

## **CREATING AN IMAGE: FILM-INDUCED FESTIVALS IN THE AMERICAN WEST**

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### **Abstract**

Film and television are major forces in shaping destination image and encouraging tourism visitation. A growing literature reports on how film and television either directly attract tourists or is incorporated into destination marketing campaigns. However, there has been little research examining how film and television may be used in festivals and events and how destinations may actively use such festivals as a medium for creating their destination image. This article considers film-induced festivals in the small American towns of Lone Pine and Jamestown. Both have been extensively used as film locations since the 1920s, primarily for Westerns. Lone Pine has been the location for over 350 films, and Jamestown has been the location for 150 films. Through film-themed festivals, these towns have reshaped their destination images as idealised and romanticised Western locales. In contrast other aspects of their heritage have been downplayed causing some dissonance between stakeholders.

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## CREATING AN IMAGE: FILM-INDUCED FESTIVALS IN THE AMERICAN WEST

### INTRODUCTION

In *Film-induced tourism* (2005), Sue Beeton examines how destinations utilise feature films and television to attract tourists. Many destinations incorporate film into their marketing, some develop film-based attractions, but Beeton only records one that has developed a festival based on its film image. This is the small town of Mount Airy in North Carolina, USA. It hosts a 'Mayberry Days Festival' based on the 1960s television program *The Andy Griffith Show*. Andy Griffith grew up in Mount Airy and incorporated elements of the town into his show. Through the festival this otherwise nondescript town promotes itself as the epitome of smalltown America to nostalgic visitors (Beeton, 2005: 60-1).

However, Mount Airy is not unique. Other American towns have similarly built their festivals around film and television connections. Metropolis, Illinois links itself to Superman through an annual 'Superman Celebration' (Metropolis Area Chamber of Commerce 2006). In Riverside, Iowa the connection is to *Star Trek* and the town bills itself as 'The future birthplace of Captain James T. Kirk'. Its annual 'Trek Fest' is promoted as 'the small town fair with a Sci-Fi flair' (Trek Fest, 2006). In California, the towns of Lone Pine and Jamestown have utilised their history as locations for hundreds of Hollywood movies to establish the 'Lone Pine Film Festival' and 'Movie Railroad Days' respectively.

A growing literature examines the link between film and tourism (Beeton, 2001, 2004 & 2005; Busby and Klug, 2001; Croy and Walker, 2003; Frost, Croy and Beeton, 2004; Kim and Richardson, 2003; Pearce, Morrison and Moscardo, 2003; Riley, Baker and Van Doren, 1998; Sargent, 1998; Tooke and Baker, 1996). However, very little of this research is concerned with festivals and how they might be used to develop destination images based on film. This article aims to extend this coverage to include festivals through examination of the two Californian festivals at Lone Pine and Jamestown.

Lacking capital and infrastructure, small towns often rely on festivals as the most effective way to boost tourism numbers. However, many towns suffer from problems of sameness. With little to distinguish them from other destinations, their festivals may attract little more than local interest. In rural California, many towns base their destination images on local agricultural produce. There are annual festivals celebrating almonds (Oakley), artichokes (Castroville), asparagus (Stockton), avocados (Carpinteria, Fallbrook), carrots (Bakersfield), fruit and nuts (Hughson), garlic (Gilroy), lemons (Ventura), mushrooms (Morgan Hill), mustard (St Helena), peaches (Marysville), strawberries (Arroyo Grande, Roseville, Watsonville, Wheatlands) and tomatoes (Yuba City) (California Festivals, 2005; Festival USA, 2005). In basing their festivals on films, Jamestown and Lone Pine have sought to distinguish themselves from their neighbours.

There is a strong trend for many films and television productions to focus on small rural communities, often with quirky or eccentric characters, and to present them as a romanticised ideal. Examples include *The Bridges of Madison County* (USA), *The Quiet Man*, *Ballykissangel* (Ireland), *Heartbeat* (England), *Local Hero* (Scotland) and *Seachange* (Australia). These productions have proved to be highly popular, particularly with urban audiences and to have stimulated strong tourism flows (Beeton, 2001, 2004 and 2005; Croy and Walker, 2003). The success of film portrayals of romanticised rural idylls has encouraged destinations to focus on re-imagining based on these productions (Roberts and Hall, 2001: 43-6).

