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## The More Things Change... A Legacy of Film-Induced Tourism

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### Abstract

Tourism can influence and change a community, and when it is unplanned, as often is the case with incidental tourism such as film-induced tourism, such changes are rarely considered. This paper looks at the changes that film-induced tourism (in the guise of a popular TV series, *Sea Change*) made to the seaside village of Barwon Heads in Australia. The attitudes of residents and regular visitors towards the influence of film-induced tourism and its relationship with 'reality' are discussed as well as the actual physical changes to the town.

### Introduction

Tourism has long been recognised as an agent of change, generally perceived along a positive-negative continuum. Such change is usually noted in terms of socio-cultural, economic and environmental elements. In many cases, the extent of the impact is a direct function of the number of visitors. Simply speaking, more visitors can bring more money, but also create more pressure on the environment (natural and built) and their associated communities.

When a movie or popular television series is filmed on-site in an existing town or region, increased visitation to those sites often follows (Riley, 1994; Riley et al., 1998; Tooke and Baker, 1996; Beeton, 2001a, 2001b; Busby and Klug, 2001; Croy and Walker, 2001). As with many cases of increased tourism, those film sites that are in fragile environments and communities tend to see the most dramatic changes. Film-induced tourism is of particular interest (and possible concern) in terms of community development, as many of the more popular television and film sites are in small communities, particularly in rural/regional areas. In this paper, one such community in Australia is considered by looking at the physical changes to the town and beliefs held by residents as well as visitors in terms of the overall effect of a popular television series.

### Tourism and Communities

Many researchers have contributed to our understanding of the positive and negative impacts of tourism on communities (including Doxey, 1975; Murphy, 1985; Krippendorf, 1987; Pearce et al, 1996; Robinson and Boniface, 1997; Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Hall, 2003; Singh et al, 2003. In

particular, the economic impacts are well documented, however in more recent times the socio-cultural elements are becoming more widely acknowledged (Timothy and Tosun, 2003). Singh et al. (2003) relate this pattern of change towards tourism and communities in terms of Jafari's (1989) four tourism platforms of advocacy (where, in this case, economic benefits dominate), cautionary (such as considering primarily the negative socio-cultural impacts), adaptancy (pro-community compromise) and knowledge-based (research-focused community development) platforms. This interesting framework has been used to trace the overall trends in community development and tourism, while allowing us to recognise that not all communities have followed the path at the same rate. There remain many communities in both developed and developing countries that appear to remain 'stuck' in the more confrontational advocacy-cautionary range. The presence of these two platforms within community groups can result in significant levels of irreconcilable conflict.

Table 1 summarises the socio-cultural effects of tourism in terms of cultural impacts, tourist-host interactions and tourism development. They have not been identified as either positive or negative, as in many cases such identification is an arbitrary position based on an individual's personal views, circumstances and position in the community. While important to consider, the complexities behind such prescriptive designation is not in the scope of this introductory discussion on tourism and communities.

Table 1: Socio-Cultural Effects of Tourism on Communities

Cultural Impacts	Arts, crafts and local culture revitalized Cultural commodification Acculturation process likely to occur Changing power balance - control moving to newcomers/outside Crowding Meaning/authenticity not necessarily lost Increased crime (begging, theft, sex tourism, fraud etc.) Cultural exchange/increased understanding and tolerance
Tourist-Host Interactions	Increased social encounters Increasing communication skills Positive interaction – reciprocal host-guest relationships Demonstration effect Hosts adopt foreign languages Tourists learn some foreign language Hosts develop coping behaviour and avoid unnecessary contact
Tourism Development	Modifies the internal structure of the community Changes the character of the community Divides the community into those who have/have not relationships with tourists Has colonialist characteristics Employment in tourism offers more opportunities for women Improves quality of life through infrastructure development Increased pressure on existing infrastructure/ congestion at popular sites Increased traffic and noise Accelerated community change

Many of these effects are not the sole province of tourism, however as tourism becomes considered more and more a means for regenerating declining communities and responding to some of the consequences communities face from globalisation, building tourism is becoming a significant development strategy. Communities are also faced with many issues surrounding the increasing pace of change. As well as creating specific issues and impacts, tourism also facilitates and even increases rates of change (Murphy and Murphy, forthcoming).

