the late 20[th] Century economic era. Inherent in triple bottom line auditing is the concept of sustainability which, according to Rogers, requires the community to

> ... utilise nature's ability to provide for human needs without undermining its ability to function over time; ensure the wellbeing of its members; ... empower people with shared responsibility, equal opportunity, access to expertise and knowledge, and the capacity to affect decisions which affect them; and consist of businesses, industries and institutions ... which invest in the local community in a variety of ways.[279]

As part of being inclusive and participatory, commentators stress that effective community development and planning must be a bottom-up process. Bottom-up planning is central to any truly 'community' based program, and has led to the growing interest in community-based performance indicators developed by the community itself through public meetings, focus groups and other inclusive methods. This is seen as part of the inclusive process that

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[278] M. Rogers, 'Triple Bottom Line Audit: a Framework for Community-based Action, *The Future of Australia's Country Towns*, M.F. Rogers and Y.M.J. Collins (editors), Centre for Sustainable Regional Communities, Bendigo, 2001, p.136
[279] ibid., p.137

has already been mooted as having the process itself that being of particular significance – spurring the community to create new visions and working relationships[280].

Five stages can be identified to develop community strategies, starting with establishing a vision for the future of the community, as illustrated in Figure 7.1. This is followed by a community stocktake of human, natural and built resources as well as cash flows, leading on to the community audit that examines and measures performance, and may result in a re-defining of the vision. Following this, goals and strategies can be developed, finishing with performance indicators, both internal and external. While many models include an implementation stage at the end of the cycle, aspects of 'implementation' are assumed as integral to each stage of the process in the model outlined below.

Figure 7.1 Overview of the Stages in Community Planning
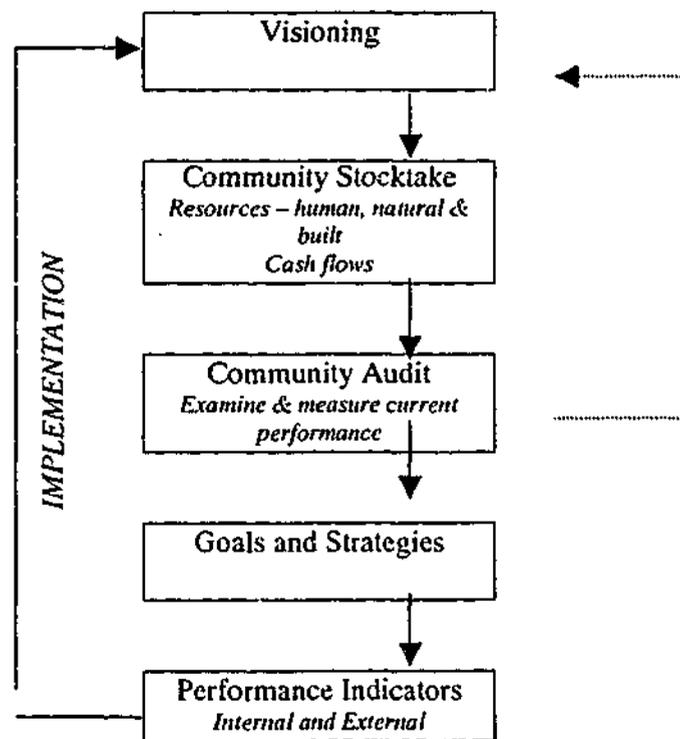
In an ideal world, the process is cyclical, with regular reviews, audits and examination of the vision, but maintaining the interest and limiting burn-out of members remains a major practical issue. Embedded in each of these stages is the overriding requirement for community participation and consultation.[281]

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[280] ibid., p.136
[281] see ibid., pp.135-145;
P. Murphy & A. Murphy, op.cit., 2001, pp.167-168 ;
M. Jopp, op.cit., 1996, pp.475-479;
J. Ife, op.cit., 1995

A variant of this process is illustrated in Figure 7.2 as described by Stephens in the handbook, *Strengthening Rural Communities*[282], with the five planning stages incorporated into the aims and priorities segments of the wheel, followed by a separately identified implementation process.

Figure 7.2 Community Planning and Development Process

Source: Stephens, U. (2001) *Strengthening Rural Communities*, NSW Premier's Department, Sydney, p.24

When comparing community development and community *tourism* development, Jopp notes a significant difference in that many of the tourism initiatives have been driven by government through funding and facilitation expertise, rather than the community[283]. Not only was Jopp's article published some five years ago (in a field that has seen much progress in the intervening years as the new economic era has gained currency), her work has a particularly North American perspective that may be of limited relevance to Australia. Nevertheless, it is an important point to consider and keep in mind, especially in the current climate in Australia of limited and reducing government funding and focus on 'can do' communities - if community tourism development is reliant on government support, the realities of reduced funding may require a different approach. Jopp also notes that many community economic development projects arise from a crisis such as a factory closure, whereas community tourism projects arise from a perceived opportunity that

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[282] U. Stephens, *Strengthening Rural Communities*, NSW Premier's Department, Sydney, 2001, p.24
[283] M. Jopp, op.cit., 1996, p.476

presents itself, rendering community tourism development as having a particularly positive purpose[284].

Jopp is critical of a tendency towards the top-down, old economic era approach in community tourism development as well as it being "... non-inclusive, focusing on business interests and mainstream historical, cultural and environmental groups, with no attempt to incorporate the disenfranchised groups in a community, in spite of such rhetoric"[285]. Such criticism has been heeded by many planners of the current community tourism planning schemes, where conscious attempts are being made to address such concerns. Jopp concedes that this has been the case in many areas where there are "..some excellent prescriptive community tourism models [but] they only focus on the visible and, to some extent, measurable aspects of the process.... There is an assumption that all parties have an equal opportunity to participate"[286], which is another concern of today's community planners, yet in tourism major stakeholders are often excluded, in particular the tourists themselves. It has been argued in previous chapters that visitors, especially regular ones, are also members of the community they visit, due in part to the economic, social and environmental influence they can exert as well as possessing a psychological sense of ownership.

The tendency of local government organisations to institute a community planning process then take an 'arms-length' approach may provide participants with a greater sense of ownership, however this can also reduce the chances of the policies developed by the community actually being accepted by local government[287]. In actual fact, local government is also a community member, and needs to be involved as such. These complexities and contradictions must be recognised and dealt with when moving from a top down to a community-driven planning approach.

There is also a body of literature on 'collaborative tourism planning', which can be applied to community tourism planning. In essence, collaborative planning can be between two or more groups or stakeholders (as in partnerships), but there is general agreement that true

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[284] ibid., p.477
[285] loc.cit.
[286] ibid., p.478

collaboration must be inclusive of all relevant parties and interest groups[288], which is the basis of community planning. At times, the group who may be instituting the collaborative process may not be the most appropriate to attain inclusion. For example, the politics of a conservation group may have a history of exclusion and confrontation with tourism operators, as in the case of the World Wide Fund for Nature's (WWF) attempt at collaboration in the development of the Arctic Tourism Program, with some operators taking issue at the politics of the WWF and passively resisting through non-participation[289].

While inclusion and equal representation are central to community and collaborative tourism planning, this is not an easy state to achieve. Issues of power relations within a community, strength of voice, equity and identification of interest groups and differing social representations all contribute to the complexity of achieving a community consensus that can be acted on[290].

Community-based Tourism Strategies

Even though much of the community tourism development literature warns against communities relying on tourism as an economic saviour, analysts recognise that tourism can also benefit the community in other ways, such as conservation and community pride, suggesting methods to maximise this. What is disappointing is that there are community development commentators who regard tourism as solely an economic benefit that will automatically damage other facets of community well-being through comodification and loss of community control, without recognizing the positive social effects[291]. While the economic positivist stance of some promoters of tourism needs to be countered, and potential negative aspects recognised and dealt with, such blithe damnations demonstrate a lack of understanding of tourism and the community tourism planning processes that are

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[287] T. Jamal & D. Getz, 'Community Roundtables for Tourism-related Conflicts: The dialectics of Consensus and Process Structures' *Tourism Collaboration and Partnerships: Politics, Practice and Sustainability*, Bill Bramwell and Bernard Lane (editors), Channel View Publications, 2000, p.169

[288] B. Bramwell & B. Lane, 'Collaborative Tourism Planning: Issues and Future Directions', *Tourism Collaboration and Partnerships: Politics, Practice and Sustainability*, Bill Bramwell and Bernard Lane (editors), Channel View Publications, 2000, p.333

[289] P. Mason, M. Johnston & D. Twynam, 'The World Wide Fund for Nature Arctic Tourism Project' *Tourism Collaboration and Partnerships: Politics, Practice and Sustainability*, Bill Bramwell and Bernard Lane (editors), Channel View Publications, 2000, p.110

[290] B. Bramwell & B. Lane, op.cit., 2000, pp.333-335

gaining momentum, empowering communities to decide on their level and type of tourism. Two such cases are outlined below – one from Australia and the other from North America.

Kangaroo Island, off the southern coast of Australia, and the continent's third largest island, is popular as a wildlife viewing destination for both international and domestic tourists. The island's economy is reliant on tourism and agriculture, with the former expected to grow at a rate between eight and ten percent per annum[292]. Responding to residents' concerns over uncontrolled tourism development a *Sustainable Tourism Development Strategy* was developed in 1995 by the Kangaroo Island Development Board. As part of the implementation of the strategy, consultants Manidis Roberts were contracted by the South Australian Tourism Commission to develop a tourism model for the island, which was to consider not merely limiting tourism impacts, but ways to optimise tourism in a sustainable manner. Choosing the name for the model was itself carefully considered, as it was recognised that the tourism industry had responded adversely to models that may infer anti-growth and anti-business sentiments merely through their name (such as Limits of Acceptable Change)[293]. Consequently, the name chosen was the Tourism Optimisation Management Model (TOMM). While this project was prompted in a top-down manner from a government department, the approach required holistic treatment of tourism and the community, establishing optimal conditions across economic, ecological and socio-cultural factors as well as a series of benchmarks to measure the optimal conditions identified by the community[294]. There was understandable skepticism from certain areas of the community who saw the model as just another expensive strategy, however there was overall support for the concept. Complications arose when trying to establish a shared set of values, which at the time of writing was still to be resolved, being a common problem experienced in vibrant communities.

[291] see J. Ife, op.cit., 1995, pp.142-3
[292] Manidis Roberts Consultants, *Developing a Tourism Optimisation Management Model (TOMM): a model to monitor and manage tourism on Kangaroo Island, South Australia*, South Australian Tourism Commission, Adelaide, 1997, p.5
[293] D. Newsome, S.A. Moore & R.K. Dowling, *Natural Area Tourism. Ecology, Impacts and Management*, Channel View Publications, Clevedon, 2002, p.171
[294] L. Jack, 'Development and application of the Kangaroo Island TOMM (Tourism Optimisation Management Model)' *Proceedings of the First National Conference on the Future of Australia's Country Towns, July 2000*, Centre for Sustainable Regional Communities, La Trobe University, Bendigo, 2000, www.regional.org.au/au/countrytowns/options/jack.htm

The project was presented to the community as a form of long term 'island insurance' in which they all played a role. As previously noted, the process is equally as important as the outcome, with one of the recognised achievements of the TOMM process being that it got the residents and community groups to consider the long term future of tourism as well as their short term needs, in spite of the pockets of skepticism. The outcomes of the project, which is still in its formative years, include acknowledgement of the need to articulate a set of values for the island, the establishment of core data collecting and monitoring programs, sharing of information across agencies and a commitment from local agencies and groups to build a sustainable funding source for the project. [295] Once the project was established, the South Australian Tourism Commission wanted to hand over funding support to the community. This crucial transition phase is where such top-down initiatives can fail, unless the community truly has ownership of the scheme and is convinced of its benefits. Local funding has been found, however it needs to be maintained for the long term.

One of the issues that islanders face is the cost of transport to their island. In the case of Kangaroo Island, access is limited to expensive light aircraft, an irregular passenger service and a regular vehicular ferry that, at the time of writing, cost AUD$202 return, with residents receiving a 20% discount. Such a cost is formidable for day-trippers, automatically forcing the length of stay to at least two days, and often more. This places pressure on the sensitive environment of the island, yet there are more opportunities to gain economic and social benefits from visitors staying overnight, which can ameliorate such environmental concerns.

The Kangaroo Island example deals with relatively high levels of established tourism, whereas there are other community tourism development programs that address the issues of introducing tourism to a region as a viable economic and social alternative. Of course, it is rare to find an area without any tourism, however it is relevant for communities with low tourism levels and the potential to increase them. The case of the Iowa Community Tourism Assessment model is one of many being implemented around the world. What makes the Iowa one so interesting is that the process began in the 1980s, pre-empting the

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[295] loc.cit.

'new economic era' of management and community development, and has the benefit of many years of development and refining.

In 1988, a community tourism conference concluded that a process was required for communities to realistically assess their tourism potential and determine associated costs and benefits[296]. At the time, most tourism development 'guides' took a positivist, often boosterist stance, promoting tourism as the singular most important community development option to pursue. As discussed throughout this study, tourism is not always the optimum possibility for a community, but one of a range of options, which was recognised by the multi-agency team formed to develop this community tourism assessment model. The model was tested over a two year period by the community of Choteau, Montana, modified and then made widely available to other communities including the states of Alaska, Arizona and Nevada as well as Utah. The process that was developed is in nine steps, namely, Community Organisation, Visitor and Economic Profiles, Resident Attitude Survey, Visioning and Goal Setting, Tourism Marketing Basics, Attraction and Facility Inventory, Potential Project Identification, Initial Project Scoping and Impact Analysis[297]. The process outlined in the handbook is thorough and provides practical suggestions on some of the most difficult aspects of community tourism planning, such as methods to gain representative community input into the process – a central tenet of all community planning, but the most difficult to achieve.

The handbook emphasises that a community has a right to refuse tourism (in theory at least), reflecting a move from the traditional positivist economic-rationalist stance of many community tourism proponents. However, in reality, communities rarely have a say in tourism, as illustrated by the cases of film-induced tourism, where tourists will often come to see a famous site regardless of the immediate community's wishes. Such issues are addressed further in this chapter, with the theories and cases outlined above providing a good basis from which to consider the integration of film-induced tourism into the community planning process.

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[296] Western Rural Development Centre, *Community Tourism Assessment Handbook*, WRDC, Logan, http://extension.usu.edu/wrdc/ctah, c.1995, (accessed January 2002)
[297] loc.cit.

Applying Community Tourism Strategies to Film-induced Tourism

As already noted, film-induced tourism can often be an unexpected bonus or disaster to a community, particularly the more fragile small, rural communities whose infrastructure and ambience is often insufficient to handle an unexpected influx of visitors. By applying the theoretical tourism development models and the community planning cases illustrated above to the results of the Barwon Heads study, a series of possible future scenarios can be posited for the town, ranging from positive growth through to the collapse of the local community. Results outlined in Chapters 4 and 5 demonstrate that there is a link between the local community and regular holiday-makers who themselves have become part-time, de-facto members of the broader community, and certainly stakeholders in the future of the town. This link is reflected in the similar effects of each scenario on the community and the holiday-maker, outlined below.

Scenario One – Positive Growth

> More visitors in off-peak times, evening out the high seasonal peaks and troughs;
> Increased accommodation range caters for all types of visitor, from the high-yield visitor through to the family budget holiday-maker;
> Economic opportunities increase for all members of the community;
> Barwon Heads receives increased support and recognition from the City of Greater Geelong;
> Services and facilities improved and maintained by the City of Greater Geelong;
> Major tourist precincts upgraded;
> Development is sympathetic to the fishing village ambience and nature;
> Heritage sites are retained and restored;
> Increase in the general population base, supporting local amenities such as schools, medical services, police etc.

Scenario Two – Business as Usual

> No further development;
> Accommodation and facilities continue to support the family budget holiday-makers;
> Everyone happy with the minor fillip to the town;
> Visitors pass though, staying in other towns able to handle the added influx, limiting the impact on the tranquillity of the area;
> Housing and rental prices remain stable;
> Traditional family holiday market continues to be welcome and catered for.

Scenario Three – Back to the Drawing Board

> ➤ New businesses cannot be supported by numbers of residents and visitors outside the peak season;
> ➤ Shops become run-down, deserted and vacant;
> ➤ Council funds diverted to other, more lucrative tourist towns such as Queenscliff;
> ➤ Housing prices fall and rental market opens up;
> ➤ Niche accommodation for the high-yield markets not supported, forcing closures or re-structure;
> ➤ Traditional family holiday market welcome, but may move due to the perceived downturn after the excitement of *Sea Change.*

Scenario Four – Losing the Pearl Bay Feeling

> ➤ Regular budget holiday-makers forced out due to increased demand, prices and/or loss of amenity;
> ➤ Shops and services developed to cater for visitors – overpriced and unappealing to local residents;
> ➤ Barwon Heads moves from family holiday village to a day visitor attraction;
> ➤ Outside entrepreneurs not based in the region take over local business operations;
> ➤ Locals begin to resent the intrusion of thousands of visitors;
> ➤ Crowding severely impacts on local services:
> ➤ More Council funds required to maintain basic services used by visitors and residents;
> ➤ Housing purchase and rental prices skyrocket;
> ➤ Pressure place on natural environment – coastal and wetland areas.

As this study has been looking at circumstances over a given three year period, each of the above scenarios can be placed into a model in terms of the levels of development, tourist yield and visitor numbers, which have been the main variables considered in this study. One such model is proposed below in Figure 7.3.

Figure 7.3 Proposed Model of the Effect of Tourism on a Community
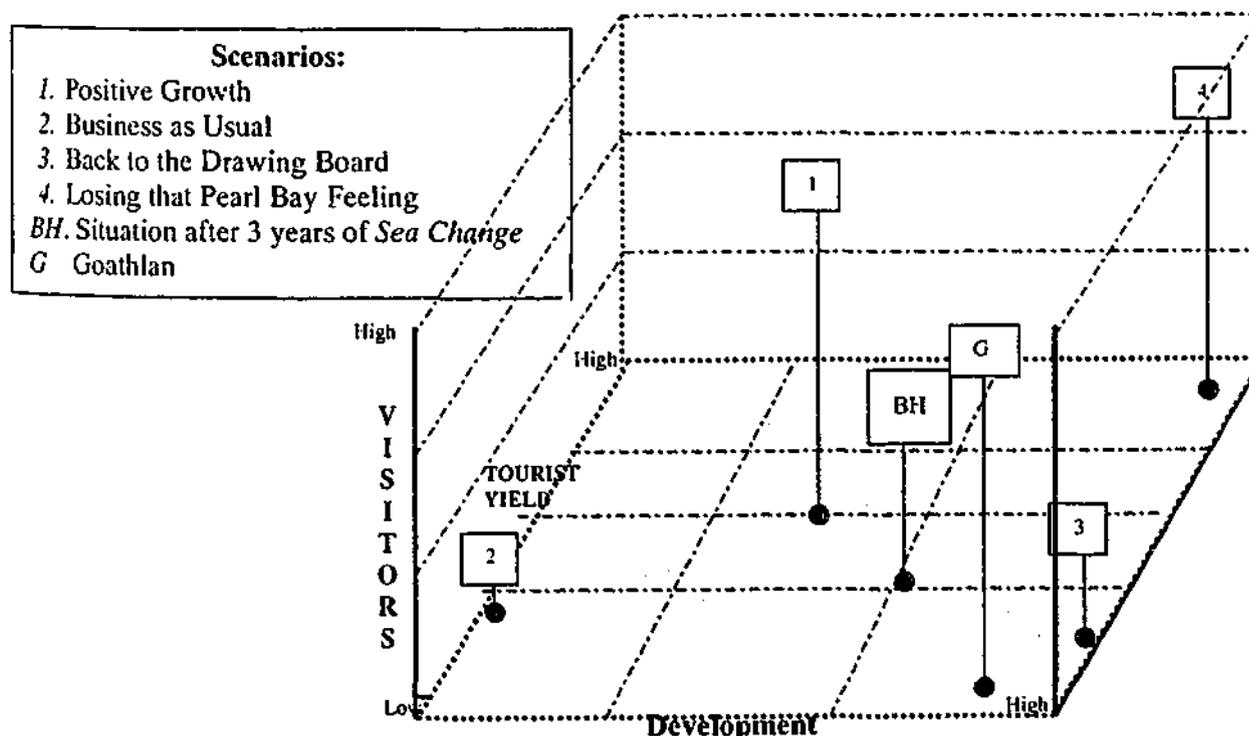
Placed within the model are the four scenarios posited - Positive Growth, Business as Usual, Back to the Drawing Board, and Losing that Pearl Bay Feeling, as well as the position that Barwon Heads is actually in after three years of the *Sea Change* phenomenon. Each responds differently to the three variables nominated, existing in very different spaces on the model. Theoretically, the optimum position would be in the centre of the cube, not far from Scenario One's position where the yield is average, visitor numbers average and development average. Such a position may not be desirable to all stakeholders or community members, and while it may represent a compromise it allows for continued long term positive growth. The results of the three year study indicate that Barwon Heads is currently situated between scenarios one and four, with residents and visitors expressing the same sense of loss of atmosphere, but with general acceptance of the current state. Both groups strongly assert that they do not want any further development.

Clearly, Barwon Heads will continue to change over time, with the acceptance of developments such as the restaurant at Diver Dan's, combined with the overall desire expressed by both residents and visitors to limit further development. Such movement may reflect earlier tourism models such as Doxey's Iridex, where residents (and in this case study, regular visitors) move from eager acceptance and adoption through to displacement, or even Butler's model of a tourist area's cycle of evolution that recognises a destination's popularity movements over time[298]. However, unless there is a new series of *Sea Change* and/or overseas popularity, it is anticipated there will be little movement from the current state due to limited infrastructure, land availability and general community reluctance to capitalise further on the *Sea Change* effect.

For comparison, the current position of Goathland is also placed in the model. As can be seen, the *Heartbeat* series has prompted high visitor numbers, fairly high development (especially in terms of hardening the site), but very low visitor yield to the actual village,

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[298] R.W. Butler, 'The concept of a tourism area cycle of evolution: implications for management of resources', *Canadian Geographer*, 24, 1980, pp.5-12

with visitors staying in other towns. Such a scenario can (and has) created ill-will and resentment between residents and visitors.

When the image or visitor is 'undesired' (demarketing)

It has been well-established in this study that film is a most powerful imaging medium, especially when the storyline and site are closely interrelated. Such images are often retained by consumers for extended periods, as in *Last of the Summer Wine*, which has been influential for over 30 years, and the western movie, *Shane*, which still resonates with visitors to Wyoming some 40 years on[299].

Community inclusiveness and participation are regularly overlooked in the filming decision-making process, due in part to the very nature of the film industry itself. A director of a movie or television program is interested in producing the best product possible and is not duly concerned about the legacy with which the community may be left, such as a sudden surge in tourist numbers and changed environment (socially, economically and physically). If communities are left out of any real discussion or consultation, as is often the case, they are unable to contribute to or choose the type of community they live in – a critical aspect of community tourism planning. Such disenfranchisement and loss of community control can have dramatic long-term social effects as well as impact on the relationship between residents and visitors.

While many destinations now recognise the potential of film to induce tourism and create a powerful destination image (see Chapter 6), few have retained control over how and to whom the destination is presented through commercial films (particularly movies and TV series). Producers are interested in creating the film they want, not the type of tourism image that the destination marketers or community may desire. For example, a destination marketing organisation (DMO) may want to encourage high yield visitors, looking to establish images of a high quality holiday destination, and the community may see their town or region as a friendly, welcoming area. These images are not incompatible and can be incorporated into a destination marketing/imaging strategy. However, if a film studio

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[299] P.N. Lazarus, 'Location filming: A Study of Its Impact on Tourism' *Florida Hotel and Motel Journal*, May 1999, p.21

wants to use the region to film a movie about a small-minded, allegedly racist community, which may be a simplistic stereotype, then this image will not be congruent with either the community's or DMO's desired (or ideal) image.

Is Any Publicity Good Publicity? - Undesired Imagery

There are three basic types of image that can be considered 'undesirable' by a community, the first being created by a negative storyline, such as criminal or bizarre activities. There are instances where community pressure has been able to deny filming access to such perceived negative storylines, however it is arguable as to whether the negative images actually repel or attract tourists. The example cited previously regarding the movie *Deliverance* increasing adventure tourism to the region where it was filmed in Rayburn County, California (notwithstanding that the storyline was set in Appalachia) is pertinent[300]. Linda Peterson Warren, director of the Arizona Film Commission, goes so far as to claim that "people remember locations, beauty and don't tend to attach plot"[301]. This may be the case for some films, but not all, and is a complex area that requires further investigation.

Secondly, an undesired tourism image can result from one that is too successful in attracting visitors – increased visitation giving rise to negative community impacts such as loss of privacy, crowding and cultural amenity. For example, Amish country in Lancaster County Pennsylvania received a great deal of tourist attention following the popular 1985 movie, *Witness*, starring Harrison Ford. Not only were the Amish portrayed in a highly-skewed manner, but also the high level of outside attention was, for such a private community, negatively received. According to Amish professor, Hostetler, the movie "... was a psychological invasion. [The Amish] took it as a kind of mockery"[302]. The community could not undo the effect of the film, so eventually sought ways to counteract the images presented. One example of how this has been achieved is most interesting – a group of Amish, who generally rejected mechanisation, movies and television, have developed a tourist site, 'The Amish Experience Theatre' based around a multi-media production "conceived in the finest tradition of Hollywood or Orlando based special effects

[300] R. Riley et.al., op.cit., 1998, p. 932
[301] K. Radmacher, 'Publicity Seldom Bad, Film-Industry Officials Say' *Inside Tucson Business*, 06/02/97, Vol. 7 Issue 10, 1997, p.14
[302] 'John Hostetler bears witness to Amish culture and calls the move witness 'a mockery', *People Weekly*, March 11 1985, V.23, p.64

houses"[303]. It has been screening a "dramatic tale of an Amish family's effort to preserve [their] lifestyle and culture"[304], *Jacob's Choice*, which is used as the knowledge-base and starting point for associated farm and countryside tours. This film's imaging has been adapted by the community to meet their need to counteract ill-informed movie-goers and portray an authentic Amish image.

A third negative image can arise from the creation of unrealistic visitor expectations and aspects of authenticity. For example, visitors to some sites have been disappointed that the community does not behave or dress in the manner described in a film. There is also the issue of mistaken identity, when a story may be set in a particular region, but filmed somewhere else. This has become more prevalent with the growth of 'runaway production' where sites are chosen on the basis of cost rather than authenticity[305]. While most Americans associate *Deliverance* with the Appalachia region, and may have been disappointed if attempting to visit film sites in that region, Rayburn County was able to leverage the film's popularity to promote its outdoor adventures at the same time as playing down the storyline and the 'real' region in which it was set.

So, what can a community do to alter an adverse (negative or too successfully positive) image? While the Amish have attempted to create their own integrated image through film, communities do not generally have the funds to produce and distribute powerful film images themselves, so in order to counteract such a compelling medium as film, strategic (and even lateral) thinking must be applied by the community as part of its tourism planning. One potentially effective method is to apply demarketing theory as the basis of a remarketing/re-imaging strategy.

The second type of undesired image, one that is too successful, can be studied by looking at popular film-induced tourism sites that are experiencing large numbers of visitors and associated impacts[306]. While problems are evident at such sites, it appears that little is being done to proactively manage them, with the tourism managers (and DMOs) persisting

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[303] The Amish Experience, 'F/X Theatre' *The Amish Experience Theatre*, http://www.amishexperience.com/theater.html, 2000, (accessed 20 November, 2001)
[304] loc.cit.
[305] W.G. Croy & R.D. Walker, loc.cit.
[306] see Demetriadi, J. op.cit., 1996, pp.14-15
The Darcy Effect', *Friends of the Lake District Report and Newsletter*, Autumn 1996, pp. 41-2
The sewers of Madison County', *Economist*, Vol. 336, Issue 7933, 23 September 1995, p.32

to focus solely on economic aspects, with little community input. Demarketing techniques are proposed as both management strategies and re-imaging techniques. Being part of the marketing mix, demarketing is able to reach visitors prior to their visit, much like film.

First coined by Kotler and Levy in 1971[307], demarketing has been applied widely in the public healthcare field in an effort to handle excessively high demand, and its effectiveness and ethics have been debated in many forums[308]. While it has not been extensively applied to tourism, there are cases where demarketing has been consciously or even unconsciously applied[309]. Demarketing in tourism is a powerful tool as it is able to incorporate visitor management techniques at the marketing stage of an operation, before people visit – the stage when expectations are created and decisions on destinations and activities made. Demarketing strategies range from pricing strategies and entry controls, to behavioural education and even a total reduction in marketing and promotion, some of which can be utilised on a community basis[310].

Film-Induced Tourism Demarketing Strategies

Beeton and Benfield[311] propose a wide range of possible demarketing strategies, the most relevant to the film-induced tourism cases being:

- Increasing entry fees
- Increasing advertising that warns of capacity limitations

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[307] P. Kotler & S.J. Levy, 'Demarketing, yes demarketing' Harvard Business Review, Vol.49 No.6, 1971, pp. 74-80

[308] see G.S. Kindra & W. Taylor 'A marketing prescription for Canada's health care' Journal of Healthcare Marketing, Vol. 15 Issue 2, 1990, pp. 10-14
A. Reddy, 'Reducing healthcare costs by demarketing benefits' Health Marketing Quarterly, Vol. 6 No. 4, 1989, pp. 137-145
N.K. Malhorta, 'Reducing health care cost by demarketing benefits' Journal of Health Care Marketing, Vol. 10 Issue 2, 1990, pp. 78-79
N.M. Borkowski, 'Demarketing of Health Services' Journal of Health Care Marketing, Vol. 14 Issue 4, 1994, p. 12

[309] see M.A. Clements, 'Selecting tourist traffic by demarketing' Tourism Management, Vol. 10 No. 2, 1989, pp. 89-94;
S. Beeton, 'Cyclops and Sirens – Demarketing as a Proactive Response to Negative Consequences of One-Eyed Competitive Marketing' R. Neil Moisey, Norma P. Nickerson, Kathleen L. Andereck (editors) TTRA 32nd Conference Proceedings, 2001: A Tourism Odyssey, Florida, 2001, pp. 125-136;
R. Benfield, ' "Good things come to those who wait" – Market research and timed entry at Sissinghurst Castle Garden, Kent' TTRA Annual Conference Proceedings, California, June 2000, 2000, pp. 226-234

[310] see S. Beeton, op.cit., pp. 134-135;
R. Benfield,' "Turning back the Hordes" Demarketing research as a means of Managing Mass Tourism', R. Neil Moisey, Norma P. Nickerson, Kathleen L. Andereck (editors) TTRA 32nd Conference Proceedings, 2001: A Tourism Odyssey, Florida, 2001, pp.137-150

[311] S. Beeton, loc.cit., 2001
R. Benfield, loc.cit., 2001

- Reducing sales and promotion expenditure
- Separate management of large groups
- Educating potential visitors regarding appropriate behaviour at point of information gathering and within marketing and promotional literature
- Educating journalists and associated media regarding appropriate behaviour
- Encouraging specific ('desirable') markets through the style and information provided in the destination's promotional material
- Discouraging certain ('undesirable') markets through the style and information of destination promotional material
- Notifying visitors of banned activities and access at the point of information gathering and in promotional literature
- Permitting certain activities or access only under supervision of appropriately educated personnel (such as accredited commercial operators)

These strategies fall into three basic categories, namely limit supply through making access more difficult (both physically and financially), limit demand through restricting advertising, or educating potential visitors at the point of decision-making (through marketing material). The first two can be considered prescriptive and somewhat difficult due to the lack of influence destination marketers and communities have over commercial film imaging, whereas the third can have some effect by dealing with visitor attitudes and expectations prior to their actual visit.

In order to ascertain the extent to which demarketing tools are being used to alter responses to film-induced images, popular US movie sites and UK television sites were examined. All the sites are promoted as filming destinations in either the California or British Tourist Authority's *Movie Maps*[312] and have received recognised visitor attention from the associated filming. The sites selected were the towns of Intercourse (Amish movie *Witness*), Mt Airy (setting for the *Andy Griffith Show*, but not filmed there), and Dyersville (*Field of Dreams*) in the United States, and Holmfirth (*Last of the Summer Wine*), Luss (*Take the High Road*), and Goathland (*Heartbeat*) in the United Kingdom. The longevity

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[312] California Tourism op.cit., 2001;
British Tourism Authority op.cit., 2001

of many of these series or movies (up to thirty years) provides the opportunity to consider the long-term effects of film-induced tourism.

The relevant tourist associations were approached as well as the associated National Parks Authority (NPA) in the UK, as many of the villages and sites are located in regions managed by the NPA. Their responses to enquiries regarding their visitor management strategies and community reactions were examined. The questions were open-ended and couched in general terms, leaving the individuals to identify any issues they may be experiencing. Due to the limited nature of this study and the sites selected, this study is taken on an exploratory case basis, supported by media reports providing avenues for further investigation as well as a potential community tourism planning model that incorporates proposed demarketing strategies. They also demonstrate the care that must be taken when applying the findings of case studies to other places, particularly in different countries, even when the culture is similar (as in the UK, US and Australia). While there are congruities between them, it is the differences that we must also acknowledge and seek to answer, often through further research and study.

Table 7.2 below summarises the responses to questions regarding visitor problems, community issues and strategies taken to address them. There is a distinct variation in the degree and type of impacts as well as strategies to handle them, however there was a common consensus that the community shared some resentment towards the influx of tourists. Barwon Heads currently uses fewer demarketing strategies from the longer established film-tourism sites in the UK and US, which supports the thesis that visitor management has been reactive, with destinations waiting until the problems are manifest before dealing with them. Restrictions and attempts to modify visitor behaviour are only introduces after community and environmental issues become apparent. The key to demarketing is that it is proactive, educating and managing potential tourists before as well as during their visit.

Table 7.2 Summary of Issues and Responses to Film-Induced Tourism

Site	Increased Visitor Numbers	Issues	Attitude to living in a film set	Relate to Series?	Strategies				
					Reduce Promotion	Parking & Access	Entry Fees	Visitor education	Site hardening
UNITED KINGDOM									
Holmfirth *Last of the Summer Wine*	Hard to say due to longevity of series	Some community resentment towards numbers		No- it's rather a backward image	No	Limited parking. Only town to charge on Sundays		Remind visitors that most locations are private	
Goathland *Heartbeat*	From 200,00pa to peak of 1.5 million. Currently at 1million	Loss of privacy. Retired residents experience loss of privacy, with no direct economic benefits. Too many vehicles.	Economic benefits to areas outside the village	Possibly the rural idyll. Some residents starting to replicate the series	Promotion was always limited. Some by individual businesses. Main source – media articles	Waiting restrictions. Advisory coach route developed. Flat daily rate to encourage longer stay. Encourage 'green' transport.	Public area – not possible. Suggested toll fees opposed by business	Try to move visitors around the village, but tend to stay close to popular sites. Try to educate re privacy, with limited success	Urbanisation of village to create hard infrastructure – car park extension, kerbing, signage
Luss *Take the High Road*	Hard to quantify, but has increased, especially tour buses.	Loss of privacy.	Most accept it – some make a living from it	No – the series is now not as popular	No – low key anyway. Mainly promoted by independent tour operators	Parking fees introduced 2001. No vehicles in village.		No – however there is friction.	Extended car park adjacent to village.
UNITED STATES									
Intercourse *Witness*	Not sure what was meant – people do want to see the farm, but it's privately owned and doesn't look, like in the film.	Nearly 20 years ago. Many Amish not happy with the filming.		Not	State film commission agreed not to promote movies on the Amish. Some of the costumes used in the Amish Experience Theatre.			Most promotional material reminds visitors of privacy issues, especially not taking photos of the Amish people.	
Mt Airy *Andy Griffith Show*	The questions do not apply to Mt Airy ... ... (quote from respondent). *Questions were re-worded – no further response*								
Dyersville *Field of Dreams*	*No response*								
AUSTRALIA									
Barwon Heads *Sea Change*	More visitors in off-peak seasons	Increased property prices & rents; Benefits only for traders, not others who want to retain quiet, village atmosphere	Increased sense of pride – put the town on the map	No – residents resist such comparison		Desire to increase parking in main street	Public areas – not possible		Hardening and maintenance of tracks to sites in the caravan park

In spite of the recognised impacts on the community, the conscious application of strategies to handle the issues of crowding and loss of privacy at the point of promotion varies for each community, as demonstrated in the above table. In order to examine this further, a basic socio-semiotic analysis of the marketing material indicated little in terms of demarketing, with the analysis outlined in Table 7.3. In order to study what a potential visitor would receive, a request for brochures was emailed to the respective tourist offices of the five sites identified in the UK and US. Promotional brochures were requested from the offices, however only one of them actually forwarding material. Such reluctance to forward hard copies of tourism information forces international visitors to rely heavily on

the unregulated Internet as an information source, where individual businesses and movie fans themselves are able to extensively publicise film sites, with no control or input from the community or government agencies[313]. All of the regions had tourism Internet sites and were used as the main source of accessible visitor information, along with the most relevant commercial sites of businesses directly benefiting from film-induced tourism. In addition, brochures obtained during site visits were utilised.

Many of the so-called 'demarketing strategies' that have been identified in the table also come under the realm of 'visitor management'. The difference between them is not so much the actions taken, but when they occur on the visitor experience continuum from initial decision to travel, information gathering and choice of destination through to travel to the destination and the experience at the destination. Visitor management, as the term suggests, takes place when the visitors are actually on-location, whereas demarketing strategies are those that occur during the information gathering process. Such a distinction is more than mere semantics as there are few destinations (including national parks) that proactively target visitor behaviour before the visitor arrives. This is becoming more apparent in fragile environments such as some national parks, with some literature notifying potential visitors of banned activities and other restrictions, however it is rarely treated in a conscious proactive manner[314]. It is important for destinations affected adversely by tourism to address the negative consequences and notify visitors of any banned activities, restrictions, costs or preferred behaviour at the information-gathering stage when expectations are developed. In the case of film-induced tourism this is even more vital due to the lack of community control over the filming process in the first instance. It also must be stressed that demarketing is *one* aspect of the marketing mix, not an alternative to marketing itself.

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[313] see Melissa's Heartbeat Page http://www.netspace.net.au/~capefrog/heartbeat/heartbeat.html;
Classic TV http://classictv.about.com/msub20.htm?once=true&;
SeaChange http://users.bigpond.net.au/champion/SeaChane/right.htm
[314] S. Beeton, op.cit., 2001, p.134

Table 7.3 Destination Marketing Material for Film Tourism Sites

Town, Series/Movie	Type of promotional material		No. of refs to series/movie	Position of references			Images from series	Map of sites	Demarketing strategies			
	www	Brochure	movie	Front/www home	Back	Inside/www link			Limit Access	Go else-where in area	Fee	Education re Privacy
UNITED KINGDOM												
Holmfirth	TB¹					1						
Last of the	LG²		1							✓		
Summer	C³		4	3		1	3					
Wine		Film location guide				3	5					
		Region Visitor Guide	2			1	1	✓				
		Holmfirth brochure	3			3	1	✓		✓		✓
Goathland	C		1			1						
Heartbeat	NPA⁴					1				✓		
	.com⁵		1	1			7					
		Visitor brochure										
		Guide for Research	1	1						✓		✓
Luss	C		1	1								
Take the	NPA		1			1						
High Road		Luss brochure	1			1				✓		
UNITED STATES												
Intercourse	LG		1			1						✓
Witness	C		1			1						✓
	.com		0									
Mt Airy Andy Griffith Show	LG		1			1						
Dyersville Field of Dreams	LG				2							1
	.com		1	1								
AUSTRALIA												
Barwon Heads		NPA	1	1								
Sea Change	C		3	2		1						

1	TvB	Tourism Board	4	NPA	National Parks Authority/Public Land Management Agency (Aust)
2	LG	Local Government/Council	5	.com	Commercial site
3	C	Community			

The above cursory examination of promotional material indicates the unconscious use of some demarketing strategies. Much of the promotional material makes mention of their related film sites, but apart from those that focus specifically on film, such as the *TV and Film Location Guide* for the Kirklees region which includes Holmfirth, promotion of the filming sites is extremely limited. The film sites promoted in the guide include the settings for series such as *The League of Gentlemen, Where the Heart Is, Wokenwell* as well as movies including *Blow Dry, Duncan Wayne: World Number One* and *Distress Signals*. Apart from *Blow Dry*, the other movies were not 'hits', so it is the TV series that tend to attract most visitors, especially *Last of the Summer Wine*, which received prominent exposure in the brochure.

