Evolving Community Perceptions of Tourism in Westland

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Westland Case Study
Report No.24/2001
Evolving Community Perceptions of Tourism in Westland

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Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This report examines tourism in the Westland District of New Zealand’s South Island. It is the third of four case studies on tourism destinations in New Zealand which aim to increase understanding of the ways in which tourism affects communities and the ways in which communities influence tourism¹. There are both positive and negative impacts of tourism. Many New Zealanders view tourism as an important source of employment and as a means of bringing foreign exchange into the country. However, there is also a range of physical, economic and social impacts that must be considered. These include the carrying capacity of natural environments, the ability of tourism to provide a sustainable source of income over a long period, and how well local residents adapt to the presence of tourists in their communities.

In the Westland District there is a range of issues to be considered with regard to the impacts of tourism. Although there is a rich history of travel in the area, it is only in recent years that numbers of tourists have increased dramatically. This has placed pressure on existing infrastructure and challenged members of the community to consider the future role of tourism in their area. Tourism is increasing in Westland at a time when other traditional industries such as logging, mining and some types of farming face uncertain futures. Therefore, there is a keen interest on the part of planners at central and local government levels to understand better the social, economic and political dimensions of tourism in Westland. While tourism cannot be viewed as a replacement or substitute industry for logging, mining, farming or any other industry, if managed carefully, it can provide a means for broadening and diversifying the Westland economy.

Unlike Rotorua, but similar to Kaikoura, both tourism and community issues in Westland have not been the subject of detailed previous research. There have been a number of social and community histories written about various towns in the Westland region (see for example, Harrop, 1923; Pascoe, 1966; Pickering, 1993; Alexander, 1994). Additionally, there have been some Diploma, Masters and Ph.D. theses that have investigated various aspects of the community, environment and tourism in Westland (see Reedy, 1979; Smeaton, 1993; Kazmierow, 1996; Kirby, 1997; Moran, 1999).

These studies do not provide a full account of tourism. Furthermore, not only are existing studies limited, but the available data on tourism does not focus on Westland. The lack of a comprehensive tourism database for Westland means that, at present, tourism planners in Westland must rely on existing sources such as the New Zealand International Visitors Survey, the Domestic Tourism Monitor and the Statistics New Zealand Accommodation Survey. However, inconsistencies in the ways in which data are collected and presented, such as data only being available at the West Coast regional level rather than at the Westland District level, means that interpretation of previous and current tourism trends is difficult.

¹ This report is one of a series of community tourism case studies that have been funded by FoRST and produced by the Tourism Recreation Research and Education Centre (TRREC), Lincoln. Other completed case studies include Kaikoura and Rotorua.
Thus, the collection of historical and community data from local libraries, museum and Westland District Council records were important in this research because these data allowed the context of tourism development in the region to be understood.

This study focuses upon Westland District (Figure 1) and, specifically, upon four Westland communities including Hokitika, Harihari, Franz Josef/Okarito and Haast (Figure 2). These communities were chosen for closer examination to highlight differences and similarities in their rates of tourism development, planning, community participation and residents’ perceptions of tourism.

The main objective of this report is to examine the impacts of tourism on Westland communities and Westland residents’ attitudes towards tourism. The particular objectives are:

- To provide an historical account of the history and development of tourism in the Westland District.
- To provide an account of community issues, such as local involvement in planning and the provision of infrastructure, that affect local attitudes towards tourism development in the District.
- To outline the perceptions held by residents towards tourism in Westland and to show how these perceptions have evolved over time.
- To describe how the Westland community has coped with the various types of tourism development that have occurred in the area.
- To identify which factors influence residents’ perceptions of tourism and the ways in which they have adapted to tourism.
- To test and refine existing theoretical models of tourism development in the context of tourism in Westland.

1.2 Report Structure

This report examines the impacts of tourism upon the Westland community and Westland residents’ responses to tourism. In order to set the context for the study, the geographical, historical and social characteristics of the Westland District and its residents are described. Therefore, the report is organised as follows:

- Chapter 2 outlines the methods used to study the Westland community and the changing influence that tourism has had upon that community.
- Chapter 3 introduces the geographical and historical context in which tourism has evolved in Westland.
- Chapter 4 provides detailed information about the Westland community. This includes demographic characteristics and the reasons why local residents enjoy living in Westland.
- Chapter 5 considers residents’ views of tourism in Westland. These include their responses to meeting tourists, acceptable levels of tourism, tourism benefits and tourism problems and concerns.
Chapter 6 looks at the structure of tourism in Westland and includes consideration of the roles of the Westland District Council, the Department of Conservation and Tourism West Coast. There is also an outline of community issues relating to tourism in each of four case study communities of Hokitika, Franz Josef/Okarito, Haast and Harihari.

Chapter 7 contains a set of conclusions about community tourism issues in Westland, theoretical models of tourism development and policy implications for the Westland tourism case study.

**Figure 1**
West Coast Region

Figure 2
Westland District and Case Study Communities

Chapter 2
Methods

2.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the range of methods used to collect, analyse and interpret the data that are presented and discussed in the following chapters of this report. As with previous Kaikoura and Rotorua case studies\(^2\), a range of qualitative and quantitative methods was employed during the research. Questionnaires, interviews, observations and archival investigation were employed at various phases of the research. The integration of research methods is beneficial in situations where quantifiable data are difficult to obtain, relationships between people involved in tourism are not explicit and when qualitative data can add depth to analysis. Each method has its own specific weaknesses as well as strengths. An integrated approach allows researchers to “triangulate” their methods\(^3\). The aim of triangulation is to exploit the strengths and neutralise, rather than complicate, the liabilities (Jick, 1983; Calatone, Di Benedicto and Bojanic, 1988). This approach allowed the complexities of tourism in Westland to be explored and documented in more depth than any single research method would have allowed.

Data were collected from June, 2000 until February, 2001. Qualitative methods included semi-structured interviews, in-depth interviews, participant observations and archival research of local tourism records in Westland. The semi-structured interviews were used to trace the historical development of tourism in the region and to understand the issues and challenges faced by the local communities with regard to the current state of the tourism industry. Interviews provided valuable insights into what local residents regard as important in their day-to-day dealings with tourism. A quantitative telephone survey was also conducted between November and December 2000 to provide insights into the range and spread of various opinions held by Westland residents towards tourism. The interviews, observations and archival research provided additional tools to illuminate why people held particular opinions and how they changed over time.

2.2 Qualitative Methods

The communities of Hokitika, Harihari, Franz Josef and Haast were chosen for in-depth study (including in-depth interviews, participant observation and archival research) for the following reasons. First, to explore the contribution that tourism makes to each local community. Each community provides a different range of tourism products and services. While Franz Josef has a range of accommodation, tourism activities, and other tourist services, the communities of Haast and Harihari are in various stages of developing and providing tourism initiatives. Hokitika is the largest centre in the District and also offers a range of accommodation, cafes and attractions. A second intention of studying these communities was to explore and establish links between the various levels of tourism in each community and the perceptions and attitudes towards tourism held by local residents.


\(^3\) Refer to Denzin (1989) for a full discussion of “triangulating” social research methods.
One field researcher carried out the qualitative research over an eight-month period. However, not all of that time was spent on location. Due to the wide geographical area and large travel times required, between two and four weeks was spent in each of the case study communities (Hokitika, Harihari, Franz Josef, Haast). Upon entering the field, initial contact was established with people involved in the tourism industry throughout Westland. These included a wide range of private retailers, public service employees (e.g., Westland District Council and Department of Conservation employees), tourism operators, accommodation operators and travel industry representatives. After establishing contact, the research process, goals and time frame were explained to research participants.

Much of the information in this report comes from semi-structured and in-depth interviews. Sixty key informants from the four Westland case study communities of Hokitika, Harihari, Franz Josef and Haast were interviewed on a formal basis. Interviews were used to collect data relating to the perceptions of local tourism operators and planners concerning issues faced by the industry in Westland. Informants were chosen using a snowball sampling method and because of their position and work interests in tourism in Westland. When participants agreed, interviews were tape-recorded and later transcribed onto computer for later analysis. Interviews lasted between 30 minutes and two hours.

Participant observations were used to collect data relating to a wide range of activities, conversations, events and settings in Westland during the research period. Observations were recorded in note form in a field diary for later transcribing in full. By participating in, and observing, daily life in each of the chosen Westland communities, the researcher was able to generate a rich source of information that provided the context for understanding the general issues that are important to local residents in Westland, and the specific attitudes that they hold towards tourism.

2.3 Quantitative Survey

A telephone survey was conducted over ten evenings during late November and early December, 2000 (see Appendix 1 for a copy of the questionnaire). While many questions were adapted from the previous Kaikoura and Rotorua case studies, the differences in community characteristics between Westland, Kaikoura and Rotorua, plus additional research questions, resulted in some necessary changes. For example, additional questions relating to local residents’ perceptions of the Westland District Council and the West Coast Regional Council were included along with questions relating to residents’ leisure routines and the number and origins of guests who stayed in private homes.

The telephone survey was conducted with residents aged 15 years or over. The target sample size was determined from the following considerations. There are approximately 8,100 persons aged 15 years or over in the study area and, at an average of 2.8 people per household, there would be about 2,900 households. A one quarter sampling fraction would give 725 cases and, assuming a 50 per cent response rate, 362 cases would be obtained.

Telephone interviewers purposely over-sampled the Haast, Franz Josef and Harihari communities in order to achieve numbers of adequate size for statistical analysis. Provisional figures from the 2001 census show that the populations for these towns were: Haast, 627, Franz Josef, 1,239 and Harihari, 381. While interviewers telephoned every sixth number in the directory, they also attempted to telephone a total of 50 residents in each of these...
communities due to their smaller populations. In these cases they increased the sampling ratios accordingly. While this strategy was successful in achieving a minimum number of respondents in Hokitika, Haast and Harihari, it was not successful for Franz Josef and the category of other Westland communities. This variable response rate does not, in principle, introduce any bias as long as the sample is weighted appropriately.

A team of four postgraduate researchers from Lincoln University conducted the telephone survey. Phone calls were made between 6pm and 9pm. Telephone numbers were accessed from the 2000/01 West Coast and Buller telephone book. The Hokitika section of the West Coast and Buller telephone book contains phone numbers for all Westland communities. Pages were divided between each researcher and they were asked to telephone every sixth number listed (excluding commercial numbers). All letters of the alphabet were covered adequately. They asked to speak to the person over 15 years in age with the next birthday. Telephone log sheets were used by researchers to record phone numbers, how many times each number was phoned back (maximum of three), refusal rates and reasons for refusals.

Thirty-nine per cent of the 931 calls made yielded a completed survey questionnaire (Table 1). Thirty-six per cent of all calls made were not answered, while 25 per cent resulted in a refusal. There was an even mix of males/females and age groups represented in the group that refused to participate in the survey, and since these characteristics are similar to the sample, we can assume that there may have been no non-response bias. While the range of reasons for refusals was varied, the vast majority of refusals were because participants were not interested in telephone surveys or were too busy. Several residents stated that they had been exposed to a number of telephone marketing surveys and did not want to participate in any more. As with the Rotorua case study, the frequency of telephone market research in the District may make some people inclined to refuse telephone interviews.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total calls</th>
<th>Questionnaires completed</th>
<th>No answer</th>
<th>Refusals</th>
<th>Reasons for Refusal (when given)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>931</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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In order to assess the quality of the sample we can compare it to census data. In terms of age, the telephone survey sample is not significantly different from the 1996 census data (Pearson’s $\chi^2 = 12.0$, df = 9, $p = 0.213$) for the Westland District. There were a total of 179 males (48.6%) and 189 females (51.4%) (unweighted) who took part in the telephone survey. In the 20-29 years age group there were 59 per cent females and 41 per cent males, while in the 60-69 years age group there were 40 per cent females and 60 per cent males. All other age groups in the sample had close to a 50-50 ratio of males to females. Census data shows that most age groups in the Westland District in 1996 also had close to a 50-50 ratio of males to females except for the 60-69 age group with 55 per cent males and 45 per cent females, and the 70 years and over age group with 45 per cent males and 55 per cent females.

In order to account for the different levels of coverage between locations, and to ensure that the sample accurately represents the Westland population, our sample data are weighted by location of residents (Table 2). Weighting was calculated by taking the proportion of people expected in the location, as indicted by the census, and deriving the weight as that figure which, when multiplied by the actual sample number for that location, gives the expected number. The results are as follows. Hokitika (0.72), Haast (0.76) and Harihari (0.26) are weighted down to allow for over-sampling in these communities during the telephone survey. Conversely, Franz Josef (1.14) and other Westland communities (3.17) are weighted up to allow for under-sampling. Where results are reported for the Westland area as a whole, the weighted sample is used. Where location is examined, however, the unweighted data are used.

### Table 2

**Telephone Survey Weighting Ratios**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Weighting Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hokitika</td>
<td>0.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haast</td>
<td>0.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harihari</td>
<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franz Josef</td>
<td>1.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Westland</td>
<td>3.17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is likely that people with an interest in tourism have responded to the survey more so than other people. It may be the case that the low response from people in “Other Westland” communities to a request to participate in a survey about tourism was because they saw it as irrelevant. Table 3 shows that there is a high response rate from people in the towns. If there is any non-response bias then these data will reflect the “urban” Westland views. Given the focus of this study on tourism and since tourism has its greatest effects on towns, then any such bias is useful because it focuses attention on tourism issues.
Table 3
Telephone Survey Sample Dispersal Comparison With 1996 Census

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Census (total population)</th>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>Persons aged 15 years and over</th>
<th>Response Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hokitika</td>
<td>3,968</td>
<td>39.40</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>54.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haast</td>
<td>672</td>
<td>6.70</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>8.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harihari</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>4.15</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>15.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franz Josef</td>
<td>940</td>
<td>9.35</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>8.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Westland</td>
<td>4,074</td>
<td>40.40</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>12.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westland District</td>
<td>10,071</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Our data suggest that more educated local residents in Westland have responded to our telephone survey than might have been expected from 1996 census figures. This has the following implications for the research. First, people with higher education levels may have more access to telephones in Westland. As Narayan (1998) points out, 1,188 (11.3%) Westland residents in private dwellings did not have access to a telephone at the time of the 1996 Census, compared with 63,102 (5.4%) for the rest of New Zealand. If an assumption is made that people with lower levels of education have less access to telephones, the lower overall rate of telephone access in Westland suggests that respondents to our telephone survey were more likely to hold educational qualifications. Second, local residents with higher levels of education are more likely to articulate their tourism perceptions, attitudes and concerns to the telephone interviewer. Those with lower education levels are not only represented less in our sample, but may have been less likely to articulate their concerns on various tourism issues during the survey than those with higher levels of education.