Film-induced tourism has the potential to increase the pace of change, particularly

where such tourism has not been anticipated or planned for. The primary aim of this paper is to examine elements of change by outlining the process undertaken to test the hypothesis that

*Film-induced tourism increases the rate of physical change in a community, and to identify the range of attitudes towards change between stakeholders.*

The case of the Australian television series, *Sea Change* and the Victorian coastal village of Barwon Heads where it was filmed, provides some evidence of this issue of change and its consequences. In the particular case outlined in this paper, the physical changes are illustrated, followed by an outline of the changes that were noted by residents and regular visitors to the town. Finally, the attitudes of these stakeholders towards such change are considered by looking at one particular development that had initially polarised the community.

### The *Sea Change* Story

Over a two year period from 1998 to 2000, three 13 episode series of the Australian comedy-drama *Sea Change* were screened on Australian television (with the first series being repeated immediately prior to the screening of the second). It featured quirky characters and a small (usually) friendly community, tinged with the obligatory 'love interest' (between the lead characters Laura and Diver Dan, and later, Max) and rapacious self-serving developer. The series was extremely popular, with a reach<sup>1</sup> in Australia's five capital cities of 43 percent, the highest being in Melbourne (a few hour's drive from Barwon Heads) at 46.2 percent (ABC, 2000). It continually ranked highly in its timeslot, as shown in Table 2, and won numerous awards such as the Most Outstanding Drama Series for 1999 and 2000 in the Australian TV Week Logie Awards, as well as numerous individual awards for the actors.

<sup>1</sup> "Reach" refers to the percentage of the population who watched a programs for a minimum of 5 minutes.

Table 2: Ranking of Series Two by City and Metro-all for each Episode

Week	Sydney	Melbourne	Brisbane	Adelaide	Perth	Metro-All
1	12	3	25	25	8	6
2	12	5	25	41	9	7
3	9	3	15	25	15	4
4	9	2	15	37	7	5
5	4	2	3	26	19	3
6	11	2	16	37	17	8
7	2	1	16	21	10	1
8	1	1	6	25	6	1
9	4	4	6	21	8	3
10	2	1	7	9	7	1
11	1	2	11	10	8	1
12	1	1	3	9	10	1
13	1	6	3	12	2	2

Source: ABC, 2000

Almost immediately, visitation increased to the small seaside village of Barwon Heads where it was predominantly filmed, known as 'Pearl Bay' in the series (Beeton, 2001a). Barwon Heads is a quintessential Australian holiday seaside village, some 20 km from Geelong, Victoria's largest regional city, and 100km from the state's capital, Melbourne. It has traditionally hosted a high level of family and budget holiday-makers, with visitation levels peaking in the summer holiday month of January (Beeton, 2001b).

### The Research Approach

In order to test the hypothesis introduced earlier and to provide some analytical depth, a longitudinal study of Barwon Heads was undertaken over four years, from 1998 to 2001 inclusive. By adopting a qualitative, primarily participant-observation based approach, such changes could be observed and recorded. Personal diary notations and photographs were used to track and record physical changes. In order to ascertain the perceived effects of the physical and attitudinal changes of regular visitors as well as local residents, a series of interviews and surveys were undertaken throughout the period when *Sea Change's* influence was at its greatest – shortly after the series commenced to some 18 months after it finished screening on Australian television. Triangulation was achieved by taking a multi-perspective approach that included surveys and interviews as well as the aforementioned participant-observation.

A self-completion survey was mailed to a random sample of Barwon Heads' residents, as well as further self-completion mail-back questionnaires of visitors that were made available at strategic places in the township

during 1998, 1999 and 2000. Consequently, issues and attitudes from both residents and visitors were identified as they arose. The issues were then developed in follow-up interviews in 2001. These interviews regarding the changes to the town and Park were conducted with people at Barwon Heads during the 2001 Spring school holiday break, resulting in 23 responses from residents and 56 from regular visitors to the town. The questions focused on the impacts of *Sea Change* on the town, the series and opinions of what had become a controversial restaurant development at the site of one of Diver Dan's home, and what they saw as similarities between the town and the fictional series.