However, there is a tendency to view film-induced tourism in a passive sense. The destination image produced through film may be seen as *organic*, produced by forces outside of tourism and beyond the control of the operators. For example, the set of the film *Field of Dreams*, built in a cornfield in rural Iowa, became an instant tourist attraction (Riley et al, 1998). Seemingly, no destination marketing or development strategy was needed, the film did it all and the local

community reaped a bumper harvest. As such, film-induced tourism may be viewed as a type of *cargo cult*. Films are made, capture the imagination of the public and increase tourism flow, but the destinations are passive receivers of benefits which they did little to earn. Unfortunately, such a view misses the vital question – how did the destination translate the interest generated by film into actual tourism? There is a need for this process to be explored further, to understand both how destinations use films to attract tourists and the experiences they provide. One of the ways this process may be developed is through festivals. Usually the creation of destination image occurs through destination marketing organisations, such as a regional tourism association (Pike, 2004). However, destination marketing organisations may have little input into the development and organisation of festivals and as such, little say in the image created. There may also be a process in which a destination will reshape its image and experiences to better fit a film image and the resultant expectations of tourists.

Such a reshaping of a destination's image raises issues of authenticity. As Getz has argued, 'in North America and other new nations, traditional festivals and events are in short supply ... [and as a result] communities have invented their own' (1994: 319). Such festivals may contain inauthentic and staged components, but over time they may become perceived as authentic and effectively representing a community's 'sense of place' (Getz, 1994: 319-321). Echoing this view, Chhabra et al (2003) argued that attendees at Scottish Highland Games in the USA had high perceptions of the authenticity of the events.

Attendees at events may be quite broadminded in their attitudes towards heritage and authenticity. Heritage and heritage tourists are often viewed in serious terms. However, it has also been argued that a significant proportion (if not the majority) of tourists at heritage sites are either general tourists for which the heritage is but one part of the experience (Prentice, 1993). Even if heritage is the primary attraction, the quest for fun and nostalgia may be just as important as connecting with the past (Cameron and Gatewood, 2004). While museums may generally be associated with 'high culture', interpretative approaches which emphasise 'popular culture' and 'playfulness' may be more effective in imparting meaning and understanding to visitors (Garton Smith, 1999). Furthermore, people create their own interpretation of what they experience. Chronis, in a study of Gettysburg, argued that visitors were not passive receivers of information, but *co-constructors* 'actively engaged by using their prior background, negotiating, filling gaps and imagining' (2005: 400).

Such research indicates that there may be quite different approaches to heritage dependent on the setting. A visitor to a museum may have particular expectations about authenticity, whereas that same person at a festival may carry quite different expectations. While Jamestown and Lone Pine have based their festivals on films and Hollywood's representation of the West, attendees may perceive this as valid heritage presented in an authentic way.

In examining the festivals at Jamestown and Lone Pine this article is divided into four sections. The first considers the background of these towns, particularly their history as film locations. The second describes the features of the two festivals. The third examines how these festivals have created a Wild West image for these towns. While highly attractive for tourists, this created image perhaps conflicts with the real heritage of the towns. The fourth section considers the implications of the heritage dissonance generated by the festivals. It looks at the interaction between the festival and other stakeholders who hold a differing vision of the towns' heritage.

## **WESTERN FILM AT JAMESTOWN AND LONE PINE**

Jamestown is in the western foothills of the Sierra Nevada, 200 kilometres inland of San Francisco. Lone Pine is on the eastern side of the Sierra, 400 kilometres north of Los Angeles. Both are former goldmining towns, but it is their history as movie locations, particularly for Westerns, which now dominates their destination image.

Westerns have long been a highly popular genre of film. Firmly based in the historical West, their appeal extends well beyond their geographical setting, including to the eastern USA, Europe, Japan, South America and Australia (Calder, 1974; McGrath, 2001; Penalzoza, 2001). While the Western landscape contributes to the attraction, it is the stories and personalities, the heroes and villains, which dominate the mythic appeal of the Western. In focussing on the frontier, Westerns explore the interactions between wilderness and civilisation, modernity and individuals (Calder, 1974; Coyne, 1997; Hitt, 1990; Kitses, 2004; McBride, 2003; White, 1991).