Such limited use of the promotional power of film indicates use of a general demarketing strategy of limiting the promotion of the towns as film sites. Much of the material promotes other activities and sites to visit away from the film areas, while only four out of the twenty-two promotional media comment on issues such as respecting residents' privacy. Only one site charges a fee (*Field of Dreams*), which is for entry to a maze, leaving the rest of the site with no entrance fee. The *Field of Dreams* site is interesting in that it is split between two private property owners, with one providing a less developed experience than the other that includes the maze and 'costumed' baseball entertainers.

Levels of resident dissatisfaction are suggested by media stories that report concerns over images portrayed in storylines as well as increased pressures on infrastructure and lifestyle at many film sites[315]. While the media has a tendency to latch on to negative stories, research undertaken at many sites around the world supports this proposition (see Chapters 2, 4 and 5). An integrated demarketing strategy is proposed as a means to address the issues that have been identified. A model for re-imaging a destination through demarketing is proposed below in Figure 7.4, which will assist in future tourism planning, with particular emphasis on film-induced tourism and communities.

Figure 7.4 Integrated Demarketing Strategy
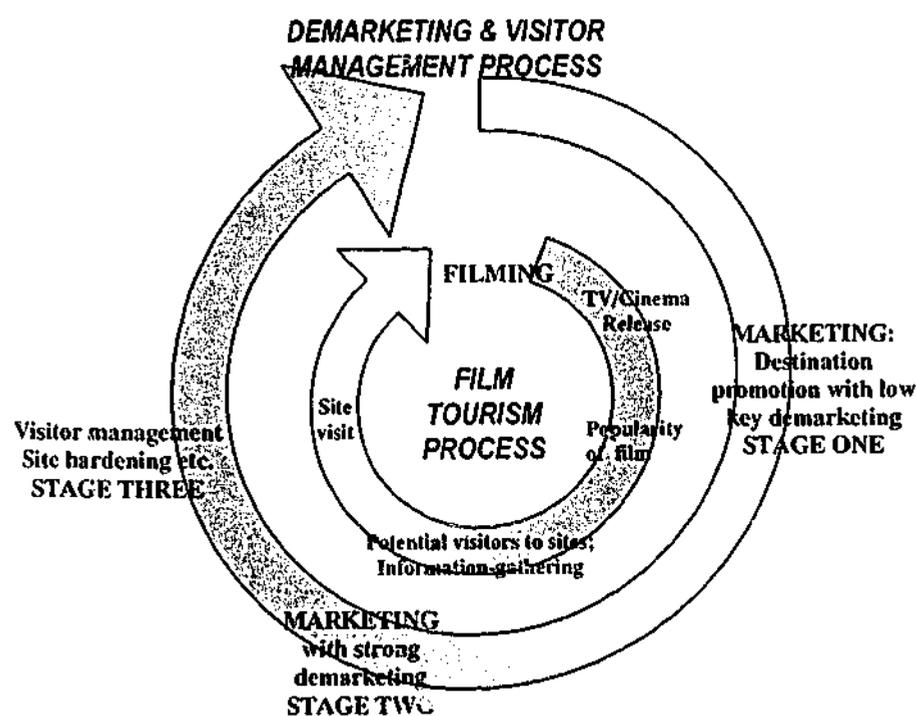
[315] see Demetriadi, J. op.cit., 1996, p. 15
The Darcy Effect'op.cit., 1996, pp. 41
The sewers of Madison County', op.cit., 1995, p.32

The model incorporates demarketing into the marketing process at the stage of destination marketing when run concurrently with the release of a movie or TV series as well as at the information-gathering stage. Initially, at the destination marketing stage, the demarketing would be minor, possibly in the realm of notifying potential visitors whether sites are publicly accessible and if not, what limitations there may be. The second stage of demarketing may require providing more information such as costs, time or number restrictions and appropriate behaviour towards residents, bringing it more into line with visitor management that comes into effect once the visitors are on-location (Stage Three).

Suggested Demarketing Strategies for Film Tourism Sites

While not all issues that a community or small town faces regarding film-induced tourism can be addressed by demarketing, there are strategies that can aid the process. These should not be seen as stand-alone strategies, rather they are most effective when incorporated into visitor and environmental management as well as part of the marketing mix. Tables 7.4, 7.5, 7.6 and 7.7 below outline the issues that have been identified in this study and proposed demarketing tools, along with the stage (one, two or three) in the Integrated Demarketing Strategy from Figure 7.4 where they could be introduced. The issues have been divided into Social (Table 7.4), Economic (Table 7.5), Environmental (Table 7.6) and Tourism (Table 7.7). They also include positive aspects of film-induced tourism, which in spite of the term, *de*marketing should also be incorporated at these planning stages.

Table 7.4 Social Demarketing Options for Film-Induced Tourism

Issue	Strategy	Stage
Loss of Privacy	•	
Taking photos of residents	• Educate visitors in protocol for picture-taking	2
	• Accredit 'sensitive' tour operators	1, 2, 3
	• Train & accredit local guides	1, 2, 3
	• Establish specific areas for photo taking	1, 2, 3
Souveniring private property	• Educate visitors	2
	• Offer facsimiles of popular items for purchase	3
	• Increase security	3
	• Accredit 'sensitive' tour operators	1, 2, 3
	• Train & accredit local guides	1, 2, 3
Accessing private areas	• Educate visitors	2
	• Introduce signage	2, 3
	• Design access paths to avoid private areas	3
	• Increase security	3
	• Accredit 'sensitive' tour operators	1, 2, 3
	• Train & accredit local guides	1, 2, 3
	• Encourage activities in other areas of the town/region	2, 3
Crowding	• Limit numbers	2, 3
	• Notify visitors of limitations or best times to visit	2
	• Allocate staggered times for bus tour groups	2
	• Accredit 'sensitive' tour operators	1, 2, 3
	• Train & accredit local guides	1, 2, 3
	• Introduce fees	2, 3
	• Encourage activities in other areas of the town/region	2, 3
Loss of atmosphere & ambience	• Accredit 'sensitive' tour operators	1, 2, 3
	• Train & accredit local guides	1, 2, 3
	• Encourage activities in other areas of the town/region	2, 3
Other	•	
Reduced safety – especially from car accidents	• Reduce traffic in popular areas	2, 3
	• Increase pedestrian crossings	2, 3
Crime – petty theft	• Educate visitors & locals to be vigilant	2, 3
	• Increase policing	3

Many of the issues outlined in the table above may be more perceived rather than actual, nevertheless they have a major effect on relations between tourists and residents and regular visitors alike and as such are very real. Social impacts are highly perceptual and open to constant change and reassessment, consequently they must be addressed and reinforced throughout the entire marketing/demarketing process.

Table 7.5 Economic Demarketing Options for Film-Induced Tourism

Issue	Strategy	Stage
Limited Economic	•	
Visitors staying in other towns	• Encourage longer stays through offering local guided tours, attractions & activities that are time-consuming (yet interesting)	1, 2
	• Provide accredited tour operators with special packages/deals	2
Benefits only to traders	• Educate locals on the economic multiplier effect, esp via local media	ongoing
Housing price increases	• Difficult to control – work with local government to assist	ongoing
Infrastructure	•	
Limited vehicle parking	• Increase parking options	3
	• Encourage park & ride on public transport	2, 3
Increased pressure on public toilets	• Increase number of public toilets	3
	• Continuous needs assessment & monitoring	ongoing
	• Consider design of toilets	ongoing
Waste disposal	• Increase council services (who pays?)	ongoing

Economic impacts have a significant effect on the future survival of a community, consequently the positive need to be encouraged, with an awareness of the negative issues, particularly in terms of a shift in the visitation patterns of existing tourists.

Table 7.6 Environmental Demarketing Options for Film-Induced Tourism

Issue	Strategy	Stage
Environmental	•	
Increased rubbish	• Educate visitors	2
	• Introduce signage	2, 3
	• Design access paths to pass by rubbish bins	2, 3
	• Study habits for appropriate placement & style of bin	3
	• Increase number of bins & collection services	3
	• Accredit 'sensitive' tour operators	1, 2, 3
	• Train & accredit local guides	1, 2, 3
Erosion of paths & roads (heavy vehicles)	• Limit access to sensitive areas	2, 3
	• Temporary closure of roads & paths	2, 3
	• Offer alternatives – park & walk, free public transport/shuttles	2, 3
	• Harden the site	3
Pollution from vehicles	• Offer 'green' alternatives – park & walk, free public transport/shuttles	2, 3
	• Limit time of day for vehicle access	2, 3

One of the problems with many environmental impacts is that they are not evident until the environment is damaged, often irrevocably. Numerous researchers into environmental sustainability have noted the major failing of establishing carrying capacity is that it is rarely recognised or understood until it has been exceeded. When outlining the problems of establishing carrying capacity, Stankey and Lime note that "...when you get down to specifics - how many, what kinds, when, for whom, etc.- the discussion bogs down"[316]. Establishing desired levels of visitation and activities of visitors from the outset is necessary.

Table 7.7 Tourism Demarketing Options for Film-Induced Tourism

Issue	Strategy	Stage
Tourism		
Displacement of traditional holiday makers	Provide services, activities & facilities that they find attractive	2
Effect of students researching the phenomenon	Limit research activities by requiring community approval	ongoing
	Inform institutions of the problem & suggest other areas/towns to study	2

Tourism issues in the above table relate to the changes that film-induced tourism may bring on the existing tourism market and infrastructure. While there are not as many such tourism aspects compared to the social, economic and environmental issues outlined in the previous tables, they should not be overlooked. For example, the effect of film-induced

tourism on the traditional holiday-makers may well lead on to compounding the negative economic and social impacts. Also, interest by students in studying a new tourism phenomenon has created a new type of visitor to film sites with different requirements, and may well be more socially intrusive than all other visitors.

Each community needs to assess the proposed strategies outlined in the above tales in light of their own goals and vision, integrating them into the community tourism planning and development process. The stronger and more inclusive the community vision, the easier it is for communities to decide on the most appropriate strategies and the more beneficial they become.

Some of the options require funding, whereas others can be relatively cost-neutral, with even others a revenue generator, such as accrediting operators and guides. While individual travellers cannot always be successfully restricted or educated, the concept of accrediting and training tour operators and local guides and using such accreditation in the marketing material can be of some merit. Accreditation of tour operators has been successfully applied in many national parks, especially in Australia where operators must gain (and pay for) a permit to operate in national parks. Conditions attached to the permits include safety as well as knowledge of the environment or their activity (through approved seminars and other programs). Operators have at times also been authorised to notify the land management agency of groups or individuals behaving irresponsibly. By providing training opportunities and other benefits, the operators view accreditation as a benefit to them and a strong marketing tool. There is no evidence of such a program being undertaken in filming towns, yet there is a good case to consider such an option. Geelong Otway Tourism did offer to train locals at Barwon Heads to become 'Sea Change specialists', however there was no interest – once again a reflection of the general ambivalence and reluctance of residents to identify with the series.

This case illustrates the potential of demarketing as a tool to re-image a destination and manage visitor movement and behaviour. The proposed strategies can be incorporated into many development plans and utilised by commercial as well as community groups.

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[316] G. Stankey & D. Lime, 'Carrying Capacity: maintaining outdoor recreation quality' *Proceedings of the Forest Recreation Symposium* Upper Darby, Pa: Northeast Experiment Station, 1975, p.174

Demarketing can also be used as a tool in empowering members who may have lost control of their community through unplanned film-induced tourism.

Community Tourism Planning Revisited

It has become evident through comparing the results of the Barwon Heads study in Australia with the data available in the US and UK that, while film-induced tourism is a common and growing phenomenon, it is not as extensive or intrusive in Australia. Also, it appears that movies may have more impact in the US, while the UK sites most affected by tourism are those from television series.

Nevertheless, film is a powerful image-maker and while it would be advantageous to be able to incorporate filming into community planning, in reality this is rarely the case. We are finding that communities are often left to face the results of a too successful or negative image with limited resources. The concepts of demarketing can be used to work towards re-imaging these communities, empowering them and creating a more sustainable future.

The Barwon Head's community's general ambivalence towards *Sea Change* has unconsciously self-imposed a limit on film-induced tourism visitation to the town as well as maintaining a reasonable level of positive development (apart from some increasing property values). Such an unconscious limiting of visitors may not always be successful or even desired, which is where community tourism planning comes into its own. For example, if the series had received the level of screening of other Australian series in the UK, such as *Neighbours* and *Home and Away*, the subsequent tourist visitation would have been far greater.

By proactively planning for the tourism aftermath of filming a popular television series, potential issues such as overcrowding and even economic loss to other towns/regions (such as the Goathland case) may be avoided. Also, planning enables a community to truly take advantage and control of those aspects of film-induced tourism that they desire, not merely what the media represents.

SECTION THREE: OFF-LOCATION FILM STUDIO TOURISM

Chapter Eight: Towards a Film Studio Theme Park Model

Film is a great motivator not only for tourism, but for commercial consumption that may not necessarily be directly related to the film itself. Many of the on-location filming areas are promoted in conjunction with opportunities to purchase souvenirs, but also promoted are products used by the characters in the film or even the actors in real life. The commercial consumption (through tourism) of streetscapes and scenery takes the concept of commercialism even further than regular product placement. For example, the Hong Kong Tourist Association's *Movie Map* links film sites with up-market shopping by featuring the stores that are used as backdrops in popular Hong Kong movies[317]. Such film-induced consumption has been taken advantage of not only at on-location locations, but also off-location at the film studios, with the development of film studio theme parks and their concomitant merchandising and souvenir sales.

In the context of this study, film production studios are considered to be 'off-location', even though many films are set entirely in the studios with no on-location filming in the field, especially many television programs. The term, off-location, relates to filming undertaken in a set constructed within the confines of the production unit, away from a naturally occurring setting such as a town, coastal area or desert. For example, films that use Paramount Studios' famous painted sky wall or main street facades are considered to be as equally 'off-location' as those using the closed sound stages and studios. Tourism at such sites could be considered as 'industrial tourism' with visitors gazing at the film industry while it is at work.

Industrial tourism is broadly recognised as being an aspect of a venture whose core activity is the production of non-tourism goods and/or services. Tourists gaze at the actual production process, such as chocolates being made in a chocolate factory. Film studios can be classified in this area as their core activity is film production, however if the visitor is taken to a separate site within the operation to experience a constructed replication (or simulacrum) of the filming process, this is not strictly industrial tourism. Such tourism attractions belong to the realm of the theme park, and include film studios such as Warner

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[317] Chow Tsz Yan, 'Star-Spangled Journey: Hong Kong Movie-Induced Tourism' *The Hong Kong Anthropologist*, Vol. 13, 2000, p. 30
Hong Kong Tourism Board, *Hong Kong Movie Map*, MPH Magazines, Singapore, 1999

Brothers Movie World and Fox Studios Backlot in Australia, Disney-MGM in Florida and Universal Studios in California and Japan.

Much of the success of such tourism ventures lies in the segregation of the working studio and tourist facilities with its playful take on authenticity through obvious fictional representations of fantasy – the public are part of the joke. One would be closer to the film-making process watching a video of *Back to the Future* at home than on the public ride of the same name at Universal Studios, yet visitors are prepared to pay US$26 for simulated movie experiences – the ultimate postmodern construct, aptly described as 'hyperreality' by Boudrillard[318].

Therefore, film studio tourism such as at Universal Studios is not a component of industrial tourism, but more related to theme park theory and Hannigan's 'Fantasy City'. Hannigan describes his 'Fantasy City' as possessing six central features: it is based around a single or multi-theme (drawn from popular entertainment , sport, history or the city's geographic locale); is aggressively branded with sponsors and highly reliant on licensed merchandise sales; operates day and night; is modular (mixing and matching an array of standard components such as themed restaurants, cinema megaplexes and high tech amusements); is solipsistic (that is, self-contained and physically, economically and socially isolated from its locale); and is postmodern in that it is constructed around simulations, virtual reality and the "thrill of the spectacle"[319]. Such elements are integral parts of theme parks, particularly film studio theme park enterprises, and as Hannigan notes,

> ... as motion picture and amusement park technologies merge to produce a new
> generation of attractions, the space between authenticity and illusion recedes,
> creating the illusion of "hyperreality" described by such post-modern writers as
> Umberto Eco and Jean Beaudrillard.[320]

As much of the academic discourse on theme parks comes from a postmodern paradigm, some comment on this perspective is required. Taking a brief look at such a complex area

[318] G. Ritzer & A. Liska, 'McDisneyization and Post-Tourism – complementary perspectives on contemporary tourism' C. Rojek, and J. Urry (eds) *Touring Cultures. Transformations of Travel and Theory*, Routledge, London, 1997, p. 108
[319] J. Hannigan, *Fantasy City; Pleasure and Profit in the Postmodern Metropolis*, Routledge, London, 1998, pp.3-4

is fraught with the dangers of over-simplification, and there are profound differences between the major proponents of post-modernism, however the concept of 'post-tourism' may suffice to provide a grounding for the following comments. Such a stance is supported by Ritzer and Liska, who explain the post-tourist as finding it less necessary to leave home to travel (the classic 'arm-chair traveller') and who sees touring as a game where there are no 'authentic' tourism experiences[321]. Rojek sees this as the post-tourist accepting comodification, with tourism seen as an end in itself, not a means to a loftier goal[322]. He argues that the postmodernism view of heritage tourism, for example, is that we cannot preserve the past, merely represent it, as the mobility of all things is a constant state[323].

The concept of post-tourism is also supported by Teo and Yeoh who see it as the recognition that all products (including culture) can be commodified, advertised and sold, rendering any expectations of 'authenticity' to be moot – it cannot be found, being substituted by simulacra[324]. This is reminiscent of the theming and solipsistic elements of Hannigan's 'Fantasy City'.

Taking up these arguments, Ritzer and Liska go so far as to argue that "many tourists today are in search of inauthenticity"[325]. In contrast, MacCannell, long recognised as one of the major figures in developing and discussing aspects of authenticity, argues that tourists are searching for authentic experiences[326]. As appealing as MacCannell's view is of a highly developed tourist primarily concerned with reality and authenticity, in relation to theme parks and film Ritzer and Liska's argument resonates more soundly. They argue that if we accept Baudrillard's claim that we have been raised in a postmodern world dominated by simulations, there is an increasing tendency to want and insist on simulations when on holiday[327]. These simulations do not have to be the same as those in our day to day lives –

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[320] ibid., p.4
[321] G. Ritzer & A. Liska, op.cit., 1997, p. 102
[322] C. Rojek, *Ways of Escape*, MacMillan, Bassingstoke, 1993, p. 160
[323] loc.cit.
[324] P. Teo & B.S.A. Yeoh, 'Negotiating Global Tourism: Localism as Difference in Southeast Asian Theme Parks' P. Teo, T.C. Chang and K.C. Ho (eds) *Interconnected Worlds; Tourism in Southeast Asia*, Pergamon, Amsterdam, 2001, p. 141
[325] G. Ritzer & A. Liska, op.cit., 1997, p. 107
[326] D. MacCannell, *The Tourist: a new theory of the leisure class*, Shocken Books, New York, 1976, p.44
[327] G. Ritzer & A. Liska, 'McDisneyization and Post-Tourism – complementary perspectives on contemporary tourism' C. Rojek, and J. Urry (eds) *Touring Cultures. Transformations of Travel and Theory*, Routledge, London, 1997, p. 107

they can be inversions of the everyday simulacra, which provides the tourist with difference and escapism. Baudrillard uses an example of the caves of Lescaux in France which has been closed, with an exact replica (inverted simulation) being constructed and open to the public[328].

A real-life example that further challenges MacCannell's impression that tourists search for authenticity, is Sega theme park in London. Here, visitors are offered simulated rides of an already simulated ride in Disney World, taking them even further into hyperreality[329]. In what is now considered a hoax, in 1994 *The Bulletin* reported that a Berlin concert manager had plans to build 'Ossi Park', a 500 acre replica of East German life, complete with "…badly stocked stores, snooping state secret police, and scratchy toilet paper known as 'Stalin's Revenge'"[330]. The idea of such a bizarre simulation appealed to postmodernists such as Ritzer and Liska who even cited it from another source as 'fact'[331]. It is doubtful that they saw the proposed logo, which may have tipped them off to the hoax – bearing a striking resemblance to *Jurassic Park*:

Source: http:05t.test.at/img/scans/ossi-park-klein.GIF

Many of the aspects that result through combining film with tourism can be studied in the post-modern paradigm, not in the least because of the co-existence of such opposing concepts as authenticity, fantasy, role playing, hyperreality and inversion. For example, an exhibition at the Smithsonian's Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum titled, 'New Hotels for Global Nomads' presents hotels in the themes, Urban Hotels, Hotels as Global Business, Fantasy Hotels, Natural Hotels and Hotels on the Move. One of the hotels explored in the exhibition is The Hotel in Lucerne, which expresses itself as a cinematic

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[328] loc.cit.

[329] ibid., p. 108

[330] 'Communism as theme park' *The Bulletin*, Vol. 50, No. 1, January/February 1994

[331] G. Ritzer & A. Liska, op.cit., 1997, p. 106

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experience by recreating movie scenes on the ceilings of the guests' rooms[332]. Not only is this an interesting concept from the hotel's aspect, the real fascination lies in that it also forms part of a museum exhibition in New York. Such inversions provide enormous scope for students of hyperreality as well as the 'tourist gaze'.

Theme Parks

Established in 1955, Disneyland is generally recognised as the world's first theme park, albeit a descendent of the turn-of-the-century open-air museums such as Skansen in Stockholm, amusement parks such as Coney Island and England's Brighton Pier, combined with elements of celebration and spectacle found in World's Fairs. It is the classic example of a 'Fantasy City', and as the first, and seen by many as the most successful (in spite of Disneyland Paris' initial failings), of its kind has been a model for theme park development[333].

While Disneyland's genesis is shrouded in myth (such as when, how and why Walt Disney came up with the concept), what is more verifiable, yet rarely noted, is the park's intimate relationship with film and television from its very commencement. During the construction phase, Disney required a substantial cash injection to complete Disneyland, so he formed a lucrative partnership with ABC television corporation to create the Mickey Mouse Club. The Club assisted Disneyland in its construction and ongoing publicity, while Disneyland promoted the ABC and increased it ratings exponentially. Consequently, the park was "the first place ever conceived simultaneously with a TV series"[334] - Disneyland is television's first 'real' place. Confirming its place in the world of TV, the official opening of Disneyland, *Dateline Disneyland,* was telecast live on a coast-to-coast TV hook-up[335].

Sorkin also recognises that television and theme parks such as Disneyland have numerous similarities such as the means of extracting, reducing and recombining elements of history

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[332] Smithsonian Cooper-Hewitt, *National Design Museum, New Hotels for Global Nomads, October 29 2002 – March 2, 2003,* Media Release, August 2002

[333] P. Teo & B.S.A. Yeoh, opc.it., 2001, p. 137

[334] M. Sorkin, 'See you in Disneyland' *Variations on a Theme Park*, Michael Sorkin editor, Noonday Press, New York, 1992a, p. 206

and fantasy, reality and simulation, to invent a new, self-contained, antigeographical space (even though theme parks are sited geographically in a physical sense)[336]. Film studio tourism is an even finer example of being able to create antigeographical space, as the film studio theme parks celebrate populist films that can be viewed anywhere in the world, hence reducing the need to consider geographical appropriateness or cultural relationships to the theme.

It is a small conceptual step to take the filmic relationship between the Disney style theme park and television to a film studio theme park, yet the significance of this early aspect of Disneyland's development has not been sufficiently recognised, particularly in terms of film-induced tourism. The concept of on-location film-induced tourism may have been recognised from the early days of movies with visits to sites such as Monument Valley (the striking backdrop for *Stagecoach* in 1935, starring John Wayne, and many other westerns), however the link between television and theme parks has, up until now, been ignored in academic literature.

In response to public requests to visit his studios, Disney had long entertained the idea of developing a customised theme park adjacent to his film studio, as he felt that visitors would soon find the actual film-making process tedious and boring[337]. He believed that the tourists wanted to be a part of the illusion. So, when he built his new Burbank studio in 1940, a park of eight acres was to be set aside for guests. By 1948 preliminary plans for a Disney backlot park adjacent to the Burbank Studio had been developed, including a glorified self-guided studio tour with sets depicting the Old West, the farm, a Main Village, model railway and the Gay 90s as illustrated in Figure 8.1 below.

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[335] K.A. Marling, *As Seen on TV. The Visual Culture of Everyday Life in the 1950s*, Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 1994, p.88
[336] ibid., p. 208
[337] K.A. Marling, op.cit, 1994, p.109

Figure 8.1 Plans for Disney Backlot Park, Burbank 1948

Source: K.A. Marling, *As Seen on TV. The Visual Culture of Everyday Life in the 1950s*, Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 1994, p.110

Unfortunately for Disney, he was either ahead or behind the times, as the Burbank City Council rejected the concept as having the atmosphere of a carnival and not the family-centred entertainment complex that Disney claimed it to be[338].

In order to understand and study off-location film tourism at the studio, it is efficacious to consider the various elements that constitute a theme park, including those coming from the postmodern paradigm outlined by Hannigan previously. In spite of the much lauded success of many theme parks, numerous tourist attractions that may be considered as such tend to shy away from using the term, in part as a response to the negative connotations often attached to mass entertainment and tourism. Entertainment for the masses is regularly decried by academic-based social commentators as bland, insipid, unchallenging and inauthentic, yet remains a mainstay of the tourism industry. Horne notes that work by "... sociologists, anthropologists and semioticians ... treat tourism as a disease requiring appropriate classification before being eliminated"[339].

Challenging the traditional view of theme parks as merely re-created amusement parks, Roberts and Wall describe a theme park as being distinguished by its particular goal of integrating public entertainment with conservation and historical preservation[340]. One tourism product that fits this description is Sovereign Hill in Victoria's historic gold fields region. It is a purpose-built site representing a pivotal decade in Australia's gold rush (1850s), housing recreated buildings, mines, shops and dwellings with a host of costumed

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[338] ibid., p.110
[339] D. Horne, *The Intelligent Tourist*, Margaret Gee Publishing, McMahons Point, 1992, p.x
[340] C. Roberts & G. Wall, 'Possible Impacts of Vaughan Theme Park', *Recreation Research Review*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1979, pp. 11-14

interpreters[341]. It is set in an historic mining town, still riddled with underground mines. Sovereign Hill goes to great lengths to distance itself from its theme park origins, preferring to promote as "Australia's foremost outdoor museum"[342]. There is much debate regarding the current and future state of museums, both outdoor and indoor, especially their adoption of high-technology and virtual reality to create more interactive spaces of more interest to today's youth – taking on many theme park and Fantasy City attributes. Horne cites critical comment on the current state of technological reliance in our new museums:

> We do not need museums to dazzle us with modern electronic equipment ... [W]e need museums that provide some vision of humanity different from the vision put forward by every advertising agency and political speech.[343]

In an attempt to encompass the broad range of types and increasing influence of theme parks over the past ten years, in a somewhat generic explanation, Camp outlines three main elements of a theme park in the late 20th Century as being an outdoor attraction combining rides, attractions and shows, designed around a central theme or group of themes, and charging a pay-one-price admission fee to visitors[344]

However, such a definition is too general, crude and incomplete. Camp has not adequately incorporated aspects such as the aims of conservation and historic preservation identified by Roberts and Walls, concepts articulated by Hannigan, or many of the other (post-tourist/postmodern) elements of theme parks, such as the prevalence of inverting reality and fantasy – a significant element of postmodern society. An example of this is the inversion of transport – where the ride is the destination (or attraction), not the means of getting there, as it is in 'real life'. Camp's simple description may have been an attempt to describe a shift in theme park style towards entertainment as its main focus, however theme parks are still more than merely themed amusement park entertainment.

Those film studios that have consciously incorporated tourism into their product can be seen to have aspects of the above theme park elements, including conservation in terms of

[341] W. Taylor, 'After the Goldrush' *Australian Leisure Management*, August/September 1999, pp. 52-54
[342] Sovereign Hill 'About Sovereign Hill' www.sovereignhill.com.au, 2001 (accessed December 2001)
[343] D. Horne, op.cit., 1992, p.196

cultural (media) heritage as well as elements of Hannigan's 'Fantasy City'. Further support of the theme park as 'Fantasy City' is evident in Sorkin's description that,

> The theme park presents its happy regulated vision of pleasure .... As a substitute for the democratic public realm, and it does so appealingly by stripping troubled urbanity of its sting, or the presence of the poor, of crime, of dirt, of work.[345]

In order to achieve the above, theme parks are completely self-contained, solipsistic environments – a version of a town that has been constructed to be nice, clean and free of crime. Sorkin cites the head of Disney's movie division, Jeffrey Katzenberg as saying that "we think of Disney World as a medium-sized city with a crime rate of zero"[346].

Weaver and Oppermann identify four paradoxes typical of theme parks that can be considered in terms of the 'Fantasy City', particularly regarding themocentricity, modularisation, solipsism and postmodernism:

1. The 'dangerous' adventure rides are provided in one of the safest, controlled and sanitized tourist environments possible;
2. Theme parks are portrayed as providing total freedom to wander at will, while they have high security, crowd control techniques and regulation of activities;
3. The contrast between their emphasis on spontaneity, fantasy and escapism and the highly orchestrated nature of the actual experience;
4. Marketing theme parks as 'unique' experiences, yet most features are similar to (if not direct copies) of other theme parks, creating an impression of placelessness. [347]

A further paradox or issue that does not only relate to theme parks, but in which they play a significant role, is the loss of public space. This has been occurring on many levels, such as the privatisation of public school grounds, the sale of publicly owned enterprises such as now-redundant mental institutions to developers. Page expresses concern over the equity

[344] D. Camp, 'Theme Parks in Europe' *Travel and Tourism Analyst*, Vol. 5, 1997, pp. 4-5
[345] M. Sorkin, 'Introduction: Variations on a Theme Park' *Variations on a Theme Park*, Michael Sorkin editor, Noonday Press, New York, 1992b, p. xv
[346] ibid., p. 231
[347] D. Weaver & M. Oppermann, *Tourism Management*, John Wiley and Sons, Australia, 2000, p.172

issues of controlling entry and participation to once-public entertainment areas by tariffs and entry fees where a 'theme park' has been supplanted on to a public site[348]. This has been an issue at Fox Studios Australia – one that has left the public with greatly reduced amenity and access. Public aspects of the Fox case are examined in the next chapter.

A Model for Film Studio Theme Parks

Issues of authenticity and reality become blurred and at times inverted in the theme park, and even more so in the film studio theme park that is a representation of what was a fantasy in the first instance. In developing a model for such attractions, the anthropological literature and models of authenticity can be utilised, even though we have established in the brief discussion on postmodernism that visitors to film-based theme parks are not in search of 'authenticity'. In the 1970s, MacCannell developed a six stage model of authenticity that can be applied to theme parks as well as other tourist sites[349]. Pearce furthered his frontstage-backstage dichotomous model of authenticity by developing a nine-fold classification incorporating people's motivations and needs in terms of encounters[350]. In anthropological terms, the backstage areas referred to by MacCannell and Pearce are the private living areas of residents, and out of limits to visitors. However, Pearce and other researchers realise that tourists have a great desire to experience the back areas (which MacCannell identified as 'no-go' areas for visitors), using terms such as 'getting off the beaten track' and 'meeting the real people'[351]. Where MacCannell saw the backstage tourist spaces as areas off-limits to the public gaze, Pearce conceded that the pressure from tourists to undertake backstage encounters had altered the host-visitor landscape. Pearce included backstage areas into his model as areas that visitors can, at times and under certain conditions (usually as a mediated experience), access. Even so, there are still areas beyond Pearce's 'backstage' that are strictly off-limits to tourists, such as engine rooms and rubbish collection areas – the former for safety and security reasons

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[348] S. Page, 'Theme Parks' *Tourism Management; Towards the New Millennium*, Chris Ryan and Steve Page editors, Pergamon, Oxford, 2000, p. 228

[349] MacCannell, D. (1973) 'Staged authenticity: arrangements of social space in tourism settings' *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol.79 no.3, pp.357-361

[350] G. Jennings & D.Stehlik, 'Mediated Authenticity: the perspectives of farm tourism providers' *TTRA 32nd Annual Conference Proceedings, 2001: A Tourism Odyssey*, June 10-13 2001, pp. 85-86

[351] J. Craik, 'Cultural Tourism' *Special Interest Tourism*, Norman Douglas, Ngaire Douglas and Ross Derrett editors, John Wiley and Sons, Australia, 2001, p. 117

and the latter for reasons of maintaining the desired 'image'. Pearce's classifications of encounters became:

- First   backstage people in a back stage region
- Second   frontstage people in a frontstage region
- Third   frontstage people in a back stage region
- Fourth   backstage people in a frontstage region
- Fifth   encounters with backstage people (region not important)
- Sixth   encounters with frontstage people (region not important)
- Seventh   back stage region (people not important)
- Eighth   frontstage region (people not important)
- Ninth   front or back stage irrelevant [352]

Taking the elements of theme parks as described by Camp, Roberts and Wall, and incorporating them with MacCannell and Pearce's models of authenticity as well as personal participant-observation of film studio theme parks, it is possible to postulate a model outlining the major elements, illustrated in Figure 8.2.

The Frontstage regions of the film studio theme park are the general public areas such as walk-ways, restaurants, amenities, rides and theatres, with Backstage regions incorporating the actual film sets where the 'hosts' work. While a film set may be constructed in the same manner as a theme park site is constructed, the tourist's relationship to the film set is different. Where the traditional theme park is accepted as a Frontstage construct, the film set, while constructed, is viewed as a workplace, or Backstage.

The Frontstage personnel at a film studio theme park are the traditional theme park service staff as well as professional actors working in the Frontstage region, while the Backstage area presents staff employed in the film production process, from technical staff through to the film actors themselves.

Many film studio theme parks claim to present a 'real' Backstage experience yet provide it as a Frontstage activity - for example Universal Studios' tour of the 'Backlot' takes visitors

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[352] P.L. Pearce, *The Social Psychology of Tourist Behaviour*, Pergamon Press, Oxford, 1982b, pp. 100-101

into film sets created to simulate theatrical experiences, rather than the actual sets themselves. Such a blurring of authenticity requires the model to be viewed with a third region between front and back, namely Midstage (or Simulated Backstage).

There is still an inaccessible Backstage off-limits to the public, as at Disneyland where a labyrinth of tunnels provides services for and staff access to the public activities above[353]. This is referred to in the model as 'Deep Backstage', and in a film setting equates with the 'real' working places of the film's creative and production staff as well as the invisible service aspects for visitors.

Further fifth and sixth regions have also been identified, both physically situated before the Frontstage - that of the Open (general public) Space before entering the theme park and the Entry Portal. These are two distinct regions, one creating anticipation, the other a sense of arrival. In the case of Universal Studios (Universal City Walk) and Fox Studios Australia (Bent Street), the open space incorporates a commercial, public precinct of shops and restaurants, whereas at other parks it may be the parking lot or street frontage. Universal has an imposing Entry Portal that creates not only a sense of arrival but also occasion and fantasy, as did Fox Studios for part of its existence.

This model has been conceptualised below in Figure 8.2, with more in-depth discussion of each region following.

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[353] M. Sorkin, op.cit., 1992a, p. 230

Figure 8.2 Model of Film Studio Theme Parks
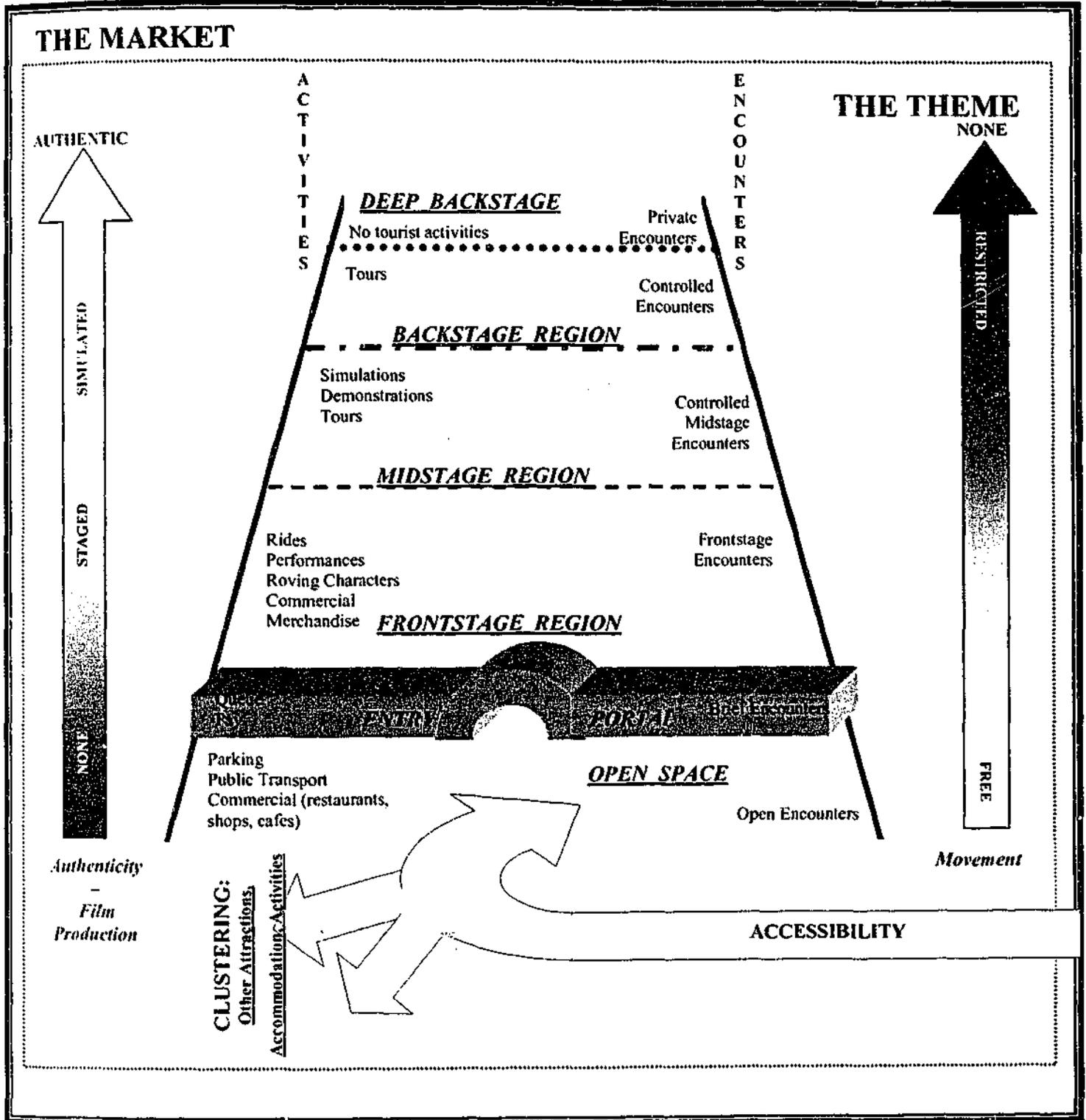
Accessibility to the park site is crucial to its success – simply put, if people cannot get there, there will be no visitors. Accessibility relates not only to physical amenities such as public transport services, road quality, parking and drop-off places for tour buses and disabled facilities, but also the more psychological aspects of access. For example, is the site on a recognised tourist route or near other facilities? Aspects of centrality relate more to perception than physical centrality – if the site is clustered with other attractions or

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activities it is considered 'central' in the sense that there are other activities available (including accommodation) that increase the value of the price:time ratio – the higher the price, the more time a visitor feels should be spent to order to justify the cost. This also requires that there be sufficient activities and entertainment to fill the 'required' time. For example, Disneyland incorporated accommodation into its product range in order to give people the time to experience all on offer and to ameliorate the time:distance barrier from Los Angeles central and the airport. Apart from being a sound business proposition, this improved the price:time ratio, or at least the perceived ratio, for the customer.

The vertical arrows represent levels of authenticity and freedom of movement through the various stages of the site. Levels of authenticity depend primarily on the structure of the park and decisions made by management regarding the physical and personal encounters provided. Public access moves through each region with varying degrees of difficulty, from the most open access in the Open Space region, then the Frontstage and through the Midstage to the controlled Backstage. Access to each of these regions becomes more difficult, requiring payment, queuing and/or reserving places (seen as providing a cost-benefit) as they go up the model.