Apart from some basic demographic questions, the responses in all of the surveys and interviews were unprompted, allowing for a broad range of responses and a more in-depth qualitative study. Acceptable response levels to open, unprompted questions are dramatically different from that of closed questions. Table 3, cited in Pearce et al (1996) from a Canadian study by Keogh in 1990, compares such rates on responses towards impacts of tourism.

Table 3: 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

Keogh's study suggests what could be considered a reasonable (or 'interesting') response rate from unprompted open questions as being far fewer than for the closed questions. In addition, the open question provides opportunities for

unexpected responses, which is the essence of research. The study demonstrates that acceptable rates of response to open questions should be considered in terms of the type of question and response given, not merely frequency. This is important for the survey research discussed in this paper, much of which was approached using open questions.

### Limitations

Participant-observation, a form of qualitative research, has been criticised as being biased through the influence of the researcher, both during the research and the interpretation of the results. Yin (1994) proposes the use of triangulation in such cases. This has been applied in this study through keeping detailed photographic records along with diaries of the personal observations and, where relevant, community, tourism and business leaders were approached formally and informally. Finally, the series of questionnaires and interviews conducted with residents and visitors provide further triangulation. Nevertheless, as with all research, the interpretation of the findings is based on my own expertise, background and knowledge.

### Similarities between Barwon Heads and Pearl Bay

The physical changes to Barwon Heads are outlined and illustrated in the following pages after some consideration of the perceptions of the primary stakeholder groups of residents and regular visitors, regarding perceived any similarities between the fictional series and the actual town. In a survey undertaken in Easter 2001, residents and regular visitors were asked about the similarities between Barwon Heads and the fictional town of Pearl Bay. Their responses to the open question seem to revolve around what they considered to be the particular nature of a small coastal town, which was closely linked to the people and their personalities. This is shown in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Similarities between Barwon Heads and Pearl Bay (percentage)

Similarities	Residence	
	Local	Visitor
None	61	37
People, personalities	13	9
Small coastal town	40	13
Location, scenery	26	28
Atmosphere	17	14

What is most interesting here in the difference between visitors and local residents is where the latter displays a much higher denial rate about any similarities between the series and the town. This is not surprising as much of the participant-observation research showed that there was a general resistance towards being 'pigeon-holed' into a quaint, quirky caricature, especially when the media was striving to do exactly this. A report by ABC TV on a controversy surrounding the development of the restaurant at Diver Dan's home irritated the locals, many of whom felt they were inappropriately represented through inferred links with the characters in the series.

Nevertheless, of those who saw some similarities between the series and Barwon Heads, there was general consensus between the locals and visitors. The only notable discrepancy was the perception from the local residents that it was the small town size that was the most significant similarity between the series and the town.

While being the smallest reported similarity, the characters (people and personalities) portrayed in *Sea Change* have nevertheless remained a strong element of interest in the township. Considering that 61% of locals saw no similarities a third of those residents who acknowledge some similarity is a strong response. This raises the notion that it is the characters as well as 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*, *Crocodile Dundee* and various 'Ned Kelly' movies that tended to use the uniqueness of the bush as a character in its own right (Beeton, 2004). While visitors were still attracted to the site, it can be argued that they are motivated by the stories and characters rather than the scenery. This proposition is discussed further in Beeton

(forthcoming).

In any service industry, and even more so with tourism, the attitudes of the various parties are extremely important as they influence the nature of the exchange and relationship between them all. The perceptions of relevance of the fictional series to the actual town as outlined above is important as it may influence expectations and behaviour of tourists emulating the fictional film. However, it is also important also to determine the actual situation, which is now considered in terms of the physical changes that took place.

### How *Sea Change* Changed Barwon Heads

After a state of decline, with many shops and services closing down, followed by a period of stagnation, the physical nature of the town itself experienced rapid change after the commencement of *Sea Change*, evidenced by an increased presence of visitor services such as cafes and restaurants as well as soaring housing prices (Beeton, 2001a). It is difficult to isolate *Sea Change* as the only cause for the most obvious changes, such as those to the main street shopping precinct; however the TV series has been acknowledged by the local community and tourism industry as a major contributor (Beeton, 2001b). There were certainly some physical changes that came about as a direct result of the series, particularly at the Barwon Heads Park camping ground where it was filmed.