This 'imagined' West is not just a product of film. Even in the nineteenth century, the mass media was developing the myth. In 1849 Kit Carson fought against some Apaches. Later, in examining their camp, he found they had been reading a 'dime novel' which featured Carson as a fearsome Indian fighter (White, 1991: 616-617). Others readily participated in the making of the myth. 'Buffalo Bill' Cody reinvented himself as the creator and star of his own Wild West Show, touring the eastern states and Europe. His co-stars included Sitting Bull and other Sioux, who would return to the frontier and be killed at Wounded Knee (White, 1991: 613). Jesse James dictated copy to sympathetic newspapermen, urging them to compare him to King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table (Stiles, 2002: 224).

The romanticised view of the passing of the West and the alienated heroic individual appeals strongly to urban dwellers. For this market, the modern West promises an escape to another simpler world. Access may be through travel, dressing in western clothes and attending events such as rodeos (Penalzoza, 2001). For many, the attraction is the nostalgic recapturing of playing 'Cowboys and Indians' as a child (McGrath, 2001). Country and Western music fuels a strong sub-culture, popular in many countries. The broad appeal and strong emotional responses generated by Westerns and these other activities make the American West one of the most enduring destination brands in world tourism.

In the early days of film, the Western was one of the few genres which were given freedom of location by studio executives. Filming on location allowed directors to escape close financial and artistic control and stars to hunt, fish or misbehave far from prying eyes (McBride, 2003: 102, 149 & 419; Rothel, 1990: 63 & 69). At Jamestown, filmmakers were attracted by the availability of the Sierra Railroad. Not only did this branch line offer nineteenth century steam locomotives and rolling stock, but the gently undulating countryside had no distinguishing features and could stand in for nearly anywhere in the USA. Commencing in 1919, nearly 150 movies were made at Jamestown (see Table 1).

**Table 1: Major Movies Using Jamestown as a Location**

Year	Title	Stars	Use of Jamestown
1929	The Virginian	Gary Cooper	Train sequences
1939	Dodge City	Errol Flynn	Race between stagecoach and train; finale fight on train; various town shots
1940	Return of Jessie James	Henry Fonda	Train sequences
1940	Go West	Marx Brothers	Finale – train chase
1952	High Noon	Gary Cooper	Station shots
1958	Man of the West	Gary Cooper	Train sequences
1980	The Long Riders	Stacey Keach, David Carradine	James Gang rob moving train
1990	Back to the Future III	Michael J. Fox	Finale – train chase and wreck. Town set built nearby
1992	The Unforgiven	Clint Eastwood	Train sequences

Source: Railtown 1897 State Historic Park, 2004.

In 1904 a group of Los Angeles businessmen began buying up land and its attached irrigation rights at Lone Pine. The irrigation water was then pumped 400 kilometres south to aid the rapid suburban expansion in Los Angeles (Reisner, 1986). These strong connections stimulated Hollywood's interest in the area. In particular, the spectacular rocky Alabama Hills were used as a generic arid location. Indeed, most of the major films made at Lone Pine were set elsewhere, for example, a large number of films set in India were shot there (see Table 2).

**Table 2: Major films at Lone Pine**

Year	Film	Star	Setting
1934	Lives of a Bengal lancer	Gary Cooper	19 <sup>th</sup> Century India
1936	Charge of the Light Brigade	Errol Flynn	19 <sup>th</sup> Century India and Crimea
1939	Gunga Din	Cary Grant	19 <sup>th</sup> Century India
1941	High Sierra	Humphrey Bogart	Contemporary
1951	Along the Great Divide	Kirk Douglas	Western
1953	King of the Khyber Rifles	Tyrone Power	19 <sup>th</sup> Century India
1955	Bad day at Black Rock	Spencer Tracy	Contemporary
1960	North to Alaska	John Wayne	Gold-Rush Alaska
1962	How the West was won	Gregory Peck	Western
1972	Joe Kidd	Clint Eastwood	Western
1989	Tremors	Kevin Bacon	Science Fiction
1989	Star Trek V (also Star Trek VII in 1995)	William Shatner	Science Fiction
1992	Kalifornia	Brad Pitt	Contemporary
1994	Maverick	Mel Gibson	Western
2000	Gladiator	Russell Crowe	Ancient Rome

Sources: Holland, 1990; Lone Pine Film Festival, 2006.

However, the majority of 350 movies made at Lone Pine were B grade Westerns. Between 1920 and the 1950s, Lone Pine was the location for films made by Tom Mix, Hoot Gibson, Ken Maynard, William Boyd (Hopalong Cassidy), Gene Autry, Roy Rodgers, Tim Holt and Randolph Scott (Holland, 1990; Rothel, 1990). Cheaply produced and relying on stock characterisations and plots, they received little critical appreciation, but were immensely popular, both in first release and then later on television.

