SMILING FOR THE CAMERA: THE INFLUENCE OF FILM AUDIENCES ON A BUDGET TOURISM DESTINATION

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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 aside of Barwon Heads is examined through the lens of the ABC TV series, "Sea Change." "Change in Nature of Sea Change" consists of the rural lifestyle of educated, professionally employed Australians in the range of 40-63 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, innovative 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 irrelevance in relation to the incomes of the highly-visited, 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 lift.

Film-induced tourism: Community: High yield

The Victorian state tourism body, Tourism Victoria, released its initial Strategic Business Plan in 1993, setting out its objectives for the next 5 years (Tourism Victoria, 1993). A key objective was to position the state as a significant tourism destination, adopting a range of strategies to undertake the development of Regional Tourism Development Plans for the 13 regions of the state. The reports were released throughout 1997/1998 in conjunction with Tourism Victoria's second business plan for 1997-2003. The business plan clearly discloses 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 outlined the Roy Morgan Value Segments to identify the high-yielding tourist seg-
nent, which constitutes 53% of the population but does not include traditional family budget holiday-makers (termed as the "Basic Needs," "Real Conservation," "Conventional Family Life," and "Faster 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 discussed 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 Bass and Peninsula regions (which includes the focus area of this article) 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 possible to focus on high-yielding tourist segments (which will not always be lucrative if the actual numbers are not there), it must be recognized that other segments also take holidays, particularly to regional and coastal centers. 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 our community and may result in further disenfranchisement of the lower socioeconomic groups.

Such changes to the tourist mix can also be precipitated (and compounded) by external factors that may not be forecast, planned, or controlled by tourism operators. An example of this is in the use of an area or town in a film or television series, where the locations scout and producer are not cognizant of the potential social impacts their activities may produce. For example, hostellers in Goat Island (the town portrayed as Aulindelford in the TV series "Hercule") found they had lower occupancy levels after the success of the series, even though the town of 200 residents experienced upwards of 1.1 million annual visitors (Demetriades, 1996). The town had previously attracted the "Budgie" market looking for peace and quiet of a small country town, staying in small guesthouses 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 (Demetriades, 1996).

This article considers how an external factor such as film can initiate change in the traditional nature of a tourist community and questions the validity and expediency of focusing on high-yield visitors to 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 are 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 11 years after the film's premiere, one-fifth of respondents attributed their initial knowledge of the monument to the movie (Tookes & Baker, 1996).

Numerous tourism boards developed tourism projects 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 End Breaks," "Last of the Summer Wine Country," "Coronation Street Experience," and "In the Footsteps of Brother Cadfael," with private 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 surreal. However, tourists are often more interested in experiencing what has been promoted through the powerful visual media than getting to so-called "dead" history. This certainly raises issues of authenticity, perception, and tourist behaviours, 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 (Tookes & 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'Regan (1988), in 1987 international tourism volume in Australia was less than an estimated 200,000, with tourism from America constituting 21.4% of total arrivals. This is an increase of 42.8% from 1986 (Department of Tourism, 1989).

With the increasing number of film productions, from "Crocodile Dundee" to "Outback," the potential to attract tourists and expand the national economy is immense. However, while the potential for economic growth is obvious, the potential for social impacts is also significant. The case of Goat Island demonstrates this, and highlights the need for careful planning and coordination of tourism development in order to minimize negative impacts and maximize benefits.
a day visitor attraction, as might be expected (Office of Tourism Australia, 1996).

One major factor is the impact of television series such as *Baywatch* on the tourism industry. After the series was launched in 1989, the number of visitors to the Gold Coast increased dramatically, with an estimated 500,000 visitors arriving in the first month of the series' airing. This led to a significant increase in hotel bookings and a boost to local businesses. The success of the series continued throughout its run, with a peak in visitor numbers during the summer months.

Moreover, the influence of television series on tourism is not limited to Australia. The success of *Baywatch* in the United States has led to increased tourism to the Gold Coast, with visitors flocking to the beaches and tourist attractions featured in the series. This has had a positive impact on the local economy, with increased spending on accommodation, food, and entertainment.

In addition to television series, the influence of film on tourism can also be seen in the popularity of destinations featured in movies. For example, the beaches of the Gold Coast were made famous in *Baywatch*, and have since attracted visitors seeking the same sun-soaked, beach paradise. Similarly, the beaches of the Gold Coast were also featured in the film * 만들어* (Made), which helped to boost tourism to the area.