Over the first twelve months since the commencement of airing *Sea Change* on television, the main street shopping strip experienced some dramatic changes. In 1998, shops were vacant and closing down, in particular basic residential services such as the green grocer, butcher and baker. While those actual shops did not re-open, as of January 2000 all shop-fronts were occupied. The main shopping precinct now boasted a predominance of tourist services as opposed to the general services that had been lost. In place of a defunct butcher's shop, closed Chinese restaurant and vacant new (and old) shops were now two new cafés, a bar and restaurant, a second-hand book shop, gift shop, Indonesian import shop, an additional fish and chip shop, a take-away chicken shop and a second surf shop. For general services such as banking, hardware supplies, groceries, meat and large

supermarket shopping residents and visitors to the area were required to travel to the neighbouring town of Ocean Grove, some five kilometres away. These changes to the main street of the town is illustrated in Figure 1.



Figure 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 café

However, it is in the Barwon Heads Park and camping ground where some of the more obvious and, at times, problematic changes have occurred. This area is the site of the most recognisable aspects of *Sea Change*, namely the residences of the main romantic leads, now known as 'Laura's Beach House' and 'Diver Dan's Shed', as well as a further site of the home of second series lead, Max. From Barwon Heads Park, the images of fishing boats, the bridge over the Barwon River (which is central to the narrative) and the tidal views feature significantly in the series, and were more than merely a visual backdrop to much of the action. These aspects are also among the main attractions for campers and other recreational visitors to the Park (Beeton, 2001b).

The prominent signage at the entrance of the park is the first indication of change, and one of the most evident and lasting elements of the *Sea Change* legacy, along with directional signage from the main road. The Barwon Heads Park sign is in Figure 2.



Figure 2: Signage at the entrance to Barwon Heads Park (September 1999)

During an intense period of participant-observation research in Barwon Heads Park, while staying in the cottage used as Laura's residence in the series on a site visit, which is situated in the government-owned and operated camping ground (Barwon Heads Park) with a predominance of caravan and camping sites, so there is no fencing around the cottage. Tourists were continuously taking photos of the cottage, while others ran up onto the veranda to peer through the windows at all times of the day and night. This created a great deal of stress and insecurity, especially at night time, whereas in the past this had never been an issue when I had stayed there, even when being the only resident in the Park.

That this was not a one-off experience was confirmed by the Park Manager, who recounted stories of single women leaving the cottage early due to a strong sense of insecurity. It was at this time that Park Management erected notices that read, "Visitors are requested to respect the privacy of the beach house residents" as illustrated in Figure 3 below.



Figure 3: Placement of privacy notice on Laura's Cottage (September 1999)

Park Management emphasised their concern over these privacy invasions (which continued regardless of the signs), suggesting that the signs may not be sufficient, and they may need to eventually fence off the site. This would restrict public access to the foreshore walk which may contravene regulations surrounding the

management of camping grounds on public land. The increasing number of visitors wishing to view and photograph the cottage and its surrounds was also imposing on campers adjacent to the cottage. Figure 4 shows the context and siting of Laura's Cottage in the caravan park.



Figure 4: The position of Laura's Cottage in the Barwon Heads Park (September 1999)

By mid 2001, a second cottage had been built next to 'Laura's', with plans to build a third. While the threatened fencing had not happened, earthworks and vegetation plantings were added to discourage people from walking right up to the cottages in order to gain some privacy for guests, as shown in Figure 5. I was not able to test their efficacy personally as the cottages were booked out for over six months in advance.



Figure 5: Earthworks developed to keep walkers and sight-seers away from the cottages (September 2001)

A further group of 'Sea Change Cottages' in a different area of the park had also been constructed. They (or the site) had nothing directly to do with the series, yet management saw obvious marketing benefits in using the reference. In an in-depth interview, the manager also explained that the camping site at the end of the park next to the Bluff is now the most popular camping 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 home. Unlike Laura's Cottage and Dan's Shed, which already existed, 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.

The position of the *Sea Change* film sites is indicated on the map in Figure 6, demonstrating the dominant role that Barwon Heads Park played. The nature of the temporary building for Max's 'home' in the park is also illustrated.