In conclusion, the telephone survey successfully obtained a sample of adequate size. The sample of 368 provides estimates of population characteristics with a standard error of plus or minus five per cent. Most of the small towns were covered well and variations in response rate by location are taken care of in the weighting applied to the sample. There may be some non-response bias in that people less interested in tourism refrained from co-operating, but such bias is not unduly detrimental to this study. As is usual in telephone surveys, those contacted have a higher education level than is typical of those in Westland.
Chapter 3
The Westland Context: Geography and History

3.1 Introduction

This chapter contains an overview of Westland’s geography and history which allows the background of tourism in the area to be illuminated. First, the geography and climate of Westland are outlined. Westland can boast a unique wet and mild climate and a natural environment that includes coastline, lakes, rivers, glaciers, snowfields and subtropical rainforests. Second, a brief account of early Maori history in Westland is presented. Third, a description of the development of the main industries in Westland is given with consideration of aspects relating to tourism. These include the pioneering development of the gold mining industry, the timber industry, farming and aviation. Finally, the development of the tourism industry from the late nineteenth century to the end of the twentieth century is outlined.

3.2 Geography and Climate

The Westland District lies within the West Coast region, the fifth largest in New Zealand with a land area of 23,386 square kilometres. The District extends from the Taramakau river in the north to Awarua Point in the south (Figure 1). In the east, the Southern Alps mark the boundary between Westland and Canterbury, while in the west, the District is bounded by the Tasman Sea. Westland has many unique natural features. For example, Franz Josef Glacier and Fox Glacier, the two largest accessible glaciers in New Zealand, are located in South Westland. The District is also home to Lake Mahinapua, Lake Kaniere, and Lake Ianthe, which are popular tourist attractions. On the Southern Alps border between Canterbury and Westland are some of New Zealand highest mountains, including Mt Sefton (3,157 m), Elie de Beaumont (3,117 m), Mt Tasman (3,497 m) and Mt Cook (3,754 m). Te Wahi Pounamu, a world heritage site, lies partially in the Westland District. Te Wahi Pounamu includes part or all of four National Parks: Westland, Mt Cook, Mt Aspiring and Fiordland.

The Westland District has a diverse geology shaped by dramatic uplift and erosion that results in a dynamic landscape (Statistics New Zealand, 1999). There are many hazards for the local community, including frequent floods, landslips, earthquakes and coastal erosion. The Alpine Fault runs the entire length of the Westland District, with deeply dissected mountains to the east and steeply graded rivers and streams to the west. There is a 10 – 15 km wide strip of alluvial and beach deposits which extends further inland along river systems. The plains are composed of outwash silts and gravels and are subject to frequent flooding. A combination of high rainfall, steep slopes and seismic activity often results in high erosion rates in the District.

By forming a barrier to the predominant westerly winds, the Southern Alps are a major contributing factor in Westland’s high rainfall. Rainfall exceeds 8,000 millimetres annually along the main divide and 2,000 millimetres towards the coast. Floods have devastated both urban centres and outlying rural areas since the earliest days of European settlement (Benn, 1990). There are snowfalls all year round at high altitudes. However, at lower altitudes the

4 This theme is elaborated further in a separate Maori report.
climate is generally mild with sunshine hours being similar to that experienced on the east coast. For example, the minimum mid-winter daily average temperature in Hokitika is three degrees Celsius, while the maximum average daily temperature in summer is 19 degrees Celsius. Hokitika has average annual sunshine hours of 1,835 (Statistics New Zealand, 1999a). Dunedin also has a minimum mid-winter daily average temperature of three degrees Celsius and maximum average daily temperature in summer is 19 degrees Celsius, but only averages 1,662 hours of annual sunshine (Statistics New Zealand, 1999b). Blenheim, New Zealand’s sunniest urban centre, has average annual sunshine hours of 2,470, a minimum mid-winter daily average temperature of two degrees Celsius and a maximum average daily temperature in summer of 24 degrees Celsius (Statistics New Zealand, 1999c).

The vegetation in Westland contributes greatly to the area’s natural beauty. Seventy-five per cent of the West Coast region consists of indigenous forests, including podocarp, beech and other hardwoods. Mountain-to-ocean expanses of virgin vegetation are of major ecological importance and international significance as excellent examples of temperate wetland forests. The forests are the only natural breeding place of native bird species such as the Westland black pearl and the white heron (kotuku). There are also a variety of rare and endangered bird species, including the New Zealand falcon, kiwis, the blue duck, the fernbird, the yellowhead, the kaka and various parakeets. There are also abundant native and introduced freshwater fish, such as brown trout and inanga, which provide the District with a thriving whitebait fishery. However, introduced possums and deer cause serious damage to the indigenous vegetation. Possums are also carriers of bovine tuberculosis and are predators of birds’ nests.

3.3 Early Maori History

Maori legend states that the early explorer, Maui, first made landfall on the shores of Bruce Bay in South Westland over one 1,000 years ago. Since this time, Westland has been home to various iwi, from the ancient Waitaha to the present day Ngai Tahu. Maori settlement was largely peaceful until around 1700, when tribal warfare over control of the pounamu (greenstone) resource culminated in Ngai Tahu establishing and maintaining dominance in Westland.

For early Maori travelling in Westland there were many challenges. They often kept close to the coastline and made lightly defined trails with occasional flax ropes and ladders for difficult sections. Although the discovery of pounamu hastened the exploration of many inland areas, Maori already knew about most of the main alpine passes. Thus, the assistance of Maori guides is interwoven with the history of early European explorers in Westland. In 1846 the explorers Heaphy and Brunner travelled with Maori guides from Nelson to the Taramakau River via the coastline and returned. In 1860, James Mackay purchased the West Coast from the Maori for £300. In 1864, Maori prospecting parties with William Smart and Albert Hunt found the first payable gold in the Greenstone River, near Kumara (Pickering, 1993). This soon led to the West Coast gold rushes of the 1860s and the subsequent settlement of the region by European pioneers. The influence of Maori upon early European settlement is summarised by May (1967: 58):

[By 1861] a chapter in the exploration of the West Coast had now ended. Thomas Brunner’s rain-soaked wilderness had become the desirable field for colonization of Mackay, Rochfort and Haast. The native title was extinguished, the small Maori population friendly and anxious
for European settlement. The Maoris had played a major part in the early exploration. From Brunner’s loyal Kehu to Mackay’s kindly old Ta rapuhi, they had guided the pakeha into and about the land of their ancestors. The wisest of the explorers relied on Maori assistance; several of them owed their very survival to those tiny oases of hospitality set along the fringe of the impenetrable West Coast bush.

3.4 Gold Mining

The gold rushes from 1864 played a vital role in both the development of Westland communities and the infrastructure required to travel between those communities. Soon after word had leaked that gold had been discovered in Westland, steamers embarked from all New Zealand ports. Miners also embarked from Sydney and Melbourne from 1865, and soon after from as far away as America and England. In 1864, the population of Westland was approximately 830. In April 1865, it was 7,000 and in September of that year it had grown to 16,000. At the end of 1866, the estimated population for Westland was 50,000 (Harrop, 1923). The population explosion generated by the early gold rushes soon required a supporting infrastructure for the region. Hotels and restaurants soon sprang up to accommodate the impatient gold diggers who could not wait to build a house. Harrop (1923) states that in 1866, the Hokitika Directory listed 100 hotels, Stafford Town had 34, Ross had 24, Grey had 57 and the Arahura River settlement had ten hotels.

The sea was the initial means of transport and communication in the early days of the gold rush. However, local river mouths were notoriously dangerous and claimed many wrecks. This led to a push for a road to connect the West Coast with neighbouring Canterbury as described by Harrop (1923: 135-137):

The Canterbury Government, on realising that it had such a revenue-producing county as Westland within its boundaries, quickly completed the work which was a great feat of engineering skill. It cost about £150,000. The journey across the Alps was from Hokitika across the Arahura and via Stafford Town up to Jackson’s, thence through the famous Otira Gorge, over Arthur’s Pass into the Bealey Flat, fording the Waimakariri and making the Bealey township and post and telegraph station the first day’s journey.

The development of tracks and roads within the Westland District was greatly assisted by the discovery of gold. Although making use of the early Maori coastal routes, most tracks were made by gold diggers simply hacking out a gap in the bush. Most quickly became mud holes and the local authorities soon became aware of the need to provide funds to construct substantial roads in the region. Unemployed miners provided cheap labour and the roads were complemented by ferrymen becoming established on most of the major rivers. It was not long before these ferry services became so crucial that they were licensed and subsidised by the provincial government (Pickering, 1993).

The first regular goldfield coach service was Rowley’s Express Line, which operated along the beach between Hokitika and Greymouth three times per week from 16 December 1865. The journey lasted six hours. Rivers proved to be the major obstacles. Both the Arahura and the Taramakau rivers became staging points where passengers were ferried separately across the river to change coaches. In March 1866, a Cobb & Co agency was established on the West Coast and managed by William Crawley. This service ran daily between Greymouth

The discovery of gold meant that other services such as telegraph and railway services were also being planned. In May 1866, tenders were called to establish a railway line between Hokitika and Greymouth and on September 4th, 1868, telegraph communication between Westport and Hokitika was established (Harrop, 1923). However, as the gold rush dramatically slowed from 1869, the itinerant workers and families moved on leaving behind those who were intent on making a permanent living from the land. Coal miners, sawmillers, farmers, flax millers and gold companies with more efficient equipment than that of the original miners became established. This led to more inland tracks and roads, many of which were gradually upgraded to a standard suitable for automobiles (Pickering, 1993).

3.5 The Timber Industry

The timber industry has had a long and rich history in the Westland region. The first sawmills in Westland were Hokitika Sawmills and West Coast Sawmills in 1865. Both were located at Gibson Quay, Hokitika (Sinclair, 1984). Again, the gold rush was responsible for an increased demand for timber with a wide range of uses including cradles, tunnel props, tramways, and buildings. Although demand reduced as the gold rush slowed, the timber industry was able to consolidate and became an important livelihood for many Westland families for the remainder of the nineteenth and throughout the twentieth centuries.

The heavy rainfall in Westland results in very lush growth in natural forests. Natural forest covers 62 per cent (1.5 million hectares) of the West Coast’s region’s land area including significant areas of national park (Statistics New Zealand, 1999a). Most is administered by the Department of Conservation and comprises three major types: beech; podocarp (mainly rimu); and a mix of beech and podocarp. Natural hardwoods other than beech also occur in association with podocarp throughout the region (Ministry of Forestry, 1994).

Until the 1980s these natural forests supplied most of the local wood processing industry and smaller towns such as Ruatapu, Harihari and Whataroa have relied heavily upon sawmills to boost their local economies. However, as a result of government restructuring policies since the mid-1980s, sawmills in many towns have ceased production. At the peak of production in the late 1960s and early 1970s the annual sawn timber rate was approximately 140,000 cubic metres. Between 1989 and 1993 it averaged only slightly more than 55,000 cubic metres (Ministry of Forestry, 1994).

The harvest of exotic timber increased throughout the 1990s. Planted production forest harvest for the West Coast region increased from 32,000 cubic metres in the year ended March 1990 to approximately 196,000 cubic metres in the year ended March 1996. This follows a policy to help the forestry industry change from “over cutting” to a sustained yield of natural forest and planted production species. Subsequently, harvesting from natural forests decreased from 122,000 cubic metres to around 45,000 cubic metres between 1990 and 1996 (Statistics New Zealand, 1999a). Following the election of a Labour government in 1999, the logging of natural forests has been halted, sparking intense local and national debate. However, planted production forestry continues and is now the main source of logs
harvested in Westland. Planted production forestry of exotic species is forecast to increase significantly in the next few years.

3.6 Farming

The West Coast region has the lowest percentage of land area used for farming in New Zealand (16.5%). The main reasons for this low rate of farmland are the inaccessible and rugged nature of the area, high rainfall and concomitant erosion rates. Additionally, much of the potentially arable land in Westland is on “pakihi” soil, which is of low natural fertility, low in pH, frequently wet and impervious to water (Department of Lands and Survey, 1985). High susceptibility to flooding and bank erosion remains a significant challenge to developing and maintaining agricultural initiatives.

On lower sites closer to the valley floors, many soils are freely draining and have a higher natural fertility. Farms in these areas make up an essential element of the region’s agricultural economy. In June 1996, the West Coast region had a total of 858 farms, most of which were sheep or cattle farms (Statistics New Zealand, 1999a). Many farms are significantly larger than the national average with a mean farm size of 450 hectares (compared with a national average of 251 hectares). There were only a very small number of horticultural units. Nevertheless, agriculture remains an important part of Westland’s economy with a large dairy factory, which services dairy farms from Karamea in the north to the Franz Josef area in the south and provides employment in Hokitika. Cattle farming is the main source of agriculture in South Westland areas such as Fox Glacier and Haast.

3.7 Other Industries

Resource-based industries are of great importance to the Westland economy. Approximately 3.3 per cent of businesses operating in the West Coast region were in the mining industry in 1999, compared with 0.2% nationally (Statistics New Zealand, 1999a). Many operations are involved in coal mining. The West Coast has a very large recoverable coal resource of 260 million tonnes. In 1994, 1.3 million tonnes was produced, which represented 44 per cent of the total New Zealand coal production for that year. Approximately 1.2 million tonnes of coal per year is exported from the West Coast and most of this is destined for steel production overseas (Statistics New Zealand, 1999a).

The sphagnum moss industry is also a feature of the Westland economy. Until the 1970s, harvesting was mostly carried out by private individuals to supplement their incomes and by sports and service clubs to assist with local fund-raising. However, when the Japanese market lost its supply of moss from North Korea in the early 1970s the New Zealand industry took the opportunity to fill the gap by developing an export market. The first shipments of sphagnum moss to Japan were in 1970 and production has steadily increased since that time (De Goldi, 1984). By 1994 the volume of exports of sphagnum moss from New Zealand had levelled out at approximately 800 containers worth $16-17 million per year (Connors, 1994).
3.8 Aviation

The aviation industry deserves special mention when considering the history of the Westland District. Due to the rugged terrain and isolated nature of Westland, air travel provided an important source of travel, communication and transportation of goods and services. Following the first successful trans-Tasman flight by Sir Charles Kingsford-Smith in 1928, Guy Menzies completed the first solo trans-Tasman flight in 1931 when he crashed landed his plane in the La Fontaine swamp near Harihari. This was to signal the start of a golden era for air transport in Westland. Alexander (1994: 114-117) describes the advent of commercial flights in the region:

Commercial flights commenced not at Auckland, Wellington or Christchurch, but at picturesque Hokitika in 1934, with the formation of Air Travel (NZ) Ltd. Captain Bert Mercer, flying a de Havilland Fox Moth, carried an assortment of passengers, freight, mail, machinery, spare parts, food and magazines down into South Westland, plus anything else that would fit in.

A fledgling tourism industry soon saw the potential of air travel in the District. A hangar was built in Franz Josef so that aeroplanes could be used to fly tourists over both glaciers and into formerly inaccessible alpine surroundings. Alexander (1994) states that many people from overseas experienced their first aeroplane ride in this isolated part of the world. By the early 1950s, a permanent airstrip was levelled near Fox Glacier and Mt Cook aeroplanes commenced flights over the glaciers from this point.