Overall, the influence of television series and movies on tourism cannot be underestimated. They have the power to shape perceptions of destinations, and can act as powerful marketing tools, drawing visitors to new and existing tourist locations. This is particularly true in the case of the Gold Coast, where the combined impact of television series and movies has helped to create a vibrant and diverse tourism industry.
Tooke and Balser (1996) consider the (usually lim-
ited) carrying capacity of a site to be a major con-
cern for an area that gains sudden tourist signifi-
cance, particularly in relation to increased vehicle
traffic and pedestrian congestion. Riley et al. (1998)
have identified the drawbacks of main concerns as:
- exploitation of locals,
- driving up local prices,
- exploitation of visitors,
- lack of preparedness of locals when dealing
  with the tourist influx,
- location appears different to how it is portrayed
  on film, resulting in a loss of visitor satisfac-
tion,
- imitators,
- souvenir businesses, especially those that seek
  highway and street signs.

The first three relate to any increased tourist visitat-
tion regardless of the reason, whereas the remain-
der can be seen as specifically related to film-in-
duced tourism.

A poignant example of the drawbacks of film-
induced tourism can be found in Suffern, the Atlan-
tic village on which Alex Haley based his book and
mini-series, Roots. Therein are visiting the town, and
Timbuktu's tourist trade is now in number two indus-
try 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 fort-
tunes out of them, but that they received too little in
return, both financially and socially, resulting in re-
migration towards tourists and the Root phenomenon

After the success of the TV series, Pride and Prejudice, the filmed 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 worn and tear and provide additional infra-
structure and services for tourists, which is more than mere "opportunity cost" (Friends of the Lake Dis-
trict, 1996). However, they failed to recognize any
additional benefits that increased tourism numbers
would bring, indicating a lack of community con-
sultation and education in this area, which is not
surprising when one considers who would be impos-
ible 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 loca-
tion. Local councils, who, at the very least, have to
approve certain aspects of the filming such as clos-
 ing public areas, need to take a more proactive role
here. The Friends of the Lake District (1996) sug-
gest, somewhat naively, that the producers and film
companies consider the effects and costs to the com-
 munity of the success of their projects. A further
example of the immediate problems that film pro-
duction can bring can be seen in Paihia, where
20th Century Fox recently made a movie called The
Beach. It appears that the beach being used for the
film has been bulldozed, widened, and cash of its
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 conservation
ists such as Prof. Paul Eagles, the Chair of the Task
Force on Tourism and Protected Areas, World Con-
servation Union (Boutilier, 1999).

As important, potentially ambiguous aspect to be con-
templated when attempting to maximize the ben-
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siders who would be more into—the film makes a time the impacts be association who most film or choice of, at the very least, be of the filming such as take a more proactive Lake Diazm (1998) that the producers are effects and costs to the if their projects. A film, it is problems that film to sees in Thailand v by make a movie calls to beach being used f. widened, and much s. Such is the consensus: and environment that I need to boycott the film, producer, by conserva angle, the Chair of the restored Areas, World E, 1999). a dubious aspect ring to maximize the return is that of the s rated by the film. E me are often not shot m. For example, the of Vietnam in Platoon the United States, as the Blue Brothers (Column: This can create a situ new tourism development false expen sit, resulting in disaster. This notion is confused by tourist attract so that the tourist survival has been not even found in f. In certain types of v d. Demsetz (1996) the exubrate proprietors of other occupancy. The, the, a has been repositioning day visitor situation 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 Bournemouth’s popularity is being experienced in the neighboring towns where the day trippers are staying. Demsetz comments on a fundamental change in the nature of the village and its relationship with visitors, which has become more resourceful 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 aggrandized 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 undermining the lack of empirical research into the impact of film on tourism. It is not always easy to preeminent 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 top 20, attracting up to 1.715 million 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 1999, and the third series in 2000. Aerial evidence suggests that fans of the program began visiting Bournemouth, 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 newspapers have helped to promote the town as ‘Pearl Bay,’ with possibly some literary license being used to conjure up the stories of the dedicated fans already making pilgrimages, such as “Celebrating Sigrid” (Ellie, 1998) where it is suspected by local traders that the author was referring to his wife as the dedicated fan be smugly shadowed around the town.