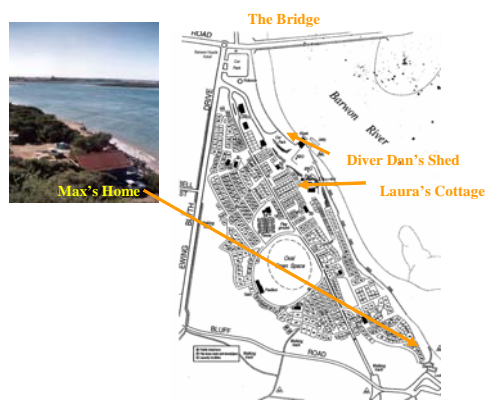


Figure 6: Location of main *Sea Change* sites at Barwon Heads Park

### Perceptions of and Attitudes Towards Change

It is recognised that people's attitudes and perceptions can be behind many of the issues of conflict and power relations that arise in relation to community development and change (Hall, 2003). While we often consider attitudes towards the more social elements, the physical changes brought about through tourism in general, and film-induced tourism in particular, tend to be neglected in terms of residents and visitor attitudes. In the case of Barwon Heads, there is a group of regular visitors who have been holidaying in the area for generations. They have a strong sense of ownership and vested interest, however have little or no direct influence over the future of the town (Beeton, 2001b). This group is an important community stakeholder group, and such disenfranchisement and neglect can be disastrous in the long term. It was this group that formed the majority of responses to the interviews conducted in September 2001.

Table 5 outlines the interviewees' comments regarding the impact that they felt the series has had on the town. All but one respondent were aware of the series, so the comments are based on their own personal observations and are the result of open-ended, unprompted questioning. 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 (visitors and residents) believed that it had an effect on the town. This is important as it indicates the level and range of changes the perceived influence of film-induced tourism and the changes it can bring about. Comments were more favourable than negative, indicating that Barwon Heads was not suffering the negative effects seen at towns in the United Kingdom affected by film-induced tourism such as Goathland, the film-site for the UK TV series, *Heartbeat* (see Demetriadi, 1996; Mordue, 1999, 2001; Beeton, forthcoming).

Some of the typical comments from locals and visitors include "Put on to tourist maps – before may not have known where Barwon Heads is" (interview number 1); "It's good for the tourism industry and real estate" (interview number 2); "Always busy; more upmarket shops; helped real estate prices" (interview number 8); "It put it on the map, whereas Ocean Grove used to overpower it. No longer the 'small sister' – has come of age. Good for business" (interview number 78)

Table 5: Perceived Effects of *Sea Change* on Barwon Heads (percentage)

Effect of <i>Sea Change</i>	Residence		
	Local	Visitor	Overall
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

With what may be considered as a small sample size of 23 local residents, such a proportion would not be considered significant under a parametric quantitative research paradigm. However, as noted in the section on the research approach, due to these comments being unprompted, they are significant. In addition, in qualitative methodology it is often the exception that is of interest (Jennings, 2001; Carson et al, 2001).

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 relatively small proportion (9 percent) of the residents commented that it was not good, especially for young people trying to purchase a home. Their comments include: "Increase in interest throughout the year – used to be dead in winter" (interview number 14); "Been great for Barwon Heads. All shops are open – weren't a few years ago" (interview number 35), "On our knees before they came... New lease of life – houses now selling for \$100,000 – couldn't

sell at all before then" (interview number 33). There were only a few negative comments from the locals interviewed, primarily along the lines of: "Real estate too high, so local young people can't afford to buy homes" (interview number 40).

Visitors also noted the increase in the number and 'quality' of shops and cafes as well as the increase in year-round visitation, possibly 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.

### Changing Attitudes Towards Change

As noted previously, more important than actual changes are the attitudes towards that change. When visitor interviews were conducted at Easter 2000, a restaurant development that incorporated Diver Dan's Shed was under construction, prompting many negative comments regarding the changes to the site, which was particularly unattractive and fenced off at that stage, just under half wanted the place to be left alone. 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 by comments such as: "Doesn't entirely meet working class – more for tourists not locals" (interview number 14), "It's too expensive for locals and exclusive – not locally friendly" (interview number 26). This is quantified in Table 6.