The likelihood of personal encounters with those in the film industry also increases as one moves from the Open Space region, through the others, up to the Backstage region, at the same time becoming more controlled. In actual fact, encounters are most likely in the Midstage region, which presents itself as a Backstage where visitors can participate in simulated film activities and demonstrations of production skills and techniques where they may interact with production staff such as camera operators, sound technicians, Foley artists, make-up artists and the like. However, as these encounters are expected, planned and controlled, they do not have the resonance of accidental encounters with stars or their associates – the less the likelihood, the greater their value. Hence, unplanned encounters in the Open Space or Frontstage regions are met with great excitement by the visitor. While Deep Backstage has been listed as having no access or encounters, there is still the opportunity for those who are particularly well-connected or influential to be taken into those regions with a high probability of personal encounters with all levels of film worker, usually on a one-to-one basis. Such access and encounters have enormously high cachet and are sought after, due to their rarity and their relationship with the 'cult of celebrity'. Exclusive tour companies trade on their ability to secure such access, at a high cost!

The activities offered differ in each of the spaces, directly related to the personal encounters and access aspects. In the Open Spaces, publicly available commercial activities are offered, from car parking to restaurants, cafes and shops or booths that are often set up to promote the theme park within, selling merchandise, entry tickets and providing promotional material. Cinemas can also be part of the Open Space region, where they can be used to promote the studio theme park through association as well as merchandising. These spaces are also often used to encourage the local community to utilise the region – there is no cover charge to Open Space, so they can regularly visit the stores and restaurants. Promoted as being 'community friendly', such regions have the ability to raise the awareness of locals to the theme park, increasing the probability of repeat visitation to the park itself, especially in the lucrative family and visiting friends and relatives markets.

Next is the Entry Portal – physically small, yet in so many ways the most important space of all as it is here that a sense of arriving and passing through from one world into the other is generated. According to Sorkin,

> The element of arrival is especially crucial, the idea that one is not passing through some intermediate station but has come to someplace where there is a definite "there".[354]

It can be argued that the element of arrival is even more critical at film studio theme parks that already centre around a culture of fame and fantasy creating high expectations of 'otherness'. In order to maximise Sorkin's "element of arrival", the entrance must provide a sense of magical anticipation and arrival at a special place outside the real world – a place where anything can happen. Usually constructed to permit tantalising glimpses of the world within and celebrate the grandeur of the film industry and its concomitant fame, the entry portal becomes more than merely a place for divesting visitors of their cash as illustrated in Figure 8.3.

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[354] M. Sorkin, op.cit., 1992a, p. 215

Figure 8.3 Entry portals of Paramount Studios, Universal Studios and Warner Bros Movie World, all creating a sense of anticipation and arrival

The most highly promoted aspect of most theme parks is the Frontstage region that includes activities such as commercial outlets (including merchandising stores), theatrical style variety shows, photo opportunities with roving characters and rides from virtual reality to roller coasters, in particular the popular 'white-knuckle rides'. Film studio theme parks also heavily promote their Midstage activities, which can be differentiated from Frontstage (and other more general theme parks) by their industry based nature, with the Frontstage being entertainment based. One of the main features of Frontstage regions is the promotion of the high-speed rides, which are often used in an iconic sense based on major box office hits – Warner Brothers Movie World heavily promotes their-high speed, "heart-thumping thrill rides like *Lethal Weapon* " and the "high tech, high speed showdown" on the *Batman* ride[355], while Universal Studios features *Jurassic Park* as a ride that "...could take a turn for the worse, putting you right in the path of a rampaging T-Rex and down an 80 foot waterfall!"[356].

The enduring popularity of the high-speed, white-knuckle roller coaster rides has received attention from numerous postmodern commentators, especially in terms of 'inversion' and 'difference'. One aspect of inversion between theme parks and reality has already been

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[355] Warner Brothers Movie World, 'Rides and Attractions' www.movieworld.com.au/rides_attractions/ride.cfm, 2001a, (accessed December 2001)
[356] Universal Studios, 'Universal Studios Theme Parks' www.universalstudios.com, 2001a, (accessed December 2001)

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mentioned – where the transport medium becomes the attraction or destination at the theme park, instead of transport being the means to get to a destination. This concept of inversion is particularly interesting when considered in terms of the high-speed rides where people happily queue for extensive periods (in a 'traffic jam') in order to travel on a roller coaster (composed of carriages in the sense of a train), to end up back where they were (at the end of the queue). Sorkin summarises this phenomenon by suggesting that "[g]etting there, then, is not half the fun: it's all the fun"[357]. Rojek enters the postmodernist theme park rides discourse by referring to concepts of our preoccupation with endless motion, inversion in terms of inverting the body (defying gravity), identifying difference and speed as sources of pleasure[358].

In a description of the Disney-MGM theme park, Sorkin outlines further levels of authenticity and inversion at a film-studio theme park with the following example, reminiscent of Baudrillard's hyperreality:

> If postmodern culture can be said to be about the weaving of ever more elaborate fabrics of simulation, about successive displacements of "authentic" signifiers, then the Japanese family sitting in front of the Sony back in Nagasaki, watching their home videos of the Animatronic re-creation of the creative geography of a Hollywood "original", all recorded at a simulacrum of Hollywood in central Florida, must be said to have achieved a truly weird apotheosis of raw referentiality.[359]

While the Frontstage encompasses the entertainment and commercial aspects of the park, the Midstage is presented as a more educative, industry-based region. The Midstage region is particular to film studio theme parks in that it provides an additional level of immersion and encounters not available in general theme parks that do not have an industrial aspect to them. The activities are directly related to the process of film-making, however are carefully controlled and scripted to maintain a distance between the real process and the demonstrations/simulations. The closest visitors may come to reality is some contact with production staff who have worked on films and met the stars – supporting the attractiveness of fame by association. Visitors may have the opportunity to

[357] M. Sorkin, op.cit., 1992a, p. 216
[358] C. Rojek, op.cit., 1993 p.162
[359] M. Sorkin, op.cit., 1992a, p. 229

volunteer to participate, however at times the more complex or embarrassing aspects of audience participation are taken on by actors, this time playing the role of visitors, not stars. This is one of the rare occasions where the audience is not 'in' on the joke – they are usually unaware that the actor is not real. Tours of so-called Backlot or Backstage areas are often not real, taking visitors through sound stages and sets that have been specifically built or adapted to provide a visitor experience. The Midstage areas not only compress time and space as described by Rojeck when looking at theme parks[360], but show us how it is done, conspiring with the visitor by providing the opportunity to participate in the creation of filmic simulacra.

Further evidence of the enormous tourism appeal of film and the publics' acceptance of a Midstage (or simulated Backstage) experience can be seen at Universal Studios range of theme parks in America and Japan. Universal places a strong emphasis on the Midstage region at all its sites, the success of which is evident in its visitor numbers. For example, Universal Studios Japan broke all theme park attendance records when it opened in March 2001 with one million visitors in its first month and is experiencing strong continuing visitation[361]. While the population in Japan is intensely urbanised and technologically advanced, with committed movie fans providing a large existing market base, such high visitation is still remarkable. The use of space in the park once again touches on the postmodernist discourse of inversion - the Universal Studios theme park inverts the Japanese concepts and methods of utilising space in their 'real' world.

The Backstage region is presented as a special site, with access not only restricted to guided tours, but often limited due to the presence of the actual work of making films. Most of the encounters are still with the production and creative staff, not the stars. The reality of the filming and production processes is that they are tedious and time-consuming, and are not readily made for visitor gazing – another reason for the constructed Midstage region that can provide information on the film industry in an entertaining manner. The industry presented by a true backstage experience can disappoint visitors who find they do not wish to go so far in stripping away the effects of the fantasy.

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[360] C. Rojek, op.cit., 1993 p.163
[361] Universal Studios, *Press Kit – Universal Studios Recreation Group*, http://www.universalstudios.com, 2001b, (accessed October, 2001)

As already stated, a visit to the Deep Backstage region holds enormous kudos due to its apparent inaccessibility and the opportunity to actually encounter and interact on a one-to-one basis with the stars. However, this region is rarely accessed by the general public as it is a working environment that is sensitive to external eyes for security as well as creative reasons. The film-making process is not conducive to gazing due to the tedium and detail involved, let alone the confined nature of most sets which simply could not cope with excess bodies wandering about. Consequently, the more the visitor moves towards 'authenticity', the more they move away from entertainment and enjoyment. Even educational opportunities are arguably best gained in a specifically constructed Midstage environment, which is where most of them have been sited.

As part of Disney-World Florida, the Disney-MGM Studios have utilised the concept of front-backstage encounters to the extent that the 26,000 workers at Disney-World are considered to be 'cast members', moving them from the Frontstage to the much-lauded Backstage arena in terms of market perception. The Disney-MGM theme park relies heavily on the proposed model with simulated backstage ('Midstage') spaces and controlled encounters limited to a few 'genuine' Backstage experiences through tours of some of the actual film sets[362]. Most of the Disney-MGM Studios theme park is a simulated, controlled, staged and safe Midstage experience.

In a bizarre twist to these structured moves between Frontstage, Midstage and Backstage, Disney has begun to develop movies based on its theme park attractions, which simultaneously takes a front-stage ride or attraction into a mid or even backstage experience. By 2002, three such movies were in the pre-production – *The Country Bears,* a musical comedy based on the animatronic bears at Walt Disney World Florida, *Pirates of the Caribbean,* a big-budget romantic action adventure, and *Haunted Mansion,* which is loosely based on the Disneyland attraction of the same name[363]. Such post-modern inversions seem to thrive in the film, tourism and theme park world.

Surrounding all this is the theme, without which the theme park would not exist. Appropriate, creative and consistent theming is crucial to the ongoing success of any theme park. Creating a mood, establishing a recognisable brand and telling a story are all aspects

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[362] M. Sorkin, M. op.cit., 1992a, p. 228

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of theming[364]. Read looks at theming as an historic activity, claiming that the arts commissioned by the church and state were acts of theming, where the theatre, painting and music culminated in exhibitions of pomp and ceremony, providing people with entertainment and escapism and spiritual solace[365]. According to Read, modern times have seen business replace the role of the church and state in providing entertainment, using themes such as the physical world, cultures, images of fantasy, science and space as well as westerns and movie stars. Film and theming are interesting as "[i]n theme parks as well as film the object of the theme is to provide an overall visual direction and content for a production"[366]. Consequently, a theme park based on film has theming, branding and attractiveness built in – it is 'simply' a case of deciding which films will provide the themes. Such decisions have been based around box office success, with the most popular movies, cartoons and television shows featuring in successful film studio theme parks. Due to the universal appeals of the box office 'blockbusters' cultural differences in establishing film-based theme parks are not as significant as in other theme parks – a ride based on the movie, *Jurassic Park* is as relevant in Japan as Burbank.

Theming also creates a powerful visual and spatial reorganisation of public space and shapes consumption spaces. Theme park visitors are able to 'see the world' and recall their experience by purchasing souvenirs and merchandising, with thematic motifs continued throughout the entire experience, even into nearby hotels[367]. In effect, "site is sight"[368] in theme parks such as Disney World.

It has also been suggested that in the future theme parks may combine with shopping malls, as evidenced by the development of the Mall of America in Bloomington, which as America's largest shopping mall incorporates Lego's Space Station, dinosaurs and a medieval castle as well as Knott's Camp Snoopy and numerous rides. At West Edmonton Mall in Canada (the world's largest shopping mall), shoppers (or visitors) can view sharks from a submarine, visit a replica of Columbus' ship *Santa Maria*, gamble at roulette tables, or soak in a spa near a volcano[369]. As theme parks incorporate more commercial shopping

[363] R. Verrier, 'Movies Imitate Disney's Parks' *Los Angeles Times*, 15 May 2002
[364] A. Read, 'In the Mood' *Australian Leisure Management*, August/September 1997, p.11
[365] loc.cit.
[366] loc.cit.
[367] P. Teo & B.S.A. Yeoh, op.cit., 2001, p. 139
[368] S. Zukin, *The Culture of Cities*, Blackwell Publishers, Cambridge, 1995, p. 57
[369] C.R. Goeldner et.al., op.cit., 2000, p.238

opportunities and shopping malls introduce theme park style entertainment, the closer to each other they become. The theme park and shopping experiences are coming ever closer to the 'Fantasy City', with the main differentiating factor being the pay-one-price admission of theme parks as defined by Camp.

Industrial Film Studio Theme Parks

While Universal Studios, Disney-MGM, Warner Brothers Movie World and Fox Studios Australia have all created a backstage experience, there are examples of film theme parks that have developed virtually organically, providing a more authentic, industrial-type tourism experience. Paramount Studios in Los Angeles offers guided tours of operational television and film sets where access is dictated by what is being filmed at the time, with the tours and tourists being content to accommodate industrial rhythms. Generally, visitors accept this as they recognise (and it is made clear to them by their guides) that they are on a working film-lot and many have just come from being the audience for a series or pilot shooting. What serious film buff would not appreciate the opportunity for an 'authentic' photo such as the one in Figure 8.4 below? But, such a site/sight may not suit the general visitor as it is not attractive, has little action or actors and certainly no fantasy.

Figure 8.4 Paramount Studio's working backlot with the famous Hollywood sign appearing through the haze

In South Africa, a set known as Shakaland was constructed for the filming of the television series, *Shaka-Zulu*, which was one of the most successful ever cable television releases in the United States[370]. Following the end of the series, the site was used by the South African Rural TV Network for film production. After a slump in the South African film

and television industry, the set became a tourism theme park. The site was promoted as an educational and conservation site, attracting day-trippers and overnight visitors to the region. While this site cannot be truly considered a theme park, neither is it an industrial tourism site - it is an example of 'industrial heritage tourism' with a film theme where the Front and Back stages have been artificially joined to present an historical film industry perspective.

In spite of the above examples from Paramount and Shakaland, the constructed, 'purpose-built' film tourism theme park now dominates this aspect of film-induced tourism, and is attracting the big tourist numbers. This supports and reflects Disney's early belief form the 1940s that people are more interested in an exciting fantasy than boring reality — simulacra and commodified experiences are more important to many film tourists than authenticity.

The Cult of Celebrity

Fascination with the famous and infamous is not new – tourism itself has been based around visiting famous (or 'sacred') sites since it first appeared in the form of the pilgrimages of the 11[th] Century and the Grand Tours of the 18[th] Century[371]. However, the concurrent development of mass travel and mass media propelled the 20[th] Century into the era of celebrity tourism. Consequently, popular culture of the late 20[th] Century and early 21[st] has been deemed a culture of fame (or 'cult of celebrity'), where contact with famous people in turn makes the individual more worthy. According to Collins, "... Hollywood's special glamour came from concentrating so many [stars] in one place"[372]. Collins suggests that, while the growth of mass media was central to the cultivation of celebrity, the worship of movie stars filled a psychological or even spiritual need in a century where religion was declining and heroism becoming more difficult to identify[373].

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[370] K.G. Tomaselli, 'Semiotics of the Encounter: The staging of Authenticity via Cultural Tourism, Theme Parks and Film and TV Series in the Kalahari Desert and KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa' *Annual Bulletin of International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences Commission on Urgent Anthropological Research*, Vienna, 2001, http://www.und.ac.za/und/ccms/anthropology/urgent
[371] N. Leiper, *Tourism Management*, RMIT Press, Melbourne, 1995, p.4
[372] D. Collins, *Hollywood Downunder: Australians at the Movies: 1896 to the Present Day*, Angus and Robertson, North Ryde, 1987, p.173
[373] ibid., p.174

The incredible popularity of 'reality TV' in the late 1990s and early 21st Century, along with the consequent fame that follows the 'ordinary' people from these programs is symptomatic of society's obsession with fame, especially fame that is created overnight. Such shows foster the belief that we can all be famous, even if it is only for Andy Warhol's '15 minutes'.

The power of the famous to add celebrity status to all they touch is reflected in the Hollywood tours of the stars homes (most of whom no longer live there), the fascination of tourists in the stars embedded in Hollywood Boulevard (it is merely a list of celebrities after all) and their footprints at Groman's Chinese Theatre – an edifying representation of the Hollywood view of China in the mid 1920s, with its 'authentic replica' of the façade of a Buddhist temple that has become the spiritual repository of the celebrity. In a delightful take on the culture of celebrity that defines Hollywood, a public access TV presenter has developed a program, *Driveways of the Rich and Famous*, which has also become available on the Internet (www.driveways.com), where it has gained attention from the European and Japanese media[374]. What started as a humorous, even satiric take on the cult of celebrity has become what it started out deriding. Having their driveway featured on the program has become a status symbol amongst celebrities. In a delightful case of inversion, its presenter and creator, John Cunningham has been followed by news crews himself, once again slipping effortlessly into the realm of hyperreality. Interviewing the staff of the rich and famous, Cunningham extended celebrity status to those who have some contact with a famous person then on to himself, not unlike the fascination that visitors to film studios have with the production and ancillary staff – it is a case of 'celebrity transference' through proximity. According to Cunningham, " ... it was great getting Frank Sinatra's mailman, who admits that delivering his mail every day adds a thrill to an otherwise boring job"[375].

The famous do not merely add status to all they touch, argues Powers – they can also add 'content' to light media stories, refuting the adage that "celebrity is the enemy of content"[376]. Powers argues that the role of celebrities featured in a story (that is not about

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[374] J. Craig, 'Driveway drive-bys' *Sun Media*, 2 May, 1998
[375] loc.cit.
[376] W. Powers, 'Thanking Our Stars' *The Atlantic Online*,
http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/nj/powers2001-05-02.htm, 2001 (accessed 2 May 2001)

them) that is light on content is to add their own story, giving some depth or additional interest to say, a predictable story on Yoga or the Information Age[377].

The Planet Hollywood chain of restaurants not only celebrates celebrity, it is also owned by celebrities, giving 'content' to what is in effect just another restaurant chain. The aim of most themed restaurants is not merely to provide entertainment and sustenance, but also to sell merchandise items enabling customers to sport the logos of Planet Hollywoods around the world. The bars based on the television series Cheers also play to the cult of celebrity by providing a similar environment to the set as well as special menus and memorabilia. According to Frost, "[t]here is also a significant element in most themes – the 'cult of personalty'.... Planet Hollywood has the movies and their stars..."[378].

As demonstrated by the themed restaurants, the obsession with fame goes beyond people to places and artefacts, both real and created, and has been maximized in the film studio theme park. The possibility of encounters with famous people, in this case actors, is an added, powerful attraction of the film studio theme park within its various levels of authenticity, interaction and control, ranging from the Frontstage to the Backstage regions.

Visitors to Warner Brothers Movie World on the Gold Coast can experience a Frontstage encounter with famous actor look-alikes from Marilyn Monroe through to fictional characters such as Batman, Superman and Beetlejuice. Tales from staff about the stars they saw wandering through the frontstage region "just the other day" are eaten up by visitors, always hoping for such luck. Midstage experiences tend to focus more on ancillaries to fame – placing visitors into simulated sets and film. Fox Studios gave people the opportunity to be an extra on the Titanic in their 'Titanic Experience' and to appear on video in a Simpsons cartoon through the application of motion capture technology[379]. Personal encounters in the Midstage region are restricted to those with staff associated with fame such as make-up and sound (in particular Foley) artists. Backstage encounters tend more towards the voyeuristic experience of watching actors working on films from a controlled environment, usually behind sound-proof glass windows. Other Backstage encounters are with original sets and props, providing a link with fame.

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[377] loc.cit.
[378] J. Frost, 'That's Eat-ertainment' *Australian Leisure Management*, August/September 1997, p.18

It has been suggested that the cult of celebrity has become so significant because it distracts people from their growing sense of disconnection from their local communities[380]. The theme park concept described earlier as 'Fantasy City', which provides clear boundaries, both externally between the rest of the world and the park as well as those clearly defined regions that can be the physical substitution for a community. The film studio theme park, with its resident celebrities adds the personal ingredient into the community – the visitor knows more about the intimate details of the stars or characters they represent than their neighbours 'on the outside'.

The relationship between the need to belong and the disenfranchisement of so many from their communities has led to a gap, and the concept that film studio theme parks may create a sense of community, be it brief, certainly has some resonance. Such a concept would benefit from further study and consideration and will be considered in future work.

The Theme Park Market

The final element in the model is the market, without which the park cannot survive financially. Theme parks with their sense of playfulness and escape, are not solely the realm of children – at Disneyland, three visitors in every four are adults. Nevertheless, family groups are a significant market, and as research has shown, if family members have to spend more than two hours together, they tend to squabble, which is an issue addressed by theme parks[381]. By being closed, gated environments, security, safety and cleanliness can be maintained. Consequently, the most successful theme parks are planned with a range of activities that not only cater to the different interests of family members, but allows them to separate with reduced concerns about safety and security. If children go missing or become lost, the parks have developed efficient and friendly 'lost children' centres, usually located near the entrance, and with a high number of roving staff, lost children are quickly identified and cared for. Universal Studios even provides kennel boarding for that other important family member – your pet.

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[379] N. Emmons, '$261 million Fox Studios Australia to open Nov. 7' *Amusement Business*, New York, Nov. 1 1999, Vol. 111 Issue 44, p. 3

[380] M. Fyfe, 'What's in a name? Just look at the papers' *The Age*, 22 March 2000

[381] G.W. McClung, 'Theme park selection: factors influencing attendance' *Tourism Management; Towards the New Millennium*, Chris Ryan and Steve Page editors, Pergamon, Oxford, 2000, p. 232

While the need to vary the entertainment and attractions at theme parks is recognised as a basic tenet of theme park management, it is also important to identify the factors that influence a visitor's theme park selection in the first instance. In a North American domestic study, McClung found that children's desires rated higher than price, with climate the overriding factor in theme park choice[382]. However he concludes that "predicting theme park attendance and recognizing potential market segments is difficult"[383]. This may have been in part due to the broad nature of his study and methodology, which did not look at specific theme parks. Examinations of individual parks may provide richer data that may also identify more concise methodologies for future broad-scale studies. However, McClung did find that visitors to theme parks were generally younger (with children under 18) and had a higher income than non-visitors[384].

Theme parks are no longer the exclusive realm of North America or even western society. Some research has been undertaken to see what differences there may be in the needs and expectations of different cultures and between the various ethnic groups, especially in the Asian market. Page believes that if ethnic divisions within a society are not sensitively integrated into the subject matter of theme parks, the potential for inter-ethnic conflict increases[385]. Kau conducted a study in Singapore on the Tang Dynasty Theme Park, where he found that there were some differences in the theme park needs of the two groups surveyed (Caucasians and Asians), but he did not examine inter-ethnic differences per se. The theme park includes three television and movie filming studios, as well as an underground Chinese city, pagoda, temple, shopping arcade and dining areas.

Kau surveyed Asian and Caucasian visitors to Singapore prior to the theme park's completion, finding that a far greater proportion of Asians wanted high-tech rides and amusements, with 60% expressing such an attitude, compared with 34% of the Caucasian sample[386]. Such findings do not augur well for Fox studios as illustrated in the following chapter. The Asians also expressed a high level of interest in motion-picture making, with

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[382] ibid., p. 238
[383] ibid., p. 242
[384] loc.cit.
[385] S. Page, 'Theme Parks' *Tourism Management; Towards the New Millennium*, Chris Ryan and Steve Page editors, Pergamon, Oxford, 2000, p. 228
[386] A.K. Kau, 'Evaluating the attractiveness of a new theme park' *Tourism Management; Towards the New Millennium*, Chris Ryan and Steve Page editors, Pergamon, Oxford, 2000, p. 269

the Caucasians slightly lower[387]. The strongest areas that the Caucasians were interested in were the more cultural Chinese aspects of the park. These findings are logical, in that Chinese culture will not be 'exotic' for Asian visitors, whereas it will be for Caucasians. Likewise, high tech rides and entertainment are more familiar to the more urban-based Caucasians than Asians, unless they live near major centres that have already built such attractions.

Film based theme parks may not suffer such cultural problems as they are based on fantasy to start with and focus on the box office hits and television programs with mass appeal. This is supported by Kau's work where, when given a choice of marketing slogans, some 15% of the Asian sample responded with 'Universal Studio of the East'. Even though it is still early days, the initial success of Universal in Japan indicates the universality and cultural transferability of film, especially in a culture such as Japan, which had an aggressive introduction to American culture during the occupation after World War II, but which also has its own vibrant film making industry. Perhaps we will see Japanese movie theme parks develop alongside the western models.

Applying the Model

In the next chapter two cases of film studio theme parks in Australia are studied – one a continuing success, the other a spectacular failure. By applying the model developed in this chapter along with business theory on failure, a number of critical success factors can be established within the Australian context, indicating the model's ability to predict as well as describe. It is yet to be adequately tested on sites in other countries, but results indicate that further consideration and development of the model will be worthwhile, especially if it can assist in establishing critical aspects of sustainable theme park development.

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[387] ibid., p. 267

Chapter Nine: Successes and Failures – Testing the Model

Models are used extensively in econometric analysis, especially to establish economic impacts and undertake related research. In the social sciences, there are basically two types of models that can be identified as prescriptive or descriptive. Prescriptive models are strongly theoretically focused, explaining what should happen in an ideal situation, as opposed to descriptive models that take as a starting point what actually occurs[268]. Some descriptive models also have the potential to predict future behaviour or events based on analysis of past events.

The model presented in the previous chapter is based on actual visits to a variety of film studios as well as general theme park theory. In order to test the predictable aspects of the model, more analysis of film-studio theme parks is required. To test the model's descriptive and predictive ability, the spectacular failure of Fox Studios Australia (after less than two years of operation) is outlined and compared with the successful Warner Brothers Movie World on the Gold Coast, Australia. In order to provide further context before the cases and model are examined, a discussion on business failure is necessary.

Understanding what business failure is relies on how 'success' is defined because, as pointed out by Frost, "Failure is rarely absolute.."[269]. Economically, business failure may relate to financial bankruptcy, inability to meet stated economic goals, or to respond adequately to shocks in the economy. A business may fail on environmental or social grounds, depending on the aims of the operation. Environmental and social considerations are especially pertinent to tourism, where such attributes play a central role. A so-called 'failed' enterprise may still continue to trade, propped up by government assistance, a parent company, reduced staffing, services and amenities and so on. The table below outlines the range of reactions to sustained failure to meet business objectives identified by Frost.

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[268] C.M. Hall & S.J. Page, *The Geography of Tourism and Recreation: environment, place and space*, Routledge, London, 1999
[269] W. Frost, op.cit., 2001, CD ROM

Table 9.1 Responses to Failing to Meet Business Objectives[270]

1	Bankruptcy, liquidation, mortgagee's sale, closure
2	Sale as going concern
3	Capital injection, either from owners' reserves or by attraction of new partners, public share issue etc.
4	Seeking reduced rent, royalties etc
5	Reducing employee numbers
6	Reducing opening hours or operating only at weekends or in high tourism seasons
7	Seeking government grants, including conversion of seeding or one-off grants to a repeated subsidy
8	Greater emphasis on increasing returns from commercial activities such as café, restaurant, gift shop etc.
9	Sub-letting space to outside operators
10	Postponement or dropping of projected later stages in the development
11	Changes in admission prices
12	Refocusing of attraction/site themes in order to make them more appealing. May include name changes
13	Hiring of management consultants as managers or advisers
14	Unscheduled revision of business, strategic or marketing plan

Numerous reasons are attributed to business failures including inadequate or inappropriate business expertise, planning and market research. In a case study on the Big Banana tourism enterprise at Coffs Harbour, Australia, Leiper identifies management consultants' inadequate feasibility studies as contributing to the failure of the enterprise. Leiper comments on the "optimistic predictions" used by the consultants, resulting in an enormous over-estimation of the feasibility of the business[271]. The Big Banana, constructed in 1965 as a symbol for the local banana industry, produce outlet and short stop-over for road-based visitors to purchase local produce and take a break, proved a successful enterprise for its first 24 years. In 1988 the Big Banana was taken over by a large horticultural company who had plans to establish a horticultural theme park. Two experienced tourism and business consulting firms were engaged to conduct feasibility studies. Visitation estimates were based on the optimistic tourist predictions prevalent at the time – the late 1980s had seen enormous growth in international tourism due to the combination of factors such as the World Expo in Brisbane and Australia's Bicentennial in

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[270] ibid.

[271] N. Leiper, op.cit., 1995, p.258

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1988, as well as the impact of movies such as *Crocodile Dundee*, *Mad Max* and *The Man from Snowy River*. Australia was 'the flavour of month' and nothing could stop us! Estimates of over 1 million visitors per annum to the Big Banana were considered realistic and achievable. By late 1989, initial high visitation had dropped off and the company became technically insolvent, being placed into receivership in mid 1990. The Big Banana had been a successful roadside stop for transiting tourists, not a theme park offering visitors enough to justify an entrance fee and a visit of some hours. Visitors did not have (or allow) the time they felt the cost necessitated, resulting in a high price:time ratio. Further discussion and analysis of the Big Banana project can be found in Leiper's 1995 text, *Tourism Management*[272].

Over-optimistic tourism assessment continues to be a significant contributor to business failure and is an aspect that is considered in this chapter's case study analysis of the Fox Studios Backlot in Sydney, Australia. Examination of the reaction of film studio theme parks to business failure and the application of the model are preceded by a description of the two cases examined, including recounting the experiences of the visits as well as the use of secondary data (as outlined in Chapter Three).

Case One: Fox Studios Australia

When Fox Studios Australia, a joint venture between News Corp and Lend Lease Corporation, was launched in November 1999, the Australian Tourist Commission claimed that it would welcome 1.5 million domestic and international visitors to the Backlot area in its first year of operation[273]. Even though this proposed figure is significantly lower than earlier claims from California-based marketing consultants, Pritchard Marketing Inc., of a "conservative estimate" of 5 million visitors per year[274], it was still greater than actual visitors to the well-established Warner Brothers Movie world on the Gold Coast (1.1 million in 2000), and certainly greater than the eventual visitor numbers to the paid area of the site, known as the Backlot. According to media reports, actual visitation for the first

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[272] ibid., pp. 254 - 265
[273] Australian Tourist Commission, 'Fox Studios Australia', *Australia; Australian Tourist Commission News and Views*, January 2000, p.5
[274] J. Zoltak, 'Fox Studios Australia Seeks Corporate Partners', *Amusement Business*, New York, November 17 1997, Vol. 109 Issue 46, 1997, p.32

six months of operation was around 55% of the projected figures, much reduced from the original projections[275]. Such claims were so far off the mark that questions must be asked, not only in relation to what went wrong at Fox, but also as to how an internationally lauded and awarded tourist commission could fall for its own rhetoric or, at the very least, blithely accept and publicise the claims of others, even highly paid consultants.

Fox Studios Australia was ripe for media attention, not only because of the high profile of the movie industry and Rupert Murdoch's ownership of Fox through News Corp, but also because of the site selected for the studios and attraction – the Sydney Showgrounds, a 260 acre site 10 minutes east of the CBD. A high profile group, 'Save Our Showground for Sydney' had been formed to argue for public ownership and access to the large site so close to the centre of town. The group included at least two judges, numerous independent film-makers and was supported by 60 metropolitan and rural councils, with multi-millionaire Sinclair Hill providing a high profile public face to the group. They mounted an unsuccessful challenge to the rezoning of the area, citing Fox's lack of public consultation and environmental impact studies, as well as the company's contempt for planning procedures.[276] Fox Studios threatened to take the film studios to Melbourne or elsewhere if extra land was not provided for a theme park in the agreement with the state government. According to media reports, the lobbying by the Save Our Showground group had some success in that it encouraged the developers to restore several historical buildings and to drop plans to build a so-called 'Hollywood style' theme park on the site, opting instead for a potentially more authentic walking tour precinct christened 'The Backlot'[277]. The site was also subject to the NSW Heritage Act, providing the group with the necessary legal leverage in their heritage lobbying.

As noted in the previous chapter, heritage and conservation (in conjunction with entertainment) are considered major elements of a theme park by some commentators, such as Roberts and Wall[278]. However, preservation of historic sites is not in itself an aim of many theme parks, with heritage more often presented in a postmodernist constructed, compressed form constructed for today's entertainment market. In a strong indictment,

[275] N. Emmons, 'Fox Studios Australia aims to fix problems causing slack attendance', *Amusement Business*, New York, August 21 2000, Vol. 112 Issue 34, 2000, p.34

[276] L. Nicklin, 'The show must not go on', *The Bulletin*, April 22 1997, p. 13

[277] 'Wallaby-Wood', *The Economist*, May 30 1998, Vol. 347 Issue 8070, 1980, p. 80

[278] C. Roberts & G. Wall, 'Possible Impacts of Vaughan Theme Park' *Recreation Research Review*, Vol.7, No. 2, 1979, p. 12

Hannigan sees theme parks as destroying public space and historical architecture – an argument made by the Save Our Showground group who did not want to see the public space of the Sydney Showgrounds subsumed by the private operations of the studios and the theme park.

Fox Studios Australia was a rare foray into entertainment management for Lend Lease Development, a company that has made its mark in providing real estate and financial services, being a joint venture between Lend Lease and News Corp's Fox Entertainment Group. The vision of the developers was to create a working studio, a Backlot Studio tourist area and what they refer to as a 'family entertainment centre facility (FEC)', in the style of Universal City Walk in Hollywood. In spite of the similarities, they continually stressed that it was not a theme park in the sense of a Warner Brothers Movie World – there would be "no white-knuckle rides... [rather] ...a walking tour on various aspects of the movie-making industry"[279]. The Backlot and FEC were central to the development, with Chief Executive of Fox Studios Australia, Kim Williams, conceding that the public-access facilities will be a "key revenue and profit generator"[280]. At Lend Lease's 2000 Annual General Meeting, Managing Director David Higgins responded to a question regarding the Backlot by stating that "[w]e originally looked at entertainment and leisure as an area for growth ... however we no longer have that view"[281].

Even though Williams cited a lack of white-knuckle rides, the enterprise still had more similarities with the Universal Studios style of theme park than the Paramount Studios industrial tourism. Elements of a theme park outlined in the previous chapter, including theming, pay-one-price entrance fees, entertainment in the form of attractions and shows, as well as being self-contained, safe and clean were evident at Fox.

Funding of the development and incentives provided to Fox Australia came under public and industry criticism, as not only did the State and Federal governments spent AUD$35 million on repairing services to the site, but also provided a stamp duty exemption (valued at $460,000), seven year exemptions on payroll and land taxes (capped at AUD$6.1

[279] J. Zoltak, '$89m Fox Studios Australia FEC to replace Sydney Showgrounds', *Amusement Business*, 29 January 1996, Vol. 108 Issue 5, 1996, pp.21-2
[280] N. Shoebridge, 'Fox creates a stir at venue for a show', *Business Review Weekly*, October 13 1997, p.40
[281] Lend Lease Corporation, *Report of the Annual General Meeting, 2000*, 2 November 2000, Sydney, 2000c, p.18

million), as well as a rent-free period of four years[282]. While information on the costs of developing the site have been difficult to isolate, the original US$89 million estimate blew out to US$261 million prior to the opening of the Backlot in November 1999. In July 2000, Lend Lease made a pre-tax provision of AUD$96.8 million against the project's initial trading losses[283]. The major loss-making area of the Studio has been the Backlot 'theme park/walking tour', which failed to attract the expected patronage[284], sinking the expectations of the developers that the Backlot would bring in 60-70 percent of Fox Studio Australia's income[285].

The initial cost to enter the Backlot precinct ranged from AUD$22.95 per child to AUD$37.95 per adult, with no family ticket offered, in spite of Chief Executive Kim William's statement that "...entertainment is an ever-increasing part of the diet of families..."[286]. The attractions centred around staged interactive demonstrations, two live shows, and two large attractions - the "*Simpsons* Down Under", featuring motion capture technology and "The Titanic Experience", a walk-through simulation promoted as giving visitors the experience of being an extra on the set.

The breakdown of visitors was anticipated to be 29 percent from overseas, 21 percent interstate and 50 percent from New South Wales[287]. While it is generally recognised that the Backlot has not been getting anywhere near the projected visitation levels of 1.5 million per annum, actual figures or the breakdown of attendance have not been released by Fox Studios. Media reports indicate that visitation to the Backlot is between 500 and 1,300 people per day, dropping significantly from a high of 6,000 visitors per day in January 2000[288]. Using this media data and averaging the eleven months outside of January at 1,000 per day gives us a very rough estimate of around 520,000 visitors per annum, and while such an estimate is not reliable or 'official', it is significantly below Fox's early estimates. The only figures Fox Studios is prepared to provide are for Bent Street, which has been successful in attracting around 80,000 visits each week, but as it is a

[282] N. Shoebridge, op.cit., 1997, p.41
[283] Lend Lease Corporation, *Annual Consolidated Financial Report, June 2001*, Sydney, 2001c, p.49
[284] id, *Fox Studios Joint Venture – Stock Exchange Announcement*, 13 July 2000a
'Business Briefs', *The Bulletin*, July 25 2000, Vol. 118 Issue 6234, 2000, p.62
[285] P. Walkley, 'Peering into a Fox hole', The Bulletin, November 9 1999, Vol 117 Issue 6199, 1999, p.67
[286] K. Sweaney, 'Inside the Movies' *Australian Leisure Management*, Dec 1999/Jan 2000, p. 13
[287] J. Schulze, 'Fox chief queries Viacom's park claims' *The Age*, 17 September 1999
[288] C. Cummins & L. Morris, 'Rough ride at Fox Backlot as backers drop $80m', *Sydney Morning Herald*, July 14, 2000

commercial precinct with shops, eateries, cinemas and offices, the income to Fox Studios is limited to rental fees and a small percentage of income from the businesses[289].

Actual visitor figures for other Sydney attractions are significantly lower than Fox's planned 1.5 million, which raises questions as to what data visitation was based on. For example, the Powerhouse Museum attracted 624,331 visitors in 1998[290], with the National Maritime Museum seeing 315, 498 in 1997-8, 280,759 in 1998-9 and 428,343 in 2000 (the Sydney Olympic year)[291]. While these attractions may not be immediately seen as comparable to the Fox Backlot, they are competing for the same disposable income with similar markets and are based in the central Sydney area. In addition, two out of three of the most popular exhibitions at the Powerhouse are film related (*Star Trek* and Audrey Hepburn)[292]. Wonderland Sydney, a theme park 45 minutes from central Sydney, is a Disney-style park with seven themed lands, regularly featuring film themes such as *Shrek* and various comic strip characters[293]. According to promotional material, its annual visitor figures are just over 1 million visitors[294].

On 1 November 2000, just one year after opening the Backlot, in an attempt to address the low visitation for the precinct (that was to bring in such a large proportion of Fox's income), Fox announced major changes, including reducing the admission price for Backlot attractions to AUD$24.95 for adults and AUD$14.95 for children, but still no family ticket. They also took out the entry portal separating the Backlot from the popular commercial precinct (Bent Street), allowing free movement around the whole site. After the integration of the Backlot and Bent Street, trading losses ran at some AUD$1m per month, requiring a further pre-tax provision of AUD$88.8m, following the AUD$96.8m provision made in July 2000 against its share of expected losses, reducing Lend Lease's carrying value of the Backlot to AUD$15m.[295] Such announcements resulted in an

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[289] P. Kermode, 'Studio value has venture partners Foxed', *Australian Financial Review*, November 2, 2000
    Lend Lease Corporation, *Fox Studios Joint Venture – Stock Exchange Announcement*, 13 July 2000a
[290] Powerhouse Museum, 'Facts and Figures' www.phm.gov.au, 2001, (accessed December 2001)
[291] Australian National Maritime Museum 'Annual Report 1999-2000', Commonwealth of Australia, www.anmm.gov.au, 2001, (accessed December 2001)
[292] Powerhouse Museum, 'Powerhouse Museum wins at Tourism Awards with Audrey Hepburn Exhibition' Media Release 27 July 2000, www.phm.gov.au, 2000, (accessed December 2001)
[293] Tourism New South Wales, 'Wonderland Sydney' www.sydneyaustralia.com, 2001, (accessed December 2001)
[294] Wonderland Sydney (2001) *General Educational Information*, Wonderland Sydney, 2001, (accessed November 2001), p. 5
[295] Lend Lease Corporation, op.cit., 2001c, p.49

immediate fall of 10% in the Lend Lease share price, with further falls anticipated[296]. In 2000, the Property Development arm of Lend Lease contributed a meagre $3.3m to the corporation, down from $89.6m the previous year, which was seen largely as a result of the Fox Studios losses and provisions[297].