## THE FESTIVALS

Railroad Movie Days are held irregularly at the Jamestown railway station. Located about half a kilometre from the town centre, the station contains the main railworks for the Sierra Railroad, including engine roundhouse, workshops and turntable. In the 1950s conversion from steam to diesel led to most railworks in the USA being demolished. However, the revenue from film hire convinced the Sierra Railroad to retain a steam train operation at Jamestown. In addition, further income was generated from excursion trains. In 1970 the Jamestown station began operations as a privately operated theme park called Raitown 1897. Following financial difficulties the site was purchased by the State of California in 1981 and became a state park. In 1992 the California State Railroad Museum took over operations, though it remained a state park (*Union Democrat*, 2001: 10-12).

The Movie Railroad Days (initially known as the Wild West Film Fest) were developed to supplement the ongoing steam rides and railworks tours. The weekend festival aims for a balance between train and film related activities. For rail enthusiasts there are steam train excursions and

demonstrations of equipment (such as the roundtable) and unusual rolling stock (including an ambulance and a handcar). These demonstrations are only undertaken at such special events and not on normal operating days. For film buffs there are panel discussions and autograph sessions with actors and stuntmen who worked at Jamestown. A number of celebrity 'look-a-likes' roam around posing for photographs and on the main stage re-enact scenes from famous films. Further sessions focus on special effects and feature film props from the museum (*Union Democrat*, 2001: 3). It is noteworthy that since this festival has been running, two privately-operated Western theme parks have been announced. These are Gold Rush City and another incorporating the film set built for *Back to the Future III*. However, neither of these went beyond the planning stage.

Lone Pine's annual Film Festival commenced in 1990. Its core event is the screening of a number of films made in Lone Pine. Other activities in the festival include parades, concerts, barbecues, discussion panels and guided tours of locations. Much of the appeal is in the presence of those who worked on films at Lone Pine. While actors are drawcards, their limited availability has posed challenges for the organisers. The 2004 festival included panels of both stuntmen and children of the stars and the 2006 festival will focus on horses in western films (Lone Pine Film Festival, 2006).

A major attraction of both festivals is what MacCannell termed a 'staged back region' experience. This is, 'a space for outsiders who are permitted to view details of the inner operation of a commercial, domestic, industrial or public institution' (1999: 99). Such backstage experiences are particularly apt for festivals related to film. At Jamestown, festival attendees experience re-enactments of the *filming* of scenes from famous movies, and at sessions on special effects they are let in on the secrets of these effects and are able to handle props. At Lone Pine, stuntmen explain their secrets and the (now adult) children of the stars reminisce on their childhood experiences of being on the set. The attraction is not just the films, but being able to go *behind* the cameras and learn about *film-making*. Most importantly these experiences can only be gained by attending the festivals. At other times of the years visitors may come to see these film locations, but they will not have these backstage experiences.

## **CREATING A WESTERN IMAGE**

In developing destination images built on film heritage, Lone Pine and Jamestown have chosen to reshape themselves in terms of Westerns. While most major films made at Lone Pine were set in other countries, it is the B Westerns that have come to represent the town. As Rothel noted in visiting a local restaurant, their display of famous actors included only those from B Westerns and excluded those who made big-budget films (1990: 67). Similarly, the annual film festival focuses primarily on these Western films. Furthermore, the physical fabric of the town has been altered to portray a Western image. The Dow Hotel was built in 1923 in the then fashionable Spanish Mission style. However, now it has been clad in unpainted clapboards to present a frontier image (Holland, 1990: 78). The local McDonalds is also clad in weathered clapboard rather than in the conventional corporate style (Lone Pine Chamber of Commerce, 2004).

In Jamestown, festival re-enactments have emphasised the classic film images of the West. For example, at the 1998 festival the highlights included a gunfight in the main street and a recreated train robbery. As in Lone Pine, the town's physical fabric has been altered to match the image. The railway buildings, rolling stock and uniforms represent the late nineteenth century, even though it continued steam operations into the mid twentieth century. The main street looks like a studio Western backlot set, with wooden pavements, hitching posts, horse troughs and verandas.