Aeroplanes provided an ideal link with the isolated community at Haast but conditions were very challenging. Early pilots were also pioneers of the aviation industry. For example, Capt. Mercer frequently operated from bush strips and beach sands as he established a regular service into South Westland. Some of the duties included transporting people to hospitals, dropping newspapers and mail, carrying supplies, taking children to boarding schools, and exporting crayfish, whitebait and venison out of the area. Air travel was the predominant mode of transport connecting the Haast region to the rest of New Zealand from the 1930s to the 1960s. During this time it was common for local children to have flown in an aeroplane before having their first ride in an automobile. When West Coast Airlines took over the Haast route from NAC in 1956 they operated a regular Monday to Saturday service from Hokitika to Haast with stops at Fox Glacier and Franz Josef. Haast was finally connected by road to Otago in 1960 and to Paringa and the rest of Westland in 1965, which reduced the viability of small independent the air services (Alexander, 1994; Pickering, 1993).

3.9 Early Tourism Development

The potential for developing a tourism industry in Westland was recognised by many of the early settlers. For example, in January 1890 an article in the West Coast Times describes the growing popularity of coach trips between Christchurch and Hokitika. In the same month is another article attesting to the superiority of West Coast mountain scenery in comparison to the Hermitage in South Canterbury. On 21 February 1890 an editorial discussed a need to encourage tourism in Westland. This became a theme during the early 1890s, when articles
appeared bemoaning the New Zealand government’s neglect of West Coast tourism potential in favour of Mt Cook and Rotorua.

Although Westland could boast majestic scenery, virgin forests and abundant rivers, lakes and coastline, the tourism industry did not fulfil its early potential due to its isolation, lack of roads, dangerous rivers and shortage of suitable tourist accommodation. Although there were many hotels in Hokitika, there were few accommodation houses south of Ross in key locations such as Franz Josef and Fox Glacier.

Simply reaching the glaciers at the end of the nineteenth century was a challenge in itself. The roads and tracks were very rough and there were no bridges over the many dangerous and unpredictable rivers. One example was the Wanganui River near Harihari, which needed to be forded with great care. By 1867, a ferry service had been established across the Wanganui River mouth by William Bell, who had then sold it on to the Hende brothers in 1872. In 1878, an inland pack track to Okarito was constructed so the Hende brothers moved their ferry service inland and set up an accommodation house as well. Soon the pack track was enlarged to a dray road and the ferry service remained until the first bridge was built across the Wanganui River in 1912 (Pickering, 1993).

The traffic along the beach from Okarito to South Westland in the late nineteenth century was varied. There were lone foot travellers, people on horseback with packhorses and wide-wheeled wagons pulled by teams of horses. In addition to the dangerous river crossings, the milky waters of snow fed rivers made it very difficult to accurately predict the depth of water and the best places to cross. Quicksand made travel difficult and drownings were common, with horse and riders being swept out to sea from both river mouths and from travellers misjudging the force of the surf as they attempted to round bluffs (Alexander, 1994).

In spite of the many travel hardships, the number of visitors to the glacier region and South Westland gradually began to increase. Graham and Wilson (1983: 124) describe how, in 1897, the first tourist venture at Franz Josef was developed by a Captain and Mrs W. H. Batson.

With the help of a number of miners working in the area, who were disturbed to see Mrs Batson with no house to live in, Batson built a tiny cottage of punga (tree fern) logs. The miners thought they were simply helping a man erect a shelter for his wife. When the building was completed they were surprised, but pleased, to receive an invitation to dine at ‘Toi Toi House’ as the cottage was named. After the meal they were again surprised, but less pleased, to discover that this meal was a business venture, and that they had to pay half a crown a head! Thus, inauspiciously launched on careers as proprietors, Batson and his wife began to offer meals regularly; then, after adding two rooms to the cottage, accommodation as well. In due course of Batson also ‘operated a sly grog store’, thereby qualifying his small establishment for the title of hotel under West Coast rules.

Jim and Alec Graham bought the Waiho Hotel at Franz Josef from Captain Batson in 1911. However, the original site of the hotel was prone to flooding so the enterprising Graham brothers immediately commenced a moving operation of monumental proportions. By using hand winches and cables they hauled the building a distance of 280 metres along runners to a more suitable site on higher ground. The hotel was to remain in the Graham family until 1947 when the Tourist Department took over its management (Graham and Wilson, 1983).
The tourism industry took longer to establish in the Fox Glacier area. The emphasis here was more on farming than on tourism or mountaineering as was the case at Franz Josef. However, when an accommodation hostel was built at Fox, a considerable rivalry developed between the two accommodation places, although in a friendly manner. For example, when the weather was unreliable there were often deliberate unreliable reports regarding the weather and the state of roads and streams in the area. The purpose was to keep guests a little longer on either side of the steep ridges that divided the two settlements (Alexander, 1994).

3.10 Highways at Haast

Although air services improved communications and transport in the Haast region, tourism development was hampered until the construction of roads connecting the area with Otago and the remainder of Westland during the 1960s. The prominence of coastal cliffs, floods, rivers and impenetrable bush between Paringa and Haast had long been a major hurdle for travellers. The lack of tracks in the area slowed the gold rush in this part of South Westland in the nineteenth century. In 1871, the Westland County Council called for contracts to improve the quality of tracks. However, work was expensive, with a section of nineteen miles costing £800 and a section of thirty-seven miles costing £1,380 (Pascoe, 1966). Much work was completed between 1875 and 1890 due to initiatives by the Westland Provincial Council and the Westland County Council. However, a six-mile stretch in the Moeraki area proved very difficult due to frequent slips. Although a pack track was completed, the completion of a proper road link through to Haast remained elusive.

The process of upgrading the pack tracks between Paringa and Haast, and Wanaka and Haast continued well into the twentieth century. Some reasons for the slow progress were conflicting interests between settlement and tourism, provincial rivalries between Otago and Westland, political setbacks with central government and the delays caused by the two world wars. The Depression of the 1930s, however, assisted the construction of roads in the Haast area due to the abundance of labour available by the high numbers of unemployed men.

After World War II political pressures to complete the road increased. In June 1954, the Westland County Council submitted a petition of 1,217 signatures to the Prime Minister requesting the completion of both the Paringa to Haast and the Haast to Wanaka sections. Newspapers, progress leagues and local bodies also added their voices to the growing pressure to complete the work. The Commissioner of Works projected the cost at £1,400,000 for the Paringa to Haast section and listed potential benefits of increased tourist traffic, access for minerals and timber and improved primary production. As work commenced a strategy was introduced whereby coastal views, lake scenery and mountain panoramas were included along the route as much as possible to maximise tourism potential. By the end of the 1950s, the whole of New Zealand was interested in the progress of the road construction. Key completion dates were 1945 for the Haast - Jackson Bay section, 1960 for the Haast - Wanaka section and 1965 for the Paringa - Haast section (Pascoe, 1966).

3.11 Recent Tourism Development

The completion of the highway system connecting Haast with Otago and the remainder of Westland signalled a re-awakening of tourism interest for the whole of Westland during the
1960s. Both domestic and international visitors were eager to experience New Zealand’s latest highway through a remote and spectacular region. Local and central government officials were delighted with the opportunity to develop further the tourism industry but also sounded a note of caution about the need for effective planning. On a visit to Hokitika in 1965, the Minister of Works urged local bodies to embrace tourism development, but also to plan effectively and to provide the facilities necessary to make tourists feel welcome and comfortable. He cited dramatic increases in the number of overseas visitors to New Zealand from 90,000 in 1962, 97,000 in 1963, 109,000 in 1964 and 122,000 in 1965. Although the issue of finance for development was a hurdle, the minister pledged that development initiatives would “receive sympathetic attention from the Government, the Ministry of Works and the National Roads Board” (West Coast Times, 4/11/1965).

While many tourists continued to visit the Westland region for its natural beauty during the 1960s, the emergence of the jade souvenir manufacturing industry in Hokitika at that time added another string to Westland’s tourism bow. Prior to the 1960s, New Zealand greenstone was shipped to Germany for processing and local dealers could never be certain that the greenstone they received back from Germany were the same pieces that were originally sent. Additionally, the processes used in Germany to process the greenstone were kept secret (Crompton, 1963). However, through trial and error local manufacturers gradually learned to successfully process the stone and the manufacture of greenstone jewellery and souvenirs commenced on a commercial scale. As one retailer explained:

There was one guy named Jack who came here driving his bus and wanted some pieces for his tourists. But we were in a wholesale situation then. We began to retail when they wanted to buy some jade so we had a bit of stuff in and we thought we would put a little cabinet in. Old Jack came back again and one or two others coaches from Newmans pulled in and we started selling. We started making pretty good money so we thought, “Hell, this is where the money is!” That was before the Haast road was open and the tourists only used to go to Franz. Before the Haast was open nobody else was selling it around here at that time. The trade started to build up and then we decided to build a shop. It was only a small shop that we started off with. It just sort of mushroomed from there. As soon as the Haast Pass went through it sky rocketed!

Tourism numbers continued to rise steadily from the 1960s although Nayaran (1995) notes that there was a slight downward trend from the mid-1980s when there was a downturn in the Australian market, especially for the coach tour market. From the mid-1990s, however, there have been significant increases in tourist numbers visiting the West Coast. The International Visitors Survey (New Zealand International Visitors Survey, 2000) shows that international visitor arrivals to the West Coast increased from 271,235 in March 1999 to 318,079 in July 2000. The New Zealand Domestic Travel Study (Forsyte, 2000) found that 231,000 domestic tourists made an overnight trip to the West Coast in 1999 and stayed a total of 869,000 guest nights. Recent figures from the Statistics New Zealand Accommodation Survey (2001) for the period between December 1999 and December 2000 show the West Coast’s guest arrivals rose by 23.8 per cent to 72,800 while guest nights increased by 20.3 per cent to 102,800. Nationally, arrivals and guest nights were up 18.2 and 14.3 per cent respectively. For the Westland District, guest arrivals rose from 35,416 in February 1997 to 50,411 in February, 2001. Guest nights rose from 45,218 to 65,186 during the same period (Statistics New Zealand Accommodation Survey, 2001). Local tourist information centres have also experienced record numbers of visitors. For example, the Westland Tourist Information Centre in Hokitika noted a 21 per cent increase in visitor numbers between November 1999 and November 2000 (Westland District Council Agenda, December 2000).
In spite of rising tourist numbers during the 1990s, Narayan (1995) suggests that many West Coast residents do not realise that tourism has experienced a transition into one of the largest, if not the largest sector, within the West Coast economy. The growing economic importance of tourism should not be underestimated and it is likely to play an even bigger role in the future. Local planners are taking a keen interest in tourism as a means to diversify the local economy, offset high unemployment rates and reduce regional income disparities. Tourism is also being recognised as an agglomeration of a range of products and services so that the benefits are felt across the economy rather than just by tourism operators.

3.12 Summary

Tourism is interwoven with the history of community development in Westland. The rugged and spectacular physical environment is an ideal natural attraction. The isolation, climate, distance, rivers, frequent flooding and dense vegetation have meant that the development of tourism is closely linked to the development of infrastructure. The development of pack tracks, rail and tramways, river ferries, accommodation, roads and air services were vital for the establishment of both the communities themselves and the industries that have supported them.

The sheer challenge of travelling in the rugged terrain meant that early European explorers had to rely upon Maori to guide them. Maori were also involved with the initial discovery of gold by Europeans and already had a long association with the highly prized pounamu (jade) found in the region. The gold rush brought an influx of miners and settlers who quickly set about the enormous task of establishing safe and reliable travel networks and accommodation houses. When the gold rushes subsided many of the miners moved on and those who stayed set about developing permanent industries such as farming and timber production. The fledgling tourism industry was reliant upon travel and accommodation networks and remained so well into the twentieth century. With the development of tracks came the coach and ferry services. Where there were no tracks the beach was used. As the networks of tracks improved many developed into roads and slowly bridges began to replace ferry services.

Near the end of the nineteenth century more accommodation facilities were available in South Westland, including Hendes Ford near Harihari and at Franz Josef. From the 1930s until the 1960s, the aviation industry provided the impetus for travel and community service in the absence of highways in the Haast region. When roads were finally completed in the 1960s there was a resurgence of tourism interest in the area and numbers began to increase. The development of the pounamu (jade) industry in Hokitika also began to increase in the 1960s. Tourism numbers have been increasing at a fast rate since the late 1990s. This is in contrast to the struggling fate of other local industries such as logging and mining. Tourism has become a leading sector of the Westland economy and community planners are looking closely at it potential to further contribute to the local community and its economy.
Chapter 4
The Community

4.1 Introduction
In this chapter, background information about the Westland community is presented and discussed. Data from the local residents’ telephone survey and interviews are used to describe the background characteristics of people surveyed. First, the demographic profile of the community is examined. This includes an outline of Westland residents’ age, gender, ethnicity, education, income and employment patterns. Second, the things that Westland people like about living in Westland are described. The value of examining the profile of the Westland community is that it provides a context that is vital for understanding the ways in which the Westland community form and change their attitudes about tourism in their region.

4.2 General Demographic Characteristics
In this section, Westland residents’ age, gender, ethnicity, education, income, employment and involvement in tourism are outlined. As in the case of Kaikoura, the small population in a large geographical area means that Westland District has a very small rating base that included only 3,198 total dwellings in the 1996 Census. There was an even distribution of age categories and gender in our sample. There was a high ratio of Caucasian residents living in Westland compared with other parts of New Zealand, and this is reflected in our sample profile. In terms of education, our survey respondents were generally well educated. Respondents’ incomes were spread across a wide range of categories but the majority of incomes were between $20,000 and $70,000. Common employment categories, reported by survey respondents included retired, farming, tourism, professional and trades. Approximately one third of respondents had one or more family members employed in tourism occupations.

4.2.1 Ethnicity
In the sample there were only 6.8 per cent of respondents who identified themselves as either Maori or part-Maori. This ratio is lower than that for the West Coast region (9%) and nationally (15%) (Narayan, 1998). Of those who identified themselves as either Maori or part-maori, there was a range of iwi affiliations. Eleven out of the 19 respondents who stated their iwi affiliations were from local iwi such as Ngai Tahu, Kati Waewae and Ngati Mamoe. Responses showed some deficiencies in the questionnaire wording for the ethnicity component. Based on the 1996 census question, our questionnaire asked respondents to identify themselves as either Maori, Pakeha/European, Both Maori and Pakeha/European or Other (see Appendix 1). However, many respondents objected to being categorised as Pakeha/European and preferred categories such as “New Zealander”, “Kiwi” or “New Zealand European”. This resulted in a higher percentage in the “Other” category than might have been expected, with 46 respondents choosing this category rather than the “Pakeha/European” option. The overall pattern, however, is one of a very high Caucasian ratio of residents living in Westland compared with other parts of New Zealand.
4.2.2 Education

Our sample showed that respondents had more educational qualifications than might have been expected based on census data. Thirty-two per cent of Westland residents had either no high school or some high school experience (Figure 3). Thirty-six per cent of our sample had some form of high school qualification, and 31.9 per cent had apprenticeship/trade, partial tertiary or university qualifications.