The import of the Backlot's losses to the financial health of Fox Studios Australia lies in the cost of producing movies. While the production facilities are booked for up to two years in advance, and Fox has had some major box office hits with *Mission Impossible II* and *The Matrix*, they are extremely expensive to produce and cannot immediately offset the costs of establishing the studios. The Backlot, with its relatively low running costs (compared to the studios) was to provide the venture's operating profit. Fox Studios Chief Executive, Kim Williams is quoted as stating that "[l]ike any factory, a film studio is a cost centre, not a profit centre"[298].

Staff cutbacks in the Backlot followed and an application made to extend trading hours in Bent Street, the third change in this area alone from the original masterplan. In the first twelve months of operation, Fox Studios made fifteen applications to vary the masterplan approved by the New South Wales State Government in May 1996, indicating some 'teething problems' in spite of their 'extensive' research.[299]

In an indication of the political power of Fox Studios and the clash between two major tourist concerns in a major city, they exerted influence over the planning for the Sydney Olympic Games by strongly requesting (and succeeding in that request) that the road cycling races be relocated to avoid the studio's closure for five days[300]. However, in spite of the political 'power' of the organisation, the Backlot tourist enterprise was shut down without warning on October 17th, 2001. It was proposed that part of the space would be used to extend Bent Street, with the rest being incorporated into the film studio. Lend Lease sold its half share in the AUD$430m plus development for between AUD$8m and AUD$10m to the Fox Entertainment Group, recovering some of the $15m residual value

[296] R. Harley, 'More bad news from Lend Lease' *Australian Financial Review*, 29 May 2001, p.64
[297] Lend Lease Corporation, *Lend Lease Corporation Half Year Results, period ending 31 December 2000*, 15 February 2001a, Sydney
[298] N. Shoebridge, 'Fox looks for original attractions', *Business Review Weekly*, 5 Nov 1998, Issue 17, 1998, p.80
[299] L. Morris, 'Residents to fight Fox Studios over late hours', *Sydney Morning Herald*, January 11 2001
[300] 'Australia This Week', *The Bulletin*, June 1, 1999, Vol. 117 Issue 6176, 1999, p.16

(after write-downs of over AUD$185.6m and operating losses of AUD$33.3m[301]) Lend Lease had on its development[302].

So, what happened? Fox Studios undertook what they considered to be extensive market research of over 1200 people during the development phase and continued to survey visitors to the site. Exit surveys and brand tracking was undertaken by Sydney-based market research firm, Newspoll[303], a company experienced in political polling and market research, so how could they have got it so wrong? It is not possible to examine the research methodology used by private consulting firms as such details are commercial-in-confidence, and requests for data or information have been denied. Consequently, desk research and participant-observation were employed in an attempt to uncover some possible reasons. The outcomes are then applied to the film studio theme park model in an attempt to identify areas of weakness in the enterprise.

Site Visit to Fox Studios, Friday, June 2 2000

The overall experience to the site was enjoyable enough, being a cross between the Hollywood tours of Paramount Studios and the theme parks of Universal Studios and Warner Brothers Movieworld. The controlled, safe environment of the theme park was evident, as was the use of front, mid and backstage regions. But, there was a major element missing at all visits – people.

Information on Fox Studios and how to get there was readily available at Darling Harbour and Circular Quay. Staff had direct contact with Fox, which certainly assisted when the bus pick-up was missed. There was no signage to indicate where to stand when waiting for the Fox Studios bus, resulting in some confusion. The experience of watching a near-empty Fox Studios bus by-pass the assumed pick-up point was quite disconcerting. After the driver was tracked down by the visitor information staff at Darling Harbour, the bus returned and ran a special trip for one customer.

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[301] Lend Lease Corporation, op.cit., 2001c, p.62
[302] Lend Lease Corporation Ltd, *ASX Announcement – Joint Media Release with Fox Studios Australia*, October 16, 2001b
G. Elliot, 'Lend Lease takes cut and quits no-show operation', *The Australian*, October 17, 2001, p. 35
[303] N. Emmons, op.cit., 2000, p.34

Fox Studios is set in the old Sydney Showgrounds, and on arrival one proceeds through the Bent Street retail and restaurant precinct up a sloping hill towards the Backlot entrance. The entrance is constructed in a likeness of the old amusement park portal, complete with turnstiles underneath an Australiana 'coat of arms' featuring an emu, kangaroo, kookaburra and other native animals replete with movie cameras and megaphones crowning the entrance. As can be seen in Figure 9.1, the style was interwar populist, in line with many of the historical buildings in the area, providing an amusing, humorous and entertaining sense of arrival and anticipation.

Figure 9.1 Fox Backlot entry portal (June 2000), replete with an Australiana movie version of the kangaroo and emu coat of arms

The Backlot area consists of a series of sound stages and American themed cafes that are poor imitations of middle America streetscapes. Unfortunately, inclement weather on the day made visiting the site unappealing, as once through the gates to the Backlot, there was little relief from the wind and rain, which made the much touted self-guided walking tour deeply unattractive. This is not really an all-weather site, despite publicity to the contrary.

The Backstage region proved disappointing and boring, as the working sets were all closed off with blinds and shutters due to the imminent production work on *Star Wars*, so the only 'behind the scenes' encounters were those taken out of the working studio areas into the Midstage of the Backlot construct. Those demonstrating make-up and Foley (sound effects) had worked on some productions, giving a perception of authenticity to the encounters. The live shows were typical of a theme park performance, even if they had an extremely corny Australian theme.

Fearing disappointment, I braved the *Titanic Experience*, where approximately one quarter of the participants were returning for their second 'experience' that day. This was due to

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the fact that there are actually two separate Titanic experiences – half of the group head down into the ship and 'die' while the other half get to the lifeboats and 'survive'. The experience itself was controlled, enjoyable and well put together, however it was nothing like the promised Backstage experience of being an extra on the film (as promoted), rather it was a surprisingly similar experience to the virtual reality *Back To The Future* ride at Universal Studios in Hollywood, even if the technology applied differed. The visitors enjoyed the experience, yet few took advantage of the high-priced commemorative photographic merchandise available on the way out, provided by major sponsor, Kodak.

Visitors to the Backlot

Due at least in part to the wet weather, the numbers at the site were low, well below the large crowds that the site could cope with, making the area seem a little desolate. Visitors included families and young couples, some middle aged American tourists, but no elderly people. There was a large proportion of Asian and Japanese tour groups dutifully queuing up for the scheduled shows then leaving via the souvenir store.

Figure 9.2 Limited 'crowd' numbers to the Backlot on a Friday (June 2, 2000)

Staff/Service

The staff were generally courteous and the costumed 'customer relations' staff worked hard to entertain those waiting in (the mercifully short) queues and chatting to those travelling alone. While they were costumed, these staff did not represent specific film characters (as is the case at Warner Brothers Movie World), rather they were a pastiche of Australiana (young men in Drizabone coats and Akubra hats) and slapstick entertainers in the nature of the Keystone Cops as illustrated in Figure 9.3. This lack of utilising known characters is most likely due to some confusing licensing problems that Fox Australia appears to be experiencing, however it does little to create any sense of backstage or

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celebrity encounters. Information on the licensing issues is anecdotal and incomplete, with staff informing me of this problem in whispered, conspiratorial tones and may not be totally reliable, yet it is hard to find another explanation that fits.

Figure 9.3 A costumed entertainer 'working the crowd' (June 2000)

Over half of the Fox Souvenir Shop was dedicated to *Simpsons* merchandise, with the rest made up of a small range of Fox studio souvenirs, some *Star Wars* and *Titanic* merchandise. There were few souvenirs specific to Fox Australia (apart from clothing with the Fox name), with no postcards or other photographic memorabilia, even though (or maybe because) Kodak is a major sponsor. Frontstage encounters with the staff in the shop were pleasant, but unenthused.

Figure 9.4 The Fox Shop, with Fox-styled director's chairs

Movie Themes

There appear to be enormous problems at the site regarding licensing issues, with few actual Fox movie themes featured. Even the set for *Babe, Pig in the City* is a static, dead

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site without any interpretation, even in the form of story-boards. In order to side-step its limited access to interactive film material (a rights issue), the Backlot relies heavily on *Simpsons* characters for which there area no licensing problems, from life-size free standing cutouts to decorated burger stands and hot dog vans (all of which were closed on this particular visit).

Figure 9.5 Licensing problems personified: the static *Babe* set and *Simpsons* characters offering limited, static photo opportunities (June 2000)

After the removal of the entry gates and lowering of entry fees to the Backlot return visits were made some 10 months after the initial visit to see what effect this had on numbers to the site and the activities of visitors. I wondered whether by taking away the pay-one-price admission and allowing free movement around the Backlot that the enclosed, safe theme park feeling might be lost.

Site Visit to Fox Studios, Friday and Saturday May 4 and 5, 2001

The information area at the major tourism precinct of Harbourside on Darling Harbour had deteriorated in terms of Fox Studios, with no information available on the studios, nor could the staff member there assist, which was quite different experience from the last visit. Eventually a photocopy of the Fox Studio bus timetable was provided, but the bus was completely invisible this time, with the collection points still not sign-posted. It was almost as if most visitors arrived via an organised tour group, so independent transport or information was not required.

The site now gave the impression of an entirely retail venture, lacking any identifiable theatrical or cinematic theme. The 'experience' started at the retail area of Bent Street with its cafes, Italian and Swiss restaurants, a Sanity music store, Dymocks Bookstore and

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cinema complex, on to the (now open) Backlot area which no longer had any entrance or sense of arrival, reducing even the simulated backstage to a purely Open Space experience. The Entry Portal which provided a theatrical sense of arrival had been dismantled and moved to the side of one of the streets in the Backlot. The photos in Figure 9.6 illustrate the effect of the removal of the Backlot entry portal on the entrance.

Figure 9.6 Changes to Fox Backlot Entrance, 2000 and 2001
The original entry portal to the Backlot   As it appeared after its removal
June 2000   May 2001

People were wandering aimlessly through the site then leaving, not interested in eating or drinking in the pitiful imitation American-style diners, unless they had purchased an all-inclusive ticket to the "shows" and Backlot studios. This ticket enabled attendees to visit each attraction only once and could be broken down to visit an 'experience' once or repeatedly as is the case at other theme parks. The themed hosts noted in the previous visit (June 2000) were not evident, with the only Midstage/Frontstage character interaction being with a mute Homer Simpson who was transported around Bent Street and the Market area on a small cart. The children were thrilled, but not enough to persuade their parents to take them to any of the separately priced attractions.

At the weekend, on the oval adjacent to Bent Street and the Backlot were numerous attractions including the Farmers Market with expensive 'boutique' home-grown produce alongside tacky Asian imports masquerading as crafts. In addition, there were pony rides ($10 for 10 minutes), where children were led around a tiny circle of synthetic grass and a children's pat and feed farmyard that charged $2.50 per child to harass a range of small farm animals.

Visitors to the Backlot

Those actually attending the paid attractions on both the Friday and Saturday were almost entirely Japanese tour groups. Observation indicated about 80% Japanese and Asians, 10% other international visitors (American with some French and Germans) and a maximum of 10% domestic visitors.

Figure 9.7 A distinct majority of Asian visitors to the Backlot (May 2001)

In conversation with some Sydneysiders visiting the Backlot, it was clear they were unimpressed and confused. One of them works at a city hotel and lives in nearby Paddington, but this was their first visit to the site, some 18 months after opening. They had been discussing amongst themselves what could be done to improve it, but explained that it doesn't even figure in Sydneysiders' thinking to visit the Backlot attractions. They said that the cinemas in Bent Street were very good, but were sceptical of the value of the rest.

In spite of media reports of Fox's plan to make regular changes to the entertainment, the shows and other paid attractions had not been changed in the past 12 months, indicating no desire to encourage repeat visitation, instead relying on the one-off international visitor. As the Backlot had not been the anticipated gold mine, there may not have been additional funds allocated to facilitate changes to the entertainment program, however without this Fox was unable to attract repeat visitors, especially in the local market – a key to successful tourism enterprises.

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Coinciding/Complementary Activities

Conversations with Backlot staff and Farmers Market stallholders indicated that the days that are best patronised are those connected with a special event or function. The previous weekend had a 'Digimon' event which, according to staff and traders, attracted "plenty of families" and the following weekend was Fashion Week that was to be held on the oval area. Also, the following day a 'Big Day Out for Dogs' was planned, called *Scruffs*. It seems that these events assist the traders, but it is still questionable how many actually visit any of the Backlot paid attractions. Staff at the Backlot referred to the special events as having the greatest drawing power of people, commenting that it was very up and down depending on when events were held, but also indicated that many of the people drawn to events walk around the Backlot, but do not pay to attend any of the shows, tours or demonstrations.

The Farmers Market is held every Wednesday and now on Saturdays in conjunction with the Weekend Market. According to a long-time stallholder, the takings from shops on Bent Street on Wednesdays increases by up to 50%. This has now been introduced on Saturdays (this site visit coincided with the second Saturday since introduction) in an attempt to increase visitation and broaden the appeal of the weekend market. It had been originally planned to consist of local produce and movie memorabilia, which has now been replaced by Chinese Massage, Tarot readings, Asian imports, very average pottery and jewellery along with one stall selling Elvis merchandise. The ultimate success of the Market to visitors outside the local population is questionable, as it is in direct competition for tourist dollars with the highly popular and relatively diverse Paddington and Rocks markets. Paddington has the depth of a long-established market, while the Rocks is a carefully formulated mix of goods aimed at both domestic and international visitors.

Originally the Market and the site were promoted Sydney-wide, but Sydneysiders did not appear interested in travelling to the Eastern suburbs to shop for high-priced boutique produce. So, Fox began to promote it to local Eastern suburbs residents which, according to the stallholders, has worked better. This local, almost entirely middle-class, clientele showed little interest in the Backlot.

In an interesting insight, one stallholder commented that it usually took Lend Lease about two years to get a shopping centre right, so he expected about the same with the Fox site.

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At the time I wondered how long it would be before they closed an under-performing one. Lend Lease had a similar failure with their redevelopment of Manly Wharf in the late 1980s. After a decade of sluggish performance it is being redeveloped yet again.

Staff/Service

The staff were all friendly and happy to talk, especially as they appeared quite bored due to lack of visitors. They were a valuable source of information. There were no costumed hosts visible, leaving the casual visitor with little desire to move from the free Frontstage region (that is now more akin to an Open Space region due to the removal of the entry portal), to the simulated, commercial Midstage and Backstage experiences.

At the Fox Souvenir Shop, a staff member explained that they were totally reliant on Japanese tour groups for souvenir sales. There were no postcards featuring the site available, apparently due to the aforementioned licensing issues. The shop was still dominated by *Simpsons* merchandise, with some *Star Wars* and *Titanic* items. The staff member also confirmed that Fox is no longer marketing the Backlot to Sydney, but focusing almost exclusively on the Asian market. He commented that he felt it was better since the gates had been removed, as at least there were more people wandering around, but they were not actually buying any merchandise.

Movie Themes

The licensing problems observed on the previous visit have not been resolved. The site now boasts a plethora of *Simpsons* characters, but virtually nothing else. The hot dog vans and hamburger stands were again closed (on a Saturday).

A Fox on the Run?

When we consider the blurring between shopping and theme parks outlined in the previous chapter, Lend Lease's move into the entertainment field, especially theme parks, would appear to be a logical step, yet it proved disastrous. The reliance on feasibility consultant, ERA and a marketing consultant from California (Pritchard Marketing) proved foolish. It has already been noted that Pritchard's estimated visitor numbers of 5 million and per annum was a ludicrous guess, eventually amended by Fox to 1.5 million, still a gross overestimate. Fox had anticipated 29 percent of visitors to be from overseas, 21 percent

from interstate, with the remainder from New South Wales[304]. While actual figures have not been released, 29 percent international visitors was a high estimate, with the well established Sydney Wonderland obtaining such international visitation breakdown only after 16 years of operation, with only 6 percent of its visitors being from interstate, making the local market critical[305]. As already discussed, Fox alienated its local market and failed to successfully counteract local resentment and concern over the theme park development.

Fox and Lend Lease also contracted a high profile market research company, Newspoll, to conduct ongoing research, yet seem to have continually worked on a trial and error basis, with very patchy success. The continual propping up of the Backlot site through the additional provisions of over AUD$145m is a most damning indictment of the project. Lend Lease earnings per share were down my 58% for the half year ending December, 2001, due in no small part to the Fox Backlot failure[306].

The final indictment for the Backlot came at 5.32pm on October 16, 2001 when a joint media release announced that the Backlot would close immediately, with News Corp paying Lend Lease for its share of the Backlot for a sum less than AUD$15m[307]. The space will be used to extend the studio area and the commercial Bent Street precinct. Chief Executive of Fox Studios Australia, Kim Williams commented that "the closure of the Backlot ... is a source of disappointment"[308].

According to media reports from the News Corp owned *Australian* newspaper, the terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001 and the anticipated reduction in tourism "pushed shareholders to resolve the Fox Studios structure"[309]. However, the Backlot was never a success and rather than the US terrorist attacks precipitating its downfall, they gave Fox Studios an excuse to close the already failing area and Lend Lease a reason to divest itself of an unprofitable liability. The simple observation and informal conversations undertaken on the site visits to the studios yielded a depth of information that would have provided Fox and Lend Lease with a richer form of data than exit surveys and tracking, and may have shown positive ways in which to improve the Backlot's fortunes.

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[304] J. Schulze, op.cit., 1999
[305] Wonderland Sydney, op.cit., 2001, p. 5
[306] Lend Lease Corporation, op.cit., 2001a
[307] Lend Lease Corporation Ltd, op.cit., 2001b
[308] loc.cit.
[309] G. Elliot, op.cit., 2001, p. 35

The areas claimed by Fox Studios as contributing to the Backlot's demise have been expressed in terms that infer they were externally based and out of Fox'c control. Chief Executive Kim Williams claims that "..the worsening economic situation and lack of public interest ... [combined] with an expected downturn in tourism ... [mean there is] no light on the horizon"[310]. The term "lack of public interest", as quoted in the *Sydney Morning Herald* newspaper, suggests that the failure was through no fault of Fox – the public were just not interested. This belies the demonstrated interest in and power of film-induced tourism – any 'fault' lies firmly with Fox Studios, its consultants and management, not external uncontrollable factors.

Williams refused to publicly consider reasons for the Backlot's demise, stating that "... I don't intend to go into a retrospective forensic process about the Backlot. As of tonight, it's shut"[311]. Some five months later, a more open Kim Williams told the media that "...we made some mistakes ... [and] ... one day I'll write about what happened there..."[312]. However, the impact of such failures goes beyond the business itself and the jobs lost (90 full time and 50 part time) – the flow-on economic effects and levels of investor confidence can be significant. As Leiper states in his concluding remarks on the failure of the Big Banana theme park,

> Losses such as these are paid for, indirectly, by everyone with any sort of interest in the Australian economy: wage earners, consumers, businesses, investors, tax payers and borrowers. That is why large business losses should be matters of public interest and why decisions behind failed investments should be studied.[313]

Case Two: Warner Brothers Movie World

In order to consider the effect of external pressures on Australian film studio theme parks, another (more successful) enterprise, Warner Brothers Movie World (Movie World) on the

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[310] S. Rochfort & C. Cummins, 'Fox's white elephant fades to black' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 October 2001, p.1
[311] loc.cit.
[312] 'Reality bites at Fox Studios', *The Australian - Media*, March 14-20 2002, p.5
[313] N. Leiper, op.cit., 1999, p. 265

Gold Coast has been examined. In other words, were the start-up and operating difficulties of the Fox Studios Backlot analogous to Movie World, and can this information be used to develop a predictive theme park model?

Movie World's significance as a tourism operation is reflected by its tourism awards success, the judging of which is primarily based on business success and growth. They won the national award for the Best Major Tourist Attraction for three consecutive years (1994, 1995 and 1996), and consequently have become a member of the Australian Tourism Awards' Hall of Fame[314]. The awards are not only prestigious but an affirmation of business success, with the judging process considering aspects such as business operations and links with the broader tourism industry.

Movie World, a three-way partnership between Warner Brothers, Village Roadshow Limited and Sea World Property Trust, opened in June 1991. It is one of a group of three theme parks owned by the partnership, the other two being Sea World (opened in 1971) and Wet 'n' Wild Water Resort (1991). The parks are situated in close proximity to each other (with Movie World next door to Wet 'n' Wild) and are promoted cooperatively, with special passes to all three as well as other package offers including airfares and accommodation.

Unlike Fox Studios and the Universal Studios standard format, Movie World does not have a commercial restaurant and shopping precinct in its Open Space, and is situated outside the major urban precinct of the Gold Coast on the Brisbane-Gold Coast Highway – only 45 minutes' drive from metropolitan Brisbane, and within one hour's drive of two thirds of Brisbane's population of 1.6 million. On entry to the park, visitors can choose from a range of activities and entertainment options for an all-inclusive entry fee of $52 per adult.

Similar to Universal Studios, visitors can take a Studio Tour past (but not into) operating sound stages, then on to a special effects stage which is set up for visitors only. While viewing the set of a 'typical Aussie bar', participants are selected from the audience to experience the antics of a Foley (sound) artist at the special effects stage. As at Universal

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[314] Warner Bros Movie World, *Corporate Info*, http://www.movieworld.com.au/corporate_info, 2001b, (accessed October, 2001)

Studios, visitors only get as far as a Midstage or simulated Backstage experience, with no interaction with actors or production staff.

Visitors are also able to have their photos taken (either professionally or themselves) with so-called 'stars' such as Marilyn Munro, Elvis, Batman, cartoon characters and so on. This is in effect a Frontstage celebrity encounter -- visitors get to meet actors pretending to be other actors or characters, illustrated in Figure 9.8.

Figure 9.8 Photo opportunities at Movie World with 'Marilyn' (1999)

Scheduled performances, from cabaret style acts with the 'stars' through to film-based shows, such as the *Police Academy Stunt Show*, provide a Frontstage experience with the audience quite separate from the performers who are once again pretending to be other actors. While 'voluntary' guests may be included in their programs, they are often planted staff – a ruse also employed at Fox Studios.

Unlike Fox, where there were no theme park style roller coaster rides, at Movie World rides are available, from white-knuckle movie-based adventures (*Batman, Lethal Weapon*) to more sedate-paced children's rides (*Looney Tunes*). All rides at the park are popular, with the white-knuckle rides having by far the longest queues. Planning regulations and resident lobbying did not permit Fox to offer such attractions which undoubtedly affected the domestic and family popularity of its theme park. Sydney's Luna Park, in the inner suburban area of Sydney, had also been dogged by such planning and noise issues. Being unable to get permission to open its 'Big Dipper' for evening rides due to noise complaints and legal action from local residents, the park's cash-flow was undermined to the point where it had to close[315].

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[315] M. Robinson, 'The ride was all downhill' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 July 1999, p.38

During the last few years of the 1990s, the Gold Coast region experienced a series of tourism problems, particularly in terms of the Asian economic downturn which began to take effect in late 1997/8, severely reducing the numbers of Japanese visitors to the region. Businesses solely reliant on the Japanese market suffered, however those that could either move to, or already had, other markets were able to survive. Following the Asian economic crisis were two years of bad weather in 1998 and 1999 that also impacted on Gold Coast tourism.

The three theme parks experienced a combined downturn in their turnover from the 1997/8 financial year, however were able to come back strongly in a relatively short time. In 1999/2000 they contributed $8m to Village Roadshow's operating profit[316], growing to $13.7m for 2000/2001 with overall visitors growing by 5.4%[317]. Unlike Fox Studios, the Village Roadshow theme parks, including Movie World, have established a strong domestic market by regularly changing and updating its attractions, providing entertainment for all family members. By tying their product with domestic promotions, the theme parks have developed a high domestic profile. As proudly stated by their Chief Executive, John Menzies, "A family can have a different experience every day of their holiday and still return the following year for something completely new again."[318] Menzies also commented on the strength of the domestic market and its importance to the theme parks.

The 5.4% increase in visitation to all three theme parks during 2000/2001 was driven by the growth in the domestic market, which has been attributed to a range of factors, including improved access due to the upgrading of the Gold Coast Highway, increases in discount flights to the Gold Coast, the weaker Australian dollar discouraging outbound travel, and a run of fine and warm weather[319]. International visitor numbers in 2000/2001 were still affected by the soft Japanese market, but did see some growth from China, South Korea and other emerging markets.

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[316] Village Roadshow, *Village Group Profile*, http://www.villageroadshow.com.au/profile, 2001a
[317] id., *Attachment to Preliminary Final Report – 30 June 2001*, Village Roadshow Limited, 2001b, p. 8
[318] id., 'Mammoth Theme Park Expansion', *Media Release*, 28 July 2000, http://www.villageroadshow.com.au, 2000
[319] id., op.cit., 2001b, p. 9

However, Movie World did not fare as well as the other parks in the group for 2000/2001, with lower attendances after a strong previous year when a new ride (the *Wild West Adventure Ride*) was installed. In response, overheads were reduced which partially off-set the lower returns and work commenced for a new ride (*Scooby Doo's Spooky Castle*) "to correct the downturn"[320]. In addition, the release of the movie, *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* and an associated theme park ride at the end of 2001 has revived Movie World[321]. Prior to the release of the movie and launch of the ride, the park's website heavily featured Harry Potter.

By clustering three different theme parks, a downturn at one can often be carried by the growth of the others, allowing the operators some room to move. In addition, the theme parks have been able to work together in a region that was not in a major city (yet still close enough to Brisbane to attract day visitors) – they did not have to compete directly with traditional urban leisure activities such as cinema, theatre, shopping, sport and so on.

Recognising the range of both positive and negative external factors outlined above and responding to them in a timely manner, Village Roadshow demonstrates a good understanding of the tourism industry and market. However, in order to maintain the domestic market, it appears new and updated rides and attractions need to be continually introduced.

Movie World has coped with a series of negative, externally generated global and local issues (the Asian economy and poor weather) through strong theming, strategic planning, product development and a recognition of the importance of the domestic market – something that Fox Studios ignored. Even though Movie World suffered a recent downturn in business, it has not followed the downward slide of the Fox Studios Backlot, which had no periods of growth.

Earlier in this chapter, a table was presented listing the possible responses of businesses that fail to meet their objectives (compiled by Frost)[322]. An adapted version of the table is below, summarising and comparing the actions taken by Fox Studios and Movie World

[320] id., op.cit.,, 2001b, p. 9
[321] A. Lawson, 'It's downs and ups at Village' *The Age*, 21 November 2001, Business p.1
[322] W. Frost, loc.cit., 2001

when their operations were failing to meet their business objectives, particularly in relation to profitability, visitor numbers and target markets.

Table 9.2 Responses by Fox Studios and Movie World to Failures to Meet Objectives

Movie World	Fox Studios	Action
	X	Closure
	X	Writedown of equity
		Sale as going concern
X		Capital injection, either from owners' reserves or by attraction of new partners, public share issue etc.
		Seeking reduced rent, royalties etc
X	X	Reducing employee numbers
		Reducing opening hours or operating only at weekends or in high tourism seasons
		Seeking government grants, including conversion of seeding or one-off grants to a repeated subsidy
	X	Greater emphasis on increasing returns from commercial activities such as café, restaurant, gift shop etc.
	X	Sub-letting space to outside operators
	X	Postponement or dropping of projected later stages in the development
	X	Changes (reduction) in admission prices
	X	Introduction of special events and festivals to encourage domestic visitors.
X		Introduction of new activities/attractions in the park in order to attract greater domestic market.
X		Refocusing of attraction/site themes in order to attract new international markets.
		Hiring of management consultants as managers/advisers
X	X	Unscheduled revision of business or marketing plan

The table above lists the numerous responses from Fox Studios regarding the problems experienced at the Backlot, whereas Movie World's responses appear to be fewer and more targeted. The number of different strategies Fox employed to counter its failures may be part of its problem – the responses appear to be knee-jerk, uncoordinated and non-strategic.

The responses from Movie World that were different to Fox were in areas relating to the introduction of new activities and attracting a greater domestic market and/or new overseas markets. Movie World turned to the emerging international markets of China and South Korea as well as strengthening its domestic visitation by providing new activities for repeat (usually domestic) visitors. They were successful in their attempts to counter the external economic and climatic matters it encountered, whereas Fox was not.

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However, the above table does not go far enough in discovering the critical factors that Fox may have neglected. The table merely looks at Fox's reaction to certain events, some out of their control, whereas the model developed in the previous chapter looks at the structure of a film studio theme park and as such provides us with an opportunity to analyse the structural differences between Fox and Warner Brothers theme parks. Such differences are related to the table of responses above in that they necessitated some of the responses.

Critical Success Factors for Film Studio Theme Parks

The film studio theme park model introduced in Chapter Eight has been modified below to indicate each operation's (Fox Backlot and Movie World) structure, in particular in terms of the levels of encounters, activities as well as access to and existence of each region. For the Fox Backlot there are two versions - an initial model plus a revised model after the entry portal was removed, with the first model in Table 9.9 below.

Figure 9.9 Initial Model of Fox Backlot Film Studio Theme Park

THE MARKET

THE THEME: Hollywood Movie Culture

AUTHENTIC — NONE

SIMULATED

STAGED

NONE

RESTRICTED

FREE

A C T I V I T I E S

E N C O U N T E R S

DEEP BACKSTAGE
No tourist activities
Tours

Private Encounters
Controlled Encounters

BACKSTAGE

Simulations
Demonstrations
Tours

Controlled Midstage Encounters

MIDSTAGE REGION

Performances
Roving Characters
Commercial
Merchandise

Frontstage Encounter

FRONTSTAGE REGION

Queue
Pay
ENTRY
PORTAL
Brief Encounters

Parking
Public Transport
Commercial
(restaurants, shops, cafes)

OPEN SPACE

Open Encounters

Authenticity
–
Film Production

NO CLUSTERING

Movement

ACCESSIBILITY Central – close to CBD

When the Fox Backlot first opened, it resembled the standard film park model, with a few marked exceptions – there were no roving characters or rides in the Midstage region apart from a group of actors dressed in costumes that were not aimed to represent any specific character. In spite of the movie, *Babe. Pig in the City* set being in the Frontstage region, visitors had no interaction with characters, creative staff (and certainly not stars) until they entered the Midstage region, apart from the costumed hosts who were unrecognisable in terms of any association celebrity or fame. Apart from the antics of the costumed hosts, there were no performances in the Frontstage region. Instead, the Midstage region hosted

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the various performances ('Lights, Camera, Chaos!', 'The *Simpsons* Downunder') tours (TV Tour), demonstrations (Sound Stage and Star Dressing Room) and activity ('The Titanic Experience'). The demonstrations were led by staff who had worked on some of the Fox Studio films. While not actively promoted, a tour of the working areas was possible, giving a form of access to the Backstage region. This tour was strictly controlled and unable to provid any real insight into the film-making process as all the studios were blacked out due to security surrounding the up-coming filming of *Star Wars*. The guide compensated by describing what it is usually like and that some actors even wave at the tourists – hardly an 'encounter'. As to be expected, there certainly appeared no possible access to Deep Backstage.

After the gates were removed and entry prices reduced, the Fox Backlot, minus its entry portal looks like Figure 9.10 below.

Figure 9.10 Model of Fox Backlot Film Studio Theme Park after Removal of Entry

THE MARKET

THE THEME: mixed

AUTHENTIC — NONE

STAGED SIMULATED / NONE / RESTRICTED / FREE

ACTIVITIES

ENCOUNTERS

DEEP BACKSTAGE
No tourist activities
Private Encounters
Tours
Controlled Encounters

BACKSTAGE REGION

Simulations
Demonstrations
Tours
Performances

Controlled Midstage Encounters

MIDSTAGE REGION

Roving Character

OPEN SPACE

Brief Encounters

Parking
Public Transport
Commercial (restaurants, shops, cafes)

Open Encounters

Authenticity
–
Film Production

Movement

NO CLUSTERING

ACCESSIBILITY

Loss of 'centrality' – focus moved to Homebush

Once the entry portal was removed, there was no differentiation between the Open Space and Frontstage region, merging into one Open Space. Consequently there was no sense of arrival, no entrance or welcome to visitors ~ the Backlot. They paid to enter the various performances, tours etc as listed previously, but did not have repeat access to them – they could only visit each site once, whereas previously they could visit as many times as desired in the same day. There were no costumed hosts, but one roving character was wheeled out and briefly taken around the Open Space region, namely Homer Simpson.

The Midstage and Backstage regions remained the same (no new or updated performances), except for increased restriction to the Midstage region as already discussed.

The next table outlines the Movie World structure in terms of regions, access, encounters and activities. The only significant deviation from the model at Movie World is the lack of commercial outlets in the Open Space, which is limited to car parking and transport collection.

Figure 9.11 Model of Warner Brothers Movie World Film Studio Theme Park
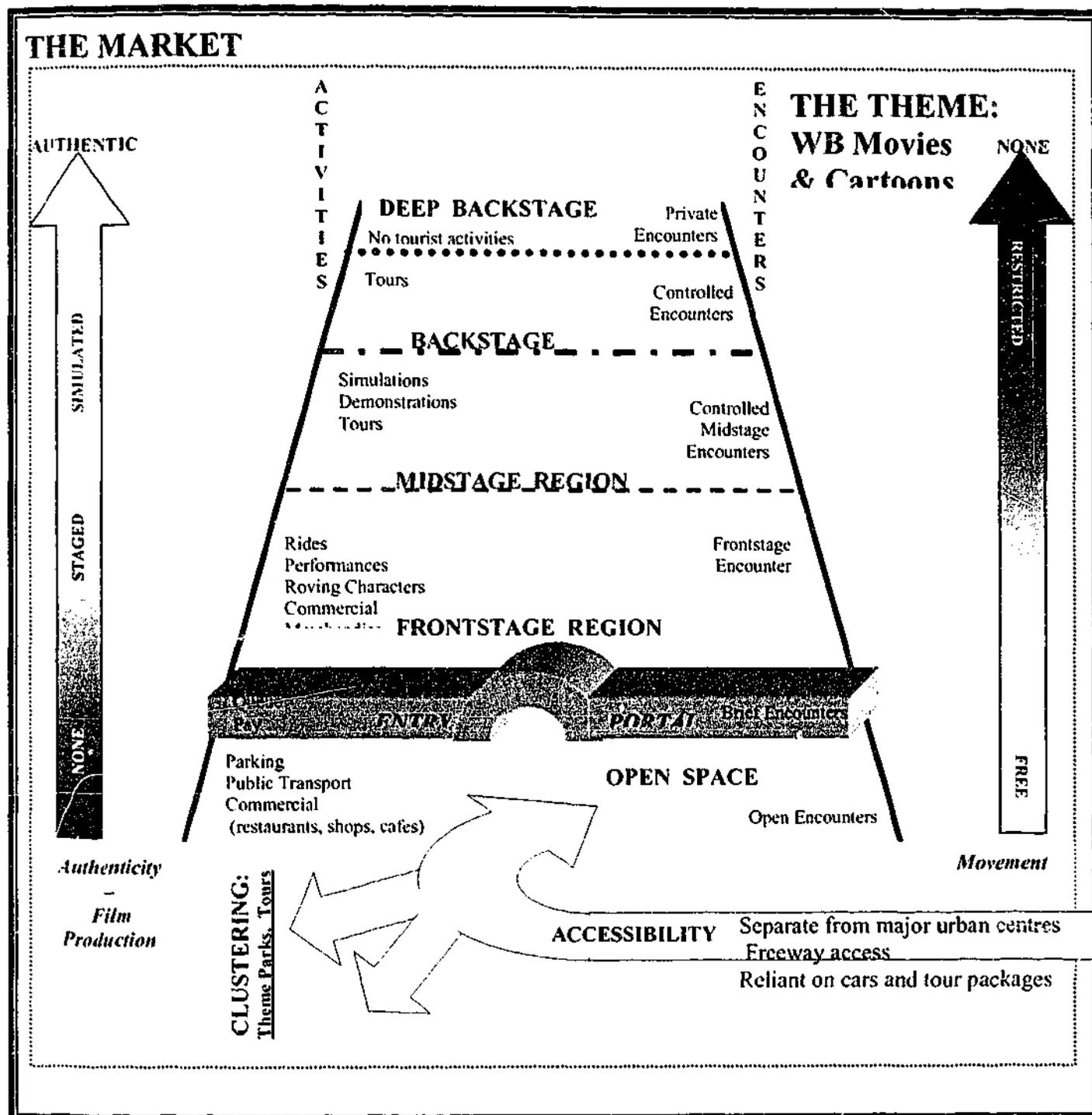
There is a far greater sense of being at a working studio, with the Backstage tour providing a controlled, yet seemingly open experience – people movers take visitors around the lot to view the outside of the sound stages, then is taken to a sound stage set up for tourists, simulating the Backstage experience. In this way, the visitor moves between Backstage and Midstage within the one tour/experience.

So, what can we learn from a comparison of these models? While aspects, such as strategic planning and research that have played a role in the success (or failure) of the

two theme parks, we have demonstrated the critical areas for a film studio theme park. Listed below are the areas where Movie World differs in from the Fox Backlot:

- An entry portal, creating a sense or arrival, welcome and anticipation
- Opportunities for encounters in all regions, even those with actors playing characters
- Strong Frontstage atmosphere with shows and characters
- Strong Backstage activities combined with Midstage
- Clustering of products and services
- Strong, consistent theming
- Diverse market – not reliant on one, volatile market

The differences are significant and relate directly to the responses outlined previously in Table 9.2, consequently can be considered as the main critical success factors.

The Final Curtain?

Kim Williams' "key revenue and profit generator"[323] did not live up to its hype, serving as a timely warning for those wishing to capitalise on the apparent add-on power of film. The abject failure of the Backlot demonstrates the risk of relying on booster consultants who tell the client what they want to hear and the volatility of predicting tourism success. Without the Asian tour groups and special events, the Backlot's troubles would have been apparent within months of opening. Such reliance on a singular market has proven historically disastrous and goes against all recognised business strategies (including Movie World's), so it is extraordinary that Fox focused so much on a particular segment of the Asian market – one that responds promptly to global economic trends out of the control of the operator. The anticipated negative tourism fallout from the September 11 terrorist attacks in the United States is further evidence of the inadvisability of relying on international markets and disregarding, if not failing to understand, the domestic market.

In addition, the opening of Universal Studios Japan in March 2001 may redirect Asian visitors from the Australian film studio tourism market towards Japan[324]. Early visitor

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[323] N. Shoebridge, op.cit., 1997, p.40
[324] Universal Studios, op.cit., 2001b

figures for the Japanese site are staggering (1 million in the first month), however they may settle as the novelty wears off, unless Universal regularly introduces new attractions for the domestic Japanese market. It is reasonable to assume they will, as they have done so at their other operations in Los Angeles and Florida.

Contemplating the community benefits of theme parks, Page points out that "theme parks .... have been criticised as the high technology playgrounds of the middle classes, of little benefit to local communities"[325]. In spite of Fox Studios' rhetoric, this has been the case regarding the Backlot development, which not only provided little benefit for the local community but negative returns for the hapless shareholders of Lend Lease (in particular) and News Corporation.

Still, the question arises as to why Fox Studios failed to live up to its tourism expectations. A possible reason is that in their attempts to get tourism recognised as a valuable industry and gain public funds to develop and maintain the public infrastructure that is so necessary for tourism, has the industry over-estimated the economic contribution of tourists as opposed to resident visitors to theme parks. When Fox Studios estimates 60-70% of their income from tourism, and the original Studio City proposal for Docklands cites a $200m benefit from tourism, it certainly appears to be the case. This is of great concern and urgently requires more research and investigation. Such concern is also expressed by Leiper when considering the over-estimated tourism advice that the Big Banana theme park received from its management consultants in the late 1980s[326].

Such over-estimates and tourism failures underscore the credibility of tourism planning and funding as well as the broader economic and social effects. As many tourism academics are taking part in private consultancy businesses, new standards in disinterested analysis need to be promulgated if tourism research is to remain credible.