These Western images give both towns major competitive advantages in comparison to nearby towns. These competing towns share many attributes, including agricultural production, Gold Rush heritage and proximity to the Sierra Nevada Mountains. If Lone Pine and Jamestown focussed on these attributes, they would struggle to attract visitors, for they would hardly differ from their neighbours. By promoting their connections to films, they have developed a distinct and

commercially valuable destination image. This commercial advantage extends from the festivals to western-themed restaurants and retailers specialising in Western clothing and gear.

However, this destination image is to a certain extent an invention. Neither Jamestown nor Lone Pine ever were the towns they seek to portray themselves as at the festivals. There were never gunfights in the main street of Jamestown, nor was the train robbed by masked men on horseback. The railway was built to service orchardists, loggers and tourists to Yosemite. That its Gold Rush buildings remind tourists of the Wild West is due to both the impact of films and the creative alterations made by their contemporary owners.

Film encourages a selective view of the history of the West. Robert Rosenstone argued that as film is visual, filmmakers concentrated on getting the authentic look right in historical films, particularly of costumes and weapons. That achieved, 'as long as you get the look right, you may freely invent characters and incidents and do whatever you want to the past to make it more interesting' (Rosenstone, 1995: 60). Western films are particularly good example of this, strong on period detail, inventive with historical facts. According to Hannah Calder, 'real men become immortal heroes of fiction and movie stars become, for their public, genuine Westerners ...[and] no amount of elucidation of the facts will destroy the myth (Calder, 1974: 12).

The festivals at Lone Pine and Jamestown strongly promote their authenticity, but it is authenticity through the filmmaker's lens. The accoutrements of the West: the clothing, hats, weapons and saddlery are paraded and admired. Most importantly for the economies of the towns, authentic replicas can be purchased and worn by festival attendees. Such an emphasis on crowd participation through the wearing of Western gear duplicates that of rodeos and other Western events (Penaloza, 2001). Re-enactments of historical events are from movies not history. A good example of this is the restaging of train robberies with horseback riders leaping on to moving trains. Whilst an exciting stunt in films, historical train robbers (such as Jesse James) took no such foolhardy risks. They simply and efficiently stopped trains by placing logs or rocks on the tracks (Stiles, 2002).

While these festivals promote a romanticised heritage of the West, other aspects of the towns' real history are marginalised. In Lone Pine, the Gold Rushes and the battle with Los Angeles over the water from the Owens River are absent from the festival as they have not been featured in films shot there. Recognition of Native Americans and their continuing existence in the town are missing from the festival. Similarly, Jamestown's actual connections with the Gold Rushes are greatly downplayed. Indeed it is striking that Jamestown has turned its back on a history which includes Mark Twain and John Muir. While internationally famous, these personalities can also be claimed by many of the surrounding towns. Instead Jamestown builds its appeal on actors such as Gary Cooper.

## **STAKEHOLDERS AND HERITAGE DISSONANCE**

The festivals in both towns involve and affect a wide range of stakeholders. Each of these have their own objectives, and, as in common in many events, there is much potential for dissension and conflict. Two particular issues stand out. The first is that both festivals utilise venues which operate as tourist attractions throughout the remainder of the year. Consideration of this interaction is important as the role of venues is generally underplayed in the literature on festivals. The second issue arises from the emphasis on Western heritage in the festivals. As noted in the previous section, this promotes an invented image for the towns. In the case of Jamestown this has led to disputes amongst stakeholders over the appropriate image to project.

The Lone Pine Film Festival involves co-operation between a wide range of local businesses and organisations. A number of events are held in local restaurants and bars. Many of these businesses boast walls decorated with photos and posters, some feature autographs and others have external murals. Similarly many accommodation operators are heavily involved, have

adopted movie themes in their décor. The State of California's Interagency Visitors Center, while primarily concerned with nature-based tourism and recreation, also features interpretation on film heritage. The close link between natural and cultural heritage is illustrated by the premier scenic drive – the Mt Whitney Portal Road, also being routed through the Alabama Hills and numerous film locations. Maps to film sites along this road are available from many of the businesses in the town. A further appeal of the area is that films are still being made and that the local county is active in seeking to attract films (Inyo County Film Commission, 2004).

However, the structure of the festival is changing. One of the key objectives of the festival since its beginning has been the establishment of a film museum in Lone Pine. By 2001 \$US230,000 had been raised from the annual festivals and was used to purchase a site on the main highway. Following further donations, the purpose-built museum is scheduled to open in October 2006. In design, it will be a copy of a 1930s art-deco cinema (Lone Pine Film History Museum, 2006). In the future the festival will use the museum as its main venue. This creates the potential for disharmony if restaurants, bars and shops lose custom to the new venue. In Jamestown tensions arise from a perception amongst shopkeepers that the Railroad Movie Days attracts tourists away from the main street of town. The possibility that festivals create both winners and losers amongst local businesses has been identified for other rural festivals and deserves further examination.