![Figure 3](image)

Westland Residents’ Highest Level of Education

4.2.3 Income

Figure 4 shows the pattern of household income distribution for residents in Westland. While 12.3 per cent of respondents either did not know their household income or refused to divulge details, 38.7 per cent said that they had a household income of $30,000 or less. Twenty per cent of respondents indicated a household income in excess of $50,000. The 1996 Census indicated that the average (mean) household income for the Westland District was $36,588, which was 16 per cent lower than the New Zealand mean of $43,341. Similarly, the mean personal income for the Westland District in 1996 was $19,691, which was nine per cent lower than the national mean of $21,634. Although the mean household and personal incomes were lower than corresponding national levels, so too was the proportion of people who receive some form of income support. Thirty-six per cent of Westland residents over the age of 15 received some form of income support in 1996 compared with 38 per cent nationally.
There was a significant difference between age groups and level of household income (Pearson’s $\chi^2 = 298.89$, df = 78, $p < 0.000$). Residents aged between 15 and 19 years were less likely to know their household incomes. Twenty to 29 year olds were most likely to have a household income between $20,000 and $30,000. Residents aged between 30 years and 59 years had a wider spread in their household income range between $20,000 and $100,000. However, residents aged 60 years and over were more likely to have a household income less than $15,000. Furthermore, there was also a significant difference (Pearson’s $\chi^2 = 391.65$, df = 26, $p < 0.001$) between males and females in terms of their household income. Females were less likely to know their household income but more likely to have a household income in the $30,000 to $40,000 range. High-income earners in excess of $100,000 were more likely to be males.

There are two possible implications of these data. First, Westland residents are sometimes reluctant to share information regarding their personal and household incomes. As can be seen in Figure 4, 12 per cent of respondents either did not know or refused to divulge their household income details. Second, there are many single income households in the Westland District. For example, data from the 1996 Census indicate that 717 households (24%) in Westland were one person households compared with 21 per cent nationally. Forty-five per cent of the labour force in Westland were women compared with 46 per cent nationally.

**Figure 4**  
Westland Residents’ Household Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Refused</th>
<th>Don’t Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$0,000 +</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$5,001 - $10,000</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10,001 - $15,000</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,001 - $20,000</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20,001 - $25,000</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$25,001 - $30,000</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$30,001 - $35,000</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$35,001 - $40,000</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$40,001 - $45,000</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$45,001 - $50,000</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,001 - $55,000</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$55,001 - $60,000</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$60,001 - $65,000</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$65,001 - $70,000</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>$70,001 - $75,000</td>
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<td>$75,001 - $80,000</td>
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<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$80,001 - $85,000</td>
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</tr>
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<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$90,001 - $95,000</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$95,001 - $100,000</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**4.2.4 Employment**

One hundred and eight Westland residents (29.6%) indicated that they were employed directly in tourism occupations such as accommodation, restaurants, cafes, bars, information
centres and tour guiding etc. Of these, only 15 (13.9%) indicated that their work was on a part-time basis only. There was a significant difference between males and females in their stated employment (Pearson’s $\chi^2 = 77.59$, df = 30, $p < 0.000$). Females were more likely to be employed in cafes, bars and restaurants, as homemakers, professionals, retailing and as students. There were also significant differences between respondents’ age and employment (Pearson’s $\chi^2 = 491.83$, df = 90, $p < 0.000$). Approximately one third of people working in tourism were aged between 30 and 39 years, while another third were aged between 50 and 59 years.

![Figure 5 Westland Male/Female Employment](image)

Previous reports into tourism in Kaikoura and Rotorua show that one third of jobs in Kaikoura and one fifth of jobs in Rotorua depend directly or indirectly upon tourism spending in these communities (Butcher et al., 1998; Butcher et al., 2000). The 30 per cent of respondents who indicated that they were employed in tourism related jobs in Westland indicates a trend of increasing tourism employment against a backdrop of declining traditional industries. For example, census data shows that between 1991 and 1996, jobs in agriculture declined from 499 (43.2%) to 399 (32.4%), forestry from 156 (13.5%) to 135 (11%) and mining from 129 (11.1%) to 111 (9%). The pattern of increasing numbers of jobs in tourism and declining numbers of jobs in some primary industries, such as forestry and mining, is confirmed by the Annual Business Frame Update (ABFU) survey produced by Statistics New Zealand (2000). While not providing figures for the agricultural sector, the ABFU survey
indicates decreases in the number of jobs involved in forestry, logging and meat processing but increases in jobs involving dairy product manufacturing, seafood processing, jewellery manufacturing, retailing, accommodation, hotels and bars, cafes and restaurants.

4.2.5 Involvement in Tourism

Of the 108 Westland residents who indicated that they were directly employed in tourism, approximately one fifth worked in the accommodation sector (see Table 4). A second fifth were employed in restaurants, cafes or bars, 13 per cent in travel agencies or information centres, 12 per cent in tour guiding or tourist attractions and 10 per cent in souvenirs, jade carving or art and craft.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4</th>
<th>Westland Residents’ Tourism Occupations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant/cafè/bar</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel agency/ Info Centre</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tour guiding/tourist attraction</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Souvenir/jade/art &amp; craft</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>108</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6 shows that 71.5 per cent of respondents indicated that none of their immediate family members were employed in tourism related occupations. Thirty-nine people (10.7%) had one family member working full-time in tourism while another 40 people (10.9%) had one family member working part-time in tourism.
4.2.6 Summary

Westland District has a small population only slightly in excess of 10,000 persons. Our survey showed that there were more females (51.4%) than males (48.6%), with females being heavily represented in the 20-29 years group, and males in the 60-69 years group. There was a small Maori, or part-Maori population (6.8% of telephone survey respondents) and more than three quarters were of Caucasian descent. A third of our sample had either no high school or some high school experience, while another third had apprenticeship/trade, partial tertiary or university qualifications. Respondents’ incomes were spread across a wide range of categories, but the majority of incomes were between $20,000 and $70,000.

Common employment categories reported by survey respondents included retired, farming, tourism, professional and trades. Three in ten survey respondents indicated that they were employed directly in tourism. Of these, a third were aged between 30 and 39 years, while another third were aged between 50 and 59 years. Of those who indicated that they were directly employed in tourism, approximately one fifth worked in the accommodation sector. A second fifth were employed in restaurants, cafes or bars, 13 per cent in travel agencies or information centres, 12 per cent in tour guiding or tourist attractions and ten per cent in souvenirs, jade carving or art and craft. Approximately one third of respondents had one or more family members employed in tourism occupations. Females were more likely to be employed in cafes, bars and restaurants, as homemakers, professionals, in retailing and as students. Males were more likely to be employed in farming, forestry, local government, trades or retired. There is a trend of increasing tourism employment in Westland amidst declining traditional industries. The Annual Business Frame Update (Statistics New Zealand, 2000) indicates decreases in the number of jobs involved in forestry, logging and meat processing, but increases in jobs involving dairy product manufacturing, seafood processing, jewellery manufacturing, retailing, accommodation, hotels and bars, cafes and restaurants.
These demographic characteristics provide a profile of Westland residents that helps to contextualise the reasons that they choose to live in the region.

### 4.3 What Residents Like About Living in Westland

The previous section provided a demographic overview of Westland telephone respondents. This section provides background information about what residents like about living in Westland. Table 5 shows that for locals the main reason for living in Westland is the environment. This option was selected by 42 per cent of respondents and it was selected ahead of the next two (lifestyle and friendly people), which were chosen, by 29 per cent and 30 per cent of respondents respectively. Other important reasons were peace/quiet, weather/climate and outdoor activities. In the section that follows, each of these most important reasons is considered in turn, and interview data are used to describe the ways these are meaningful for local residents.

#### Table 5

**Reasons for living in Westland (Weighted n=364)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>41.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lifestyle</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>29.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendly people</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>28.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace/quiet</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather/Climate</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outdoor Activities</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family/roots</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolation</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good for Kids</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresh Air</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Multiple response question. Percentages do not add up to 100

#### 4.3.1 Environment

The environment was mentioned by 42 per cent (151) of survey respondents as a reason for living in Westland, and the majority of interviewees discussed various issues relating to the environment. With many having made a living off the land, Westland residents take a close interest in their natural environment. There were a wide variety of opinions relating to the environment that were expressed during interviews. Many interviewees, especially those from small towns, maintain regular contact with backcountry areas. For example, one resident who had lived in the Harihari community for less than two years said that:
They live off the land and live off the environment. They are still the extractors. They are still the exploiters. I know lots of people who would never buy meat because they shoot deer. They will have a few sheep and a bullet. They will recycle it.

Interviewees were often aware of the global significance of the national parks in the District and the potential value of these areas for the tourism industry. As one respondent explained, the Westland natural environment, while being beautiful and exotic, is also a reasonably safe place to visit:

Basically the West Coast offers what the rest of the world doesn’t and that is unspoilt natural environment. It’s a little bit challenging to people without being actually dangerous. So they come here and it’s an alien landscape. It’s wild and yet it is reasonably safe and people speak English. There aren’t robbers in the forest and snakes and bears and things to eat them. So at the same time as being exotic it is reasonably safe. So they have an adventure, in which they can get out of their mundane world, out of the city or the environment from which they came, and experience nature and have an experience with the wild, which is still reasonably safe.

Other interviewees were very protective of their local natural environment and were keenly aware of the potential impacts resulting from tourism. For example, in Harihari many residents became upset about pollution caused by tourists at nearby Lake Ianthe. Campervans were reported as monopolising the restricted space available in the recreation area. While some residents argued that tourists were needed in the area, others pointed to the pollution that was being caused by campervan dumping and the presence of giardia in some waterways. One resident described his feelings as follows:

If we want tourist numbers, we are going to have to be more vigilant and police the regulations far more diligently than what we are currently because otherwise we are going to destroy the values that people come here to see.

The pivotal role played by the Department of Conservation in protecting and administering the natural environment in Westland meant that their activities were a frequent subject of discussion during interviews. There was some degree of polarity of regarding residents’ opinions of the Department. Some thought that the Department of Conservation had gone too far in restricting access to natural resources. For example, as one resident explained:

The perspective or the perception, I think, of a lot of folk is that it really is the Department that says no to everything. Everything is locked up and we hear that it is locked up again and again.

Another view was that the Department of Conservation was doing its primary job of conserving the natural environment very well and was also making attempts to get local community on board. However, there is always likely to be tension between some residents and the Department due to conflicting interests. As a Westland Department of Conservation staff member pointed out:

Their idea of what is sensible behaviour and DoC’s idea of what is necessary for the good of the environment aren’t always going to mesh.

Some interviewees were concerned that tourism development interests held too much sway within local communities and were a threat to the natural environment. The following quotes outline two such cases:

You have got the tourists lobby. It has often been very very shallow and very very crass. They have certainly got no appreciation of the subtleties of managing complex environments and complex ecosystems.
To run a town is hugely time consuming. I have spent the last twelve months trying to use what is happening in the environment as a positive influence to say where we are going with Okarito. But we are so busy fighting the fires that the developers are throwing up at us that we haven’t got the time to go forward concretely with some definite planning achievements.

Two interviewees that have been involved with tourism development had different views, however. They recognised that a healthy natural environment in Westland was vital to the sustainability of tourism, and their livelihoods, in the long-term. One developer thought that tourism offered a far better chance to manage the natural environment than some traditional industries like mining and logging. Another stated that appropriate development could, indeed, improve conservation prospects. The following quotes illustrate:

The vision for the West Coast has been a poor vision because they haven’t accepted the fact that you can’t cut down all the trees. You know, from an environmental point of view, you have got to maintain standards that are as high, if not higher, than anywhere else in the world.

I am not ever going to be accused of destroying anything or of putting the dollar in front of the environment. There is no way. You know, there is a way of developing the bush areas and these sensitive areas without destroying the environment. I know I can go in and enhance the conservation. Let’s put a board walk in around the edge of the lagoon instead of a footpath. And let the people appreciate the wildlife and things that come in there. Look, the only thing that can fund that is some development.

### 4.3.2 Lifestyle

Twenty-nine per cent of survey respondents mentioned that they enjoyed the lifestyle in Westland. Important components of lifestyle include peace and quiet, which was mentioned by 21.1 per cent of respondents; access to outdoor activities, which was mentioned by 12.9 per cent; and isolation, which was mentioned by four per cent. Smaller Westland communities such as Harihari, Haast and Okarito offer opportunities for isolation and privacy. For example, South Westland Area School provides a house to facilitate new staff settling into the community. However, because it is situated on the main road through the town, many new staff are reluctant to move in because they prefer a private and quiet setting.

A Haast resident described living in her community in the following way:

The kids come home and I say “what year is it again that we are in?” I think it is probably the lifestyle that attracts most people here. Maybe not so much that it is a laid back sort of lifestyle, which is often the perception from outside. But just that is away from the rat race and that sort of thing. Often I think about why is it that I am still here. I came here because I thought that I would work in a pub for a while and make some money and then head off overseas and I have never yet been! I can remember a lot of the old timers that were here then as well and they were saying, “You will be here for 20 years”. And as that time ticked by I sort of thought, oh well they were right. They knew something that I didn’t know. Some people are kind of cut out for staying here and others aren’t.

The larger community of Hokitika also had its share of interviewees positively describing the lifestyle that the town affords. One resident made comparisons between housing prices in Hokitika and Auckland. She estimated that the house that she had bought and renovated in Hokitika for approximately $40,000 would command a price of several hundred thousand dollars in Auckland. This resident thought that Hokitika would be an excellent place for people from other parts on New Zealand to come to retire as it has many special attractions and a growing sophistication, including a café culture:
You can even get a latte on the sidewalk here. It is not a lot different to Ponsonby Road down here. The food at the Beach House is far superior to anything in Ponsonby Road or Auckland that I have had!

While appreciating the lifestyle opportunities available in Westland, many residents are also aware that many tourists seek the same values of peace, quiet and isolation while visiting the region. As an Okarito resident stated:

People who don’t own property here, who never have and maybe never will, come here for holidays for 20 years running. They have a real connection to the place and a history. It is a major part of their life coming here every year. It is an escape, the natural wildlife and basically the peace and quiet of it. There is quite a freedom that has disappeared from a lot of places since the 1960s or 1970s.

Some tourism developers have also recognized that these values are becoming more in demand in terms of the activities and accommodation styles that visitors seek. One developer said that:

I want something where I have an eco-tourism business in the summer months. Possibly it might take off in a few years or something, I don’t know. But I am also building baches. Holiday homes just take out a little bush. If any of the native stuff comes off the hill or the roadway we will replant it down in these other areas to enhance them. There won’t be fences and things like that. It will be little patches of bush separating each property because that is what the market wants.