New Developments: 'Foxploration', Baja Mexico and Docklands 'Studio City', Victoria Australia

In an interesting (if somewhat confusing) footnote, Fox Studios Baja (20 miles south of the US border on the Baja Peninsula) opened a new movie theme park, 'Foxploration', on 20

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[325] S. Page, op.cit., 2000, p.228
[326] N. Leiper, op.cit., pp. 258-9

May, 2001[327]. What is so interesting about this particular 'backlot' experience is that it has no white-knuckle rides, with its senior executives referring to it as "..somewhere between an interactive science museum and something that's undefined"[328], and is based at studios that were built specifically to film the movie, *Titanic*. Many of the sets had been disposed of, requiring them to be rebuilt in order to develop the theme park. At this stage, there is no indication of installing the *Titanic Experience* from Fox Studios Australia, however it seems a logical move. It is also too early to see if a theme park that is extremely similar to the Fox Studios Backlot (in size, attractions and rhetoric) will be successful in this part of the world, however its potential certainly is debatable.

The Victorian State Government took great interest in the Sydney Fox Studios development, recognising the economic importance of the film industry and the tourism flow-on. In August 1999, a few months before the opening of the Fox Backlot, the Docklands Entertainment Precinct in Melbourne was unveiled. To be called Studio City, it was to consist of a Paramount Studio adventure theme park, an entertainment and retail precinct and the Docklands Studios. The similarities between Fox Studios did not end there – the State Government claimed that increased tourism to Melbourne due to Studio City would inject more than $200 million into the economy, while the film industry would be boosted by $50 million. Once again, the estimated tourism generated income far exceeded the film revenue. According to the precinct consortium head, Paul Hameister, the theme park (which was to feature three roller coaster rides and a 50 metre high Ferris wheel) "...will be the first of its kind built in the centre of a city"[329].

However by June 2001, the Docklands plan had been drastically revised, due in part to the failure of the original plan because of the financial collapse of one of the partners, Studio City – the developer of the proposed theme park[330]. For the revised development, State Government support of $40m has been promised for the development of film and television studios in the Docklands precinct. There is no theme park or other tourism attraction planned for the site[331]. The State Government indicated the reasons for this decision were partly related to the problems facing Fox Studios as well as the film

[327] K. Ellingwood, 'Fox Opens Movie Park in Baja', *Los Angeles Times*, May 21, 2001
[328] loc. cit.
[329] K. Taylor, 'Film and TV studios focus of $500m plan' *The Age*, 21st August 1999, p. 7
[330] J. Schulze, 'Fun park collapse to kill off studios' *The Age*, 10 February 2000
[331] Office of the Premier 'Bracks Announces Film Studio for Victoria' *Media Release*, Victorian State Government, June 28 2001

industry's focus on production and film development as opposed to any direct tourism participation. This general attitude was reflected in the 2000 Report of the Victorian Film and Television Industry Task Force which recognised the tourism flow-ons of film, but did not recommend direct involvement, particularly in terms of a theme park at the Docklands site[332]. Unlike in other parts of the world where tourism and film offices have been placed under the one roof (as discussed in Chapters Two and Six), Tourism Victoria and the Film Victoria remain both operationally and spatially separate, which may result in a missed opportunity.

While on the surface this may appear to be a wise move in view of the Fox Backlot failure, the power of film as a tourism generator and public demand for film tourism experiences should not be so lightly passed off. In a North American study of general managers from over one hundred theme parks, Milman found that they saw movies and TV shows as the third highest ranking theme for future theme parks and attractions, out of a list of sixteen significant themes[333]. Such optimism is reflected in the general interest in film and television around the world, as noted throughout this work.

In addition, at the time of the revised Docklands announcement, regional radio reports welcomed the possibility of more filming in regional Victoria and the attendant tourism flow-ons. It is not unlikely that groups such as schools and tertiary institutions will request tours of the studio, and due to the government funding provided for the development, such a 'public good' as educational tours may be permitted. These 'tours' may then be expanded to special groups and on to the broader tourism industry. Such unplanned tourism may create more problems than if it is taken into consideration at the planning stage. While a theme park may not be the appropriate film-tourism product, guided tours combined with audiences at television shoots in a similar format to Paramount Studios in Los Angeles is an option. At Paramount, anyone participating in an audience-based program (especially pilots) is given a complimentary tour of the studios with access to operating sound stages and sets. This type of tour may provide the most authentic Backstage experience of all studio-based theme parks, yet are visitors searching for authenticity or just an array of entertainment and escapism as proposed by postmodernist theorists?

[332] Victorian Film and Television Industry Task Force, *The Film and Television Production Industry in Victoria*, September 2000, pp.21-22, 43
[333] A. Milman, 'The Future of the Theme Park and Attraction Industry: A Management Perspective', *Journal of Travel Research*, Vol. 40, November 2001, p. 143

SECTION FOUR: CONCLUSION

Chapter 10: Issues and Future Directions

The genesis of this study came from personal experience – *The Man from Snowy River* movies spawned an adventure horseback industry at a time when I was a keen horse rider looking for adventure, challenge and the romance associated with our bush legends. The sudden popularity of adventure horseback riding tours introduced me to tourism as a concept and as a profession. The influence of the movies on tourism and my own research in the tourism field (both industrial and academic) has been central to my life over the past 15 years. Combined with an increasing interest in, and recognition of the importance of, community tourism development, my interest in film and its varying effects on small, often fragile, communities grew. Hence the initial focus on communities and film in the early chapters of this work, with the interest in movie theme parks coming later, sparked by the initial fanfare and subsequent failure of Fox Studios Backlot and visits to film studios in Australia and the United States.

Since commencing the study in 1999, fascination in participating - however vicariously - in the fantasies and magic of film production has increased significantly, reflected by the proliferation of media articles and requests for research data from tourism students. Every week, Australian papers feature articles on filming sites in Australia and overseas, with the national weekend paper, *The Weekend Australian* promoting film locations throughout the world in its travel section series, 'As Seen In ....', which not only provides information on where movies and TV series are filmed, but also how to get to them. For many film communities, it is the media publicity that has 'put them on the map', with all the communities in this study confirming the power of the media in this respect. Many are also promoted via the Internet on movie and fan sites. Few actual filming locations actively promote themselves as such, yet they find themselves dealing with the consequences of film-induced popularity.

The increase in undergraduate and postgraduate students taking an interest in this field has grown in line with the media interest, introducing unforeseen community problems, such as a plethora of intrusive research techniques administered by often inexperienced and poorly guided researchers. This raises serious methodological concerns, necessitating the long overdue development of new approaches towards tourism research. We can no longer

rely on self-completion questionnaires and unsolicited intercept interviews, as responses to them have become potentially flawed due to what can be termed, 'interviewee burn-out'. Moreover, many tourists simply resent being asked questions when they are on holiday. Ethnographic, participant observation techniques must not only be developed and refined, but need to be treated with greater respect and credence by the tourism research field itself. Quantitative data alone is rarely sufficient to illuminate the expectations and subsequent experiences of tourists.

While the findings of the research indicate that Australia does not suffer from the impacts of a massive, unsupportable increase in tourism and research due to film as in the UK, this may not always be the case. Australia is in a position to plan for on-location film tourism and learn from the issues facing other sites around the world that have not had the luxury of taking a proactive stance, requiring them to cope with an unanticipated flood of tourists. It is crucial that Australia monitor its film locations and plan for the possibility of increased interest in tourism to, and research in, these areas.

The main reason that there has not been the flood of tourists to Australian on-location film sites compared with locations in Europe and America has been Australia's distance from major tourism generating regions, apart from neighbouring New Zealand. There are indications that this may change as Australian film bodies work to increase overseas exposure and screenings, and as Australia's appeal as a safe and accessible tourist destination increases. Australian film studios are already extremely successful in the international movie market, and the increase in runaway productions moving from Canada to Australia has seen towns such as Daylesford in rural Victoria being used in the stead of American locations, as in *The Ponderosa*, the prequel to the popular US television series, *Bonanza*. While visitors may not be interested in visiting such 'fake' sites, there has been no research into the phenomenon, so we cannot be unequivocally certain of visitor motives. Regardless, they may be interested in visiting the production studios.

Australia currently has 185 tertiary based undergraduate tourism and hospitality programs at 36 institutions, and 82 graduate and postgraduate programs at 19 institutions[334]. While the majority of postgraduate programs are predominantly research-based, most

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[334] D. Ashenden & S. Milligan, The Good Universities Guide, www.thegoodguides.com.au, 2001 (accessed March 2002)

undergraduate programs (including many vocational courses) include projects that incorporate a research component. This work is invariably conducted by inexperienced researchers who can inadvertently impact on the communities they study. While this may be considered part of the 'learning process', using real-life situations to train researchers is fraught with ethical issues that are not adequately dealt with through current university ethics approval processes, as they are institution-specific and may not be aware of similar work at other institutions, compounding the problem.

The Australian cases studied, the Fox Studios Backlot and Barwon Heads, differ in terms of scale, setting, longevity and capital investment, yet both raise issues about community attitudes and the loss of public amenities. While Barwon Heads has benefited overall from filming in the town, the Fox Studios Backlot failed, even though the studios themselves continue to flourish in terms of movie projects and awards. In spite of the publicity spin put on the success of Fox Studios, the working studios were yet to move into profit as at December 2001, with Lend Lease declaring a loss on its investment[335]. Many of the critical success factors that eluded Fox could have been met, while others required simple counter-measures to overcome them, as many were based on misunderstandings of visitor motivations and community perceptions. The false predictions by Fox Studios and their consultants were compounded by insufficient and incorrect reactions to problems at Fox, resulting in its failure.

Fox Studios promoted itself as being situated in the centre of Sydney, ten minutes from the Central Business District, but the mass activity centres of Sydney had already moved from the old Showgrounds to the Rocks, Circular Quay and Darling Harbour. The Showgrounds themselves had moved to western Sydney at Homebush with the Sydney Agricultural Show and the 2000 Olympics being hosted there. The pervasive, if short-lived, promotional power of the Olympics placed Homebush in the minds of both domestic and overseas visitors, and was not counteracted successfully by Fox, yet should have been foreseen. The almost perverse action of Fox to have the cycling route changed *away* from the studios may have lost them an outstanding international and local promotional opportunity.

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[335] Lend Lease Corporation, op.cit., 2001a, p.52

In addition, the Fox Studios Backlot had an inadequate sense of location, both spatially and imaginatively – the local community did not embrace the Backlot enterprise and Fox failed to appeal to the imagination of the rest of Sydney, instead focussing on one main international market, the Japanese. There was no incentive for repeat visitation, as the Japanese groups came through once and headed home. Fox ignored the local market until it was too late. The studio's attempts to 'improve' the Backlot by taking away the entry portal and focussing on *The Simpson's* cartoon characters were reactive, inadvisable and unsuccessful.

Sea Change coincided with a number of factors that not only made the series so successful, but aided the township of Barwon Heads. There has been a major public re-evaluation of towns close to urban centres as places to live and increasing focus on the environmental quality of life, with people longing for clean air, the freedom of the ocean and perceived sense of belonging in a small community. Lifestyle priorities are also undergoing re-evaluation, with people starting to consider other aspects of their life and well-being apart from work. Another, connected serendipitous social phenomenon that not only affected the appeal of the series, but also of Barwon Heads, was that those in the baby boomer generation are now moving into their early retirement years, with seaside towns close to major urban centres (Barwon Heads is ten minutes from Geelong, Victoria's largest regional centre) becoming popular early retirement centres. As stated by Kotler et al,

> [f]rom quality of life considerations to charm, culture and ambience, the quest for livable, investible and visitable places is a perpetual search for the new and vibrant, an effort to stay clear of the sullen and depressed.[336]

There is a synergy between the *Sea Change* story and the town, which enhanced Barwon Heads' appeal and 'put it on the map' as a place in an attractive setting and small community appeal. Barwon Heads had previously been perceived as boring – surrounded by swamp, prone to flooding and only a place for family holiday makers, with most other visitors bypassing the town on their way to the grand 19th Century town of Queenscliff or heading down the Great Ocean Road to fashionable Lorne. The series showed the appealing and attractive aspects of the region, changing such perceptions and expectations.

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[336] P. Kotler et al., op.cit., 1993, p.2

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Yet Barwon Heads has not capitalised as much as it could on *Sea Change.* The residents are deeply suspicious of the City of Greater Geelong and all its bureaucratic constructs, wanting to retain their own sense of locality (seeing themselves as part of the rural/coastal Bellarine Peninsula, not the urban centre of Geelong, under whose local government jurisdiction Barwon Heads exists). Also there is an abiding local suspicion of Geelong Otway Tourism, which they regard as more interested in promoting the Great Ocean Road than their region. Such attitudes are evidenced by the point that no locals took up Geelong Otway Tourism's offer to train locals as *'Sea Change* specialists'

Interestingly, *Sea Change* was not a conscious developmental or promotional tool for Barwon Heads – all the beneficial changes are truly serendipitous, where the Fox Backlot was a specific tourist venture, yet all the planning, research and massive capital investment could not produce a viable tourist theme park. This raises an important question regarding film-induced tourism - film is a powerful medium, but on its own is it a strong enough tourist motivator?

On Location Tourism: Community Impacts and Planning

In the past, film-induced tourism has been incidental to the film itself, with little consideration given to the long term effects filming may have on a community. While such tourism can provide significant economic fillip to a community, especially in a marginalised rural area, the community may not be prepared or willing to deal with the changes associated with film-induced tourism. With less government intervention in local community issues and needs, the increased pressure on individuals to take on community responsibilities places community well-being at the forefront of their issues. A divided community with powerful, disenfranchised clusters will not operate in the best interests of that community. Issues such as future development, crowding and congestion, increasing real estate values, community pride and economic benefits must be considered in conjunction with each other as well as the 'head in the sand' attitudes of those who hope it will go away and leave them as before. By recognising and considering the potential costs and benefits of on location film-induced tourism, a community has the potential to use the benefits to strengthen it and ameliorate the costs. Such a solution may appear simplistic, which it is certainly not – the complexities of the communities in which we live, play and

work are increasing, not decreasing. Research paradigms such as those introduced in social representation theory provide an opportunity to develop our understanding of community processes in relation to film-induced tourism. Community planning models must consider film-induced tourism as a component of the tourism aspects of a community.

When we consider the extent of tourism associated with movies and television series along with the lack of preparedness of many of the smaller Australian communities to consider and plan for the latent tourism growth, there is need for us to be concerned, creating an imperative to work towards understanding the phenomenon more comprehensively.

Off Location Tourism: The Film-Studio Theme Park Model

Studying failures can prove just as illuminating as considering successes. One of the most significant outcomes from the study of the failure of the Fox Studios Backlot and the comparison with successful film-studio theme parks in Australia and overseas has been in the development of a model that outlines the elements of such an enterprise, as outlined in Chapters Eight and Nine. Combined with the critical success factors noted in those chapters, the model provides a template with which to consider the planning and development of such enterprises as well as to assess and improve current ventures. The demand for structured, safe tourism experiences is expected to increase, along with the public's insatiable desire for contacts with celebrities (people, places and characters), no matter how vicarious.

Local and regional tourism associations, film producers and community representatives have all expressed interest in the results of this work, and will no doubt use them to support everything from new investment decisions to demands that film tourism towns be reclaimed by permanent residents once filming is over, rather than being overrun by day-trippers. However, where the results come into their own is as a community and tourism planning tool for future filming locations and studios. It is imperative that considerations beyond immediate economic benefits be considered by communities (and their councils) considering filming in their region. In spite of the serendipitous effects noted earlier, the *Sea Change* and Fox Studios research has illuminated aspects that have the potential to divide and destroy the community as it is today, such as differing attitudes towards

tourism, economic development, costs of living, crowding and increased pride and amenities.

While this study has provided applied models for theme parks and community tourism development, it has also demonstrated the extent of film-induced tourism in today's film-obsessed society, along with areas that require further investigation. These are outlined in the following section.

The Future of Film-Induced Tourism

There are many questions left unasked and unanswered in this work. The need to ascertain how and why a film (movie or TV series) inspires people to visit a particular locality is an important aspect that requires further study. Is it merely a case of some variant of destination marketing (but without the formal strategy or advertising budget) at the time of release? It does not appear to be so in all situations. We need to consider what aspects people relate to and if it is their empathetic attachment to a story or place that facilitates tourism. Once again, while this may have some merit, it is not the only reason. The general public's desire for contact with 'celebrities' has also been suggested as a powerful tourism motivator. Is it the opportunity to live the fantasy of the celebrity status of film? Over a six year period of guiding adventure horseback tours, I have seen and helped hundreds of would-be 'Men from Snowy River' play at being great Australian bushmen, yet celebrity or character fantasy is not an adequate answer to the question of film-induced tourism's varying influence.

Among the top 100 grossing films in the US of all time, there are only a handful that can be said to have significantly influenced tourism, such as *Gone with the Wind*, number one on the list (adjusted for inflation), *Sound of Music* (number three), *Titanic* (number five), *Forest Gump* (number 23), *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (number 26) and *Crocodile Dundee* (number 86)[337]. Data from the UK and Australia provides similar rankings and results[338]. Some other movies, if promoted in conjunction with tourism, may have had the

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[337] T. Dirks, *All-Time USA Box Office Leaders*, www.filmsite.org/boxoffice.html, 2002, (accessed February 2002)
[338] British Film Institute, *All Time Top Films at the UK Box Office*, www.bfi.org.uk/facts/stats, 2001, (accessed February 2002);
Australian Film Commission, *Top 50 films of all time*,
www.afc.gov.au/resources/online/gtp_online/Top_films, 2000, (accessed February 2002)

potential to induce locality-based tourism, such as *Doctor Zhivago* (number eight), *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (number 18) and *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (number 29), to name a few[339]. These movies may have had a minor impact on tourism, but are not quoted in any of the literature or extensive newspaper articles sourced for this study.

While not registering on the all time film lists as far as box office returns, *Lawrence of Arabia* nevertheless was critical in how two generations have thought about desert landscapes, mainly due to its continued presence on television and its status as a classic, even a cult, movie. Such an influence on image and perception may well have influenced tourists' desire to and manner of visiting desert regions in general. Likewise the original *Blues Brothers* film gave Chicago a centrality in many countries that previously it had only enjoyed in America. Such generic influences of film-induced tourism on landscapes have also not been studied.

Responding to the question of what drives film-induced tourism requires ongoing research and careful consideration, and is the legacy of this study. Further research is planned and I trust that others also take up the challenge to build on these findings. I note below other questions and fields within the film genre that also deserve further consideration in terms of tourism.

Documentaries have been recognised as motivators for travel since the days of the *National Geographic* magazines and films from the early twentieth century through to the 'Discovery' Channel of the present day. While films that cover wildlife and indigenous communities have received a great deal of tourism attention, an area of documentary-making that has recently gained media attention in Australia is one that focuses on human communities. Such a case is demonstrated by the film, *Cunnamulla*, an award-winning documentary about life in a small town in central Australia that has been criticised by some sectors of the community as being unbalanced, showing only "... the life of social misfits, we would call it, who have chosen to drop out"[340]. However, the film and ensuing controversy has created interest in the town of 1,500, with anecdotal evidence indicating an increase in visitors since the release of the documentary. Ethical questions of film-maker

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[339] T. Dirks, op.cit., 2002

[340] Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC TV), 'Facing the music in Cunnamulla', *7.30 Report*, 22 January, 2001

responsibility now go beyond the portrayal of its characters to the considerations relating to film-induced tourism. For example, if the documentary is about the 'underbelly' of a community (as in the case of *Cunnamulla*), is this what visitors will seek out? Will they be happy with a superficial tour of the 'better' aspects of the town and region, or will they want to experience the darker, private side? And how could that possibly be done, short of seeing a staged fight in a country pub or visiting a community shelter house? Once again, the local community does not control what is being filmed and stands to find itself the focus of an extremely intrusive tourist gaze.

Science fiction has inspired generations of thinkers and readers alike, with the most famous movie, *2001 A Space Odyssey*, describing a world where Pan American Airlines runs shuttle services to the moon as easily as it flew around the world. While the images created by our science fiction authors are removed from the reality of space travel as it currently exists, they have created a romantic longing for a space experience. Images from and references to *2001 A Space Odyssey*, were used in media reports when billionaire Denis Tito accompanied a Russian space flight to the International Space Station in 2001, becoming the first 'space tourist'[341]. Space tourism is expensive (Tito is rumoured to have paid US$20m for his trip), yet early research indicates that many people (up to 80 percent in some surveys) are interested in space tourism and a significant number would be prepared to pay large sums of money for the experience[342]. While there may be no 'host communities' in space (at least as far as we know), the effect of science fiction imaging on tourist expectations should be examined, especially at this early stage of space tourism. Exhaustive examination of current research into space tourism indicates that such a link has not been explored or considered at any level.

Runaway productions have been mentioned in passing throughout this work, however they have been dismissed as not encouraging tourism due to the fact that the sites used 'pretend' to be something else, often set in another country. Yet, such is the fascination of film that we may experience tourists coming to such locations, not looking to re-live their film-induced fantasies, but to see how such deception was achieved (not unlike the interest in film studios). The example referred to earlier of the prequel series to *Bonanza,* a popular

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[341] G.I. Crouch, 'Researching the Space Tourism Market' R. Neil Moisey, Norma P. Nickerson, Kathleen L. Andereck (editors) *TTRA 32nd Conference Proceedings, 2001: A Tourism Odyssey*, Florida, 2001, p.411
[342] ibid., p.413

US Western of the 1960s, *The Ponderosa*, being filmed near the southern Australian town of Daylesford, could be one such case. Visitors may be drawn to see how the Australian bush was made to resemble the American West. However, nothing is known about whether such a motivator exists and if it would be strong enough to lure tourists, and if so, what kinds of tourists.

Film-induced tourism links with the cult of celebrity around places endowed with the 'magic' of movie-making such as Hollywood Boulevard. During the last decades of the 20[th] Century, millions of visitors to the Boulevard found little to do apart from gazing at the stars in the footpath and foot and hand-prints outside Mann's Chinese Theatre. The Boulevard was occupied by souvenir and t-shirt shops, seedy tattoo parlours and homeless youth, not the glamourous home of Hollywood cinema that tourists expected. After taking a few photos and wandering aimlessly around the area, they left, dissatisfied, along with their unspent dollars. While the power of film and the 'Hollywood dream' was recognised by councils and some residents, attempts to create the Hollywood visitors expected were poorly envisaged. Efforts made in the 1980s to revive Hollywood failed to address issues of public safety, which left the strip in an even more perilous state[343].

In the late 1990s the Hollywood Chamber of Commerce and associated tourism and community groups recommenced the rebirth of Hollywood Boulevard, taking a more holistic stance[344]. A self-guided walking tour was developed, which explains the history of the Boulevard and related buildings as well as identifying the positions of all the pavement stars, providing visitors with reasons to linger[345]. Heritage buildings have been restored and a US$567m retail-restaurant-entertainment complex, Hollywood and Highland, has recently opened, becoming the first permanent home of the Academy Awards[346]. The degeneration and regeneration of Hollywood Boulevard may well reflect the varying fortunes of film and tourism alongside American capitalism, with the recent resurgence indicating the growth and/or recognition of the significance of film-induced tourism. The whole realm of Hollywood, celebrities and tourism would also benefit from further study in the film-induced tourism paradigm.

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[343] C. Gardetta, 'Will success spoil Hollywood Boulevard?' *Los Angeles Magazine*, March 1999
[344] J. Raphael, 'Future's Past. Welcoming the New Millenium' *Discover Hollywood*, Winter 1999/2000, p.4
[345] Hollywood Historic Trust, *Walk the Walk. The Hollywood Walk of Fame and Walking Tour*, brochure and signage produced by the Hollywood Historic Trust, 1999
[346] 'Hollywood's big opening', *TravelTrade*, 13 June 2001, p.34

Academic research tends to take one of two basic approaches, applied or theoretical. Applied research is problem-driven, looking for answers to specific issues, while theoretical research tends to open up further questions and areas for study. This examination of film-induced tourism has combined those approaches, dealing with applied problems as well as theoretical questions. On the applied level, this study demonstrates the importance of incorporating film-induced tourism (both on-location and off-location) into tourism planning, especially in small communities that are most sensitive to development. Applied processes have been identified and incorporated into planning paradigms. Theoretically, many questions have come to light that were not evident at the beginning of the study that need to be addressed. These include,

- What drives film-induced tourism - what are the elements that make a film 'create' film-induced tourism and how are they combined?
- When is film a primary and when is it a secondary motivator?
- What is the effect of other types of film on tourism, such as real-life documentaries and science fiction on space tourism?
- Are runaway production sites of interest to tourists?
- What role does the 'cult of celebrity' play in relation to tourism?
- Are there cultural differences in film-induced tourism markets?

Films have always been a way for audiences to encounter other places, whether they be real-life documentaries or the fantasies of fictional tales. The future of film as a major form of entertainment, our rapacious appetite for celebrities and increasing levels of tourism have come together to form a new tourism segment, that of film-induced tourism. All indications are that it stands to grow exponentially, consequently our need to understand the nature of this segment is increasingly crucial to the future of community and commercial well-being. Long-term, ongoing study and research is necessary in all the areas outlined in this work, particularly in relation to the questions posed above.

This study has built on the pioneering work of Riley, Tooke, Baker and Van Doren, exploring ideas of place marketing and community tourism development. Theme park development theory as espoused by MacCannell and others has also been developed to consider the specialised area of film studio theme parks, recognising the particular nature

of film as a tourist attraction. For too long, the industry has been over-estimating the economic and community gain from tourism without considering the consequences. For the tourism industry to remain financially and socially viable, film-induced tourism must be considered soberly, rationally and realistically. The costs and benefits, including an understanding of who pays, who gains and who might lose out, need to be closely studied. Only then can tourism come close to being an industry that serves communities as well as living off them.

APPENDIX ONE: *SEA CHANGE* SYNOPSIS

SEA CHANGE SYNOPSIS

The following synopses from the first two episodes outline the basic premise and nature of the series. They can be accessed at the archived ABC web site:
http://www.abc.net.au/seachange/series2.htm

seaChange

Episode 1

"Something Rich and Strange"
written by Andrew Knight
directed by Michael Carson

In just 24 hours, corporate lawyer Laura Gibson's life is decimated. She is passed up for partnership, her son is expelled and she almost kills the family cat before discovering her husband has been arrested for fraud, squandering their life savings in the process...not to mention sleeping with her sister. Desperate to escape her life, Laura accepts a job as magistrate of a small coastal town she has fond - ten year old - memories of. Packing her kids in the station wagon, Laura heads to Pearl Bay only to find a half collapsed connecting bridge and laconic local, Diver Dan. On belated arrival, Laura discovers the solitude beach house she bought based on memory is now a dilapidated shack in the middle of a caravan park. Yet, staring out across the spectacular view from her new home, Laura decides maybe Pearl Bay is worth a chance.

Episode 2

"Full Fathom Five"
written by Deb Cox and Andrew Knight
directed by Michael Carson

Laura wishes her first days in Pearl Bay could be as idyllic as the scenery. As the kids struggle to survive with no television and Laura's cooking, a lunch invitation to the Jelly house seems like a welcome distraction. But Bob Jelly's motive is soon evident. Over Heather Jelly's fastidiously prepared lunch, Bob is sure to let Laura know how much power he has over the townsfolk, including her predecessor, renowned drunk Harold Fitzwalter. It is Harold's botched revenge plot against Bob that surfaces as Laura's first case. As Laura struggles with the ethical implications of the trial, her court clerk seems more interested in the surf report. The police prosecutor, Karen is no help either, busy planning her fantasy wedding to Angus. The only thing distracting Laura from her professional crisis is the alluring Diver Dan, a handsome renaissance man who represents everything she is not - a relaxed, scruffy person who can cook.

APPENDIX TWO: ETHICS APPROVALS

RESEARCH GRANTS AND ETHICS BRANCH

17 November 1999

Professor Peter Spearritt
School of Social and Political Inquiry
Clayton Campus

Sue Beeton
PO Box 6590
Shepparton Vic 3632

Re: **Project 99/467 - Tourism and the community**

The above submission was considered by the Standing Committee on Ethics in Research Involving Humans at meeting B7/99 on 16 November 1999. The Committee agreed to approve the project as conforming to the NHMRC guidelines subject to the following provisos:

- Omit the Book prize as the Committee no longer approve such incentives to participate.
- Check Qu 18 (a) (ii) - Needs to tick box
- Explanatory Statement is too cursory. Needs to explain the nature of the study in more detail. Must include a Monash University phone number; not a personal mobile number.
- Needs to include how long the interviews will take on the Explanatory Statement to potential interviewees
- Needs to indicate the broad range of interview questions

The project is approved as submitted for a three year period. You should notify the Committee immediately of any adverse effects on participants or unforeseen events and seek approval for any proposed changes. Should you wish to adapt this project to other circumstances, you can apply for an extension or variation to the original protocol. However, substantial variations may require a new application. Please quote the project number above in any further correspondence and include it in the complaints clause:

Should you have any complaint concerning the manner in which this research (project number........) is conducted, please do not hesitate to contact The Standing Committee on Ethics in Research Involving Humans at the following address:

> *The Secretary*
> *The Standing Committee on Ethics in Research Involving Humans*
> *Monash University*
> *Wellington Road*
> *Clayton Victoria 3800*
> *Telephone (03) 9905 2052 Fax (03) 9905 1420*
> *Email: SCERH@adm.monash.edu.au*

Human Research Ethics Committees are required by the NHMRC to monitor research projects until completion to ensure that they continue to conform with approved ethics standards. The Committee undertakes this role by means of annual progress reports and termination reports. Please ensure that the Committee is provided with a brief summary of the outcomes of your project when it has concluded.

Ann Michael
Human Ethics Officer
Standing Committee on Ethics
In Research Involving Humans

NOT SUITABLE FOR MICROFILMING

8 August 2001

Professor Peter Spearritt
School of Social and Political Inquiry
Clayton Campus

Ms. Sue Beeton
PO Box 6590
Shepparton   Vic   3632

Re: Project 99/467 - **Tourism and the community**

Thank you for your annual report and details of proposed changes to the project.

The proposal to interview key informants in relevant areas has been approved.

If you wish to conduct follow-up interviews with visitors please explain how the participants will be contacted and forward a copy of an explanatory letter and consent form for the follow-up interview.

Ann Michael
Human Ethics Officer
<u>Standing Committee on Ethics</u>
<u>in Research Involving Humans</u>

NOT SUITABLE FOR MICROFILMING

FACULTY OF LAW AND MANAGEMENT

Faculty Human Ethics Committee

LA TROBE UNIVERSITY

TO:	**Ms Sue Beeton-Department of Tourism and Hospitality- Shepparton**
FROM:	Ted Osbourne, Secretary, Faculty Human Ethics Committee
SUBJECT:	**Project 98/30 -A sea change for Barwon Heads? TV induced tourism**
DATE:	2 December, 1998

The Faculty Human Ethics Committee has considered your application for a research project involving human participants. I am pleased to advise that your application has been approved until 31 December 1999.

Would you please note that the following standard conditions apply:

(a) **Limit of Approval:** approval is limited strictly to the research proposal as submitted in your application.

(b) **Variation to Project:** as a consequence, if you wish to make any subsequent variations or modifications to your project you must notify the Committee formally using the appropriate form ("Application for Approval of Modification to Research Project"), copies of which are available from the Secretary, Human Ethics Committee. The Committee will consider approval for the proposed changes. If the Committee considers that the proposed changes are significant, you may be required to submit a new application for approval of the revised project.

(c) **Progress Report:** you are required to submit the attached Progress Report form to the Committee annually, or at the conclusion of your project if it continues for less than a year. Failure to submit a progress report at the end of the year will mean approval for this project will lapse.

If you have any further queries on these matters, or require additional information, please do not hesitate to contact the Secretary of the Faculty Human Ethics Committee.

ETHICS\APPROVAL.PRO

NOT SUITABLE FOR MICROFILMING
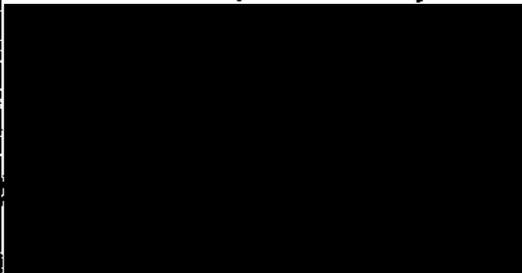
APPENDIX THREE: QUESTIONNAIRES & COVERING LETTERS

NATIONAL CENTRE FOR AUSTRALIAN STUDIES
Director: Professor Peter Spearritt

September, 2001

Tourism and the Community

I am undertaking PhD research under the supervision of Prof. Peter Spearritt, Head of the School of Social and Political Inquiry. The aim of the research is to consider the changes in tourism and the communities affected in relation to film-induced tourism, which includes the effect on the sites chosen for filming as well as film studios and their attendant tourism activities, such as the management of related theme parks.

We would appreciate it if you would consent to a personal interview, which should take between 30 and 45 minutes. The questions relate to your personal opinions and observations as a leader in your field. Your knowledge and experience are of great value and significance to this study. If you agree to participate, you may withdraw your consent at any time.

The interview will be recorded (with your permission) and as you are a key figure in your field, we would like to quote your professional title or position in your company or community. It is not necessary to identify you directly by name, however we would like to be able to identify the level of such expertise. As well as being part of my PhD thesis, the results of the research may be published in academic journals, conference papers and/or in a research-based book in the future. If you do not wish to be identified, please indicate this on the attached Consent Form and any direct reference that may identify you will be excluded. Please complete the attached form prior to the interview. Only my supervisor and myself will have access to the data which will be stored for five years as prescribed by university regulations.

Should you like to be acknowledged in the thesis or the related publications outlined above, I can include your name and/or your company or community affiliation. I would be happy to provide you with a copy of the thesis or relevant aspects of it when it is finished. You will be free to use your copy as you wish.

If you have any queries regarding the survey, please phone 9905 5241.

You can complain about the study if you don't like something about it. To complain about the study, you need to phone 9905 2052. You can then ask to speak to the secretary of the Human Ethics Committee and tell him or her that the number of the project is 99/467. You could also write to the secretary. That person's address is:

> The Secretary
> The Standing Committee on Ethics in Research Involving Humans
> PO Box No 3A
> Monash University
> Victoria 3800
> Telephone (03) 9905 2052   Fax (03) 9905 1420
> Email: SCERH@adm.monash.edu.au

Thank you for your cooperation,

SUE BEETON
PhD Candidate, Monash University
Senior Lecturer in Tourism, La Trobe University

NOT SUITABLE FOR MICROFILMING

Informed Consent Form
Tourism and the Community

I agree to take part in the above Monash University research project. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the Explanatory Statement, which I keep for my records. I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to:

- Be interviewed by the researcher
- Allow the interview to be audiotaped

I understand that I have given approval for my name and/or the name of my company or community affiliation to be used in the final thesis, and future publications. (Please delete any aspects of this clause that you do not consent to.)

I also understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

Name: .... (please print)

Signature: .... Date: ....

NATIONAL CENTRE FOR AUSTRALIAN STUDIES
Director: Professor Peter Spearritt

September, 2001

Tourism and the Community

I am undertaking PhD research under the supervision of Prof. Peter Spearritt, Head of School of Social and Political Inquiry. The aim of the research is to consider the changes in tourism and the community at Barwon Heads and are particularly interested in your experiences. As a country based researcher and educator, I am personally committed to the development of long-term gain to rural communities, from a social as well as economic perspective. This survey is an important aspect of the study being undertaken.

We would appreciate it if you would consent to a personal interview, which should take between 10 and 15 minutes. The questions relate to your travel plans in the area and any interest you may be in the ABC TV series, *Sea Change*.

The interview will be manually recorded, however no findings which could identify any individual participant will be published, with only my supervisor and myself having access to this data which will be stored for five years as prescribed by university regulations.

If you have any queries regarding the survey, please phone 9905 5241.

Should you have any complaint concerning the manner in which this research (project number 99/467) is conducted, please contact the Standing Committee on Ethics in Research on Humans at the following address:

The Secretary, The Standing Committee on Ethics in Research on Humans, Monash University, Wellington Road, Clayton, Victoria, 3168. Telephone (03) 9905 2052, Fax (03) 9905 1420

Wishing you a great stay,

SUE BEETON
PhD Candidate, Monash University
Lecturer in Tourism, La Trobe University

NOT SUITABLE FOR MICROFILMING

Sea Change VISITORS QUESTIONNAIRE – Sept 2001

I am from Monash University and we are interested in your visit to Barwon Heads and any interest you may have had in the ABC TV series, *Sea Change*. We would appreciate it if you would consent to a personal interview, which should take around 10 minutes. This letter outlines the research and provides you with contact numbers for any questions you may have. Are you happy to be interviewed?

- Where do you live? ....

- How long is your trip? ....

- How long are you visiting Barwon Heads? ....

- Have you been here before?   Yes   No

- Why are you here? ....

- Were you a regular viewer of *Sea Change*?   Yes   No

- How regular? ....

- Did you enjoy watching *Sea Change*   Yes   No

....

- Did you know *Sea Change* was filmed here?   Yes   No

- How did you find out that *Sea Change* is filmed here? ....

....

- What appeals to you most about the series? ....

....

....

- What did you expect to see at BH in relation to *Sea Change*? ....

....

....

- Is BH at all like the town of Pearl Bay in the series? Yes.......................... No
- In what ways?...
....

- What do you think of the restaurant development at Diver Dan's place? ....
....

- What do you think of the Sea Change Cottages?..

- Would you like to see another series of *Sea Change*? Yes.......................... No
- Do you think *Sea Change* has had any effect on Barwon Heads? Yes.......................... No
- If "yes", what effects? ....
....
....

- What age group are you?

18, 19-25, 26-35, 36-45, 46-55, 56-65, 66-75, 75+

- Are you employed, retired, self-employed, home duties, studying, unemployed?...................

What are your favourite coastal places in Australia? ....
....

Any other comments that the interviewee has ....
....
....
....

Interviewer comments

Place of interview..
Date and Time of day...
Number of people around the site...

Personal observations of interviewer...
....

NATIONAL CENTRE FOR AUSTRALIAN STUDIES
Director: Professor Peter Spearritt

April, 2000

Tourism and the Community

I am undertaking PhD research under the supervision of Prof. Peter Spearritt, Head of School of Social and Political Inquiry. The aim of the research is to consider the changes in tourism and the community at Barwon Heads and are particularly interested in your experiences. As a country based researcher and educator, I am personally committed to the development of long-term gain to rural communities, from a social as well as economic perspective. This survey is an important aspect of the study being undertaken.

We would appreciate it if you would consent to a personal interview, which should take between 10 and 15 minutes. The questions relate to your travel plans in the area and any interest you may be in the ABC TV series, *Sea Change*.

The interview will be manually recorded, however no findings which could identify any individual participant will be published, with only my supervisor and myself having access to this data which will be stored for five years as prescribed by university regulations.

If you have any queries regarding the survey, please phone 9905 5241.

Should you have any complaint concerning the manner in which this research (project number 99/467) is conducted, please contact the Standing Committee on Ethics in Research on Humans at the following address:

The Secretary, The Standing Committee on Ethics in Research on Humans, Monash University, Wellington Road, Clayton, Victoria, 3168. Telephone (03) 9905 2052, Fax (03) 9905 1420

Wishing you a great stay,

SUE BEETON
PhD Candidate, Monash University
Lecturer in Tourism, La Trobe University

NOT SUITABLE FOR MICROFILMING

Sea Change VISITORS QUESTIONNAIRE

I am from Monash University and we are interested in your visit to Barwon Heads and any interest you may be in the ABC TV series, _Sea Change_. We would appreciate it if you would consent to a personal interview, which should take between 10 and 15 minutes. This letter outlines the research and provides you with contact numbers for any questions you may have. Are you happy to be interviewed?

Where do you live?..

How long is your trip?..

How long are you visiting Barwon Heads?...

Have you been here before?   Yes   No

Where else have you been? ....

....

How long did you spend in each place?..

....

Are you planning to visit other places in the region?   Yes   No

What are they?...

....

Others outside the region?

....

Are you a regular viewer of _Sea Change_?   Yes   No

How regular?...

Why are you here?..

Are you aware of the Sea Change Trail?   Yes   No

If couple – whose idea was it to come here?..

Do you both enjoy watching _Sea Change_   Yes   No

....

How did you find out that _Sea Change_ is filmed here? ....

....

What appeals to you most about the series?...

....

....

What did you expect to see at BH in relation to *Sea Change*?..

....

....

Is BH at all like the town of Pearl Bay in the series?   Yes   No

• In what ways?..

....

• What do you think of Diver Dan's place?...