While capturing the economic benefits of the festivals may be a source of conflict between various stakeholders, a more significant problem arises from conflicting views over the image generated by the festivals. The invented Western heritage promoted in these two festivals appeals to some stakeholders, but also repels others. This romanticised image of the West creates *Heritage Dissonance*, a 'discordance or a lack of agreement' over the meaning and value of heritage (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996: 20-1). This dissonance is greatest at Jamestown, where it has threatened the continued future of the Movie Railroad Days. After the 2001 festival, California State Parks decided that it would no longer provide seeding funding. As no alternative source of funding has been found, the festival has been in abeyance since. The issue here is complex. California State Parks has not forbidden the festival. It still is making the State Park available as a venue. Rather, it has withdrawn just one part of its support. However, that part is crucial for the festival's ongoing occurrence.

The tensions at Jamestown are inherent in public-private partnerships. Management is shared between California State Parks and the California State Railroad Museum. While California State Parks provides funding, most of the staff and volunteers are through the California State Railroad Museum. California State Parks is experienced in operating a wide range of historic parks, but none of its other parks puts the emphasis on movies and the Wild West. For some California State Parks staff there is an enormous gulf between the nation-building heritage represented at its other parks and the triviality of movies and recreated gunfights at Jamestown. On festival days, Jamestown must seem much closer to a theme park than a heritage site. A further consideration is that Jamestown is an anomaly. In its strategic planning, California State Parks has no similar festival to deal with.

The Lone Pine festival has not had the same problem. In its case most of the festival venues are privately owned commercial enterprises. The use of the recently opened museum as the main venue increases its stability, though there may always be the potential for future disagreements between the museum management and the festival organisers. The major landowner in the town is the Los Angeles Water Supply Department (even though that city is 400 kilometres away). Its support is relatively passive, mainly allowing tours to take place on its land.

## CONCLUSION

Jamestown and Lone Pine provide instructive case studies of how festivals may assist in the development of destination image tourism. In many respects these were typical small American towns. However, their history as film locations provided the potential for developing a distinctive destination image. The mechanism for developing the destination image was weekend festivals. As is the case with many small towns, a festival was the appropriate vehicle for attracting visitors, providing the best utilisation of limited financial and human resources. These festivals were designed to link film interest to visitation. Beyond the festival weekends, these events created a strong destination image based on the American West. Such an image encourages visitation all year round.

The image created by these festivals is a romanticised one of the American West. It is characterised by gunfights, horse riding stunts, cowboy clothing and gear. The mythic West, created and projected through film, is given tangible form at these festivals. However, it is an invented image. The festivals present the West through Hollywood's lens. Furthermore, this Western heritage is emphasised at the expense of the towns' real history.

In both cases, there are strong relationships with permanent attractions as venues. At Jamestown, the Movie Railroad Days utilises the existing attraction of the 1897 Railtown State Historic Park. The festival provides an opportunity for the staff and volunteers at the park to undertake activities and display machinery to large numbers of visitors. Normally it would not be viable to conduct such a wide range of activities. The festival thus provides an enhanced or extended attraction. However, the emphasis on an imagined Western image creates dissonance. Concerned with the appropriateness of this image for a State Historic Park, California State Parks has withdrawn seeding funding, effectively closing the festival. At Lone Pine, its festival has the specific objective of raising funds to build a permanent museum. Recently built, this museum will now ensure a more even tourist flow and no doubt provide a wider range of activities and displays during future festivals. In sharp contrast to Jamestown, the securing of a permanent venue is likely to ensure the continued viability of this festival.

A wide range of small rural towns have been the locations for popular films and television series. In most cases the choice of these towns has been outside the influence of the local community. Film production expenditure and tourism visitation has been perceived as a windfall, something gained if a town is lucky enough to be chosen as a location. Lone Pine and Jamestown are valuable instances where the destination has not been passive in its responses to film. Rather, in both cases the local community has sought to utilise films as a means of attracting tourists. They have achieved this through developing festivals. These festivals have been effective in providing an enjoyable experience for participants and developing an attractive destination image based on Western films.

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