Some interviewees were very aware of threats posed by the presence of tourists and tourism developers to their peaceful, quiet and isolated lifestyle. This was the case in the Haast community during the 1980s when one resident noticed a change in attitudes by some members of the community towards tourists:

It is a classic conflict between people who are there for the lifestyle and people who want to make a quick buck. There was a real “anti” towards tourism by some members of the community because they saw it as an intrusion on their intrinsic values; what they were living here for and what was special to them. It was a threat, very much a threat. I think now they have become more accommodating and not so threatened by tourism as they have grown more used to it.

Two other residents from Okarito and Haast expressed what they saw as a conflict between their current lifestyle and the prospect of increased tourism in the future in the following ways:

It is a very strong influence upon the town. I mean a lot of people come here to live in the town for how it is now… for the environment, the isolation and the quietness. Those sorts of issues. In some ways, if we want to build up tourism to be bigger and bigger, we are in conflict with those ideals.

People are living here because it is so quiet, and it still has got those values. Do we want a thousand cars roaring down the road out there? How do you balance those community values and the reasons why people are here in the first place with the opportunities to make money, which of course everyone wants?

4.3.3 Friendly People

For 28.8 per cent of survey respondents, the presence of friendly people was mentioned as an important reason for living in Westland. Friendliness and hospitality are legendary on the West Coast and are frequently mentioned in social histories of the region (see for example,
Harrop, 1923; May, 1967; Pickering, 1967; Graham and Wilson, 1983). Friendly people could also be considered as another component of lifestyle in Westland. Interviewees often spoke about friendliness in their communities during discussions about lifestyle. Westland residents are often welcoming to newcomers, but not always. It is often necessary to win the respect of some members of the community. The following quote is from a tourism operator who was asked to describe moving his business operation to a small Westland community four years previously:

Actually, it was pretty good. It was pretty friendly. I mean there were a few stalwart locals around here that probably were a bit anti, and probably are still a bit anti, at what we do. We sort of worked on the theory that we are here to do something. We are not here to annoy anyone. We have just got on with it. Personally, I try to keep a wee bit out of the limelight.

A proposal at a meeting of Enterprise Hokitika, a local business promotion group, that Hokitika should declare itself a gay-friendly town by placing small multi-coloured flags in shop windows generally drew a positive response from the business group. This response was contrary to the predictions of some members and was attributed by one interviewee as a general desire that Hokitika should promote itself more:

You can get an indication of the change in views of people by the fact that the committee actually agreed to virtually going along with supporting it. Now, I mean you could actually look at it and you would have thought you wouldn’t have a hope in hang of Hokitika, and the businesses, actually supporting that. But the businesses are a lot more forward looking and saying, “What can we do to promote Hokitika? How can we get some publicity for Hokitika?”

4.3.4 Weather and Climate

Weather and climate were mentioned by 17.3 per cent of survey respondents as an important reason for living in Westland. The mild, high rainfall, high sunshine (in coastal areas) climate in Westland means that residents often have a lot of talk about in their daily discussions about the weather. In the following quote, a Haast resident expresses a general sentiment held throughout Westland that tourists and people from other parts of New Zealand have misconceptions about the weather in Westland:

I think that one of the misconceptions with the West Coast is our rainfall. We may have the highest rainfall but we also are second to Nelson in the highest sunshine hours too. We do get a lot of rain but it is also over a short period of time. The other misconception is about our winters. Our winters are so lovely, very mild and very pretty, because usually they are clearer days and pretty days.

Westland residents adopt a more philosophical attitude than do many visitors when it rains heavily. Tourism operators that were interviewed often gave examples of tourists who asked anxious questions about the likely duration of the latest downpour. For example, a Haast resident described the change in some tourists’ demeanour when the weather changes:

When the weather is fine, the people are happy and they go and do their things. As soon as it starts spitting they say, “How long has it been raining? When is it going to be fine?” And you say to them, “Well, you know, you wouldn’t see all those beautiful waterfalls on the way down if it wasn’t for the rain.”

Occupancy rates can easily be affected by rain in Westland. Even weather forecasting, which many residents feel is not accurate for the whole of the region, can influence the number of tourists who choose to travel to Westland from other parts of the South Island. A holiday camp owner described how a poor whitebait season, accompanied by a rainy spring, had resulted in the cancellation of many bookings:
There has been no bait around and the weather conditions were poor. We have had a lot of cancellations for those reasons. Also people are going home early. You know, book in for a week, and go home a couple of days early, that sort of thing. There is no fish and the weather is lousy, so that plays a big part.

Poor weather also restricts airlines and helicopter companies from offering scenic flights over the glaciers and Southern Alps. Although some commercial work can still be conducted there are no chances for scenic flights due to safety considerations and lack of demand. Whether it is raining or fine, Westland residents are generally accepting of the weather as they go about their daily business. One tourism operator in Hokitika has tapped into visitors’ curiosity about the local weather by providing daily updates on the internet:

At the moment we put a daily e-mail out to about 40 Visitors Centres and other places saying, “This is Blue Spur. The weather here today is this… The temperature at 7.15am is this… The forecast is this… I think the weather will do this… Give us a ring!”

4.4 Summary

The second section of this chapter explored the things that people like about living in Westland. Four out of every ten survey respondents mentioned the environment as a reason for living in the District. Many residents maintain a close affinity with the backcountry and are often aware of the global significance of the conservation estate in Westland. The peaceful, quiet and often isolated lifestyle with ample access to outdoor activities was mentioned by two fifths of survey respondents as an important reason for living in Westland. Residents often recognise that many tourists that visit the region also value these same lifestyle attractions and worry that increasing numbers of visitors will threaten their quiet and peaceful existence. Residents are also often aware of the potential negative impacts of tourism on the natural environment and take a close interest in the activities of tourism developers and the policies of the Department of Conservation. Developers that were interviewed also mentioned protecting the environment as a vital part of maintaining their livelihoods.

Tourism is thus playing an increasing role in the Westland community. As employment in tourism continues to increase, there is likely to be a growing reliance upon tourism in the local economy. However, as the number of tourists increases there are also likely to be threats to the natural environment and the peaceful and quiet lifestyle enjoyed by local residents. In order to gauge the extent to which these threats may be currently occurring it is necessary to examine in detail residents’ perceptions of tourism in Westland.
Chapter 5
Residents’ Perceptions of Tourism in Westland

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, aspects of community life in Westland were examined. These included demographic information about age, gender, ethnicity, education, income and employment. There was also a description of the things that Westland residents like about living where they do. In this chapter, residents’ perceptions of tourism in Westland are examined. First, there is a description of where, and how often, residents are most likely to meet tourists in their daily lives. Second, the types of tourists that Westland residents most like and most dislike are outlined. Third, the levels of tourism that Westland residents consider are acceptable for the region are described. Fourth, perceived benefits of tourism are examined. These include business and financial benefits, the creation of jobs and improved community facilities as a result of tourism. Finally, perceived problems and concerns relating to tourism are described. Again, both survey and interview data are used to develop this account of residents’ perceptions of tourism.

The amount and nature of contact between local residents and tourists has been addressed in tourism literature with, for example, Doxey’s (1975) “irridex” model for exploring residents’ attitudes towards visitors, and Butler’s (1980) product life cycle model for plotting the development of tourist destinations. Doxey’s (1975) model focuses upon stress levels within a community as a result of tourism and seeks to establish a threshold level between acceptance and rejection of tourism. Similar to the carrying-capacity concept, the “irridex” model highlights the cumulative effect of tourism development upon social interactions within a community by measuring local attitudes and levels of stress. Doxey describes the stages involved as follows:

In the early stages of development visitors are likely to be greeted with enthusiasm by local residents. The new industry brings employment and revenue, plus the early visitors (explorer types) are appreciative of local customs and lifestyles. This state of “euphoria” is particularly noticeable in areas where there are few alternative forms of employment, and when the level of tourist activity is not overwhelming. As the volume of visitors increases, contact between resident and visitor becomes less personal and more commercialised, and visitors demand more facilities built specifically for them. The industry is now taken for granted and local people develop a more “apathetic” attitude to the activity. If development continues it may exceed community tolerance thresholds because of increased congestion, rising prices, and its threat to traditional ways of life. Then apathy can turn to “annoyance”, as residents feel the community is being changed around them and the costs of accommodating the industry are beginning to exceed perceived benefits. But annoyance pales into insignificance if development continues and leads to “antagonism.” at this stage open hostility to tourism facilities and visitors can occur, as local residents perceive it to be the cause of all their economic and social problems (Murphy, 1985: 124).

Butler’s (1980) product life cycle model examines the type of contact between locals and tourists and asserts that local residents’ stress levels can be more bearable if their involvement in tourism brings tangible benefits. As a tourist destination develops it progresses through various stages of exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation, decline and rejuvenation. During the exploration stage, local infrastructure and facilities are likely to be underdeveloped and travellers are more likely to be adventurous and prefer to make individual travel arrangements. In the involvement stage, contact between tourists and local
residents is increased as more visitor facilities are provided. The next stage is one of development where the local community becomes a recognised tourist destination due to advertising and success. Companies from outside the community often become involved in the construction of tourist facilities at this stage and local control may decline. The next two stages of the tourist destination life cycle represent a decline in growth. The consolidation stage still sees the number of visitors increasing, but the rate of growth begins to taper off. During the stagnation stage the number of visitors peaks and capacity is reached resulting in environmental, social and economic pressures within the local community. At this point, a tourist destination may enter the decline stage where local attractions are unable to compete with those offered at newer destinations and visitor numbers decrease accordingly. The emphasis can change to non-tourism related activities and infrastructure. Alternatively a destination can rejuvenate itself through renewed planning and promotion to reclaim at least some of its former glory as a tourist destination.

The data presented in this chapter can be considered in the context of Doxey’s (1975) and Butler’s (1980) models for examining the evolution of tourist destinations and evolving residents’ perceptions of tourism. Appraisal of these models will be left until the concluding chapter of this report. In the meantime, results show that, in general, Westland residents are accepting of and friendly towards visitors to their region. They are happy to meet a wide range of tourists in various settings and are happy for current levels of tourism to further increase. Reported tourism benefits of increased business opportunities, new jobs and improved community facilities indicate that many Westland locals are positive about their involvement in tourism development. However, a number of community problems are beginning to emerge as tourism development proceeds in Westland. Rubbish and littering, campervan driving and waste, and inadequate infrastructure were highlighted as current tourism problems and concerns.

5.2 Meeting Tourists and Preferences for Tourist Types

Seventy-one per cent of survey respondents indicated that they meet tourists either sometimes or a lot in Westland (Figure 7). There was no significant difference between how often Westland residents meet tourists and the town in which they reside (Pearson’s \( \chi^2 = 17.378 \), df = 12, p = 0.136).
In response to the question “Are there any places on the West Coast that you enjoy seeing and meeting visitors/tourists?” there was a wide range of replies. Interestingly, 45.5 per cent answered “no”. This would seem to indicate that many Westland residents prefer to maintain a distance from visitors and tourists during the course of their daily lives. However, caution is required in interpreting this response. “No” could also mean that local residents feel that there is nowhere specific that they enjoy meeting tourists rather than preferring not to meet them at all. This was supported by responses to the question “Are there any places in the West Coast area that you would prefer not to see visitors/tourists?” Overwhelmingly, 81.5 per cent stated that there were no places they preferred not to see tourists.

Fourteen per cent of respondents said that they enjoy meeting tourists “anywhere”. One in ten prefer meeting tourists in the glacier region of Westland while a further six per cent enjoy meeting tourists at local tourist attractions. Perhaps as a reflection of the economic importance of tourism in Westland, seven per cent of survey respondents said that they enjoy meeting tourists while shopping. Some of the places that respondents prefer not to meet tourists include the backcountry (4.7%), at home or on private property (3.4%) and at local residents’ favourite fishing spots (2.4%).

Our survey data show that Westland residents like a wide range of tourist types and nationalities. Eighty-four per cent of respondents said that there were no particular tourists that they liked more than others. However, one preference was that 6.1 per cent of the sample preferred visitors from English speaking countries. There was a significant difference between location and the types of tourists that Westland residents like to meet (Pearson’s \( \chi^2 = 24.822, \text{df} = 12, p = 0.016 \)). Residents from Hokitika were more likely to like tourists on the basis of their nationality than residents from the other locations that were surveyed. Nearly three quarters of the sample said that there were no particular types of tourists that they dislike more than others. However, some nationalities were disliked more than others. Asian
tourists were disliked by eight per cent of respondents, Americans by six per cent, Germans by two per cent, and Israelis by two per cent of respondents. Loud, arrogant and unappreciative tourists were disliked by 4.5 per cent of respondents and campervans were disliked by 2.2 per cent of respondents. There was no significant difference between the location and the types of tourists disliked (Pearson’s χ² = 20.548, df = 12, p = 0.057).

5.3 Acceptable Levels of Tourism

Many Westland residents feel that the region could sustain increased levels of tourism. Only 1.5 per cent of survey respondents thought that current levels of tourism were too high. By contrast, 37.9 per cent stated that the current level of tourism is about right while 60.6 per cent stated that there is currently too little tourism. There was a significant difference between the location and perceptions of the current level of tourism (Pearson’s χ² = 41.221, df = 8, p = 0.000). Hokitika residents and other Westland residents living outside of the four case study communities were more likely to want more tourism (Figure 8). Haast, Franz Josef and Harihari residents were more likely to be happy with current levels of tourism and one in ten Haast residents said that there is currently too much tourism in their area.

These data indicate differences in residents’ perceptions regarding what is acceptable in terms of the density of tourist numbers visiting each community. For example, the Hokitika community has ample capacity to cope with more tourists in terms of providing accommodation, food, beverages and retail services during most times of the year. Although 47 per cent of respondents in Harihari feel that there is currently too little tourism in the

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5 See section 5.5.4 for an elaboration on local residents’ perceived problems and concerns regarding campervan tourism.

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Town, another 50 per cent feel that the level of tourism is about right. These respondents may recognise that the current levels of accommodation, services and activities available cannot cope with large increases in tourist numbers. In Franz Josef/Okarito many residents believe that while their tourism services and infrastructure are coping with the current levels of tourism, large increases in tourist numbers would place considerable pressure on the capacity of those services. In Haast, although there is some capacity to cope with increased numbers of tourists, two thirds of residents are either happy with current levels of tourism or want isolated lifestyle.

5.4 Tourism Benefits

The ways in which local communities benefit from tourism development is an important consideration when exploring locals’ attitudes towards tourism, as well as predicting the long-term viability of tourism in a region. For example, Ryan and Scotland’s (1998) investigation of residents’ attitudes in the rural area of Rangatikei in the North Island found high levels of support for tourism in the region and placed Rangatikei in the early involvement or “euphoric” stage of the Doxey “irridex” model. However, community attitudes towards tourism development are often complex in nature. Allen, et al., (1993) found that attitudes towards recreation in a community are affected by the level of economic activity but not by the level of tourism development. Additionally, residents’ attitudes towards tourism were more positive in communities with both high economic and tourism development and low economic and tourism development than they were for residents in low/high or high/low economic and tourism development communities.