Table 6: Attitudes towards the Restaurant at Diver Dan's Shed, 2001 (percentage)

Opinion	Residence		
	Local	Visitor	Overall
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

There was also some actual turn-around in opinions, with a small number of locals and a fifth of visitors admitting that they were originally against it, but now support the development. “Originally thought it would never be good, but now think it looks great” (interview number 34); “I was originally against the building – but now don’t mind it. I sit down there a bit” (interview number 2). While small, the direction of the change is worth noting as these were once again unprompted responses and can represent an even greater shift. This shift in attitude of regular visitors is also interesting in that this group, along with newer residents, had been most resistant to change (Beeton, 2000).

The photos of the site in Figure 7 demonstrate the extent of the development and the retention of the shed’s façade which was a region of concern of many protests. 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. These photos show the ‘before and after’ versions of the site development. (The different angle of the shot has excluded the bushes that were in the first one – they are still there!)



Figure 7: Diver Dan’s shed as used in the first series of *Sea Change*, originally Fisherman’s Cooperative (April 1999) and the new, initially controversial, restaurant development (July 2001)

If we take these attitudes and correlate them with Jafari’s (1989) aforementioned platforms, the overall position of the community (residents and visitors) at Barwon Heads is in the second ‘cautionary’ platform. Some ‘adaptancy’ is evident, however the move into a knowledge-base in terms of film-induced tourism and community development is non-existent. For

Barwon Heads to truly embrace and develop in this field, the knowledge of individual groups and stakeholders must be expanded.

### When Fiction and Reality Collide: Implications for Community Planners

The elements of the Barwon Heads study outlined in this paper demonstrate the complex nature of film-induced tourism in small communities. Film-induced tourism has significant effects, but they are not easy to isolate due to its integrative nature. Many of the changes seen in Barwon Heads may have occurred without *Sea Change* – the region was experiencing economic recovery after a severe downturn, and buyers who could no longer afford other seaside areas were also moving in. However, *Sea Change* certainly accelerated the pace of change; a point agreed to by tourism and community leaders.

In addition, the perceptions of stakeholders such as residents and regular visitors can change at an uneven rate, making them difficult to predict. Yet, perceptions are important, as they influence the nature of social interactions between and among residents, regular visitors and tourists. Resentment towards visitors and between community members can create an environment that is poor in terms of social capital. This will most likely ultimately translate into economic paucity as the region becomes less and less attractive to visit and live in. However, as demonstrated with the restaurant development, opinions regarding change can alter over time, so careful thought must be applied in these circumstances, particularly when one group may be applying undue influence. Simply bowing to the most prominent opinion may not be appropriate. As noted by Hall (2003), understanding the power relations in a community is crucial to its development.

While not highly evident in this study to date, film-induced tourism that is character-driven has the potential to ‘encourage’ a place and its people to emulate those characters, which may result in an alteration of the nature of that community. There was some indication of a few of the Barwon Heads shopkeepers consciously taking on elements of the characters, however this was quite limited. Ultimately, any change to the community will most likely depend on how long the influence of the series persists, and

in the case outlined in this paper, whether it has encouraged people to make their own 'sea change' to Barwon Heads. Nevertheless, regardless as to whether this does remain in the public consciousness, the impression created by such a popular series will last in some form or other for many years. The *Sea Change* cottages, caravan park signage and restaurant at Diver Dan's remain concrete reminders for visitors and residents.

So, what does all this mean in terms of community planning and development? As it is usually not the primary reason for filming a TV series or movie, film-induced tourism is an incidental/accidental outcome, which is different to most more conscious forms of tourism development. Film directors and producers are primarily concerned with getting their movie or series filmed, not how this will translate into tourism in the future. This, however can change when they are involved in a long-running TV series that will require some goodwill from residents and other stakeholders. In the case of *Sea Change*, the on-site filming of the series was over approximately four blocks of time with extended breaks in between, not a long-term ongoing process as for series such as the UK produced *Heartbeat* that has been regularly filmed at Goathland since 1991 (Beeton, forthcoming). Regardless, the limited understanding by local councils, community developers and destination marketers of some of the intricacies of the legacies of such 'unplanned' tourism can result in under-realised benefits, or at the worst unplanned social and environmental degradation.

Once again, the call goes out for pro-active community planning, not simply reactive responses. Local government in particular must become more aware of not only the potential of tourism, but also the impacts it may have and issues that may arise – attracting visitors is only the start. By the time these issues become apparent, it is often too late to correct them.

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