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, uncertain, and too specific to be applied to the general, therein report 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 (Hod & 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 (Yu, 1994). According to Yu, 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” (p. 13).

Film-induced tourism is a contemporary phenomenon that has not at this stage been adequately conceptualized within academic study. Consequently, taking a research case study approach will contribute to the body of knowledge in this field. This particular strength of taking a case study approach lies in its grounding in reality and attention to complexity and subtlety that is difficult to identify using experimental research methods (Adkins, Jenkiss, & Kemenis, 1993). In order to adequately deal with the complexity of the aims 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 Jenkiss (1995), who recognize its ability to provide a richer sense 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 recognize the need for caution when utilizing case studies as they are singular instances and as such may provide misleading evidence when generalized (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 rigor applied and their original intention. Anecdotal evidence, media reports, and the researcher’s experience in film-induced tourism operations suggest that the case analyzed in this article 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 (Tin, 1994). Consequently, while the possibility of bias in any case study must be recognized 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, emphasizing that the case study is personal, situated, 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 generalization 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 article utilizes a range of research methods that include observation of visitors as well as of the physical changes in the town, informal discussions with local teachers 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, but 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 2460 overnight visitors in holiday homes, 2020 in caravan parks, and 60 in hotels, motels, and units. With a total of 6700 overnight beds available, the town has a greater overnight visitor capacity than the highest-profile tourist town of Lorne with 5820 overnight beds; however, the mix is different with Lorne having 1020 beds in hotels, motels, and units, compared with Barwon Heads’ 50 (City of Greater Geelong, 1999). The predominance 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 holidaysing in the town regularly, annually, and seasonally. The demographics of such groups tend to fall into the lower-yield segments identified by Tourism Victoria as low priority markets.

An increase in accommodation and commercial tourism development has the potential to dramatically change the nature and visual landscape of Barwon Heads, particularly if more hotels, inns, 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 campground market.

Sea Change, based on a screened-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 heading rush in the media for informa-

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INFLUENCE OF FILM ON TOURISM DESTINATION

The influence of film on tourism destination choice is an integral aspect of the so-called "unbiased" product placement in travel marketing. This is particularly evident in the case of the film "Sea Change," which was released in Victoria, Australia. The film's success in drawing tourists to the Barwon Heads area can be attributed to two main factors:

1. **Promotion through Travel Media**: The film brought attention to the local tourism industry, particularly the Barwon Heads area. The movie's release was accompanied by extensive media coverage, including interviews with local tourism representatives and articles in travel magazines. This helped to create a buzz about the area and its attractions.

2. **Brand Association**: The film's setting at the Barwon Heads provided a unique and appealing backdrop for the story, which resonated with potential tourists. The film's portrayal of the beach, the town, and the surrounding scenery helped to create a strong association between the film and the destination.

The success of "Sea Change" in promoting tourism to Barwon Heads has been attributed to the film's ability to create a sense of place and to attract visitors who are interested in a particular location due to their experiences with the film. This is a powerful example of how film can influence tourism decisions, with the potential to generate significant economic benefits for local communities.
of January 31, 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% of respondents had heard of the series, with 94.2% of them aware that it was filmed in Barwon Heads. Of that number, 54.1% had plans to visit the sites from the series. However, when asked to nominate which 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% of visitors were hoping to see sites that are not in Barwon Heads, and 20% 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 (25%) have visited Barwon Heads previously with 21.5% of them in the past 12 months, reflecting the strength of the regular holiday market. Of these first-time visitors, 37% were prompted to come because of the Sea Change series. This was by far the largest motivator of the group, with the next one (usually the highest in domestic tourism), visiting friends and relatives, at 25%.

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 retirees. This is providing some indicative evidence of a broadening of the tourist market due to the television series.

Changes Following Sea Change

The main street shopping strip has altered dramatically over the 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 reopened, but as of January 2000 all shop-fronts were occupied, with the main shopping precinct now boasting a predominance of marine services as opposed to general services. There are now 4 cafés, a bar and restaurant, a second-hand book shop, a gift shop (relocated from Point Lonsdale), an Indonesian import shop, 2 fish and chip shops, a take-away chicken shop, 2 net shops, and an art gallery. Of these, one of the surf shops, two of the coffee shops, the gift shop, book shop, chicken shop, and bar and restaurant have all opened in the 12-month period, 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-makers) in the area are required to travel to Queenscliff, 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 housing 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 (Bolton, 1999). However, it is recognized 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 (Keran, 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, whilst 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) enacted 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 residential areas currently occupied by so-called "coastal adventurers" and their increasing numbers.