In another study of tourism development in rural New Zealand, Mason and Cheyne (2000) found general support for tourism development but also that a community’s attitudes were not homogenous. Perceived positive impacts included the provision of community facilities, job creation and general promotion of an area. However, they also stress that to enhance these benefits it is essential to consider and act upon the diverse community views held about tourism in a region. This suggests that perceived community benefits from tourism in Westland require close examination in order to establish which sectors of the community benefit from tourism and what is the exact nature of those benefits.

A clear majority of survey respondents (71%) stated that the Westland community benefits from tourism (Figure 9). However, a healthy minority (27%) said that only some in the community benefit from the presence of tourism. Eighty-two survey respondents indicated that they personally benefited from the presence of tourism in Westland through jobs, economic spin-offs and improved community facilities.
Figure 9
Does the Community Benefit from Tourism in Westland?

Table 6
Westland Residents’ Perceived Tourism Benefits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Benefit</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Business/Financial</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>70.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment and Jobs</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>41.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exposure to more people</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Facilities</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location specific</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Multiple response question. Percentages do not add up to 100

There were clear patterns regarding the benefits that people associated with tourism. Table 6 shows that 71 per cent of survey respondents identified business and finance as the main benefit of tourism in Westland. Forty-one per cent also identified increased numbers of jobs as a result of tourism in the region. There was a significant difference (Pearson’s $\chi^2 = 33.841, df = 16, p = 0.006$) between the location and the benefits associated with tourism. Although business/financial benefits and the creation of jobs from tourism are linked, residents in Haast and Hokitika were more likely to identify business and financial gains in the community rather than the creation of more jobs. Local issues relating to business/finance, employment and improved community facilities are examined in detail in the following sections.

5.4.1 Business/finance

Although 71 per cent of survey respondents said that business and financial gains in the community were a benefit of tourism there were some dissenting viewpoints expressed by interviewees. For example, residents of Harihari sometimes expressed concern that their
community misses out on many of the financial gains associated with increasing levels of tourism in other parts of Westland such as Hokitika and Franz Josef. As one Harihari resident explained:

[Tourism development] will be all right for some but not for people around here. It is not going to make a difference around here unless someone comes and builds a big holiday lodge. There is nothing to stop here for apart from going hunting in a helicopter. If you don’t have a lot of money you can’t do that. That is just one little cottage industry. No one wants to come to New Zealand and spend time in the rain on the West Coast. We haven’t got anything to make people want to come.

Two long-term tourism operators in Harihari linked the potential financial benefits from tourism with the fickle nature of where and how often tour buses stop. Although there is a wide range of tour buses operating in South Westland, in recent years many have passed straight through Harihari to either Franz Josef in the south or Hokitika in the north. While one operator attributed the reduced number of buses that stop in Harihari to variations in tour itineraries, another operator attributed it to a better highway that necessitated few stops and improved tourist facilities in Hokitika:

The hotel, well he has lost the buses. He had a lot of buses, but tour buses do that. They change. They change their itinerary but it is nothing personal.

It will build up and then drop of again. The road is certainly better. We used to find that it was an hour and half trip from Hokitika in the past. It is not now. It is about 45 minutes. You can go through to Franz Josef at around the same time. That is where these little towns have missed out because the road is so damn good. In the seventies, the hotel over here was full every night. There were lunches and things like that. There would be six or seven tour buses lined up there for lunch. It is the improvement in Hokitika. You see, there was nothing in Hokitika in those days. I used to keep a tally for a month, you know, mark it down on a calendar when the buses came. We would probably get between 150 and 160 tour buses in a month. They were buying lunches. Now you get about 30 or 40 stopping for morning or afternoon tea and an ice cream in the afternoon.

In the Haast area, two interviewees said that while the business and financial spin-offs from tourism were a boost to the local economy, there was still a need to improve many tourism industry workers’ service and politeness towards visitors. They described how several tourism businesses had faltered in the area during the 1990s due to casual attitudes and taking tourists for granted:

I don’t think that a lot of the tourism businesses have kind of caught on to that whole thing about tourists being more complex in what they want.

Some of the people who set them up hadn’t really thought the business through in terms of it is going to take a long time. It takes years for people to recognise the worth of the World Heritage area, travel there and want to do something when they arrive. It takes a long time for business to become established and to be successful, to actually be able to earn a living off. I think that some of those people didn’t really have the business skills to make it work. People are casual in Haast. If they feel that they don’t like doing it today they will take the phone off the hook, whereas that is not the really the way to run a business.

Newer residents that have moved to Westland to develop their tourism careers are often successful at establishing tourism businesses because they have experience and professional attitudes towards providing services for tourists. This can create suspicion on the parts of locals who sometimes resent newcomers access to development finance. As a Haast resident explained:
There is probably a bit of ill feeling, but it is people from outside the area that come in and have the means to build the businesses and to make money. The township lay quite dormant for quite a few years and then developed mostly from people who had come in and seen the potential to do something. It is maybe not just a lack of finance but perhaps a lack of confidence that has stopped local residents from getting in and doing those things. So I think that a lot of people feel quite separate from it or don’t feel a part of that sort of growth, that tourism growth that there has been.

Another interviewee who operated an accommodation business acknowledged that tourism in Westland needed outside expertise. Outsiders with experience in operating tourism businesses were required to assist with tourism development in the region:

These people who have had the experience in the industry have something to offer. We are here in an isolated region. We are too busy, head down tail up, to actually access the kind of expertise that we need. It has to be targeted to what we need. It’s no use sending me an accountant to help me with tax returns if I want marketing.

A majority of tourism operators interviewed said that a benefit of operating a tourism business in Westland was the lifestyle available. The relaxed pace, friendly people and natural environment were all associated with operating a tourism business in Westland. However, threats to tourism operators’ lifestyle such as increased competition and lack of resource management were also mentioned. The following quotes from a kayak operator and two accommodation operators illustrate:

Self-employment was really the option for us to do it and have the lifestyle that we wanted. We wanted the lifestyle out here. A lifestyle and a business. There may be more profitable businesses, maybe running the corner dairy is more profitable but it is not the lifestyle that we wanted. I am quite happy if someone else comes along I am quite happy to share the resource, well it is not my resource to share. But if someone else comes along basically they have got to recognise that there is only so many boats that can go out there. So they have got to address that. If I built a business of putting so many people out there and they are cutting back, yeah well of course that is a concern.

I would like to see a great deal of thought from Council about allowing more businesses into a place like this. There is only so much business. I would hate it to get it to a Queenstown type of situation. I can’t see the point in allowing businesses to set up “willy nilly” and then half of them go broke.

I see there being big problems in the future in New Zealand. The Tourism Board comes up with 100 per cent pure New Zealand, clean and green, but they are not actually using it as a resource management strategy. They say that they want an extra 200,000 people per year but there is no strategy to decide what are we going to do with them. We might be getting away with it, but…

As the largest business centre in Westland, Hokitika provides tourism operators an opportunity to share support, expertise and promotional strategies. Businesses in Tancred Street have co-ordinated their marketing strategies and slowly developed into a souvenir and café area of central Hokitika. However, businesses in other locations around Hokitika also want to share the success. A local operator explains:
They sort of built it up and it has become a wee bit like the Mall in Queenstown. A sort of central souvenir area. Every one is sort of hanging on to the one street. There has been a bit of dissension about it around town and we have been having meetings about it. We have got to all get together. The whole town and all the business area want to promote the whole town whereas we have been pushing Tancred Street. We had to, to survive. That succeeded and now the rest of the town is starting to have a bit of a whinge about it. They want to catch-up and that is fair enough too.

The quotes described above show that business and financial benefits of tourism in Westland are at least partially localised in larger tourism centres such as Hokitika and Franz Josef. Although business and financial benefits can be fickle in smaller towns, tourism industry workers improving their service and politeness towards tourists can enhance these. Newer residents to Westland also enhance the business and financial benefits of tourism by introducing much needed capital and expertise to the region. Westland is often chosen as a location for tourism businesses because of the lifestyle opportunities the region affords. Some operators are aware that as tourism grows, there will be increasing pressure upon the currently relaxed lifestyle available and a need to manage the physical impacts of tourism.

5.4.2 Employment

Forty-one per cent of the survey sample indicated that employment and jobs were a benefit of having tourism in Westland. However, many interviewees also stressed that it is not easy, especially for young people, to find work in the District. One resident was thankful that she did not have to seek work in the current economic environment:

I am just glad that I am as old as I am. We lived in an age where people were not made redundant. We lived in an age where you could apply for a job and get it. You would do your work and get your pay. Today kids apply for job after job after job and they don’t even get an interview. There is a lot of cruelty. I think that it is terrible. I mean I would hate to be in that position. It is wrong.

A tourism operator in Harihari expressed concern that, while tourism can create jobs in the community, they are not enough to replace the jobs that were lost when many local industries and government agencies closed in the late 1980s and early 1990s. He stated:

We have had nothing come in to replace [the logging and sawmill industries]. We are the only new tourism business that has started up since that demise and we have seen our community die. The contraction of the community contributes to the dearth of tourists stopping because who is going to stay in a little one-horse town that doesn’t have the facilities to offer? The store and the post office also went. The worst days work that the National government ever did was withdrawing the old post office. The moment they did that we lost our “post” and that is a big thing in rural communities.

Two residents, in Franz Josef and Hokitika respectively, were wary of media claims that tourism creates permanent jobs. While they conceded that some work was available, it is often of a seasonal or part-time nature. One resident thought that small business opportunities offered to best prospects for work in tourism:

When they talk about creating work on the West Coast through tourism you have to consider the kind of employment that goes with tourism. There is plenty of seasonal employment but not out of season and it is limited. Not everyone wants the casual style employment in hotels, restaurants and bar work.

I think that Hokitika lends itself to smaller businesses. Sure they are going to be hard to sustain in the winter but even if someone can get employment through the summer and go on the dole in the winter, that is better than being on the dole all year. Through the summer and go on the dole in the winter, that is better than being on the dole all year.
The seasonal and part-time nature of much tourism employment in Westland nevertheless provides some residents with opportunities to diversify their incomes. For a craft shop owner who sells on commission, many locals are encouraged to utilise their art and craft skills to produce goods for the shop and to earn some extra income:

I sell on commission here and you keep a lot of local people just doing one or two things and they sell them here. So they are all involved in a sense aren’t they? I don’t think I could put a finger on how many are involved. I would have to count. I think there is close to 300. But there are a lot of them from away of course. They come from as far away as the North Island. The people here couldn’t make enough stuff. About 50 per cent comes from close by. Some people just knit little jerseys or whatever. They are not big suppliers but when they are all put together that makes a whole. Some people do quite well. It is just a little bit of money.

Tourism is thus recognised by some Westland residents as a source of jobs in a region where finding employment can be difficult. However, residents are often aware that the jobs created in tourism can be on a part time or seasonal basis. Nevertheless, at the very least, tourism jobs provide Westland residents with opportunities to diversify and complement their incomes.

5.4.3 Improved Community Facilities

The improvement of community facilities as a result of tourism was a benefit mentioned by one in ten survey respondents. Since only a minority thought that tourism improved community facilities, many residents see tourism as a potential burden on existing facilities. Many interviewees thought that there was still a long way to go before many community facilities were up to a standard required for an international quality tourist destination. An area of concern for several interviewees was access to health services as, an Okarito residents explains:

I mean if you get more and more people coming perhaps they need a medical facility out here in case they have medical problems while they are here. For older people living here health is a big one. Reliable health facilities, even Greymouth Hospital... Some things I would go there for but some things I wouldn’t want to.

Another area of concern for the majority of Harihari residents that were interviewed was the closure of their sawmills, forestry, Ministry of Works Depot and post office as a part of the economic restructuring of New Zealand’s economy in the 1980s and 1990s (see Perry, 1992). A related concern regarding community facilities has been poor telephone rental, internet and business services. Although telephone companies have recently began to upgrade telecommunication services in South Westland, some residents feel that it is too little too late as much potential tourism business has been lost in the meantime. The following quotes describe some of these issues:

We had a situation where the tourists didn’t know what they were going to strike. They stopped at the Franz Josef DoC Visitor Centre and they wanted to buy some books and leaflets worth about $12. They offered a credit card for payment and the attendant said, “We don’t take credit cards for less than $20” but they didn’t have eftpos facility! These tourists said, “We are running short on cash and we don’t have much to spare.” She said, “Sorry you’ll have to put them back.” That is the kind of situation you get into. At least when we had the post office there was the ability to withdraw cash, not a problem.

We had Canadian guests who were horrified when our Post Office went in the early 1990s. They told us, “Here you are saying you want three million tourists, or whatever, but you are destroying your infrastructure for tourists. In Canada we are bending over backwards to put in facilities. We can’t understand it”.

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Two interviewees had concerns about the policies of the Department of Conservation in consulting the public and providing facilities to ensure community access to the conservation estate. One resident realised that the Department of Conservation had budget constraints but also thought they should improve their public consultation. Another said that he would like to see more maintenance and development of Department of Conservation backcountry facilities, such as huts and tracks, for use by New Zealand residents rather than what he currently sees as the Department of Conservation primarily focusing on providing front country facilities for tourists:

They do a good job with running the facilities at Fox and Franz in terms of the glacier stuff. However, I don’t think that they do a good job of public consultation with regards to them moving tracks and other tourist infrastructure. Maybe there is an argument there with regards to funding. They do try to consolidate their budget into areas that they can see the most value in. But generally the stuff that I have got from DoC in the past has been utter complete bullshit! They will say that they are consulting with the public, which means that they might have held a public meeting about it at some stage. Then they will go ahead and do what they want to do anyway.

I am saying let’s provide more facilities. Let’s develop what the Department of Conservation is currently doing. In New Zealand we are going to have concrete paths running along the highways with street lighting but there will be no backcountry facilities. The focus of the Department is on providing facilities for tourists. That is their focus and they are not reading the first two pages of the National Parks Act. They haven’t read them for a long time. What do New Zealanders want? They don’t want to go up the valley and stand in a line with 400 other people in it. That is not what the traditional New Zealander wants to do but maybe after a while they will get conditioned to doing that.

In reply, a Department of Conservation staff member also acknowledged budget constraints was one barrier to providing more community facilities. However, he also said that many local residents and tourism operators do not appreciate the current amount and range of facilities the Department of Conservation provides for visitors and local communities:

We have clearly had levels of tourism increasing over the years. The problem with our budget is it is fairly heavily tagged. There are nine outputs, so when the government gives us money each year, it is in nine different buckets and we can only spend on visitor facilities out of our visitor facilities budget. The capacity of those budgets has changed over time. In some years biodiversity is the flavour and there is heaps of money for that and not much for visitor centres. In other years there will be heaps for education and visitors but not much for biodiversity. In a general tourism sense, people don’t know how lucky they are with having DoC here. During the last restructuring, if we had pulled out of Franz Josef, I don’t know that a lot of the facilities we have here would still exist. We have four public toilets in this District; we have three or four roadside picnic areas and three campgrounds, which people have to pay the exorbitant sum of $5 to stay in. We have a Visitor Centre, which is fully staffed every day of the year and top class facilities in the glacier valley. Local people don’t appreciate any of that. Basically most of their industry is based on things they don’t have to pay for.