....

What do you think of the cottage? ....

Did you know you could stay there?   Yes   No

Would you consider staying at the cottage?   Yes   No

Have you purchased the CDs or video tapes?   Yes   No

Will you come back to BH?   Yes   No

When, for how long and what for?...

....

What age group are you?

18, 19-25,   26-35,   36-45,   46-55,   56-65,   66-75,   75+

Are you employed, retired, self-employed, home duties, studying, unemployed?...

What are your favourite coastal places in Australia?...

....

How often do you visit them? ....

Any other comments that the interviewee has *(do not ask this question directly, just let them talk on if they want to)* ....

....

....

....

....

....

....

Interviewer comments

Weather ....

Place of interview ....

Date and Time of day ....

Number of people around the site ....

Personal observations of interviewer ....

....

....

....

....

....

....

....

....

....

....

March, 2000

NATIONAL CENTRE FOR AUSTRALIAN STUDIES
Director: Professor Peter Spearritt

Tourism and the Community

I am undertaking PhD research under the supervision of Prof. Peter Spearritt, Head of the School of Social and Political Enquiry. The aim of the research is to consider community issues that relate to tourism, with Barwon Heads being a major case study. In order to gain as broad a view as possible, the enclosed survey has been distributed to randomly selected households in the area. Whether you are a permanent resident, holiday maker or a weekend resident; whether you rent, are staying with friends or in your own home, your opinions are vital to this work.

The questionnaire should take around 20-30 minutes to complete the attached survey and can be returned in the enclosed self-addressed envelope. If you have mislaid the envelope, mail the survey to: Freepost No 32, S. Beeton, PO Box 6590, Shepparton Vic 3632 by Wednesday **15 March, 2000**. You do not need a stamp.

No findings which could identify any individual participant will be published, with only my supervisor and myself having access to this data which will be stored for five years as prescribed by university regulations.

If you are interested in taking part in a focus group or individual interview, please complete the form below and return it with your survey. Your name will be separated immediately from this survey, maintaining anonymity of these responses.

If you have any questions regarding this survey or the research project, please phone 9905 5241.

Should you have any complaint concerning the manner in which this research (project number 99/467) is conducted, please contact the Standing Committee on Ethics in Research on Humans at the following address:

The Secretary, The Standing Committee on Ethics in Research on Humans, Monash University, Wellington Road, Clayton, Victoria, 3168. Telephone (03) 9905 2052, Fax (03) 9905 1420

Many thanks,

Sue Beeton
PhD Candidate, Monash University
Lecturer in Tourism, La Trobe University

I am interested in taking part in a small focus group discussion
I am interested in a personal, in-depth interview
I am not interested in further interviews, but would like to be included in the prize draw

Name ....
Address ....
.... Post Code ....
Telephone number ....

BARWON HEADS RESIDENT SURVEY

About You:

Age ....

Sex   male/female

Highest Education level *(circle your response)* Secondary   TAFE   University Degree   Post Graduate

Type of residence at Barwon Heads *(circle your response)*
permanent   weekends   occasional weekends   holidays only

Length of residence at this address ....

Renting   Own home   *(circle your response)*

Place and length of previous residence ....(place)   .... (length)

Have you holidayed overseas?   Yes/No
7a. If "Yes", when was the last time? *(circle your response)*
   In past 12 months   1-2 years   3-5 years   6-10 years   over 10 years
7b. How often do you holiday overseas? *(circle your response)*
   Annually   every 2 years   every 3-5 years   every 6-10 years   other..............................
7c. How many countries have you visited overall? *(circle your response)*
   1   2   3   4-6   7-10   more than 10

Are you employed in the tourism/hospitality field?   Yes/No
Are any members of your immediate family (parents, children, siblings) employed in the tourism/hospitality field?
   Yes/No   If "yes", who ....
Do you have friends employed in the tourism/hospitality field?   Yes/No

Tourism to *Barwon Heads and the Bellarine Peninsula:*
How many visitors can stay in Barwon Heads at any one time (ie. how many extra beds are there?) *(circle your response)*
          500   1,000   3,000   5,000   7,000
What would bed the average time that visitors spend in the region? *(circle your response)*
   1 day   1.5 days   2 days   3 days   5 days   1 week   more than 1 week
How much would you say an overnight tourist spends in the region (including accommodation)? *(circle your response)*
nothing   less than $50 $51-75 $76-$100 $101-$150 $151-$200   more than $200

"Sea Change" and *Barwon Heads*
In the next three questions, please list as many items as you wish. If you need more room, add a page.
If you are not aware of the "Sea Change" TV series, please go to Question 17.

What are the advantages of people identifying Barwon Heads as Pearl Bay?

....

....

....

What are the problems with people identifying Barwon Heads as Pearl Bay?

....

....

....

Do you think Barwon Heads should be promoted as "Pearl Bay"?   Yes/No

16a. How important is such promotion to the town? *(circle your response)*
   Crucial   Very important   Makes no difference   Not very important   Irrelevant

- 1 -

Are there places in town and the surrounding area that you would like to see protected from tourism development? Yes/No If "yes", please list them:

....

....

Below is a list of features that have been positively or negatively affected by film and tourism in some places. Is this happening at Barwon Heads; is this a good or bad thing; and by how much (1 = very little, 2 = some, 3 = a great deal)?

Changes that have been caused by film tourists	In Barwon Heads?	Is this effect good or bad? *Please circle your response*		Level of the good or bad effect		
More visitors overall	Yes No	Good	Bad	1	2	3
More day trippers who do not stay in the town	Yes No	Good	Bad	1	2	3
More overnight visitors	Yes No	Good	Bad	1	2	3
More tour buses	Yes No	Good	Bad	1	2	3
More traffic	Yes No	Good	Bad	1	2	3
More people using the resources of the town throughout the year	Yes No	Good	Bad	1	2	3
Higher house prices from people wanting their own "Sea Change"	Yes No	Good	Bad	1	2	3
Higher rental prices throughout the year	Yes No	Good	Bad	1	2	3
Increased range of services in the town	Yes No	Good	Bad	1	2	3
Increased range of retail shops, restaurants catering to tourists	Yes No	Good	Bad	1	2	3
More overnight accommodation being built	Yes No	Good	Bad	1	2	3
More use of "Sea Change" promotional material in the town	Yes No	Good	Bad	1	2	3
More tourists interested in your life and lifestyle	Yes No	Good	Bad	1	2	3
More opportunities for employment or starting own business	Yes No	Good	Bad	1	2	3
Other (please explain)	Yes No	Good	Bad	1	2	3

The future of Barwon Heads
What would you like to see changed in the future in the town?

....

....

....

What would you like to see kept for the future in the town?

....

....

....

What do you consider to be the most important issue facing the township over the next 5 years?

....

....

Please rank the following industries in terms of desirability to the region (1 being the most desirable):

Light industries	Rural industries	High tech industry
Fishing/Aquaculture industry	Tourism	Transport
Personal Services (lawn mowing, house duties etc.)	Education	Public Services

- 2 -

LA TROBE UNIVERSITY

Opportunity for excellence

VISITING BARWON HEADS FOR THE DAY?
STAYING FOR A FEW DAYS?

WE ARE INTERESTED IN YOU!!

As part of our interest in local communities and tourism in country Victoria, La Trobe University is looking at visitors to Barwon Heads.

We would appreciate your assistance in completing this short survey and returning it to the address on the back of this form. There is no need for a stamp (if posted in Australia) – just fold the form as indicated, seal it with tape & place in a post box.

Where did you obtain this survey? ....

Date(s) of visit to Barwon Heads.   From.............................. To..............................

Is this your first visit to Barwon Heads?   ❏ Yes   ❏ No

3a) If yes, what prompted you to come? ....

3b) If no, when were you last here? ....

3c) How often do you visit Barwon Heads?
- ❏ Once year
- ❏ Twice year
- ❏ Quarterly
- ❏ Monthly
- ❏ Less than once year

How long to you plan to stay at Barwon Heads on this visit?
- ❏ Day visit only, staying on the Bellarine Peninsula
- ❏ Day visit only, not staying on the Bellarine Peninsula
- ❏ Two days
- ❏ Three days
- ❏ One week
- ❏ Other ....

What town do you normally live in or near? .... Post Code (if in Australia) ....

Country (if not Australia) ....

What is your occupation?
- ❏ Manager/Administrator
- ❏ Tradesperson
- ❏ Production & Transport
- ❏ Unemployed
- ❏ Retired
- ❏ Professional
- ❏ Clerical, Sales & Service
- ❏ Labourer
- ❏ Full-time Student

Are you self-employed?   ❏ Yes   ❏ No

Which age range are you in?
- ❏ Under 15   ❏ 16-20   ❏ 21-30   ❏ 31-40
- ❏ 41-50   ❏ 51-65   ❏ 66-70   ❏ 70+

What words do you think best describe Barwon Heads? (You may select more than one)
- ❏ Boring
- ❏ Friendly atmosphere
- ❏ Quiet
- ❏ Unfriendly atmosphere
- ❏ Peaceful
- ❏ Social
- ❏ Relaxing
- ❏ Private

NOT SUITABLE FOR MICROFILMING

Have you heard of the TV series, "Sea Change"? ☐Yes ☐No
    9b) If yes, do you know that some of the series was filmed in Barwon Heads? ☐Yes ☐No
    9c) Do you plan to visit any of the sites from the series? ☐Yes ☐No

    9d) If yes, which ones? ....

Would you consider living in Barwon Heads? ☐Yes ☐No

11a) If yes, for what reason?
- ☐ Retirement at 65
- ☐ Early retirement
- ☐ Change of lifestyle
- ☐ Start a business:
  - ☐ Accommodation
  - ☐ Restaurant/café
  - ☐ Other retail
  - ☐ Conduct tours
  - ☐ Other ....
- ☐ Other..

Thank you for your time.
If you have any questions regarding this survey or the research projects, please contact Sue Beeton, Lecturer in Tourism, La Trobe University, Tel: 0419 587 671

First fold

Address:
...
TON VIC 3632

Sue Jacqueline Beeton
Reply Paid 6590
SHEPPARTON   VIC   3632

Second fold

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NOT SUITABLE FOR MICROFILMING

APPENDIX FOUR: LIST OF BARWON HEADS TRADERS

Welcome to Barwon Heads

Provided by Barwon Heads Traders & Tourism Association

1.	**Barwon Heads Airport-** Barwon Heads Rd.	5254 2338
2.	**Ling House B&B-** Cnr. Ling Rd & Geelong Rd.	5254 2430
3.	**Jirrahlinga Wildlife Sanctuary-** Taits Rd.	5254 2484
4.	**Kerr Nursery-** Taits Rd.	5254 2065
5.	**Rondor Caravan Park-**Corner Sheepwash & River Pde.	5254 2753
6.	**Apco Service Station-** 41 Geelong Rd.	5254 3313
7.	**Barwon Gas Supplies-** 63-67 Golflinks Rd.	5254 2348
8.	**Village Park Cottages-** 5-7 Geelong Rd.	5244 3336
9.	**Barwon Heads Video-** 76 Hitchcock Ave.	5254 3220
10.	**Early Settlers Motel-** 67 Hitchcock Ave.	5254 2369
11.	**Pick-n-Peck-** 57 Hitchcock Ave.	5254 2751
12.	**Barwon Heads Pharmacy-** 55 Hitchcock Ave.	5254 2312
13.	**Village House of Hair-** 53 Hitchcock Ave.	5254 2653
14.	**Barwon Heads Fish-n-Chips-** 56 Hitchcock Ave.	5254 2214
15.	**Barwon Heads Post Office-**51a Hitchcock Ave.	5254 2319
	(Agents for Commonwealth Bank & Eftpos)	
16.	**Rasta's Surf Shop-** 55 Hitchcock Ave.	5254 3255
17.	**Hitchcock Ave. Fish-n-Chips-** 49a Hitchcock Ave.	5254 3315
18.	**Jimmy's Café-** 46 Hitchcock Ave.	5254 3376
19.	**Peppercorn Foods-** 47 Hitchcock Ave.	5254 2602
20.	**Bali & Beyond-** 48 Hitchcock Ave.	5254 3168
21.	**Barwon Heads General Store-** 45 Hitchcock Ave.	5254 2243
22.	**Barwon Heads Newsagency-** 43 Hitchcock Ave. (Eftpos)	5254 2260
23.	**Honnington B&B-** 9 Bridge Rd.	5254 2234
24.	**BP Service Station-** Cnr Bridge & Hitchcock Ave.	5254 2595
25.	**Chris Beach-n-Beach Artwork-** Cnr Bridge & Hitchcock Ave.	0414 776784
26.	**Barwon Heads Motors-** 7 Bridge Rd.	5254 3074
27.	**Chattel Shack-** 3a Bridge Rd.	5254 3098
28.	**Barwon Heads Supermarket-** 3 Bridge Rd.	5254 2525
29.	**Barwon Heads Takeaway-** Shop near Bridge	5254 3155
30.	**Barwon Heads Hotel-** Ewing Blyth Drive (Eftpos & ATM)	5254 2201
31.	**Barwon Heads Golf Course-** Golf Links Rd.	5254 2302

*BARWON HEADS OUR 'VILLAGE BY THE SEA' enjoys a prime location on Victoria's Great Surf Coastline & Bellarine Peninsula. Currently the town is better known as 'Pearl Bay' on the hit ABC series 'Seachange'. The Barwon River forms the eastern & northern boundaries of the town as it flows from Lake Connewarre, a State Game Reserve. Lake Connewarre is a delight for nature lovers & bird watchers as it flows through "The Sheepwash" & Mangrove Marshlands winding it ways through the Barwon Estuary & River to Bass Straight. Barwon Heads is a wonderful place for watersports. The youngsters have a long stretch of **safe swimming** beach in the river, the young at heart can sail, **wind-surf, canoe** or **kayak** in the estuary and the **fisherman** enjoy countless opportunities for a handsome catch from the river bank, jetties, bridge (try out one of our new fishing jetties, surfbeach or boat. As the 'Mulloway Capitol of Australia', you may even be lucky enough to catch one of the giant 'Mulloway' that call our river home! The **surfers** have 5 kms. of undeveloped wild coast line to explore or a good wave along the famous 13th Beach, venue for many major surfing contests. Car Parks have recently been established along 13th Beach. The large 50 acre park located north of the shopping centre beckons **horse** riders, bowlers, cricketers, **footie enthusiasts, tennis players and kite flyers.** Playgrounds for children can be found at the Reserve (Sheepwash Rd.) & riverside with picnic & BBQ facilities along Flinders Parade. **Walk or ride** around the township via the **'Bollard Safe Trail'** commencing at the Primary School on Golf Links Rd., or take the newly constructed scenic cycle pathways starting on Ewing Blyth Dr. taking you along 13th Beach or the Bluff. The Bluff is a significant Aboriginal site for the local Wathaurong Community, walk around or just enjoy the views maybe even catch a glimpse of one of the many shipwrecks off our coast. Explore the **rock pools** below the Bluff at low tide, the focus of many marine studies. We hope you enjoy your visit and we look forward to your return!*

APPENDIX FIVE: PERSONAL INTERVIEW REPORTS

INTERVIEW WITH EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF GEELONG OTWAY TOURISM
ROGER GRANT, 28 SEPTEMBER, 2001

Roger Grant sees film as an important aspect of destination promotion in the Geelong Otway region in terms of positioning, branding and adding a new dimension to a destination. He said that the natural beauty and light of the region is conducive to filming, with the light being an aspect commented upon by many film-makers.

He also recognises the power of film in relation to tourism, explaining that wherever he travels he is shown "famous" film sites. Yet, at the same time Grant believes that film may not be a primary tourist motivator, yet it gives that added dimension and layer to a visit.

When asked about the possibility of certain stories reflecting negatively on tourism to the Geelong Otway region, Grant felt that the natural beauty of the region would negate any connection to a negative storyline. He pointed out that "On the Beach" was filmed along the Great Ocean Road, presenting it as a beautiful place even when the world was ending.

Geelong Otway Tourism has taken a proactive stance towards encouraging filming in the region (which includes advertisements as well as TV series and movies) by developing relationships with the major film studios, international and local PR companies and advertising agencies. Activities include providing relevant filming information regarding sites, tides, legal requirements etc. Grant commented that much of this work is time-consuming and not always successful, but nevertheless crucial to attracting film activity. Grant explained that often film is considered "free footage" in similar terms as "fee ink", but that the effort required to encourage film can be costly and time consuming. Nevertheless, Grant recognises that free footage has a higher credibility than a tourism body promotion.

According to Grant, one of the advantages of the region is that many film directors actually holiday in the Geelong Otway region, consequently often thinking of the region for filming due to their personal knowledge.

Grant felt that the success of Sea Change was due to the close relationship people had with the storyline and the great affection they had towards the series. Viewers believed Pearl Bay to be real.

Grant sees the benefits of Sea Change to Barwon Heads in the town's transformation and discovery as a place to visit, spreading out to the entire Bellarine Peninsula, with visitors finding that the region compares well with the Mornington Peninsula. The development of the Sea Change Trail has also provided another framework within which visitors relate to the environment.

When asked about the lack of commercial accommodation in Barwon Heads, Grant felt that this was consistent with the Sea Change image and noted that people could stay on other parts of the Peninsula, such as Queenscliff (15 minutes drive away). Once again, this spreads the influence of Sea Change to the rest of the Peninsula.

When Sea Change first became popular, there were some tours being operated from Ocean Grove, which have since died off. Grant tried to encourage capitalisation of the series' popularity by suggesting the development of local "Sea Change Specialist" guides, offering training and support, but was unable to find any interested parties.

Grant recognised the cooperation that the ABC provided in relation to permitting use of the series to promote tourism, and in particular Sigrid Thornton who was prepared to assist in regional promotion based on Sea Change, such as the promotion in the 2000-2001 edition of the Jigsaw brochure.

Geelong Otway Tourism has been using Sea Change to promote Barwon Heads and the Bellarine Peninsula through the jigsaw brochure mentioned above and sees the Sea Change image as compatible with the positioning of the region, celebrating the coastal lifestyle.

Informed Consent Form
Tourism and the Community

I agree to take part in the above Monash University research project. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the Explanatory Statement, which I keep for my records. I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to:

- Be interviewed by the researcher
- ~~Allow the interview to be audiotaped~~

I understand that I have given approval for my name and/or the name of my company or community affiliation to be used in the final thesis, and future publications. (Please delete any aspects of this clause that you do not consent to.)

I also understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

Name: ...... ROGER GRANT .... (please print)
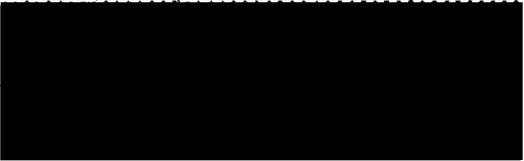
Signature: ....███████████████.............. Date: ..28/9/2001.......

INTERVIEW WITH PROPRIETOR OF *AT THE HEADS* RESTAURANT TIM CAITHNESS, 28 SEPTEMBER, 2001

Over the past three years, Tim Caithness, part-owner of the restaurant has noticed the increase in restaurants and cafes and the increase in real estate that he believes may drive out the lower income residents and holiday makers. Housing is cheaper here than on the Mornington Peninsula, with people who traditionally went to places like Sorrento now looking to this side of the Heads. The ferry from Sorrento to Queenscliff now operates on the hour, opening up the Bellarine Peninsula to day trippers from the Mornington Peninsula, which Tim believes has also helped his restaurant by bringing in a good day tripper market (especially on Sundays). He has also noticed that there are more people spread over the year, not just in the peak holiday season.

Tim believes that while *Sea Change* is not solely responsible for the changes in the town, it has sped up the process.

He sees the impact of the restaurant on the town as good, giving residents a place to go in winter with quality food and stunning view, and the older residents enjoy the fact that it is close by. Many are pleasantly surprised. Sentiment towards the restaurant is generally positive, with those who protested about the development not patronising the restaurant. He says that some locals see the restaurant as expensive, commenting that they are not used to prices based on quality etc.

When asked about the influence of *Sea Change* on Barwon Heads, Tim said that he felt it had given the town an identity that was lacking, bringing interest in the area back and making it accessible for families. It has put Barwon Heads on the map.

The impact of the series on the restaurant has been to get people to the site – they come to look at Diver Dan's and take photos of the shed, then go inside to the restaurant. When asked if they had thought about promoting the link between *Sea Change* and the restaurant more, Tim explained that there were some copyright issues with them being a commercial venture. However, they made the conscious effort to retain the shed and photos that are on display in the Mulloway Room. Tim commented that people ring and ask about the restaurant (if it is the one in Diver Dan's shed), but this is diminishing a little now, but is still more than once a day. They are also looking at ways to preserve the 'stressed' and aged look of the shed, complete with its fading and peeled paintwork.

Tim was surprised that more local people haven't cashed on the *Sea Change* phenomenon, especially as it has broadened the visitor base and given people a reason to visit at other times of the year. He questioned how long the *Sea Change* connection will last, but hadn't considered the possibility of overseas interest.

Issues that he sees as currently concerning the community are the proposed new restaurant at the corner shop opposite the Bridge, which is in a residential area with extremely limited parking. He also listed housing prices, accommodation (no motel), main street beautification and mosquitos as issues.

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I also understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

Name: TIM CAITHNESS .... (please print)
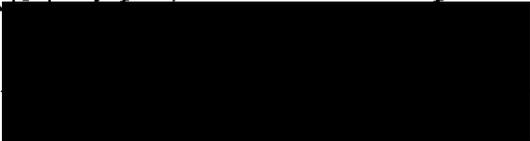
Signature: ██████████████ .... Date: 28.09.2001

INTERVIEW WITH MANAGER OF BARWON COAST MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE
BOB JORDAN, 27 SEPTEMBER, 2001

Bob has lived in the region for 28 years and been manager of the Barwon Coast Management Committee for the past 20 months.

Among the changes that Bob has noted over the past 3 years (since the first screenings of Sea Change), the most prominent have been the complete revitalisation of the Barwon Heads shopping centre, where 3 years ago virtually every shop was closing – the butcher, banks and even the pizza place. Bob commented that when a town loses its take-away pizza restaurant, it is a sure indication of economic and social decline. Today, the shopping centre has all shops occupied and new ones built. However, their nature is quite different, concentrating on food and hospitality with the majority comprising cafes, restaurants and take-away food outlets. He sees many of these as providing for the tourists first, and the residents second.

The change in visitors to the town has seen an increase in off-season visitation, with a constant supply of visitors year-round.

Bob also commented that there has been new residential land released in the town that was previously limited by planning and environmental limitations and borders. He has noticed a younger resident moving to the area, especially around the Sheepwash area in the northern of the town and commuting to Geelong for work.

This increase in younger residents and tourists is supporting the growth in hospitality establishments and Bob feels that those businesses who cater for the local as well as visitor market will survive, but is somewhat sceptical about the sustainability of so many cafes and restaurants.

The changes in the caravan park have included the move to having visitors all year round and the success of the cabins, especially the Laura's Beach House which is booked out for weekends until May 2002. Where they initially had one beach house that had a 50% occupancy rate, they now have two with an 85% occupancy rate with a third to be built by Christmas 2001. When asked whether the construction of the beach houses on prime camping sites had disenfranchised regular visitors, Bob explained that there had been a reduction in camp sites over the past five years, consequently there was little resentment towards the recent developments. Those who are displaced are given priority over other prime sites as they become available.

When asked about the lack of up-market accommodation in town, Bob agreed that it was unusual that there was only a couple of B&Bs and the hotel providing rooms. He also agreed that such a lack of bookable beds outside the holiday home market was instrumental in the Park's success with all of its cabins.

While Bob agreed that the exposure of the town through Sea Change has been only one element in the town's development and the shift of people to coastal areas, he conceded that it was significant in raising the profile of the town, both for tourists and new residents. It was often the knowledge of Barwon Heads through Sea Change that encouraged people to visit, then a recognition of the benefits of the region that encouraged them to return.

Awareness of the Sea Change Walk developed by the Park is relatively high, with many people asking for information and taking the walk.

When asked if Sea Change should be used more to promote the town, Bob tended to agree, but felt that it would not happen as there was an element of the residents who did not see the town as similar to the series. He also wondered how long the linkage with the series would last, and welcomed the imminent repeat of the third series on ABC TV. He also commented on the increased use of the term, 'sea change' in the current vernacular and felt that in some ways this may continue to provide a link back to the town.

Bob was also surprised that other towns used in the series, in particular Indented Heads, had not taken advantage of the exposure.

When discussing the increase in property values, Bob felt that much of it was due to the general interest in people living with a view of water, but also commented that in Barwon Heads (as compared with Ocean Grove), prices had also increased for properties with no such views.

When asked what the main community issues were in the town, Bob mentioned the beautification of the main street which is currently on council's agenda, the lack of parking in the main street and the relocation of the football club from the camping ground and high density redevelopment.

....

Bob Jordon

A

Informed Consent Form
Tourism and the Community

I agree to take part in the above Monash University research project. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the Explanatory Statement, which I keep for my records. I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to:

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Name: ...... *Bob Jordan* .... (please print)

Signature: ... *Consent received via* ..... Date: ...*26/9/01*......
telephone

INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT OF THE BARWON HEADS TRADERS AND TOURISM ASSOCIATION BERNARD NAPTHINE, 27 SEPTEMBER, 2001

Bernard has lived and run his pharmacy business in Barwon Heads for the past 3 years, however has grown up in the district, interspersed with time overseas.

Over the past three years, Bernard has witnessed an increase in the number of retail businesses in the town – there were five empty shops when he first came here, with them all now occupied as well as others being built. He has witnessed a move in Barwon Heads from the old style seaside town that centred around people visiting friends and a retail centre comprising the basic facilities of butcher, banks etc. to a tourism oriented sea-side town providing hospitality facilities and services for visitors.

He has also seen an increase in the number of houses and permanent population in the town, combined with an increase in traffic. Early retirees (50+) are moving to the town, along with young families.

He has noticed a spread of visitation with weekend trade now increased all year round, not just in the traditional summer holiday season. He has also seen a reversal of the business flow from Barwon Heads to Ocean Grove (for basic shopping etc) with people from that town visiting Barwon Heads cafes and restaurants.

Sea Change is now not mentioned by the people in the town, but it has raised the profile of the town with an increase in day trippers visiting the town while on the Peninsula, with many returning later for an extended stay. While Bernard believes that Sea Change put Barwon Heads on the map, he does not think that Sea Change should be used to promote the town. One of his concerns is that the town does not have the tourism infrastructure (especially relating to accommodation) to support increased visitors.

When asked about the number of cafes and restaurants now in the town, Bernard felt that there are enough now, but was concerned about the sustainability of any more being introduced. He commented that many people to his pharmacy, when told that the building opposite is going to be another café, comment that there are enough already ("not another one!"). There is also another restaurant application from the take-away food shop at the Bridge. Bernard fears that the rate of change may continue, creating a "Lorne effect", where the cafes and restaurants are too expensive for the locals to eat there. – doesn't want to see that in Barwon Heads.

Current community issues include the proposed beautification of the main street and the lack of parking. The change in the nature of businesses in the town has resulted in people parking their cars for longer periods of time (to have a coffee, eat etc.), creating a crisis of parking space. The Council is refusing to purchase land for parking, with is causing concern from residents and traders alike.

The Traders and Tourism Association currently has 21 members, with Bernard finding it hard to get new businesses involved, stating that "when business is good, no-one is interested in an association". Earlier this year, he organised a Food and Sea Festival that was primarily geared towards the local community, to put some pride

back into the town and keep the hospitality services accessible to residents. It is to be held again in March 2002.

Regarding the relationship between Sea Change and the developments in Barwon Heads, Bernard stressed that nothing happens in isolation, noting the following elements as playing their part:

- ❖ Changes in liquor laws permitting cafes to sell alcohol without meals
- ❖ Changes in planning laws with medium density housing – opens up properties to sub-division
- ❖ General lifestyle changes with people cooking less and eating out more
- ❖ People becoming more 'sun wise' – looking for things to do other than the sun and beach
- ❖ Increases in disposable incomes
- ❖ Re-assessment of the greed of the 1980s, with a desire to move out of the rat race

He sees Sea Change as tapping into these changes and hitting a nerve with its key over 40 audience.

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Tourism and the Community

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I also understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

Name: ...BERNARD NAPTHINE......... (please print)

Signature: ...██████████████████...... Date: ...25/9/01.........

APPENDIX SIX: REFEREED ACADEMIC PAPERS AND BOOK CHAPTERS

Beeton, S. (2000) 'It's a Wrap! What happens after the film crew leaves? An examination of community responses to film-induced tourism' *TTRA National Conference - Lights! Camera! Action!*, Burbank, CA, pp. 127-136

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to consider the influence of film-induced tourism on a small rural community, in the fishing village of Barwon Heads in southern Australia. By introducing aspects of social representation theory, clusters of residents holding similar attitudes (or representations) have been identified with a view to undertaking further, in-depth focus group work and personal interviews. The study found that there were strongly held opinions on the varying benefits (or not) of increased tourism to the town from being featured in a popular television series. It was possible to establish that some opinions were held by people with similar attributes such as length of residency in the town and perceived importance of tourism to the town, enabling identification of a series of clusters within the community. A warning is sounded on the possibility of disenfranchisement of clusters of people within the community hitherto unremarked as a single group, such as the over 40 years-old male population who appear to be ignoring the film-induced tourism phenomenon to their detriment if the main representations of other clusters (such as increased tourism, property values and crowding) are legitimate. The research has demonstrated methodological realisation by incorporating social representation theory into the study of film-induced tourism and will be expanded to incorporate numerous aspects of the overall case study methodology.

INTRODUCTION

Shortly after its 'discovery' by Europeans in the 18[th] Century, Australia was known as "the Antipodes". Such nomenclature indicates not only the spatial but also the intellectual distance between Australia and the "rest of the world". Right up until the 1960s the main form of transport to and from Australia was by ship, which was time consuming and expensive, especially in terms of opportunity costs. Such limited access to other cultures assisted to maintain the Antipodean concept and images amongst Australians as well as others. Instead of developing a national image from the intimate gaze of geographically neighbouring cultures, the popular media of the day became the major source of cultural identification and affirmation for Australians and the wider world. The introduction of film at the beginning of the 20[th] Century, which Australians eagerly adopted, in turn has had a dramatic influence on how Australians view themselves and are viewed. The world's first feature film, the Australian produced *The Story of the Kelly Gang*, resonates with images of the wild Antipodean bush and lawless bushrangers, while the internationally distributed *The Sentimental Bloke* (1920) was a notable success in England, portraying a rough, romantic Antipodean lifestyle (Bawden, 1976). Both movies were filmed in Australia in the first decades of the 20[th] Century, precipitating a long and powerful relationship between film (and eventually television), the Australian people and their cultural representations.

Since the late nineteenth century, cultural representations through literary associations have become increasingly important in tourist promotion throughout the world, from the New England town of Concord with Henry Thoreau, Loiusa May Alcot and Nathaniel Hawthorne to the British Tourism Authority's (BTA) promotion of Burns Country and Bronte Country.

This has now expanded into other popular media, in particular film, with a 'Movie Map' developed by the BTA in the 1990s, now available as an active site on the Internet (BTA, 1999).

Despite the international significance of film over the last century, most of the world's great pilgrimage and tourist sites developed well before the coming of film. This is not the case in Australia, where the majority of our tourist sites are, in one way or another, products of the twentieth century. In other words, they have developed in the age of film. For example, the Sydney Harbour Bridge and Opera House, Movie World on the Gold Coast, Fox Studios in Sydney, the Red Centre and High Country (as generic Australian bush heritage sites as well as relating specific legends). Many sites, particularly those from the secular world, have achieved their pilgrimage status through the influence of film. Even the country's most recognised icon and pilgrimage site, Uluru (Ayers Rock) gained further ascendancy through movies such as *A Town Like Alice* and *We of the Never Never*.

The development of Australia's identity, image and cultural representations can be traced through popular film and television series, from the 1950s film version of *A Town Like Alice* and its 1980s' resurrection as a popular television mini-series, movies such as *Crocodile Dundee* and *The Man from Snowy River* (circa 1988) through to current film and television series such as *Sea Change* which in 1999 was Australia's most popular television drama series (The Age, 1999). *Sea Change* depicts a high-flying city lawyer moving to a seaside town with her children to take up the position of local magistrate in order to "rediscover" herself and her children. The town is peppered with gentle, quirky, likeable characters and the obligatory male romantic lead or two and features an ongoing story-line reliant as much on the physical setting of the series as on the quaint characterisations.

Despite the promotional power of film, developers of programs such as *Sea Change*, which is produced and screened by the non-commercial Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), are required to regard tourism and other product promotion as incidental (even irrelevant) to their production. This is because conscious product placement is not permitted on the publicly owned, commercial advertising-free broadcaster. It would be interesting to see what would happen if the series went to a commercial television network - would the location become even more specific and reliant on the story-line to encourage tourism, or would it be more generic in order to place more product? Examples of specific film locations include single site series that have encouraged tourism such as *Cheers*, while locational village series such as *Heartbeat* and *Sea Change* rely on the interplay between characters and locality as central to the ongoing narrative, also with the power to draw tourists. Whereas in generic settings such as those used in *Baywatch*, product placement often drives the narrative and tourism destination marketing is non-existent.

Persuasive economic arguments have been presented regarding the money and jobs brought to a town or region during the filming process, such as US$21m and 183 full-time jobs to Illinois during the filming of *A Thousand Acres* (Anon, 1998). There is ample anecdotal evidence that tourists soon follow, looking for the sites, people, experiences and even fantasies portrayed by the film. Film producers, in general, have little concern for the impacts of film-induced tourism. Once they have completed their on-site filming, they leave. There is no evidence of initial site selection being based on any long term community impacts. An example of how such a lack of concern can backfire is illustrated in the case of *Baywatch* where the residents of the site chosen in Australia for the series (Avalon Beach, north of Sydney) protested vehemently against the series, and eventually the producers chose to film

the new series in Hawaii. Coincidentally, the Hawaiian Tourism Authority, in its first ever Strategic Tourism Plan, has identified encouraging filming in the state as one of its key tourism promotion strategies (Hawaii Tourism Authority, 1999).

While some attention has been paid to how regions and countries capitalise on film images in destination marketing campaigns by researchers such as Riley, Van Doren, Tooke and Baker (for example, Riley et al, 1998; Tooke and Baker, 1996), much less research has focussed on the impact of image and film-induced tourism on the localities and their attendant communities. An influx of visitors is not always welcome or advantageous, with many towns unsuited to supporting the concomitant tourism growth because of limited infrastructure, facilities and services. In most cases the local community did not seek to be the site for the filming, yet they are left to cope with the consequences of increased traffic, crowding and pollution. An example of this is the town of Goathland (the town portrayed as Aidensfield in the English TV series *Heartbeat*) where it was found that although the township of 200 residents had up to 1.1 million annual visitors, hoteliers were experiencing lower occupancy levels than prior to the success of the series (Demetriadi, 1996). The town that had been a quiet tourist retreat was repositioned as a significant day visitor attraction. There appears to have been a fundamental change in the nature of the village and its relationship with visitors, which has become more resentful due to crowding and the loss of opportunities for the local community to use its own facilities. Such dramatic changes beg the questions, "who should be responsible for such significant developments", "will film producers consider the long-term impact of their decisions, or are their own economic imperatives too strong", and "how does the local community respond to such dramatic changes"? It is the last of these questions that form the basis of this paper.

The paper focuses on community research at Barwon Heads, a small coastal town in southern Australia, which is the setting for the television series, *Sea Change*. The series' popularity appears to stem from the viewers' desire for the simple qualities of life represented by the small town rural idyll portrayed in the series. Community attitudes and tourism shifts induced by the series are being traced and examined. The aim of the research is to identify the various attributes of those within the community holding similar attitudes and representations towards film-induced tourism and to provide contextual comment as well as community planning and management recommendations. This paper considers residents' relationship to the town and film-induced tourism within the methodological context of social representation theory within a case study.

RESEARCH - COMMUNITY RESPONSES TO FILM-INDUCED TOURISM

Methodology

For a broad-ranging, psychologically complex field such as film-induced tourism, there is no one suitable research method. In order to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon in a community context, optional methods must be considered and used in conjunction with each other, which may include experiments and surveys through to histories and ethnographies as well as case studies which themselves may incorporate any or all of the preceding methods. Researchers in allied social science disciplines such as psychology, anthropology and sociology utilise a range of research methods that can be applied to tourism, depending on the type of research question and the control the researcher has over events and behaviour. The information-rich, methodologically varied, inter-related nature of the case

study is one such methodology. When it incorporates other methodologies such as social representations theory, the case study becomes a powerful, reliable, illuminating methodology.

In a brief discussion of case study methodology in the tourism field, Pizam notes the importance of recognising the need to be cautious when utilising them as he considers many to be singular instances that may provide misleading evidence when generalised, even with multiple cases (Pizam, 1994). Apart from this brief note from Pizam (which, unfortunately, he does not expand upon) and other limited work from tourism academics such as Hall & Jenkins (Hall and Jenkins, 1995), there has not been sufficient methodological discussion of the case study in the tourism literature, raising questions regarding academic rigour and the understanding of the benefits and limitations of this particular methodology in tourism research to date. Nonetheless, case studies are used extensively in tourism research and teaching with varying degrees of success, depending on the academic rigour applied and their original intention (as entertainment, instructional or research cases).

Over the past two decades, numerous tourism studies have considered communities on a broad scale, focussing on broadly-based communities, considering relatively homogenous community attitudes towards tourism development issues, notably the pioneering work of Murphy in 1981, and Pizam in 1978 (Murphy, 1981; Pizam, 1978). However, greater sophistication of individual clusters within communities has given rise to the influence of multiple groups within a given community. As to be expected, some of these interest groups (or stakeholders) maintain different values, attitudes and viewpoints from others and have at times created an imbalance in the power base of communities. Such increased power of these groups has tended to mask the disenfranchised, weaker and less vocal community members.

In their monograph, *Tourism Community Relationships*, Pearce, Moscardo and Ross build on Murphy's macro-based work by introducing the concept of social representation as a means to understand micro-community relationships regarding tourism. They present their case for the application of social representation theory to tourism community research in a compelling manner, providing examples from their own research as well as building on recognised earlier work demonstrating that social representations have been utilised in one form or another for some time (Pearce et al, 1996). Community attitudes and interactions are dynamic, and in turn require a dynamic, evolving vision from any researcher or student of tourism and community interdependence. According to Pearce et al, the dynamics within the theory of social representation provide a method to consider individual attitudes (or representations) within communities in the first instance, then groups them according to similarities, such as other representations or demographics. This process is contrary to the current practice of identifying community groups through arbitrary means that have been established by past researchers, then looking for their attitudes. Pearce et al's adaptation of social representation theory enables a more comprehensive examination of communities at the micro level (Pearce et al, 1996). Being driven and defined by the subjects (in this case, the local community), social representation is an emic form of study, providing the actors the opportunity to drive the research, rather than the researcher prescribing (and at time proscribing) the investigative path. In addition, in-depth analysis of small communities can provide a sound basis for the development of broader, more complex tourism models on a larger scale, illuminating aspects that may become buried in larger studies.

Research Design

Pearce et al describe a three staged approach to identify and establish social representations of a community. The first stage is to look for a commonality or consensus among the respondents, followed by locating the connections between tourism impacts and related ideas. The final stage is to locate a central cluster or core of images that portray the social representation (Pearce et al, 1996). In other words, by identifying individual concerns and the intensity of these concerns, a list of priorities and levels of importance can be established and groups identified through conducting cluster analysis. The connections, once identified, can be incorporated into an overall case study, resulting in a holistic study. Social representations theory provides a sound framework from which to study the development of community attitudes and reactions towards *Sea Change* induced tourism and development at Barwon Heads. The community research process was to:

1. Develop a self-administered questionnaire which included open-ended questions that permit unstructured, unprompted responses, allowing social representations to be expressed. Further demographic and closed questions provided a contextual basis for the representations.
2. Distribute to all 800 households in the town with an anticipated response rate of around 20 percent due to the extensive holiday-home rental market (the town has a 3,490 bed capacity in holiday homes (City of Greater Geelong, 1998)).
3. Conduct the study in Barwon Heads during the shoulder period, just after the peak summer holiday season, which was identified as early March, 2000.