Management Plans for B Barwon Heads Park

The Barwon Heads Park is for the most recent purposes (apart from some ill-intentioned, namely the maniacal heads, now known d either the Cookson or ing of fishing boats, the the numbers), and the inf est is in the series, provides out of the action. The light s (a) three levels in the area of artificial images in the series to main attractions for the local visitors to the park.

Plans developed for the 1997-98 season a series of actions th some as precursors to t need and managed carens carers' actions for the care of the animals on the site. The development of a new animal husbandry center and the relocation of the fishery operations is now planned.

The Barwon Heads Park is a nature conservation area and is managed by the Barwon Coast Committee. Due to fears of privation memory and access, there is some of the proposals for the future of the park that are currently on Crown land, "vision of a cheap camping g by the sea". The Barwon Heads Park is currently managed by the Barwon Coast Committee.
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sites currently occupied by campers. It was also ob
served that campers adjacent to the cottage were
being imposed on by the increasing number of visi
tors wishing to view and photograph the cottage and
its surroundings.

Management Plans for Barwon Heads Park—
Driven by Sea Change?
The Barwon Heads Park and camping ground is the
site for the most recognizable aspects of Sea
Change (apart from some filming at St Leonards
and Williamstown), namely the residences of the ma
romantic leads, now known as Leon's Beach House
and either the Cockatoo or Diver Dan's. Also, the
images of fishing boats, the bridge (which is central
to the narrative), and the tidal views feature signifi
cently 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 recrea
tional visitors to the park.

Plans developed for the management of the park
include a series of actions that have been interpreted
by some as precursors to privatizing the publicly
owned and managed caravan park. Proposed "pri
vity actions" for the caravan park include compre
hensive upgrades of the camping sites, adding four
completely serviced cabins next to Leon's Beach House,
and relocating the football club (traditionally based
at the oval in the caravan park). Off-site develop
ments that are adjacent to the caravan park (man
aged by the same management committee) include
the development of the Fisherman's Cove restaurant,
completion of a new beachfront facility incorporating
an interpretation center and picnic facilities, and
the creation of a conservation and education-based walk
(Barwon Coast Committee of Management, 1999).

Due to fears of privatization and loss of public
amenity and access, there has been a strong reaction
to some of the proposals from both locals and tradi
tional 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 tra
dition of a cheap camping holiday" (McKay, 1999, p. 6). The Barwon Heads caravan park itself fea
turned in a number of articles on the plan (for ex
ample, Bart, 1999). Since the commencement of the
privatization debate there has been a change of gov
ernment, which may lead to a change in policy as
when they were in Opposition, the new 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 as
sociated promise of economic gain from the suc
cess of Sea Change is currently timely and may
provide the impetus for the implementation and
eventual success of the developments, particularly
those involved with the jetty and Leon's beach house
premises. 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 visi
tors..." while claiming that "in Britain governmen
tal see... protecting the charming local sights of TV
series..." (Oberon/Threipland & Pick, 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" (Ryillis, Clerk, 1999, p.3). In ac
tual 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 restaurateur the framing
of the series was underway at the site. Consequently,
they could not develop the site immediately, so they
opened a small café that operated until fitting of
the second series was completed. The "easy" had
been altered to suit a particular perspective.

In a running role-reversal the ABC itself appro
priated the controversy to promote the series through
a report on its television current affairs program, The
7.30 Report. And the author, Maxine McKay, in
cluded the report stating that "... some eminent
locals went to develop a $200,000 restaurant on the
site where Diver Dan dined with Laura Gittus" (A
ustralian Broadcasting Commission, 1999, The

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The report was heavily peppered with references to the series and influences of some real-life connection between the fictional characters of Pearl Bay and those living in Barwon Heads. With a tinge to select clips of the series featuring the real estate agents, Bob and Lisa, interspersed with comment from the real-life Barwon Heads agent, Bridget Bodey, informal discussions with some of those interviewed revealed a high level of dissatisfaction with the selective nature of the report.

Conclusions

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 assets 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 case can assist communities in planning optimum levels of development, visitor numbers, and yield they desire and require in conjunction with film-induced tourism. It may also be utilized in regional tourism policy development where external factors affecting yield, development, and visitor numbers are not in isolation of 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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