5.4.4 Summary

Survey respondents reported business/finance and employment opportunities as the main benefits of tourism in Westland. They thought that although business and financial benefits can be fickle in smaller towns, tourism industry workers improving their service and politeness towards tourists can enhance these. They believe that newer residents to Westland also enhance the business and financial benefits of tourism by introducing much needed capital and expertise to the region. Westland is often chosen as a location for tourism
businesses because of the lifestyle opportunities the region affords. Tourism is also recognised by some Westland residents as a source of jobs in a region where finding employment can be difficult. However, residents are often aware that the jobs created in tourism can be on a part time or seasonal basis. Nevertheless, at the very least, tourism jobs provide Westland residents with opportunities to diversify and compliment their incomes. Some residents would like to see tourism act as a catalyst to improve the range and standard of community facilities available in Westland. Health services, telephone services, postal services and visitor facilities were some examples of community facilities mentioned by interviewees as being under pressure as tourism increases in Westland.

5.5 Tourism Problems and Concerns

Although residents indicated a wide range of problems and concerns relating to tourism in the region, many also indicated that they had either no problems (27.1%) (Table 7) or no concerns (44.4%) with tourism in Westland (Table 8). Of those who did outline problems and concerns associated with tourism, there were four main patterns.

- Thirty-two per cent of respondents said that tourists’ poor driving skills and unfamiliarity with local roads was a problem. Seven per cent also stated that this was their greatest concern regarding tourism in the region.

- Sixteen per cent stated that campervan effluent dumping, campervan waste disposal and/or parking was a problem. Nine per cent listed this as their greatest concern about tourism.

- Rubbish and littering associated with tourism was listed by 16 per cent as a problem while five per cent stated this as their greatest tourism concern.

- Ten per cent said that inadequate infrastructure for tourism was a problem and eleven per cent stated inadequate infrastructure as their greatest tourism concern. Some of the specific infrastructure problems mentioned included public toilets, campervan dump stations, sewerage disposal and rubbish collection.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problems</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Driving/roads (driving habits, road closures etc.)</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>32.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>None</td>
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<tr>
<td>Campervan dumping/waste disposal/parking</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rubbish and littering</td>
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<td>Inadequate infrastructure (e.g., public toilets)</td>
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<td>Public toilets</td>
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<td>Giardia</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busy shops</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not enough tourists</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overcrowding</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom camping</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helicopters/noise</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of tourist information</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uneven benefits</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher cost of living</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transient workforce/Few jobs</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak Council</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wild food festival rubbish/drunks</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changing town character</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Multiple response question. Percentages do not add up to 100
Table 8
Westland Residents’ Greatest Tourism Concerns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concerns</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate infrastructure (e.g., public toilets)</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campervan dumping/waste disposal/parking</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More planning required</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driving/roads (driving habits, road closures etc.)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not enough tourists</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubbish and littering</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seasonal variation</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduced access to natural resources</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overcrowding</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist behaviour in environment</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of capital</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of stay</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small communities miss out</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not like Queenstown</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of diversification</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low quality jobs</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less local control</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too much emphasis on tourism</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher crime</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public toilets</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Risk of disease</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helicopters/noise</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak Council</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher prices</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parochialism</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside capital</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local attitudes to tourists</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transient workers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom camping</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Multiple response question. Percentages do not add up to 100

There were significant differences between tourism problems and the age of survey respondents (Pearson’s $\chi^2 = 70.447$, df = 24, p = 0.000). Residents under the age of 30 were more likely to state that either they had no problems with tourism or that rubbish and littering was a problem. Residents aged between 30 and 50 were more likely to state that campervans waste/parking and poor driving by tourists were problems.
There was also a significant difference between the location and the problems associated with tourism (Pearson’s $\chi^2 = 62.004$, df = 32, p = 0.001). Hokitika residents were more likely to have no problems with tourism or to state that poor driving was a problem. Franz Josef and Okarito residents also listed either no problems or driving as problems but also drew attention to inadequate infrastructure. Haast and Harihari residents were more likely to state that poor driving and campervan waste disposal and parking were problems.

There is a range of reasons for these differences. The perception of poor driving by tourists is widely held by residents throughout Westland and is a reflection of the importance of road transport for local residents. The reliance upon roads for work and everyday life mean that residents in all Westland communities keenly notice poor driving habits by visitors. Franz Josef and Okarito are communities that are beginning to feel the impacts of increasing tourist numbers. Services such as public toilets, sewerage, water supply, health facilities and emergency services are examples of infrastructure that are harder to upgrade and maintain in smaller communities such as Franz Josef and Okarito than they are in larger centres such as Hokitika. As small rural communities, residents of Harihari and Haast often see evidence of inappropriate activities by freedom campers such as incorrect waste disposal. The conspicuous nature of campervans means that relatively few incidents of dumping are needed before negative community opinions towards them are formed.

Forty-one residents stated that they had taken some form of action to address their concerns about tourism in Westland communities. Three people said that they had contacted the police regarding dangerous driving incidents involving tourists. Ten people expressed their tourism concerns through public meetings or at local community group meetings such as RSA, St. Johns and local Community Associations. Fourteen people contacted either the Westland District Council or the West Coast Regional Council to discuss their concerns about inadequate infrastructure. Five people wrote to their local MP while another five wrote to newspapers about their concerns. Two people also contacted the Department of Conservation about rubbish, littering and pollution caused by tourists.

In this section, the main tourism problems and concerns of driving and roads, rubbish and littering, campervans and inadequate infrastructure are examined in detail. While the telephone survey highlighted these problems and concerns as serious issues for Westland residents, interview and observation data are used to outline the ways in which they arise and are dealt with in Westland communities.

5.5.1 Driving and Roads

Poor driving habits by tourists and inadequate roads to cope with increasing tourist numbers were mentioned by 32 per cent of the survey sample as a problem and by seven per cent as their main tourism concern. Two of the main concerns that Westland residents have about tourist driving habits were driving on the wrong side of the road, especially by campervans, and the number of one-lane bridges on Westland highways. As the following quotes show, encountering either can be a dangerous and frightening experience:

I have seen them drive away from this shop, Americans mostly, on the wrong side of the road and you think Oh God! Sometimes I yell out. If they have a campervan they are worse. If they have got a campervan it is a lethal weapon!

Campervans are all over the road and they are dangerous too. Some of them are all right when they pull over and that is very good, but a lot don’t and you just can’t pass them.
I built a lot of bridges down south at Haast. We went down and built all these small ones. Well, they should never have been one-way bridges. They should not have allowed another one-lane bridge to be built. But it was cheaper. It was a silly way of cutting down on spending money. They did not realise the danger. There have been some terrible accidents.

Three interviewees mentioned road closures as tourism problems and concerns in Westland. As one person explained, road closures can have on-going implications for tourist numbers in some areas of Westland:

The roads are closed about once every year with a washout or something. A new lot people pass through and they come back, which is good, but the number of people going through goes down. There are still not enough of them because people don’t want to go up and down the same road. One thing that I really want to make a point of is that when the roads are closed there is a great big “hullabaloo” about it because the roads are inaccessible and you can’t get through. Then, when the road opens, nobody tells anyone. There might be a little piece in the paper and four weeks afterwards the tourists are still not sure whether the road is any good and I think that is really something that someone should do something about. We need to be absolutely sure that people know when the roads are open and when they are closed.

An Okarito resident expressed concern about the growing demands on the access road to the village by increasing numbers of tourists. If tourist numbers continue to increase then so too will the risk of accidents on the current narrow and sometimes dangerous road:

The road coming in is a consideration because the locals use it everyday. It is a narrow road and a couple of people have said that it is not wide enough to put a white line on it. One of our biggest hazards is the fact that we often meet tourists driving on the wrong side of the road. The more traffic that you put on that road, the more impact there is. You are likely to have accidents on it. It is not an easy road to drive on. One of the positive aspects of living out here is that there are no hotels here. With the kind of road access that we have got, if you start having a lot of people drinking alcohol our roads are going to cause problems. I think that our road is fine for the amount of people using it now but double the amount of people and I think that you will find that we need to make a bigger road.

In Chapter 3 there was an historical account the construction of roads throughout Westland. The topic has never been far away from public discussion and debate since the late nineteenth century. After the completion of the Haast Pass and Haast – Paringa sections of highway in the 1960s, attention shifted to another long contemplated task of constructing a road between Westland and Milford Sound via the Hollyford Valley. This debate has waxed and waned in the public eye over the years but has resurfaced in the late 1990s, possibly due to initiatives by the Westland District Council to explore the possibilities of the project. Opinion about the proposed road was divided amongst people interviewed. Approximately one-third supported the road while close to two-thirds opposed it. Of those who supported the idea, the reasons for its completion included completing a beautiful round trip of the South Island, providing access for the aged and infirm, enhancing business prospects and providing an alternative route off the West Coast when others parts of the highway are blocked. The following quotes demonstrate these reasons:

I think it would be wonderful. I think that because the South Island is so beautiful and it would open up that round trip. There will be more people going through. Of course, they said that the Haast would never go through. It took a great many years to get the Haast through.

I would be in favour of it. We are not all young, fit and 25. Some people don’t realise how much your health means to you. I know because I am crippled with arthritis and it is getting worse. I’ve had a hip operation, a shoulder operation and I’m faced with another hip operation in the near future. We saw how the Haast road was put in and you can see it is almost pristine environment. If a road were put through the Hollyford, specifically for the Haast region it
would be good. I don’t think it would have a big impact on us up here in Harihari. We may get a five per cent increase but certainly for the Haast region it would be a big impact. We would have a percentage of those doing a round trip. By basing themselves in Queenstown or Wanaka and they would be doing the loop. They would do the glaciers and Milford Sound but further north would miss out.

I think that what it means to the area, and we have seen it happen before, is that it provides an alternative route off the coast. It has happened three times when the road has been completely closed. We have had roads go out and bridges washed out. In ’78 or ’79 the Gates of Haast were knocked out for six weeks. You may have as well cut the umbilical cord. It just killed tourism and it took years to bounce back.

We’ll need the Hollyford Road. Now our biggest worry is that the Gates of Haast could block anytime at all. I went to Queenstown the other day and there is a slip just about at the Gates of Haast bridge.

Accommodation operator: I think that it would be a great thing. [My partner], she is different, she thinks a wee bit differently to me.

Partner: He thinks business-wise and I can see his point, but it is also a lifestyle for us here too. Our lifestyle would change dramatically.

Accommodation operator: I don’t believe that it would.

Partner: I think that it would, because we would be on a main road. The security and the increased traffic would be problems.

There was also a range of reasons given by Westland residents for the road not to go ahead. These included there being no need for another scenic road in South Westland, a likelihood that tourists would simply be moved through the region too quickly, that the area for the proposed road includes some of the last “untouched” wilderness left in New Zealand and that it would threaten the area’s World Heritage status. The following quotes illustrate this point of view:

You would only build another road if you needed it. Why do people build roads? Because they need to get somewhere. Access, or because the present road is not coping well. Neither of those situations exist, so why would you? If you are doing it because it is a really pretty place to go and people would really love it, well there is no shortage of scenic grandeur in the southern lakes, Fiordland, and the West Coast area.

It is all very well saying that you will put a road through and then everyone can enjoy it. It is two hundred kilometres of road with the same sort of scenery. Some people would get sick of that. Of the tour buses that go through, I think the Germans are just about the only ones that actually look around. The Japanese sort of close their curtains and go to sleep. So they don’t see anything anyway. Also, if you have got people using a facility like that there will be littering. You actually start damaging the natural environment.

I think that this country should be going the way of the value-added and forget about the bulk stuff. You certainly don’t need roads around places that are going to just move people through quicker and quicker. [As accommodation providers] we have a two-night minimum. Absolutely. Through the season we have no difficulty with that. We do not want to be a one-night stand.
A lot of people think it would be better to see that part of the country left well alone. They have probably got enough roads now. I mean when you look at the last remaining places that we have got like that, there is something pretty special about it. It should be left well alone.

There is not a lot [who are] keen on it around here [in Haast]. It is remarkable actually, when I first come here 20 years ago just about everyone was in favour of it. Now you will see a marked change. I suspect that part of it is that they have realised that is the last bit left. It really is the last bit. To me, that is the West Coast riches. That is what is left. That bit down there is the bit that, if you want to start tourism on the Coast, that is where the money should be going. And it is not about building roads. It is really not about building roads. [It is about] walking. The whole point is that you can walk from the end of the Cascade all the way to Big Bay and never go over a hill more than one hundred metres high and you are on the coastline all of the way.

I will point out that it is World Heritage area and that is without a road running through it. New Zealand isn’t going to want to do too much to threaten that World Heritage status by building a road through it. So practicalities aside, and costs aside there is a big stake there in not stuffing things up. There is a huge political stake. It is a gigantic loss of mana on any government that loses its World Heritage status because it stuffs around with an area. The Aussies came close to it with one of their National Parks by allowing mining on the fringes of it. They don’t look very good because of that. I can’t imagine the New Zealand government wanting to go down that track.

Currently in the debate both sides make predictions about potential impacts for tourism development. The catch cry of many proponents is that the roads will be great for tourism. However, at a deeper level of analysis this is not necessarily so. Although it is likely that there will be increased numbers of tourists, if the infrastructure is not in place to cope with these numbers there is potential to damage the image of Westland as a tourist destination.

Thus, the main problems and concerns that Westland residents have about tourist driving habits were driving on the wrong side of the road and the number of one-lane bridges on Westland highways. Additional problems and concerns included road closures and the growing demands on some roads, such as the access road to Okarito, as a result of increasing numbers of tourists. While the debate over the proposed Haast/Hollyford road has proponents on both sides of the argument about whether or not it should proceed, there is doubt over the ability of current infrastructure in Westland to cope with large increases in tourist numbers.

5.5.2 Rubbish and Littering

Rubbish and littering were mentioned by 15.7 per cent of survey respondents as a tourism problem and by 5.4 per cent as their greatest tourism concern. In interviews, the topic of rubbish collection and rubbish disposal was frequently discussed by residents of South Westland communities including Harihari, Franz Josef and, especially, Haast. When asked about rubbish dumps and rubbish collection two Haast residents gave the following replies:

It seems that people do just whatever they like. But you know, that to me says that there is no plan here and they don’t care about planning here. It is a same with the rubbish dumps. There have been two rubbish dumps here (in Haast) in the last ten years. There have been two put in. One was in consultation with DoC, the other the Council just dug a hole at Neil’s Beach. It is not a bad dump, except that it is in a silly place. It is very close to the sea where tourists get to see it.
Interviewer: Have you got a rubbish collection?

Resident: No, we haven’t (laugh). We asked two seasons ago. I offered to cart the stuff to the dump everyday. I’ll change the bags, they supply the drum, and put the bags, the plastic bags in, and I’ll clean it out everyday.