The results have been used to identify community issues surrounding tourism in general and *Sea Change* film-induced tourism in particular, which will in turn be studied in more depth through a series of focus groups and personal interviews. Clusters of those with similar representations have been distinguished, and initial findings have thrown up some exciting and pertinent community representations.

Findings

The series of open-ended questions in the questionnaire provides a rich source of attitudinal information which has been distinguished by identifying recurring themes, with the most pertinent included in Table 1 below. While over 170 responses had been received at the time of writing (representing a response rate of 21 percent), the sample size in this instance was limited to 100 in the table below in order to obtain indicative results to inform the next research stage of focus groups and personal interviews. All comments were unprompted responses to open-ended questions, therefore those that attracted similar comments were considered within the context of the research aim. Selected comments that received a favorable number of corresponding responses as well as resonating with anecdotal data have been included in the following analysis.

Table 1. Film-induced issues affecting residents of Barwon Heads (N = 100)

COMMENT	Age	Sex	Average Residency (years)	Ex-city Resident	Own home	Tourism in Top 3 Preferred Industries	Total %
POSITIVE							
Benefits for business. Upgrading of shops. Increased employment	20-39 13 40-59 11 60+ 12	M 13 F 19 NA 4	11.4	16 44%	30 83%	21 58%	36
Increased tourism	20-39 8 40-59 7	M 9 F 14	12.5	13 50%	21 81%	15 58%	26

COMMENT	Age		Sex		Average Residency (years)	Ex-city Resident	Own home	Tourism in Top 3 Preferred Industries	Total %
	60+	11	NA	3					
Increase property values (posit..e)	20-39	5	M	7	6.9	8	14	10	18
	40-59	8	F	9		44%	78%	56%	
	60+	5	NA	2					
Put Barwon Heads on the map. Sea Change raises profile of the town	20-39	6	M	4	8.2	9	18	11	18
	40-59	6	F	13		50%	100%	61%	
	60+	6	NA	1					
Increased pride of residents	20-39	1	M	0	5	1	5	4	5
	40-59	2	F	5		20%	100%	80%	
	60+	2							
NEUTRAL									
Great place as it is – retain "village by the sea". Careful, sensitive planning required	20-39	15	M	13	10.4	18	37	21	41
	40-59	12	F	24		44%	90%	51%	
	60+	14	NA	4					
NEGATIVE									
Crowding/congestion	20-39	12	M	9	8.1	15	31	15	35
	40-59	12	F	25		43%	88%	43%	
	60+	11	NA	1					
Barwon Heads is not Pearl Bay. It's delusional. Sea Change tourists disappointed. Flash in the pan.	20-39	4	M	11	9.4	9	16	8	18
	40-59	8	F	7		50%	89%	44%	
	60+	6							
Increased property values - rental etc. (negative)	20-39	3	M	2	12.3	3	5	2	7
	40-59	2	F	4		43%	71%	29%	
	60+	2	NA	1					

Some of the more engaging responses that make up potential social representation clusters from Table 1 include the high level of recognition of the economic benefits of *Sea Change* for local businesses with a 36% response rate from across all age groups, whereas only 18% viewed the raising of the profile of the town as a benefit, with 5% stating that the series brought increased pride to the community. However, during informal conversations in the town over the past two years, pride in the *Sea Change* phenomenon has been demonstrable at all levels from traders through to their local customers, school children and residents. Such a focus on economic gain, combined with the limited recognition of socio-cultural benefits supports the prevailing economic rationalist stance of western democratic thought. The "people in the street" appear to have adopted similar measures of community and personal well-being as other economic positivists (particularly all levels of government), ignoring aspects of civic engagement, community pride and a sense of achievement as community health indicators. Nevertheless, it is precisely the more intangible community indicators that are being considered by social researchers and planners who have recognised the limitations of assessing communities purely on economic grounds. An example of this is the broad range of benchmarks established by the Oregon Progress Board for their *Oregon Shines Project* which is being used extensively in Australia as a basis for establishing community indicators (Oregon Progress Board, 1999). These include economic performance, education, civic engagement, social support, public safety, community development and environment.

The need for sensitive planning, however, is high on the agenda of Barwon Heads residents, with 41% stating the need to preserve what the town has and plan carefully for the future. This representation appears to cross all groups, expressing the overall desire to maintain the town's "Village by the Sea" atmosphere. While this has the largest response, there is some disagreement as to what should be preserved and how, requiring further breakdown of this group into smaller representation clusters.

A further significant response is the recognition of the positive aspects of increased tourism as a benefit of the *Sea Change* series. This attitude is held by 26% of the respondents with one of the longest average residencies of 12.5 years. This concurs with anecdotal evidence that longer term residents recognise the benefits of increased business (in this case through tourism), while the more recent residents who may have moved to the area because of its inherent quiet lifestyle, do not wish to see it changed. This is also supported by the high response (35%) of shorter term residents who cited crowding and congestion as an issue since *Sea Change* with a relatively low average of 8.1 years.

According to viewer figures provided by the ABC, the main group of fans of *Sea Change* are women, particularly in the over 40 age group, with 710,000 female viewers over 40 in metropolitan areas as opposed to 536,000 men in the same grouping tuning in to the final episode of the second series in 1999 (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 1999). A smaller, yet significant correlation within the Barwon Heads community can be seen in the male-female breakdown within each statement. Most statements have a higher female representation, which is to be anticipated with the gender breakdown of respondents being 65 percent women and 35 percent men. (According to the 1996 census figures, Barwon Heads has a population of 45 percent men and 52 percent women (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1997).) The only statement that registered a higher male response was, "Barwon Heads is not Pearl Bay; it's delusional; *Sea Change* tourists will be disappointed; it's just a flash in the pan", with 31 percent of male respondents taking this stance, compared with 11 percent of the women. This certainly raises the possibility that this is a reflection of an overriding gender difference which, combined with a more neutral male attitude to viewing the series and the impact on the village ambience (that 37 percent of the male respondents so prize), could result in unforeseen consequences impacting on this group. This cluster, with its "head in the sand" representation may become disenfranchised and resentful if the negative aspects of crowding and increase of film-induced visitors occur as they have in other towns such as Goathland.

Increased property prices have been identified as both a positive and negative aspect of film-induced tourism by two distinct clusters, with 18 percent viewing it as a positive aspect and a further 7 percent considering it to be negative, particularly in terms of rental prices. In both representations, the majority of respondents were home owners, with the average length of residency differentiating the clusters. Those who viewed increased property values as a positive outcome had a low average residency rate of 6.9 years, while those who considered it to be negative had almost double that rate, with an average of 12.3 years' residency. This could reflect the newer residents' attitude towards property investment and mobility (thereby benefiting from increased property values when selling), whereas the longer residents have taken on the decision to settle in the area and are not interested in capital gain through their property.

Application of Results

The patterns that have been noted above provide the opportunity to identify six clusters with similar social representations and conjunct aspects. They have been labeled based on their over-riding stance, such as "Good for Traders", "Flash in the Pan", "Good for Tourism", "Good for Property Sales", "Bad for Property Purchase", "Don't Crowd Me", "Steady as she Goes!". The model below has taken these seven stances and posits possible social representation clusters on a three dimensional axis of average length of residency, ex-city dweller and listing tourism as a preferred industry (in the top three). These representations

and their clusters will be explored in-depth during focus group studies, however, even at this stage they provide some interesting material for consideration.

The model aptly illustrates that statements 1 and 4 ("Good for Traders" and "Steady as She Goes") have similar representations, while all the others are spread throughout the model, with the aforementioned "Flash in the Pan" (or "head in the sand") cluster standing out very much on their own, supporting the above discussion. The three negative statements, represented by points 5, 6 and 7 are placed in quite different space from the positive 1, 2 and 3 statements, suggesting that there is a definite division between those who consider film-induced tourism a benefit to the town and those who do not, especially in terms of length of residency in the town and whether they originally came from an urban environment.

Figure 1. Social Representations regarding Film-Induced Tourism within clusters of the Barwon Heads Community

Local and regional tourism associations, film producers and community representatives have all expressed interest in the results of this work, and will no doubt use them to support everything from new investment decisions to demands that the town be reclaimed by its permanent residents, rather than being overrun by day-trippers. However, where the results come into their own is as a community planning tool for future filming locations. It is imperative that considerations beyond immediate economic benefits be considered by communities (and their councils) considering filming in their region. Already the *Sea Change* research indicates aspects that have the potential to divide and destroy the community as it is today, such as differing attitudes towards economic development, costs of living, crowding and increased pride and amenities.

CONCLUSION

Tracing the relationship between film and tourism is problematic as in most cases the popularity of a film is unclear until well after it has been released, which can be too late for research into its tourism impacts. Hence instances of film-induced tourism usually rely on anecdotal evidence, and many aspects of film-induced tourism have not been adequately researched, studied and analysed. Only a handful of researchers outside the advocacy tourism groups are attempting to unravel the complexities of film-induced tourism, including the aforementioned Riley, Van Doren, Tooke and Baker.

In the past, film-induced tourism has been incidental to the film itself, with little consideration given to the long term effects filming may have on a community. While such tourism can provide significant economic fillip to a community, especially in a marginalised rural area, the community may not be prepared or willing to deal with the changes associated with film-induced tourism. With less government intervention in local community issues and needs, the increased pressure on individuals to take on community responsibilities places community well-being at the forefront of their issues. A divided community with powerful, disenfranchised clusters will not operate in the best interests of that community. Issues such as future development, crowding and congestion, increasing real estate values, community pride and economic benefits must be considered in conjunction with each other as well as the "head in the sand" attitudes of those who hope it will go away and leave them as before. By recognising and considering the potential costs and benefits of film-induced tourism the community has the potential to use the benefits to strengthen it and ameliorate the costs. Such a solution may appear simplistic, which it is certainly not – the complexities of the communities in which we live, play and work are increasing, not decreasing. Research paradigms such as those introduced in social representation theory provide an opportunity to develop our understanding of community processes in relation to film-induced tourism.

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Abstract

Today's focus on attracting the "high yield" tourist to established destinations has the potential to dramatically alter the mix of visitors to an area, alienating the existing tourism market. In many areas the budget, family holiday-maker is being edged out by the push to attract higher spending socio-economic groups. A case study approach has been adopted to consider the impacts of such change precipitated by the little-understood phenomenon of film-induced tourism.

The seaside village of Barwon Heads is experiencing change through the success of the ABC TV series, *Sea Change*. Viewers of *Sea Change* consist of the main ABC viewer demographic of educated, professionally employed Australians in the range of 40 - 65 years of age. Film-induced tourism to the area is altering the mix of visitors, which in turn may impact on the traditional holiday market, not merely through increased demand, but also by creating a new, intrusive style of tourism that directly affects the traditional holiday-maker.

Issues that affect the traditional holiday-maker include a loss of privacy, especially in terms of those staying in the local caravan park, an increase in holiday rental prices and a growing sense of inadequacy in relation to the increase in the highly visual, high yield visitor. The outcomes of this study have applicability to other rural communities contemplating moves into new tourist markets, as well as those whose councils may wish to encourage the filming of television programs and movies as an economic fillip.

Key Words: film-induced tourism; community; high yield

Introduction

The Victorian state tourism body, Tourism Victoria, released its initial Strategic Business Plan in 1993, setting out its objectives for the next three years. A key objective was to position the state as a significant tourism destination, appointing a range of consultants to undertake the development of Regional Tourism Development Plans for the 13 regions of the state. The reports were released throughout 1997/8 in conjunction with Tourism Victoria's second business plan for 1997-2001. The business plan clearly directs regional tourism bodies to target high-yield market segments, which is reinforced by the main strategies in each of the regional tourism plans.

Tourism Victoria utilised the Roy Morgan Value Segments to identify the high yielding tourist segments, which constitute 53% of the population but does not include traditional family budget holiday makers (termed as the 'Basic Needs', 'Real Conservatism', Conventional Family Life' and 'Fairer Deal' value segments) who make up a further 25% of the population and 22% of the local budget holiday market (Tourism Victoria, 1997). As such, not only is a significant tourist group ignored, but also discouraged through the priorities in the proposed strategies.

Analysis of the regional tourism plans provides a similar scenario. Each of the 13 plans refers to the need to attract the high-yield markets, ignoring the majority of the budget market. For example, the Regional Tourism Development Plan for the Bays and Peninsula region (which includes the focus area of this paper) identifies the same high-yielding value segments as Tourism Victoria in both their primary and secondary markets, ignoring a large segment of the budget holiday market (KPMG, 1997). This is repeated in all the regional plans.

While it may be sensible to focus on high yielding tourist segments (which will not always be lucrative if the actual numbers are not there), it must be recognised that other segments also take holidays, particularly to regional and coastal centres. What we are now witnessing is the squeezing out of the budget holiday maker in the rush for the limited high-yield tourist, which in turn impacts socially and culturally on our community and may result in further disenfranchisement of the lower socio-economic groups.

Such changes to the tourist mix can also be precipitated (and compounded) by external factors that may not be foreseen, planned or controlled by tourism per se. An example of this is in the use of an area or town in a film or television series, where the location scout and producers are not cognisant of the potential social impacts their activities may produce. For example, hoteliers in Goathland (the town portrayed as Aidensfield in the TV series *Heartbeat*) found they had lower occupancy levels after the success of the series, even though the town of 200 residents experiences upwards of 1.1 million annual visitors (Demetriadi, 1996). The town had previously attracted a 'low-yield' market looking for the peace and quiet of a small country town, staying in small guest houses and bed and breakfasts. However, due to the massive increase in visitor numbers, the town has been repositioned as a day visitor attraction, with the traditional holiday-makers forced to move on to quieter areas. (Demetriadi, 1996)

Aim

This paper considers how an external factor such as film can initiate change in the traditional nature of a tourist community and questions the validity and equitability of focussing on high-yield visitors at a traditionally budget holiday destination.

Literature Review

While figures relating directly to the impact that films (both movies and television series) have had on tourism are limited, there is still some impressive data. In 1978, the year after *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* was released, visitation to Devil's Tower National Monument increased by a staggering 74%, while in a survey conducted eleven years after the film's premier, one-fifth of respondents attributed their initial knowledge of the monument to the movie (Tooke and Baker, 1996).

It has already been noted that tourism boards developed tourist precincts based on literary figures (such as Burns Country), and this has been extended to incorporate themed products based on film and television. There are a number of examples from the United Kingdom, including, "*East Ender* Breaks", "*Last of the Summer Wine* Country", "*Coronation Street* Experience", and "In the Footsteps of Brother Cadfael", with fiction being incorporated into historic sites and events (Schofield, 1996). Where fiction is being combined with fact, boundaries can become blurred between what is real and unreal, however tourists are often more interested in experiencing what has been promoted through the powerful visual media than gazing at so-called "dead" history. This certainly raises issues of authenticity, perception and tourist wants/needs, and will be dealt with in a further paper.

The Australian Case

Between 1981 and 1988 United States tourists to Australia increased by 20.5% per annum (Tooke and Baker, 1996). This massive increase has been attributed to a number of factors, not the least being the impact of Australian movies such as *Mad Max* (released in the US in 1980), *The Man from Snowy River* (1982) and *Crocodile Dundee* (1986). According to O'reagan (1988), in 1987 international tourism rose faster in Australia than in any other developed nation, admittedly from a modest base.

Anew tourism industry has grown on the back of the two *Man from Snowy River* movies, particularly in the Mansfield district where the movie was filmed (even though the story was actually set in country further north-east, where the Snowy River really flows), from horseback tours through to restaurants such as the Snowy River Steakhouse, canvas and saddlery suppliers such as the Snowy Mountain Rug Company (Beeton, 1998). Horseback tourism in Australia's High Country has increased ten-fold, growing from three operators before the movie's release to over thirty in 1996 (NRE, 1996). The Hunt Club Hotel in Merrijig, where most of the cast and crew stayed and/or socialised, has decorated its walls with photographs and memorabilia from the movie, and locals still dine out on stories of the stars.

It must be noted, however, that during the 1980s, there was a range of other high profile international events that took place, including the America's Cup Defence (1986-7), Australian Grand Prix (1985 onwards) and Australia's Bicentenary and World Expo (1983), as well as the falling Australian dollar that made travel from the US even more attractive and affordable.

The Benefits and Drawbacks of Film-Induced Tourism

A range of benefits has been identified by the researchers looking at this phenomenon, however they do not appear to have been adequately quantified, most likely due to the limited

work done in this area to date. Schofield (1996) commented that due to their association with fame, buildings and streets that were formerly considered commonplace and ordinary suddenly acquire interest, status and ambience. This could also be said for some aspects of the natural environment and people. Riley et al (1998) identified the following tourism benefits flowing on from filming:

- Introduction of organised tours
- Expansion community festivals
- Different use of sites, for example for corporate team-building
- Memorabilia sales
- Hotels and guest houses that were used as film locations

One of the major economic benefits and factors of film-induced tourism is that viewing past locations can be an all-year, all-weather attraction, thus spreading out the inevitable seasonality inherent in so many tourist attractions. Also, both movies and television have a wide socio-economic appeal, potentially broadening the base of the visitor market. (Schofield, 1996) According to the Executive Director of the Madison County Chamber of Commerce, Doug Hawley, the tourism generated from the movie, *Bridges of Madison County* kept the region alive, creating an international market for their covered bridges (Edington, 1996). The Scottish Tourism Board (STB) recognised the promotional benefits of such Hollywood movies as *Rob Roy* and *Braveheart*, working hard to capitalise on the images that were being presented to the world. Derek Reid, the Chief Executive of the STB, persuaded MGM to run, free of charge, a Scottish travel advertisement before each screening of *Rob Roy* in the US (Economist, 1995). This also provided them with the opportunity to diversify their market beyond their mainstay English visitors.

Bringing new business people into the tourism industry, and encouraging them to take it seriously is a major challenge facing the industry worldwide, and film-induced tourism provides some opportunities in this area by introducing other members of the business community to the flow-on benefits of film-induced tourism. Tom Kershaw, the owner of the Bull and Finch hotel in Boston has become extremely active in both the local and national tourism industry ever since the façade of his hotel was used as the site of the bar in the long running series *Cheers*, to the extent that in 1994 he was appointed by President Clinton to the US Travel and Tourism Administration's advisory board (Neale, 1994). The direct economic benefits of *Cheers* that Kershaw has realised include around 500,000 visitors to his pub per annum, an annual food and beverage turnover of US$6m and *Cheers* merchandising sales of around US$7m (Neale, 1994).

As always however, there is a range of potentially negative attributes or drawbacks of film-induced tourism, which are mainly in the less-quantifiable areas of social and environmental impacts. Tooke and Baker (1996) consider the (usually limited) carrying capacity of a site to be a major concern for an area that gains sudden tourist significance to be a major issue, particularly in relation to increased vehicle traffic and pedestrian congestion. Riley et al (1998) have identified the drawbacks of main concern as:

- Exploitation of locals
- Driving up local prices
- Exploitation of visitors

- Lack of preparedness from locals when dealing with the tourist influx
- Location appears different to how it is portrayed on film, resulting in a loss of visitor satisfaction
- Imitators
- Souvenir hunters, especially those that seek highway and street signs.

The first three relate to any increased tourist visitation regardless of the reason, whereas the remainder can be seen as specifically related to film-induced tourism.

A poignant example of the drawbacks of film-induced tourism can be found in Juffure, the African village on which Alex Haley based his book and mini-series, *Roots*. Tourists are visiting the town, and Gambia's tourist trade is now its number two industry after agriculture, largely due to the success of *Roots*. However, the villagers are disillusioned, poor and resentful of the promises of a future that did not eventuate. They feel that Haley and others made fortunes out of them, but that they received too little in return, both financially and socially, resulting in resentment towards tourists and the *Roots* phenomenon. (Jet, 1995)

After the success of the TV series, *Pride and Prejudice*, the Friends of the Lake District expressed concern over what they termed the "Darcy Effect", which included negative social and environmental impacts. They were concerned that money would have to be diverted from other community projects to repair wear and tear and provide additional infrastructure and services for tourists, which is more than mere "opportunity cost" (Friends of the Lake District, 1996). However, they failed to recognise any additional benefits that increased tourist numbers would bring, indicating a lack of community consultation and education in this area, which is not surprising when one considers who would be responsible for such consultation - the film-makers who will be long gone by the time the impacts become evident, or the tourist association who most likely had little to do with the filming or choice of location. Local councils who, at the very least, have to approve certain aspects of the filming such as closing public areas, need to take a more proactive role here. The Friends of the Lake District (1996) suggest, somewhat naively, that the producers and film companies consider the effects and costs to the community of the success of their projects. A further example of the immediate problems that film production can bring can be seen in Thailand, where 20[th] Century Fox is making a movie called *The Beach*. It appears that the beach being used for the film has been bulldozed, widened and much of the native vegetation removed. Such is the concern about the destruction of the natural environment that North Americans are being asked to boycott the film, sign a petition or write to the producer by conservationists such as Prof. Paul Eagles, the Chair of the Task Force on Tourism and Protected Areas, World Conservation Union (Bushell, 1999).

An important, potentially ambiguous aspect to be considered when attempting to maximise the benefits of film-induced tourism, is that of the actual versus imagined (as created by the film). Butler (1990) points out that films are often not shot at the locations they purport to be, for example the Philippines was used to depict Vietnam in *Platoon*, and Canada is often used for the United States, as in the case of the sequel to the *Blues Brothers* (Economist, 1998). This can create a situation where people are basing their knowledge on false information as well as developing false expectations of sites they choose to visit, resulting in dissatisfaction with the

experience. This notion is confirmed by Hall (1995) as the appeal of tourist attractions relates directly to the image that the tourists have brought with them.

An interesting phenomenon has been noted at some tourist sites that have featured in film, which is a negative shift in certain types of visitation. As already discussed, Demetriadi (1996) found that hoteliers and guest house proprietors in Goathland were experiencing lower occupancy levels after the success of the series, *Heartbeat.* He conjectures that the town has been repositioned as a day visitor attraction as opposed to its earlier image as a quiet location which has been virtually destroyed by the sheer number of visitors, increased traffic and loss of privacy. It appears that the economic benefits of *Heartbeat's* popularity is being experienced in the neighbouring towns where the day trippers are staying. Demetriadi comments on a fundamental change in the nature of the village and its relationship with visitors, which has become more resentful due to crowding and the loss of opportunities for the local community to use its own facilities. This also raises questions about the town's traditional, regular visitors who have been squeezed out. Where have they gone and how has the situation affected this relatively low yield market?

Studying Film-Induced Tourism in Australia

The above discussion raises numerous points and issues, at the same time underlining the lack of empirical research into the impact of film on tourism. It is not always easy to pre-empt the popularity of a movie or TV program, which tends to make such research difficult. In Australia, a 13 part series, *Sea Change* went to air in May 1998. The series was extremely successful for the ABC, consistently rating in the 20s, attracting up to 1,715,000 viewers across Australia's main cities, and has subsequently been sold overseas. Filming of a second series commenced in November 1998, going to air in March 199° and the third series in 2000. Anecdotal evidence suggested that fans of the program began visiting Barwon Heads, the site of the program's fictitious Pearl Bay to view the main sites of the show, namely the Beach House where one of the main characters, Laura, lives and Fisherman's Wharf, Diver Dan's residence. Articles in magazines and papers have helped to promote the town as "Pearl Bay", with possibly some literary license being used to conjure up the scores of dedicated fans already making the pilgrimage, such as "Celebrating Sigrid" (Elder, 1998) where it is suspected by local traders that the author was referring to his wife as the dedicated fan he surreptitiously shadowed around Barwon Heads.

Due to the fact that the 13 week series only finished being shown in Australia in August 1998, and that this was through the winter months, it is believed that most of the impact of *Sea Change* on the town will be felt in coming months and years, particularly as the overseas popularity increases. Hence, there has been an opportunity to study the effects of a popular television series on a small town from its early stages.

Methodology

In order to ascertain the impacts of change within the family-oriented budget tourist market, a case study of the Victorian seaside village of Barwon Heads and the effect of the popular television series, *Sea Change,* is considered. While case studies have been described as

speculative, unreliable and too specific to be applied to the general, there is support in the broad discipline of the social sciences for the use of case studies which can be extended to tourism, particularly in situations where other research methods are not possible due to physical or psychological constraints (Hall and Jenkins, 1995). Through the study of an identified case, the researcher is able to obtain place-specific conceptual insights that may then be tested for wider applicability, as well as providing the opportunity to test theoretical concepts against local and national experiences. (Yin, 1994).

According to Yin (1994; 13),
> A case study is an empirical inquiry that
> * investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when
> * the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.

Film-induced tourism is a contemporary phenomenon that has not at this stage been adequately contextualised within academic study, consequently taking a research case study approach will contribute to the body of knowledge in this field.

The particular strengths of taking a case study approach lie in its grounding in reality and attention to complexity and subtlety that is difficult to identify using experimental research methods (Adelman et al, 1983). In order to adequately deal with the complexity of the aim of this research, a combination of theoretical approaches has been taken in this case study, including descriptive observation, the use of media reports and on-site survey work. Such a hybrid approach based within a case study framework is supported by Hall and Jenkins (1995) who recognise its ability to provide a richness of detail and explanatory power that is not possible with other research methods, as well as a contextual basis for tourism theory.

It is important to recognise the need for caution when utilising case studies as they are singular instances and as such may provide misleading evidence when generalised (Pizam, 1994). However, due to the social/anthropological nature of tourism, case studies are used extensively with varying degrees of success, depending on the academic rigour applied and their original intention. Anecdotal evidence, media reports and the researcher's experience in film-induced tourism operations suggest that the case analysed in this paper is indicative of many film-induced tourism scenarios in small holiday resorts.

It has also been argued that case studies tend to reflect the bias of the researcher, however, bias can enter into the conduct of other research strategies such as the design of questionnaires and experiments (Yin, 1994). Consequently, while the possibility of bias in any case study must be recognised and dealt with, this issue is not exclusive to this type of research. Stake (1995) maintains that recognition of researcher bias through making the reader aware of the personal experiences of gathering data and the previous experience of those involved in the work provides access to knowledge that the reader may not otherwise obtain, emphasising that the case study is personal, situational and intricate – a positive trait.

Case study research places particular constraints on the researcher, especially in the area of privacy and inside stories that cannot be disclosed. Consequently, the results have been

provided anonymously wherever sensitive information was provided that may impact adversely on individuals within the community. While such generalisation of data can eventuate in some distortion of data, awareness and recognition of such a limitation can uphold the validity of the results (Adelman et al, 1983).

The case study outlined in this paper utilises a range of research methods that include observation of visitors as well as of the physical changes in the town, informal discussions with local traders and management, a self-completion survey of visitors to the town, media reports and other secondary data. By incorporating such a range of methods within the overall case study mode, a picture with rich information can be drawn. There has been a conscious attempt to remain unbiased, however when using and interpreting observation and informal conversations, personal bias of the researcher may be evident. This does not detract from the significance of the findings, rather is an integral aspect of case study work. (and of much so-called 'unbiased' quantitative analysis).

CASE STUDY: From 'Barwon Heads, Village by the Sea' to 'Barwon Heads, the Home of *Sea Change*'

Barwon Heads, a rural fishing, surfing and holiday town south east of Geelong in Victoria, Australia, has been a popular holiday destination for Melburnians for some decades. According to the City of Greater Geelong's Economic Development Unit, the visitor accommodation base of Barwon Heads is heavily concentrated in caravan parks and holiday homes, with a capacity for 2,490 overnight visitors in holiday homes, 2,620 in caravan parks and 60 in hotels, motels and units. With a total of 6,170 overnight beds available, the town has a greater overnight visitor capacity than the higher-profile resort town of Lorne with 5,820 overnight beds; however the mix is different with Lorne having 1,020 beds in hotels, motels and units, compared with Barwon Heads' 60 (City of Greater Geelong, 1999). The preponderance of holiday homes and caravan park spaces at Barwon Heads reflects the current nature of the town's overnight tourism market (including longer stays), which is predominantly families holidaying in the town regularly, usually annually. The demographics of such groups tend to fall into the lower yield segments identified by Tourism Victoria as low priority markets.

Any increase in accommodation and commercial tourism development has the potential to dramatically change the nature and visual landscape of Barwon Heads, particularly if more motels, units, marinas, or even condominiums are built to service the high yield visitor. A change in the type of accommodation base may also alter the visitor demographic, impacting on this significant holiday-home rental and camp-ground markets.

Sea Change, based on a stressed-out city lawyer moving to a small seaside town to "rediscover" herself and her children, went to air on ABC TV in Australia in May 1998. The series has been consistently successful, with fans of the program visiting Barwon Heads, the site of the program's fictitious Pearl Bay to view the main sites of the show. There has been a headlong rush in the media for information on the area, from camping magazines such as *On*

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the Road, to the high-circulation (1,128,859) *Royal Auto* magazine, countless daily news articles from the local *Geelong Advertiser* to state (*The Age*) and national (*The Australian*) dailies as well as radio and television. Such articles have not only helped to promote Barwon Heads as "Pearl Bay", but also generally support and promote the fictional on-screen image of the region. The Barwon Heads Bridge was nominated by *The Age Green Guide* staff as third in the top 20 TV spots in Victoria behind Ramsay Street (*Neighbours*) and the Pt Cook Horizon Tank as seen in *Moby Dick* (The Age, 1999). The Internet also boasts a burgeoning number of *Sea Change* fan sites, such as the Yahoo! SC Club, Parr's SeaChange Page and Kirsty Champion's SeaChange Page (complete with story and photographs of her *Sea Change* trip to Barwon Heads).

The site of Barwon Heads as the "home of *Sea Change*" has also been immortalised in Melbourne's major street directory, Melways, with a comment in red lettering reading, "Barwon Heads Township is the site used by the new ABC TV program *Sea Change*" (Melways, 1998, p.233). The site of *Neighbours*, without a directory entry, still manages to attract English tourists who somehow find the location in the suburban landscape of eastern Melbourne.

Sea Change is produced and screened on ABC TV, a free-to-air government funded television station. Viewers of *Sea Change* tend to be women in the 40 plus age group, with Sydney and Melbourne constituting the greatest number of viewers, while male viewers constitute around half that of women in this age group. The largest group of viewers also comes from the AB quintile which represents the highest socio-economic group, who are typically tertiary educated, in professional occupations and earning well above average incomes (ABC, 2000).

In light of the evidence from other sites of the power of film to induce tourism, it can be anticipated that such viewers will undertake a pilgrimage to the sites featured in the series. If these viewers are different to existing visitors, will there be any changes to these areas to support the new visitors and will this create any conflict between the new and old visitors? Site visits confirm that a new demographic is being catered for, that reflects the *Sea Change* viewer profile, not only in the Socio-Economic quintiles, but also in the Roy Morgan value segments that have been used extensively in tourism marketing for Victoria.

According to data collected by Roy Morgan Research, the *Sea Change* audience (as well as dominating the AB quintile) is 48% more likely than the overall population to be in the Socially Aware value segment (ABC, 2000). Visitors to the Bellarine Peninsula (in which Barwon Heads is situated) are predominantly in the Traditional Family Life value segment. These segments represents two distinct groups, with the Socially Aware segment consisting of up-market professionals in the 35-49 years age group and are social issues oriented, looking for new and different holiday experiences or the more indulgent/boutique style, such as food and wine trails. They prefer to stay in boutique four to five star hotels. The Traditional Family Life value segment are from the retired middle Australia segment and are family focussed. Their preferred holiday experiences tend to focus on reliving the past, and they are cautious of new things. They tend to stay more in caravan parks and motels and plan their holiday experience in advance. (Tourism Victoria, 1997)

If the Socially Aware value segment follow up their interest in Sea Change with visits to Barwon Heads, that the nature of services in the community may come to reflect the interests of the group with an increase in higher level accommodation, restaurants, cafes and other services. Such changes may or may not be welcomed by the traditional visitors from the Traditional Family Life segment and/or the local residents.

Visitors to Barwon Heads

As part of a larger study on community impacts of film-induced tourism, a survey has been undertaken to track changes in the nature of visitors to Barwon Heads from the end of the first series when the popularity was beginning to have some influence on the town, through to the heightened profile of the town gained from the immense popularity of the repeat of the first series in 1999 and the second series that followed immediately. The survey was intended to capture both the traditional, regular holiday maker as well as new overnight and day visitors. As at 31 January 2000 a total of 171 responses had been received to a basic self completion survey that has been distributed via retail outlets at Barwon Heads.

The two-page survey was designed to capture all visitors to the town, not just those who were aware of *Sea Change,* so there was no reference to the series until the second page. A total of 90 percent of respondents had heard of the series, with 94.2 percent of them aware that it was filmed in Barwon Heads. Of that number, 54.1 percent had plans to visit the sites from the series. However, when asked to nominate what sites they were visiting, the responses became more vague as not all of the sites in the series are filmed at Barwon Heads. Around 7 percent of visitors were hoping to see sites that are not in Barwon Heads, and 20 percent of the respondents nominated sites in Barwon Heads that were not actually featured in the series, indicating a potential area of conflict between image, expectations and reality.

The majority of respondents (82 percent) have visited Barwon Heads previously with 89.5% of them in the past 12 months, reflecting the strength of the regular holiday market. Of those first-time visitors, 37 percent were prompted to come because of the *Sea Change* series. This was by far the largest motivator of this group, with the next one (usually the highest in domestic tourism), visiting friends and relatives at 23 percent.

Those coming to the area purely because of *Sea Change* tended to be arriving later in the study period, particularly in the period from September 1999 to January 2000, which was after the airing of second series, reflecting the growth in popularity of the series as well as recognition of where it was filmed. In addition, the range of residential areas that the *Sea Change* visitors came from is far greater than the regular visitors, including interstate. This is providing some indicative evidence of a broadening of the visitor market due to the television series.

Changes following *Sea Change*

The main street shopping strip has altered dramatically over the past 12 months (since the commencement of the *Sea Change* phenomenon). The town previously had shops vacant and closing down, in particular the green grocer, butcher and baker. These shops have not re-opened, but as of January 2000 all shop-fronts were occupied, with the main shopping precinct now boasting a predominance of tourist services as opposed to general services. There are now 4 cafés, a bar and restaurant, a second-hand book shop, gift shop (relocated from Point

Lonsdale), Indonesian import shop, 2 fish and chip shops, a take-away chicken shop, 2 surf shops and an art gallery. Of these, one of the surf shops, two of the coffee shops, the gift shop, book shop, chicken shop, bar and restaurant have all opened in the past 12 months, reflecting a shift in focus from the Traditional Family Life value segment to the Socially Aware from the retail traders. For general services such as banking, hardware supplies and large supermarket shopping residents and visitors (particularly the self-catering budget holiday-maker) to the area required to travel to Ocean Grove, some 5 kilometers away. There is also no police station in Barwon Heads.

Real estate values have increased significantly since the initial screening of the series, however this may not be totally attributable to *Sea Change* per se. According to local real estate agents, the buoyant economy, recovery from a major regional investment failure with the Pyramid Building Society and low interest rates create a favourable buying environment throughout the region (Bodey, 1999). However, it is recognised that the high prices now being seen for residences in Barwon Heads has been driven by the *Sea Change* syndrome, with cheap houses disappearing off the market (Keenan, 1999).

During the September school holidays in 1999, on one of numerous ongoing site visits, this researcher stayed in the beach house used as the main residence in the series and was continually subjected to amateur photographers snapping their own version of paradise, while other visitors ran up onto the verandah to peer through the windows. The intrusion was extreme and had resulted in a guest the previous week leaving after only one night. It was at this time that park management (the cottage is part of the Barwon Caravan Park) erected notices that read, "Visitors are requested to respect the privacy of the beach house residents". Park management expressed concern over the privacy invasions that were being experienced and suggested that they may need to eventually fence off the site, which may not only impact on public access to the foreshore walk, but also on the value of other river-frontage sites currently occupied by campers. It was also observed that campers adjacent to the cottage were being imposed on by the increasing number of visitors wishing to view and photograph the cottage and its surrounds.

Management Plans for Barwon Heads Park – Driven by *Sea Change*?

The Barwon Heads Park and camping ground is the site for the most recognisable aspects of *Sea Change* (apart from some filming at St Leonards and Williamstown), namely the residences of the main romantic leads, now known as Laura's Beach House and either the Coolstores or Diver Dan's. Also, the images of fishing boats, the bridge (which is central to the narrative) and the tidal views feature significantly in the series, providing a visual backdrop to much of the action. The light and alterations due to the tidal flows in the area provide some of the most beautiful images in the series. These are also among the main attractions for campers and other recreational visitors to the park.

Plans developed for the management of the park that include a series of actions that have been interpreted by some as precursors to privatising the publicly-owned and managed caravan park. Proposed "priority actions" for the caravan park include comprehensive upgrades of the camping sites, adding four fully serviced cabins next to Laura's Beach House, and relocating the football club (traditionally based at the oval in the caravan park). Off-site developments

that are adjacent to the caravan park (managed by the same management committee) include the development of the Fisherman's Jetty restaurant, completion of new boatshed facility incorporating an interpretation centre and picnic facilities and the creation of a conservation and education based walk. (Barwon Coast Committee of Management, 1999)

Due to fears of privatisation and loss of public amenity and access, there has been a strong reaction to some of the proposals from both locals and traditional caravan park visitors. These fears had been largely based on the release of information in April, 1999 that the then Liberal state government was considering leasing or selling 173 caravan parks currently on Crown land, "... putting at risk the tradition of a cheap camping holiday" (McKay, 1999, p.6). The Barwon Heads caravan park itself featured in a number of articles on the plan (for example, Batt, 1999). Since the commencement of the privatisation debate there has been a change of government, which may lead to a change in policy as when they were in Opposition, the state Labour Party opposed such a course of action.

How much has this to do with *Sea Change*? Many of the actions outlined in the proposed management plans have been under discussion for many years, but increased demand from new visitors and the associated promise of economic gain from the success of *Sea Change* is extremely timely and may provide the impetus for the implementation and eventual success of the developments, particularly those involved with the jetty and Laura's beach house precinct. Each side of the debate has appropriated the *Sea Change* effect to support their stance, with opponents to the restaurant development claiming that the sheds and jetty provide "an environmentally sound, sustainable and growing attraction for visitors..." while claiming that "in Britain, governments are .... protecting the charming local sights of TV series..." (Oberin/Trayling, Flick, 1999). On the other hand, supporters of the development claim that it is needed and that "*Sea Change* has certainly livened up Barwon Heads ... a couple of local young men were enterprising enough to set up a make-shift outdoor café near ... Diver Dan's... The café was so successful, the young men ... are about to convert the Fisherman's co-op into a restaurant." (Ryllis Clark, 1999, p.4). In actual fact, the restaurant development did not result from the popularity of the series, instead the park management had decided to develop a restaurant on the site some years previously, but by the time the contract was granted to the restaurateurs filming of the series was underway at the site. Consequently, they could not develop the site immediately, so opened a small café that operated until filming of the second series was completed. The 'story' had been altered to support a particular perspective.

In a stunning role-reversal the ABC itself appropriated the controversy to promote the series through a report on its television current affairs program, *The 7.30 Report*, where the anchor, Maxine McKew, introduced the report stating that "... some ambitious locals want to develop a $500,000 restaurant on the site where Diver Dan dallied with Laura Gibson." (ABC TV, 1999). The report was heavily peppered with references to the series and inferences of some real-life connection between the fictional characters of Pearl Bay and those living in Barwon Heads, with cuts to selected clips of the series featuring the real estate agent, Bob Jelly, interspersed with comment from the real-life Barwon Heads agent, Rodger Bodey. Informal discussions with some of those interviewed revealed a high level of dissatisfaction with the selective nature of the report.

Conclusion

While tourism bodies remain focused on the high-yielding sectors of the tourism industry, disenfranchisement of the budget holiday maker is a real issue, and may finally be financially counter-productive for many even well established tourist sites. Until the prevailing economic-rationalist attitude is tempered with a recognition of the value of intangible aspects that make up the quality of life, such a focus will remain with potentially dangerous results. The need for recreation and relaxation is recognised as central to a healthy, happy, productive life, but while the tourism industry is preoccupied with allegedly high-yield market segments, the health of the Australian community is compromised.

In addition, the underlying issues in this case study are internationally significant, providing a revelatory case for the application of the concepts and concerns outlined to other tourism destinations. This can assist communities in planning optimum levels of development, visitor numbers and yield they desire and/or require in conjunction with film-induced tourism. It may also be utilised in regional tourism policy development where external factors affecting yield, development and visitor numbers are introduced through the policy decisions in other domains. For example, agricultural policy decisions may affect visitor numbers to a rural region, or other recreational policies may affect the level of development or yield.

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Introduction

The decline of country towns in the 1990s proved to be one of the most important social phenomena of that decade. In fact, smaller Australian country towns (with populations under 2000) have been in trouble since the coming of mass car ownership in the 1950s and 1960s. With the rise of supermarket chains and the rationalisation of banks – most marked in the 1980s and 1990s – many medium sized regional centres (4,000 to 10,000 plus) have grown at the expense of smaller towns.

In order to halt (or at least reduce) the current rate of rural decline, many country towns have been tempted to embrace a tourism-led revamping of their image and sometimes even of their self-esteem. Many of Australia's country towns boast a connection with a folk heritage, often derived from literary associations such as the works of Lawson, Paterson and Wright, among others. Cultural representations through literary associations have become increasingly important in tourist promotion throughout the world, from the British Tourism Authority's (BTA) promotion of Burns Country and Bronte Country through to Canada and *Anne of Green Gables*. This has now expanded into other popular media, in particular film, with a 'Movie Map' developed by the Australian Film Commission in the 1990s, showing the sites of films from *Ned Kelly* to *Man from Snowy River* and *Babe*.

Persuasive economic arguments have been presented regarding the money and jobs brought to a town or region during the filming process, such as US$21m and 183 full-time jobs to Illinois during the filming of *A Thousand Acres* (Anon, 1998). There is ample anecdotal evidence that tourists soon follow, looking for the sites, people, experiences and even fantasies portrayed by the film. Film producers, in general, have little concern for the impacts of film-induced tourism, and once they have completed their on-site filming, they leave. Not surprisingly, there is no evidence of initial site selection being based on any long term community impacts. An example of how such a lack of concern can backfire is illustrated in the case of *Baywatch* where the residents of the site chosen in Australia for the series (Avalon Beach, north of Sydney) protested vehemently against the series, and eventually the producers chose to film the new series in Hawaii. Coincidentally, the Hawaiian Tourism Authority, in its first ever Strategic Tourism Plan, has identified encouraging filming in the state as one of its key tourism promotion strategies (Hawaii Tourism Authority, 1999).

While some attention has been paid to how regions and countries capitalise on film images in destination marketing campaigns, by researchers such as Riley, Van Doren, Tooke and Baker (for example, Riley et al, 1998; Tooke and Baker, 1996), much less research has focussed on the impact of image and film-induced tourism on the localities and their attendant communities. An influx of visitors is not always welcome or advantageous, with many country towns unsuited to supporting the concomitant tourism growth because of limited infrastructure, facilities and services. In most cases the local community did not seek to be the site for the filming, yet they are left to cope with the consequences of increased traffic, crowding and pollution. A pertinent example of this is the town of Goathland (the town portrayed as Aidensfield in the English TV series *Heartbeat*) where it was found that although the township of 200 residents had up to 1.1 million annual visitors, hoteliers were experiencing lower occupancy levels than prior to the success of the series (Demetriadi, 1996). This small country town, which had been a quiet tourist retreat, now found itself repositioned as a significant day visitor attraction. Consequently, there has been a fundamental change in the nature of

the village and its relationship with visitors, which has become more resentful due to crowding and the loss of opportunities for the local community to use its own facilities. Such dramatic changes beg the questions, "who should be responsible for such significant developments", "will film producers consider the long-term impact of their decisions, or are their own economic imperatives too strong", and "how does the local community respond to such dramatic changes"? It is the last of these questions that forms the basis of this paper.

The paper focuses on community research at Barwon Heads, a small coastal town in southern Australia, which is the setting for the television series, *Sea Change*. The series' popularity appears to stem from the viewers' desire for the simple qualities of life represented by the small town rural idyll portrayed in the series. Community attitudes and tourism shifts induced by the series are being traced and examined. The aim of the research is to locate specific groups within the community by looking for similar attitudes towards film-induced tourism then describe their common attributes, rather than identifying the groups first then trying to see if their attitudes coincide. This paper considers residents' relationship to the town and film-induced tourism within the context of a case study. Further methodological discussions follows in the Research section of the paper.

From Barwon Heads, *Village by the Sea* to Barwon Heads - the *Home of Sea Change*

Barwon Heads, a rural fishing, surfing and holiday town south east of Geelong in Victoria, Australia, has been a popular holiday destination for Melburnians for some decades. According to the City of Greater Geelong's Economic Development Unit, the visitor accommodation base of Barwon Heads is heavily concentrated in caravan parks and holiday homes, with a capacity for 2,490 overnight visitors in holiday homes, 2,620 in caravan parks and 60 in hotels, motels and units. With a total of 5,170 overnight beds available, the town has only a marginally smaller overnight visitor capacity than the higher-profile resort town of Lorne with 5,820 overnight beds; however the mix is different with Lorne having 1,020 beds in hotels, motels and units, compared with Barwon Heads' 60 (City of Greater Geelong, 1999). The preponderance of holiday homes and caravan park spaces at Barwon Heads reflects the current nature of the town's overnight tourism market (including longer stays), which is predominantly families holidaying in the town regularly, usually annually.

Any increase in accommodation and commercial tourism development has the potential to dramatically change the nature and visual landscape of Barwon Heads, particularly if more motels, units, marinas, or even condominiums are built to service the high yield visitor. A change in the type of accommodation base may also alter the visitor demographic, impacting on this significant holiday-home rental and camp-ground markets.

The Sea Change phenomenon

The 13 part series based on a stressed-out city lawyer moving to a small seaside town to "rediscover" herself and her children, *Sea Change,* went to air on ABC TV in Australia in May 1998. The first series was extremely successful, consistently rating in the 20s, attracting up to 1,715,000 viewers across Australia's main cities. Filming of a second series commenced in November 1998, going to air in March 1999. The second series has been even more popular than the first, becoming Australia's most popular drama series, attracting over 2,279,000 viewers in the five capital cities by the end of the second series – the ABC's highest rating since the introduction of the peoplemeter system in 1991 (*The Age*, 23 September, 1999).

Fans of the program have been visiting Barwon Heads, the site of the program's fictitious Pearl Bay to view the main sites of the show, namely the Beach House where one of the main characters, Laura, lives and Fisherman's Wharf, Diver Dan's (the romantic lead in the first series) residence as well as the bridge that dominates the town and series. There has been a headlong rush in the media for information on the area, from camping magazines such as *On the Road*, to the high-circulation (1,128,859) *Royal Auto* magazine, countless daily news articles from the local *Geelong Advertiser* to state (*The Age*) and national (*The Australian*) dailies as well as radio and television. Such articles have not only helped to promote Barwon Heads as "Pearl Bay", but also generally support and promote the fictional on-screen image of the region. The Barwon Heads Bridge was nominated by *The Age Green Guide* staff as third in the top 20 TV spots in Victoria behind Ramsay Street (*Neighbours*) and the Pt Cook Horizon Tank as seen in *Moby Dick* (*The Age Green Guide*, 28 January, 1999). The Internet also boasts a burgeoning number of *Sea Change* fan sites, such as the Yahoo! SC Club, Parr's SeaChange Page and Kirsty Champion's SeaChange Page (complete with story and photographs of her *Sea Change* trip to Barwon Heads).

The site of Barwon Heads as the "home of *Sea Change*" has also been immortalised in Melbourne's major street directory, Melways, with a comment in red lettering reading, "Barwon Heads Township is the site used by the new ABC TV program *Sea Change*" (Melways, 1998, p.233). This is the only film site noted in the directory, with not even Ramsay Street in Vermont rating a mention as the site for the popular soap opera, *Neighbors*, which brings copious numbers of English tourists to the suburban landscape of eastern Melbourne.

Changes following Sea Change

During the September school holidays in 1999, this researcher stayed in the beach house used as Laura's residence in the series and was continually subjected to amateur photographers snapping their own version of paradise and visitors running up onto the verandah to peer through the windows. It was at this time that park management (the cottage is part of the Barwon Caravan Park) erected notices that read, "Visitors are requested to respect the privacy of the beach house residents". Park management expressed concern over the privacy invasions that were being experienced and suggested that they may need to eventually fence off the site, which may not only impact on public access to the foreshore walk, but also on the value of other river-frontage sites currently occupied by campers. It was also observed that campers adjacent to the cottage were being imposed on by the increasing number of visitors wishing to view and photograph the cottage and its surrounds.

The main street shopping strip has altered dramatically over the past 12 months (since the commencement of the *Sea Change* phenomenon). The town previously had shops vacant and closing down, in particular the green grocer, butcher and baker. These shops have not re-opened, but as of January 2000 all shop-fronts were occupied, with the main shopping precinct now boasting a predominance of tourist services as opposed to general services. There are now 4 cafés, a bar and restaurant, a second-hand book shop, gift shop (relocated from Point Lonsdale), Indonesian import shop, 2 fish and chip shops, a take-away chicken shop, 2 surf shops and an art gallery. Of these, one of the surf shops, two of the coffee shops, the gift shop, book shop, chicken shop, bar and restaurant have all opened in the past 12 months. For general services such as banking, hardware supplies and large supermarket shopping residents and visitors (particularly the self-catering budget holiday-maker) to the area must travel to Ocean Grove, some 5 kilometers away.

Real estate values have increased dramatically since the initial screening of the series, however this may not be totally attributable to *Sea Change* per se. According to local real estate agents, the buoyant economy, recovery from a major regional investment failure (the Pyramid Building Society) and low interest rates create a favourable buying environment throughout the region (Bodey, 1999). However,

it is recognised that the high prices now being seen for residences in Barwon Heads has been driven by the *Sea Change* syndrome, with cheap houses disappearing off the market (Keenan, 1999).

Community Responses To Film-Induced Tourism

In order to find answers to the many questions in such a complex and broad-ranging field as film-induced tourism requires a range of research methods. This could include experiments and surveys, histories and case studies, as used in allied social science disciplines such as psychology, anthropology and sociology. The information-rich case study is one such methodology and is able to incorporate other methods into its framework, providing us with complex yet more complete research.

Over the past two decades, numerous tourism studies have considered communities on a broad scale, focusing on broadly-based communities, considering relatively homogenous community attitudes towards tourism development issues, notably the pioneering work of Murphy in 1981, and Pizam in 1978 (Murphy, 1981; Pizam, 1978). However, greater sophistication of individual clusters within communities has given rise to the influence of multiple groups within a given community. As to be expected, some of these interest groups (or stakeholders) maintain different values, attitudes and viewpoints from others and have at times created an imbalance in the power base of communities. Such increased power of these groups has tended to mask the disenfranchised, weaker and less vocal community members. We need to adopt a research process that can incorporate this sophistication, and by adopting social representation theory within a case study, this can be achieved.

Community attitudes and interactions are dynamic, and in turn require a dynamic, evolving vision from any researcher or student of tourism and community interdependence. According to Pearce et al (1996), the dynamics within the theory of social representation provide a method to consider individual attitudes (or representations) within communities in the first instance, then groups them according to similarities, such as other representations or demographics. This process is contrary to the current practice of identifying community groups through arbitrary means that have been established by past researchers, then looking for their attitudes. In addition, in-depth analysis of small communities can provide a sound basis for the development of broader, more complex tourism models on a larger scale, illuminating aspects that may become buried in larger studies.

The community research process for this study was to:

1. develop a self-administered questionnaire which included open-ended questions that permit unstructured, unprompted responses, allowing social representations to be expressed. Further demographic and closed questions provided a contextual basis for the representations.
2. distribute to all 800 households in the town with an anticipated response rate of around 20 percent due to the extensive holiday-home rental market (the town has a 3,490 bed capacity in holiday homes (City of Greater Geelong, 1998)).
3. conduct the study in Barwon Heads during the shoulder period, just after the peak summer holiday season, which was identified as early March, 2000.

The results have been used to identify community issues surrounding tourism in general and *Sea Change* film-induced tourism in particular. Clusters of those with similar attitudes have been distinguished, with the initial findings throwing up some exciting and pertinent community representations.

The series of open-ended questions in the questionnaire provides a rich source of attitudinal information which has been distinguished by identifying recurring themes, with the most pertinent included in Table 1 below. While over 170 responses had been received at the time of writing

(representing a response rate of 21 percent), the sample size in this instance was limited to 100 in the table below in order to obtain indicative results to inform the next research stage of focus groups and personal interviews. All comments were unprompted responses to open-ended questions, therefore those that attracted similar remarks were considered within the context of the research aim. Selected comments that received a favorable number of corresponding responses as well as resonating with anecdotal data have been included in the following analysis.

Some of the more interesting responses that make up potential social representation clusters from Table 1 include the high level of recognition of the economic benefits of *Sea Change* for local businesses with a 36% response rate from across all age groups, whereas only 18% viewed the raising of the profile of the town as a benefit, with 5% stating that the series brought increased pride to the community. However, during informal conversations in the town over the past two years, pride in the *Sea Change* phenomenon has been demonstrable at all levels from traders through to their local customers, school children and residents. Such a focus on economic gain, combined with the limited recognition of socio-cultural benefits supports the prevailing economic rationalist stance of western democratic thought. The "people in the street" appear to have adopted similar measures of community and personal well-being as other economic positivists (particularly all levels of government), ignoring aspects of civic engagement, community pride and a sense of achievement as community health indicators. Nevertheless, it is precisely the more intangible community indicators that are being considered by social researchers and planners who have recognised the limitations of assessing communities purely on economic grounds. An example of this is the broad range of benchmarks established by the Oregon Progress Board for their *Oregon Shines Project* which is being used extensively in Australia as a basis for establishing community indicators (Oregon Progress Board, 1999). These include economic performance, education, civic engagement, social support, public safety, community development and environment.

Table 1. Film-induced issues affecting residents of Barwon Heads (N = 100)

COMMENT	Age (%)		Sex (%)		Average Residency (years)	Ex-city Resident (%)	Own home (%)	Total (%)
POSITIVE								
Benefits for business. Increased employment	20-39	13	M	13	11.4	44	83	36
	40-59	11	F	19				
	60+	12	NA	4				
Increased tourism	20-39	8	M	9	12.5	50	81	26
	40-59	7	F	14				
	60+	11	NA	3				
Increase property values (positive)	20-39	5	M	7	6.9	44	78	18
	40-59	8	F	9				
	60+	5	NA 2					
Sea Change raises profile of the town	20-39	6	M	4	8.2	50	100	18
	40-59	6	F	13				
	60+	6	NA 1					
Increased pride of residents	20-39	1	M	0	5	20	100	5
	40-59	2	F	5				
	60+	2						
NEUTRAL								
Great place as it is – retain "village by the sea".	20-39	15	M	13	10.4	44	90	41
	40-59	12	F	24				
	60+	14	NA	4				
NEGATIVE								
Crowding/congestion	20-39	12	M	9	8.1	43	88	35
	40-59	12	F	25				
	60+	11	NA	1				
Barwon Heads is not Pearl Bay. It's delusional.	20-39	4	M	11	9.4	50	89	18
	40-59	8	F	7				
	60+	6						
Increased property values - rental etc. (negative)	20-39	3	M	2	12.3	43	71	7
	40-59	2	F	4				

COMMENT	Age (%)		Sex (%)		Average Residency (years)	Ex-city Resident (%)	Own home (%)	Total (%)
	60+	2	NA	1				

The need for sensitive planning, however, is high on the agenda of Barwon Heads residents, with 41% stating the need to preserve what the town has and plan carefully for the future. This representation appears to cross all groups, expressing the overall desire to maintain the town's "Village by the Sea" atmosphere. While this has the largest response, there is some disagreement as to what should be preserved and how, requiring further breakdown of this group into smaller representation clusters.

A further significant response is the recognition of the positive aspects of increased tourism as a benefit of the *Sea Change* series. This attitude is held by 26% of the respondents with one of the longest average residencies of 12.5 years. This concurs with anecdotal evidence that longer term residents recognise the benefits of increased business (in this case through tourism), while the more recent residents who may have moved to the area because of its inherent quiet lifestyle, do not wish to see it changed. This is also supported by the high response (35%) of shorter term residents who cited crowding and congestion as an issue since *Sea Change* with a relatively low average of 8.1 years.

According to viewer figures provided by the ABC, the main group of fans of *Sea Change* are women, particularly in the over 40 age group, with 710,000 female viewers over 40 in metropolitan areas as opposed to 536,000 men in the same grouping tuning in to the final episode of the second series in 1999 (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 1999). A smaller, yet significant correlation within the Barwon Heads community can be seen in the male-female breakdown within each statement. Most statements have a higher female representation, which is to be anticipated with the gender breakdown of respondents being 65 percent women and 35 percent men. (According to the 1996 census figures, Barwon Heads has a population of 48 percent men and 52 percent women (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1997) The only statement that registered a higher male response was, "Barwon Heads is not Pearl Bay; it's delusional; *Sea Change* tourists will be disappointed; it's just a flash in the pan", with 31 percent of male respondents taking this stance, compared with 11 percent of the women. This certainly raises the possibility that this is a reflection of an overriding gender difference which, combined with a more neutral male attitude to viewing the series and the impact on the village ambience (that 37 percent of the male respondents so prize), could result in unforeseen consequences affecting this group. This cluster, with its "head in the sand" attitude may become disenfranchised and resentful if the negative aspects of crowding and increase of film-induced visitors occur as they have in other towns such as Goathland.

Increased property prices have been identified as both a positive and negative aspect of film-induced tourism by two distinct clusters, with 18 percent viewing it as a positive aspect and a further 7 percent considering it to be negative, particularly in terms of rental prices. In both representations, the majority of respondents were home owners, with the average length of residency differentiating the clusters. Those who viewed increased property values as a positive outcome had a low average residency rate of 6.9 years, while those who considered it to be negative had almost double that rate, with an average of 12.3 years' residency. This could reflect the newer residents' attitude towards property investment and mobility (thereby benefiting from increased property values when selling), whereas the longer term residents have decided to settle in the area and are not interested in capital gain through their property.

Utilisation of Findings

Development of a model of social representations in a community can provide tourism professionals and policy makers with a broadly applicable planning tool. The patterns noted above provide the opportunity to identify seven clusters with similar social representations and conjunct aspects. They have been labeled based on their over-riding stance, such as "Good for Traders", "Flash in the Pan", "Good for Tourism", "Good for Property Sales", "Bad for Property Purchase", "Don't Crowd Me", "Steady as she Goes!". The model below has taken these seven stances and posits possible social representation clusters on a three dimensional axis of average length of residency, ex-city dweller and listing tourism as a preferred industry (in the top three).

The model aptly illustrates that the statements "Good for Traders" and "Steady as She Goes" have similar representations, while all the others are spread throughout the model, with the aforementioned "Flash in the Pan" (or "head in the sand") cluster standing out very much on their own, supporting the above discussion. The three negative statements are in quite different space from the first three positive statements, suggesting that there is a definite division between those who consider film-induced tourism a benefit to the town and those who do not, especially in terms of length of residency in the town and whether they originally came from an urban environment.

Local and regional tourism associations, film producers and community representatives have all expressed interest in the results of this work, and will no doubt use them to support everything from new investment decisions to demands that the town be reclaimed by its permanent residents, rather than being overrun by day-trippers. However, where the results come into their own is as a community planning tool for future filming locations. It is imperative that considerations beyond immediate economic benefits be considered by communities (and their councils) considering filming in their region. Already the *Sea Change* research indicates aspects that have the potential to divide and destroy the community as it is today, including differing attitudes towards economic development, costs of living, crowding and increased pride and amenities.

Conclusion

Tracing the relationship between film and tourism is problematic as in most cases the popularity of a film is unclear until well after it has been released, which can be too late for research into its tourism impacts. Hence instances of film-induced tourism usually rely on anecdotal evidence, and many aspects of film-induced tourism have not been adequately researched, studied and analysed. Only a handful of researchers outside the advocacy tourism groups are attempting to unravel the complexities of film-induced tourism, including the aforementioned Riley, Van Doren, Tooke and Baker.

In the past, film-induced tourism has been incidental to the film itself, with little consideration given to the long term effects filming may have on a community, particularly in the more vulnerable rural regions. While such tourism can provide a significant economic fillip to a community, especially in a marginalised rural area, the community may not be prepared or willing to deal with the changes associated with film-induced tourism. With less government intervention in local community matters, the increased pressure on individuals to take on community responsibilities places community well-being at the forefront of their issues. A divided community with powerful, disenfranchised clusters will not operate in the best interests of that community. Issues such as future development, crowding and congestion, increasing real estate values, community pride and economic benefits must be considered in conjunction with each other as well as the "head in the sand" attitudes of those who hope it will go away and leave them as before. By recognising and considering the potential costs and benefits of film-induced tourism the community has the potential to use the benefits to strengthen it and ameliorate the costs. Such a solution may appear simplistic, which it is certainly not – the

complexities of the communities in which we live, play and work are increasing, not decreasing. Research paradigms such as those introduced in social representation theory provide an opportunity to develop our understanding of community processes in relation to film-induced tourism.

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Abstract

Film is a potent imaging medium, and such images are often retained for many years. While destinations now recognise the potential of film to induce tourism and create a powerful destination image, few have retained control over how and to whom the destination is presented through commercial films (in particular, movies and TV series). This lack of control has resulted in unplanned tourism growth that many small communities are unable to handle due to limited infrastructure, and has severely impacted on the privacy of residents.

The aim of this paper is to consider the situation when film-induced tourism becomes too successful, impacting negatively on communities. By looking at popular film-induced tourism sites that are experiencing large numbers of visitors and associated impacts along with attempts to overcome these issues, the extent of the issues is highlighted. There is evidence of resident dissatisfaction regarding the increased pressures on infrastructure and lifestyle at many of the sites as well as some concerns over images portrayed in some storylines. While problems are evident, little is being done to proactively manage the sites, with tourism managers and DMOs still focusing primarily on economic benefits.

This premise is supported by the research results that indicate that at the point of promotion there is limited conscious application of strategies to handle the issues of crowding and loss of privacy. An integrated marketing-demarketing strategy is proposed as a means to address the issues reported.

Introduction

Film is a most powerful imaging medium, especially when the storyline and site are closely interrelated (Tooke and Baker, 1996). Such images are often retained by consumers for extended periods, as in *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*, where visitors to Devils Tower National Monument still recalled that movie as their first image of the Monument some 11 years after screening(Tooke and Baker, 1996).

When film-induced tourism is considered with regard to the communities in which the films are shot, often crucial stages of community consultation are overlooked in the tourism planning process, due in part to the very nature of the film industry itself. A director of a movie or television program is interested in producing the best product possible and is not duly concerned about the legacy with which the community may be left, such as a sudden surge in tourist numbers and changed environment (socially, economically and physically). Also, there are aspects related to film-induced tourism, especially socially, that individuals may not wish for their community. However, if these communities are left out of any real discussion or consultation, as is often the case, they are unable to contribute to or choose the type of community they live in – a critical aspect of community planning (see Murphy, 1985; Western Rural Development Centre, 2001; Oregon Progress Board, 1999). Such disenfranchisement and loss of community control can have dramatic long-term social effects.

While many destinations now recognise the potential of film to induce tourism and create a powerful destination image, few have retained control over how and to whom the destination is presented through commercial films (in particular, movies and TV series). Producers are

interested in creating the film they want, not the type of tourism image that the destination marketers or community may desire. For example, a destination marketing organisation (DMO) may want to encourage high yield visitors, looking to establish images of a high quality holiday destination, and the community may see their town or region as a friendly, welcoming area. These images are not incompatible and can be incorporated into a destination marketing/imaging strategy. However, if a film studio wants to use the region to film a movie about a small-minded, racist community, then this image will not be congruent with either the community's or DMO's desired (or ideal) image.

Perdue and Pitegoff (1994) identified ten of the most commonly utilised promotional activities by DMOs to encourage tourism in the table reproduced below. The list has been modified in light of the rapid growth and popularity of travel and lifestyle television programs (many of which are sponsored by the DMOs themselves, especially at the state and federal levels), the internet, promotions from individual operators, mainly in the form of brochures and souvenirs, and signage. Also, the effect of creative media such as film on tourism promotion has been included, particularly in light of the enormous push DMOs are taking to have film (both television and movies) feature their regions. Postcards and souvenirs complete the circuit, being sent back to the homes of others. The additions are in italics.

Table 1. Common Destination Promotional Methods

Timing of Promotion	Promotional Technique
At home, prior to trip	Media advertising
	Familiarisation trips
	Sales blitz and trade mission
	Travel writer tours
	Consumer shows
	Direct mail
	Travel and lifestyle programs
	Internet
	Individual operators' brochures
	Creative media (film and television, books)
	Maps
While en route to the destination	Interstate welcome centres *(Visitor Information Centres)*
	Outdoor advertising
	Visitor centres
	Creative media (film and television, books)
	Tourist signage
	Maps
After arriving at the destination	Media programs
	Hospitality training
	Tourist signage
	Maps
At the homes of friends and family	*Postcards and souvenirs*
	Creative media (film and television, books)
	Photos

Adapted from Purdue and Pietgoff, 1994, p.566

Is Any Publicity Good Publicity? - Undesired Imagery

There are three basic types of image that can be considered 'undesirable' by a community, the first being created by a negative storyline, such as criminal or bizarre activities. There are instances where community pressure has been able to deny filming access to such perceived

negative storylines, however it is arguable as to whether the negative images actually repel or attract tourists. For example, *Deliverance*, a movie about violence surrounding an inbred hillbilly community increased adventure tourism to the region where it was filmed in Rayburn County, California, notwithstanding that the storyline was set in Appalachia (Riley, Baker and Van Doren, 1998). Linda Peterson Warren, director of the Arizona Film Commission, goes so far as to claim that "people remember locations, beauty and don't tend to attach plot" (Radmacher, 1997: 14). This may be the case for some films, but not all, and is a complex area that requires further investigation that will be addressed in future studies.

Secondly, an undesired tourism image can result from one that is too successful in attracting visitors – increased visitation giving rise to negative community impacts such as loss of privacy, crowding and cultural amenity. For example, Amish country in Lancaster County Pennsylvania received a great deal of tourist attention following the popular 1985 movie, *Witness*, starring Harrison Ford. Not only were the Amish portrayed in a misleading manner, but also the high level of outside attention was, for such a private community, negatively received. According to Amish professor, John Hostetler, the movie "... was a psychological invasion. [The Amish] took it as a kind of mockery" (People Weekly, 1985). The community could not undo the effect of the film, so eventually sought ways to counteract the images presented. One attempt to achieve this is most interesting - the Amish, who rejected mechanisation, movies and television, have developed a tourist site, 'The Amish Experience Theatre' based around a multi-media production "conceived in the finest tradition of Hollywood or Orlando based special effects houses" (The Amish Experience, 2001: http://www.amishexperience.com/theater.html). According to the web site of 'The Amish Experience', it has been screening *Jacob's Choice*, a "dramatic tale of an Amish family's effort to preserve [their] lifestyle and culture" (www.amishexperience.com/theater.html), which is used as the knowledge-base and starting point for associated farm and countryside tours. This film's imaging has been adapted by the community to counteract ill-informed movie-goers and portray an 'authentic' Amish image.

A third negative image can arise from the creation of unrealistic visitor expectations and aspects of authenticity. For example, visitors to some sites have been disappointed that the community does not behave or dress in the manner described in a film. There is also the issue of mistaken identity, when a story may be set in a particular region, but filmed somewhere else. This has become more prevalent with the growth of 'runaway production' where sites are chosen on the basis of cost rather than authenticity (Croy and Walker, 2001). While most Americans associate *Deliverance* with the Appalachia region, and may have been disappointed if attempting to visit film sites in that region, Rayburn County was able to leverage the film's popularity to promote its outdoor adventures at the same time as playing down the storyline.

So, what can a community do to alter an adverse (negative or too successfully positive) image? While the Amish have attempted to create their own integrated image through film, communities do not generally have the funds to produce and distribute powerful film images themselves, so in order to counteract such a compelling medium as film, strategic (and even lateral) thinking must be applied. One potentially effective method is to apply demarketing theory as the basis of a remarketing/re-imaging strategy.

The aim of this paper is to consider the undesired image that arise from being too successful, by looking at popular film-induced tourism sites that are experiencing large numbers of visitors and associated impacts. While problems are becoming evident at such sites, it is suspected that little is being done to proactively manage the sites, with the tourism

managers (and DMOs) still focussing primarily on economic benefits. Demarketing techniques are proposed as management and re-imaging techniques due to their potential power to access visitors prior to their visit, much the same as film.

Demarketing

First coined by Kotler and Levy in 1971, demarketing has been applied widely in the public healthcare field in an effort to handle excessively high demand, and its effectiveness and ethics have been debated in many forums (see Kindra and Taylor, 1990; Reddy, 1989; Majhourta, 1990; Borkowski, 1994). While it has not been extensively applied to tourism, there are cases where demarketing has been consciously or even unconsciously applied (see Clements, 1989; Benfield, 2000; Beeton, 2001). Demarketing in tourism is a powerful tool as it is able to incorporate visitor management techniques at the marketing stage of an operation, before people visit – the stage when expectations are created and decisions on destinations and activities made. Tourism demarketing strategies range from pricing strategies and entry controls, to behavioural education and even a total reduction in marketing and promotion (Beeton, 2001; Benfield, 2001).

Method

In order to ascertain the extent to which demarketing tools are being used to alter responses to film-induced images, popular US movie sites and UK television sites were examined. All the sites are promoted as filming destinations in either the California Tourism (2001) or British Tourist Authority's (2001) *Movie Maps*. The sites studied are Intercourse (*Witness*), Dyersfield (*Field of Dreams*) and Mount Airy (*Andy Griffith Show*) in the US, and Goathland (*Heartbeat*), Luss (*Take the High Road*) and Holmfirth (*Last of the Summer Wine*) in the UK. All of the UK sites are the settings for ongoing TV series, while Intercourse and Dyersfield are movie sites, as well as a popular US series with the *Andy Griffith Show*.

Analysis of their marketing and promotional material has been conducted and is outlined in the following section. The aim was to establish levels and use of demarketing strategies. The relevant tourist associations and management agencies were also approached, and their responses to enquiries regarding their visitor management strategies are also considered. Due to the limited nature of this study and the sites selected, it is presented as a case study that provides us with numerous avenues for further investigation.

Film-Induced Tourism Demarketing Strategies

Beeton (2001) and Benfield (2001) propose a wide range of possible demarketing strategies, the most relevant to the film-induced tourism cases being:
- Increasing or introducing entry fees
- Increasing advertising that warns of capacity limitations
- Reducing sales and promotion expenditure
- Separate management of large groups
- Educating potential visitors regarding appropriate behaviour in promotional literature
- Educating journalists and associated media regarding appropriate behaviour
- Encouraging 'desirable' markets through the image presented in promotional material
- Discouraging 'undesirable' markets through the image presented in promotional material
- Notifying visitors of banned activities and access at the point of information gathering
- Permitting certain activities or access only under supervision

These strategies fall into three basic categories, namely limit supply through making access more difficult, limit demand through restricting advertising or educating potential visitors at the point of decision-making (through marketing material). The first two can be considered prescriptive and somewhat difficult due to the lack of influence destination marketers have over commercial film imaging, whereas the third can have some effect by dealing with visitor attitudes and expectations prior to their actual visit.

Findings

The findings of the research demonstrate that there is limited conscious application of strategies to handle the issues of crowding and loss of privacy at the point of promotion. Analysis of the marketing material presents little in terms of demarketing, as outlined in Table 2.

Table 2. Destination Marketing Material for Film Tourism Sites

Town, Series/Movie	Type of material		No. of refs to series/movie	Position of references			Series Images	Site Map	Demarketing strategies			
	www	Brochure		Front/www home	Back	Inside/www link			Limit Access	Go elsewhere in the area	Fee	Education re Privacy
UNITED KINGDOM												
Holmfirth *Last of the Summer Wine*	TB¹					1						
	LG²			1						✓		
	C³		4	3		1	3					
		Film location guide				3	5					
		Region Visitor Guide	2			1	1	✓				
		Holmfirth brochure	3			3	1	✓		✓		✓
Goathland *Heartbeat*	C		1			1						
	NPA⁴					1				✓		
	.com⁵		1	1			7					
		Visitor brochure										
		Guide for Research	1	1						✓		✓
Luss *Take the High Road*	C		1	1								
	NPA		1			1						
		Luss brochure	1			1				✓		
UNITED STATES												
Intercourse *Witness*	LG		1			1						✓
	C		1			1						✓
	.com		0									
Mt Airy *Andy Griffith Show*	LG		1			1						
Dyersville *Field of Dreams*	LG				2						1	
	.com		1	1								
	C		3	2		1						

1   TvB   *Tourism Board*   4   NPA   *National Parks Authority/Public Land Management Agency*
2   LG   *Local Government/Council*   5   .com   *Commercial site*
3   C   *Community*

The above examination of promotional material indicates the unconscious use of some demarketing strategies. Much of the promotional material makes mention of their related film sites, but apart from those that focus specifically on film, such as the TV and Film Location Guide for the Kirklees region which includes Holmfirth, promotion of the filming sites is extremely limited. Such limited use of the promotional power of film indicates use of a general demarketing strategy of limiting the promotion of the towns as film sites. Much of the material promotes other activities and sites to visit away from the film areas, while only four out of the twenty-two promotional media comment on issues such as respecting residents' privacy. Only one site charges a fee (*Field of Dreams*), which is only to actually enter a maze, leaving the rest of the site with no entrance fee. The *Field of Dreams* site is interesting in that it is split between two private property owners, with one providing a less developed experience than the other that includes the maze and 'costumed' baseball entertainers.

The relevant tourist associations were approached as well as the associated National Parks Authority (NPA) in the UK, as many of the villages and sites are located in regions managed by the NPA. Their responses to enquiries regarding their visitor management strategies and community reactions were examined. The questions were open-ended and couched in general terms, leaving the individuals to identify any issues they may be experiencing. Due to the limited nature of this study and the sites selected, this study is taken on an exploratory case basis, supported by media reports providing avenues for further investigation as well as a potential community tourism planning model that incorporates proposed demarketing strategies. They also demonstrate the care that must be taken when applying the findings of case studies to other places, particularly in different countries, even when the culture is similar (as in the UK and US). While there are congruities between them, it is the differences that we must also acknowledge and seek to answer, often through further research and study.

When questioned regarding visitor management techniques the tourism offices were reluctant to discuss any negative aspects of the popularity of the sites featured, apart from some of the strategies described above. Yet, there is evidence from numerous media reports of resident dissatisfaction regarding the increased pressures on infrastructure and lifestyle at many of the sites as well as some concerns over images portrayed in some storylines (see Demetriadi, 1996; Friends of the Lake District, 1996; Economist, 1995).

Table 3 below summarises the responses to questions regarding visitor problems, community issues and strategies taken to address them. There is a distinct variation in the degree and type of impacts as well as strategies to handle them, however there was common consensus that the community shared some resentment towards the influx of tourists.

Table 3. Summary of Issues and Responses to Film-Induced Tourism

Site	Increased Visitor Numbers	Issues Identified	Attitude to living in a film set	Relate to Series?	Strategies				
					Reduce Promotion	Parking & Access	Entry Fees	Visitor education	Site hardening
UNITED KINGDOM									
Holmfirth *Last of the Summer Wine*	Hard to say due to longevity of series	Community resentment towards numbers		No- it's rather a backward image	No	Limited parking. Fees incl. Sundays		Remind visitors most locations are private	
Goathland *Heartbeat*	From 200,00pa to peak of 1.5 million. Currently at 1million	Loss of privacy. Retired residents experience loss of privacy, with no direct economic benefits. Too many vehicles.	Economic benefits to areas outside the village	Possibly the rural idyll. Some residents starting to replicate the series	Promotion was always limited. Some by individual businesses. Main source – media articles	Waiting restrictions. Advisory coach route developed. Flat daily rate to encourage longer stay. Encourage 'green' transport.	Public area – not possible. Suggested toll fees opposed by business	Try to move visitors around the village, but tend to stay close to popular sites. Try to educate re privacy, with limited success	Urbanisation of village to create hard infrastructure – car park extension, kerbing, signage
Luss *Take the High Road*	Hard to quantify, but has increased, especially tour buses.	Loss of privacy.	Most accept it – some make a living from it	No – the series is now not as popular	No – low key anyway. Promoted by independent tour operators	Parking fees from 2001. No vehicles in village.		No – however there is friction.	Extended car park adjacent to village.
UNITED STATES									
Intercourse *Witness*	Not sure what was meant – people do want to see the farm, but it's privately owned & is not like the film.	Nearly 20 years ago. Many Amish not happy with the filming.		No!	State govt. agreed not to promote movies on the Amish. Some of the costumes in Amish Experience Theatre.			Promotional material reminds visitors of privacy issues, esp. not taking photos of the Amish people.	
Mount Airy *Andy Griffith Show*	The questions do not apply to Mount Airy ... ... (quote from respondent). *Questions were re-worded – no further response*								
Dyersville *Field of Dreams*	*No response*								

As previously noted, resident dissatisfaction regarding the increased pressures on infrastructure and lifestyle at many of the sites as well as some concerns over images portrayed in some storylines is prevalent at many sites. A demarketing strategy, integrated into overall destination marketing is proposed as a means to address the issues reported. A model for re-imaging a destination through demarketing is proposed in Figure 1 below, with particular emphasis on film-induced tourism and communities. Such a model can assist in future tourism planning.

Figure 1. Integrated Marketing-Demarketing Strategy
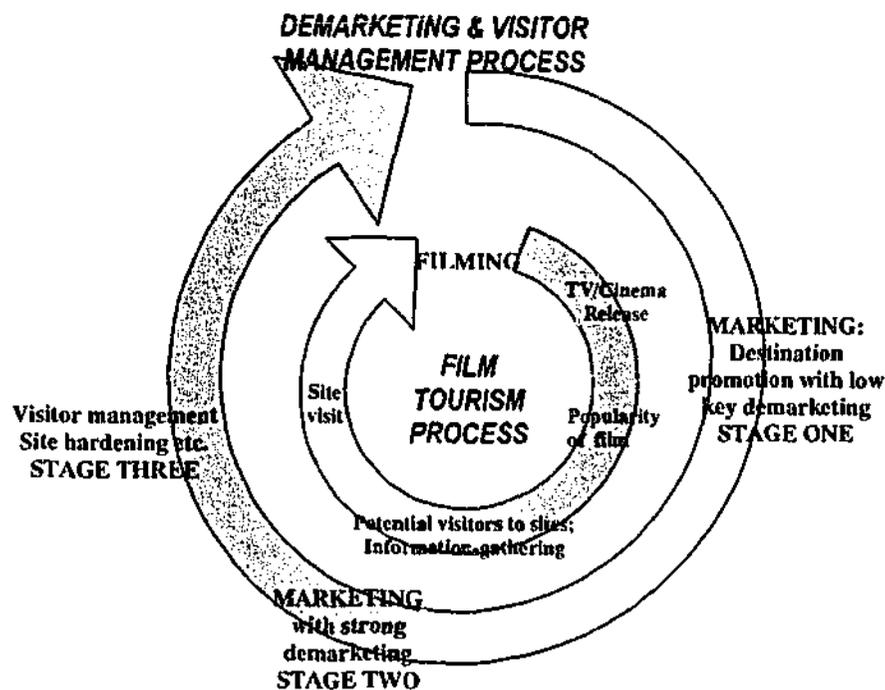
The model incorporates demarketing into the marketing process at the stage of destination marketing when run concurrently with the release of a movie or TV series as well as at the information-gathering stage. Initially, at the destination marketing stage, the demarketing would be minor, possibly in the realm of notifying potential visitors whether sites are publicly accessible and if not, what limitations there may be. The second stage of demarketing may require providing more information such as costs, time or number restrictions and appropriate behaviour towards residents, bringing it more into line with visitor management that comes into effect once the visitors are on-site (Stage Three).

Conclusion

Film is a powerful image-maker and while it would be nice to be able to incorporate filming into community planning, in reality this is rarely the case. We are finding that communities are often left to face the results of a too successful or negative image with limited resources. The concepts of demarketing can be used to work towards re-imaging these communities, empowering them and creating a more sustainable future.

This case illustrates the latent potential of demarketing to re-image a destination. The proposed strategies can be incorporated into many development plans and utilised by commercial as well as community groups. Demarketing can also be used as a tool in empowering members who may have lost control of their community through unplanned film-induced tourism.

Further long-term investigation into film-induced tourism, demarketing and community planning is required. Comparison between different countries and visitor cultures will also provide indications of future issues as this particular tourism niche expands throughout the world.

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