Two other tourism operators, from Haast and Harihari respectively, also said that they preferred to take on the responsibility of extra work maintaining rubbish dumps and rubbish collection, rather than do nothing and watch their communities become polluted from the presence of tourists:

We have a dump just up the road here that we maintain but it is not a legal dump. It is the one that the area here has been using for thirty years and now there is talk about closing it, the one at Hannah’s Clearing and the one at Neil’s Beach. They have got a dump just this side of the garage (approximately 10kms away). And you know what is going to happen then. They say they are going to educate people, but I probably don’t see how you can. I am doing a trailer load of rubbish every day and some days twice a day. If you average it out over the year, I would possibly be the biggest user of the dump. So it is a concern to me that, what’s going to happen with the dumps.

We have got a drum out there and my partner gets angry sometimes when she sees people pull up, dump their rubbish and just go. But I would rather, at the end of the day, have them dump it in the drum than dump it on the side of the road somewhere, around the lakeside or whatever. That has been a big issue at Lake Ianthe.

Thus, the issue of rubbish collection and rubbish disposal was of concern to residents of South Westland communities including Harihari, Franz Josef and, especially, Haast. Some tourism operators preferred to take on the responsibility of extra work maintaining rubbish dumps and rubbish collection, rather than watch their communities become polluted from the presence of tourists. As tourist numbers continue to increase, the problems of rubbish collection and disposal are also likely to increase unless steps are taken to improve collection systems and provide adequate disposal sites.

5.5.3 Campervans

Campervan effluent dumping, waste disposal and parking was mentioned as a problem by 16.2 per cent of the sample survey as a problem, and by 9.1 per cent as their greatest tourism concern. The issue of campervan refuse dumping and misuse of local toilet facilities was a common pattern in interviews with Harihari residents. There was a perception that locals are in competition with tourists for the Lake Ianthe recreation area. Some locals became frustrated with campervan tourists dumping waste on the roadside, blocking boat access and polluting the waterways. Two Harihari residents described their frustration:

I have been working on the road for 40 years. I have seen them pull up and drop stuff on the side of the road and carry on! I have seen them go and wash their dishes in the lake when people are swimming in it. All those years I was on the mower, the bloody disposable napkins, there were hundreds of them, and they were all put on the side of the road.

When you get half a dozen campervans parked up by Lake Ianthe you can’t get the boat into the boat ramp. They monopolise the whole area. It is supposed to be a recreational area. It is not supposed to be a camping ground. It used to be quite nice at Lake Ianthe but now it has giardia in the water, piles of shit all round the place and campervan waste dumped into what is supposed to be the long drop. I see these tourists as being quite a cost to us. I don’t see them being a benefit.
While campervan tourists are an obvious target to blame for the dumping of human waste, there is some evidence that the general travelling public is at least equally to blame. Smith (2000) has reviewed the issue of campervan waste discharges on the West Coast. He found that, in addition to campervan tourists, recreationalists and other travellers such as those in cars, hitchhikers and cyclists are often responsible for the illegal discharge of human waste at roadside rest stops. Furthermore, the Westland District Council (1996, in Simmons and Forer, 2000) found that 61 per cent of sites along State Highway 6 in the Westland District had toilet paper present. Although 73 per cent of all sign posted areas had toilet paper, campervan holding tank waste was found at only one site.

In Franz Josef, an accommodation operator explained how she adopts a policy of responsibility towards the natural environment, rather than financial gain, when confronted by campervan waste:

If you just look up past the log cabins, we often find campervans parked just up the road near our facilities. It is quite common to find evidence of toilet paper and dumped waste by the side of the road. It is just obscene. There are dump stations everywhere and if anyone comes in and asks to use our dump station we don’t charge, we just say yes. I would much rather they dumped in here than up the road.

In response to the problem of campervan dumping the Westland District Council has recently installed a campervan dump station on the outskirts of Hokitika. A Department of Conservation staff member thought that too much is sometimes made of campervan effluent dumping and attention should be directed at sanitary practices in the bush:

I actually think that is a red herring personally. I have seen three or four examples where people have discharged campervan waste into one of our roadside toilets. A bigger concern to me is that there are not many places you can pull off the road now and not see human excrement. I think eventually that it is all leaking into our roadside lakes and that is going to become a bigger impact. I do a bit of wandering around and I don’t see campervans dumping in any other places. But I do see, wherever I go, human waste and it is not from campervans. I have actually seen local people doing triathlons, moaning about the filthy bloody tourists in campervans dumping their shit on the side of the road but the same person is quite often doing the same in the bush because they need to. There are some double standards there.

Campervan effluent dumping, waste disposal and parking were topical issues for residents throughout Westland. For example, some Harihari residents mentioned campervan refuse dumping and misuse of local toilet facilities by campervan users as serious problems. However, campervans are a highly visible target and recreationalists and other travellers such as those in cars, hitchhikers and cyclists are often responsible for the illegal discharge of human waste at roadside rest stops. In response to the problem of campervan dumping the Westland District Council has recently installed a campervan dump station on the outskirts of Hokitika.

5.5.4 Inadequate infrastructure

Inadequate infrastructure was mentioned by 10.7 per cent of the survey sample as their greatest tourism concern, and by 10.4 per cent as a problem. Many infrastructure issues have already been discussed, such as roads, bridges, rubbish collection and disposal, campervan and sewage waste. In this section, Westland residents’ attitudes towards tourism infrastructure and planning are further probed and the issue of the provision of public toilets in Westland communities is further explored.
Residents in Okaritio echoed a concern of many South Westland communities by identifying infrastructure pressures such as inadequate water, sewerage, telecommunications and power supply as tourism issues. Two residents distinguished between the infrastructure requirements of day-trippers as opposed to tourists who stay overnight:

The day-trippers need maybe a picnic table here and there; they don’t really need too much. However, overnight tourists also need accommodation, so that is pressure on the infrastructure, which is already stretched in terms of sewerage and water (supply). But power and phone lines are problems. You can’t get a new phone line in here.

Central and local government go away and tell other people to come to Okarito and they are out there selling what a wonderful place it is and we get little recognition. [Tourists] are pouring in here in thousands and thousands to see what we already have. What we need is some help on the ground to maintain that infrastructure. I have a vision for this town to be largely a day trip from Franz Josef. Most of the beds and the restaurants, the facilities that tourists need, the infrastructure that they need, will be at Franz Josef.

Two interviewees thought that increasing tourism in Westland was both part of the problem and part of the solution with regard to the provision of adequate infrastructure. A Franz Josef resident thought that increasing numbers of tourists would embarrass the Westland District Council into planning and providing more infrastructure, while a Haast resident thought that tourists should be expected to contribute to funding tourism infrastructure as the two following quotes illustrate:

You would not find many places where the supporting infrastructure is as weak as we have here and the lack of planning. That to me is a worry but I think they are starting to do it now. The fact is that they have suddenly realised that this could actually be embarrassing and we are being exposed. They need to focus on the longer-term asset, which can obviously bring them more revenue.

The Council is in a position where they can’t put rates up too high to make a profit or for developing. So they really have to get it off the people who are passing through. They have got to be asking them what they want and think of ways for them to fund it.

In response, the Westland District Council defend their planning strategies and state that, while they would like to provide more infrastructure, they too are constrained by funding limitations. For example, the Economic Development Officer suggested that:

The perception is that Council should be providing a lot more than they are. I think that that is an historical thing because 10, 20 or 30 years ago, Council was probably providing a lot more. But there was more money around then to be able to do so. We have pretty much always been a regulatory body. Now, because the Town and the District are changing, people are looking for drivers to change that. They see the Council as people who should be providing that.

The issue of a lack of roadside public toilets was frequently mentioned in interviews with Westland residents. Although a lack of toilets is of concern in many regions around New Zealand it is particularly relevant in Westland due to the long distances that tourists travel in the region. The latest Westland District Council Annual Plan has provision to construct public toilets in Haast, Franz Josef and Fox Glacier townships. Residents interviewed in Haast were generally happy that public toilets were planned to be installed at the township, but remained frustrated at having to battle for public toilets over a prolonged period. There is also some disgruntlement that the toilet facilities will be too small and inadequate to deal with large numbers of people disembarking from buses. Two Haast residents outlined their frustrations:
More public toilets are a necessity. They are an absolute necessity if we want to be a player on the international market. You can go anywhere and there are toilets available. Yet here we just don’t have those basic facilities.

[Councillors and Council staff] highlighted all the things that they want to happen in Hokitika: new drainage, improvements to Cass Square, street improvements and footpaths and all this sort of thing. We said, “Well, what about our toilets?” And they said, “Well it has just been deferred because we haven’t got the money”. The toilet that we are proposing is on a reserve. We have got no football field here or playgrounds or anything like that like all the other towns have. I said, “We would like to know where the money is. Has it been used somewhere else? And why can’t it be used?” The Mayor said, “We can’t transfer funds from a reserves fund for public amenities”. And I said, “Well, what is it for then besides street improvements in Hokitika?” They got back to us and said, “Well look, if you want some money for the toilets, put in a submission. Here are the forms, here is the correct way of doing it instead of bringing it up in front of a public meeting”.

Residents interviewed in Franz Josef stated that the Council has a policy of not providing public toilets unless the local community raises most of the money itself. However, residents thought that this is unfair for several reasons. First, it is very difficult to raise money for a community cause in such a small township. Any money that is raised is already earmarked for projects such as maintaining the community hall and providing children’s play areas. Second, many residents feel that their rates should cover the costs of providing public toilets. They point out that the Franz Josef area provides millions of tourist dollars for the benefit of the whole Westland region so the provision of public toilets is justified. Third, some businesses in the Town already provide toilets for their clientele and are therefore not willing to contribute extra money for building public toilets. They see this as a Council responsibility.

The geographical isolation of South Westland raises two other important infrastructure issues for local tourism businesses. The first is the high cost of fuel. Some operators were concerned about the rising cost of petrol. They saw this as both a deterrent for people visiting South Westland and as an increasing burden for their operating costs. The second major issue was the lack of telephone coverage (both landline and mobile). In addition to being inconvenient for travellers, the lack of mobile coverage means that residents’ and tourists’ safety is compromised in comparison with other areas. While some operators use radiotelephones, these are not as reliable and do not provide the same coverage as mobile telephones. Fortunately, there have been recent initiatives by Vodafone to improve their mobile coverage in the area. Some operators also felt that landline telephone coverage could be improved in order to enhance the reliability and access to internet services. Tourism bookings and inquiries through the internet are becoming a significant part of tourism business throughout New Zealand and some operators in south Westland feel that they are disadvantaged due to the current lack of coverage.

Westland residents identified infrastructure pressures including inadequate water supply, sewerage, telecommunications and power supply as serious tourism issues. A common theme in interviews concerned a lack of public toilets, which is particularly relevant in Westland due to the long distances that tourists travel in the region. One resident thought that increasing numbers of tourists would embarrass the Westland District Council into planning and providing infrastructure, while another thought that tourists should be expected to contribute to funding tourism infrastructure. In response, the Westland District Council defend their planning strategies by pointing out that they are constrained by funding limitations.
5.6 Conclusion

Westland residents’ perceptions of tourism in their District suggest a degree of tolerance towards the current density levels of tourists visiting each community. Seven out of ten respondents indicated that they meet tourists either sometimes or a lot during their everyday lives, and eight out of ten said that there were no particular tourists that they liked more than others. Hokitika residents were more likely to want more tourism than residents from Haast, Franz Josef and Harihari. Residents from these communities were more likely to be happy with current levels of tourism, and one in ten Haast residents said that there is currently too much tourism in their area. Seven out of ten respondents also stated that the Westland community benefits from tourism. Benefits identified with tourism included business and finance (71%), increased numbers of jobs (41%), exposure to different people (9.9%) and improved community facilities (9.7%).

In terms of business and financial benefits, residents from Harihari sometimes expressed concern that their community misses out on many of the financial gains associated with increasing levels of tourism in other parts of Westland such as Hokitika and Franz Josef. Additionally, the potential financial benefits from tourism were sometimes viewed as fickle in nature, and there is a perceived need to improve many tourism industry workers’ service and politeness towards visitors. Newer residents who have moved to Westland to develop their tourism careers are often successful at establishing tourism businesses because they have experience and professional attitudes towards providing services for tourists. Although tourism is seen by many residents as a means for creating jobs, some were sceptical of the ability of tourism to replace the jobs that were lost when many local industries and government agencies closed in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Other residents were wary of media claims that tourism creates permanent jobs. While they conceded that some work was available, it is often viewed as seasonal or part-time in nature.

Westland residents outlined a number of tourism problems and concerns including poor driving habits and roads, rubbish and littering, campervan effluent dumping and inadequate infrastructure. Some respondents mentioned poor driving habits and inadequate roads, one-lane bridges and road closures as their main problems and concerns regarding tourism. Others mentioned rubbish collection and rubbish disposal as a tourism problem. Another 16 per cent stated that campervan effluent dumping, waste disposal, as campervan tourists are obvious targets there is some evidence that other travellers are equally responsible for dumping human waste at roadside rest stops. Inadequate infrastructure such as public toilets, roads, bridges, rubbish collection and disposal, campervan and sewage waste were also mentioned by many respondents as serious tourism problems and concerns.

The theoretical models of Doxey (1975) and Butler (1980) provide a framework for examining community attitudes and the pace of tourism development in Westland. While a fuller account of these models is provided in Chapter 7, it is clear that tourism has a very real influence upon community dynamics in Westland. While there is a sense of ‘community’ in the case study townships in Westland, it is a fluid and negotiated concept that is shaped by resident’s experiences of tourism in their everyday lives (see Liepens, 2000). Tourism meanings, settings and activities are manifested in different ways for different residents and perceived benefits, problems and concerns relating to tourism also differ according to how residents’ experience tourism in their communities. As the pace of tourism development in Westland is likely to become more rapid than previously, tourism planners must be wary of residents’ perceptions and reactions to that development. For example, Carmichael (2000)
found that when tourism development is rapid, when growth is focused upon controversial attractions and developers form a distinct group within the community, residents’ perceptions of tourism are likely to be strongly focused, either positively or negatively. While tourism development can serve as a catalyst for economic growth, the management of tourism in Westland should take account of inevitable changes in the dynamics and power relations within each host community. As business opportunities, employment and community facilities are created in the region, steps will also need to be taken to protect residents’ lifestyles through the provision of adequate roads, waste disposal, sewerage and other community facilities. If these steps are not taken, there is a likelihood of increased community conflict and an overall disillusionment with tourism development in Westland.
Chapter 6

The Structure and Management of Tourism in Westland

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the structure of tourism planning and management in Westland is examined. The first sections outline the roles played by local authorities involved in managing tourism in Westland. First, there is an outline of the role of the Westland District Council plays in providing and maintaining infrastructure and a healthy business climate suitable for tourism. Second, the ways in which the Department of Conservation manage the impacts of tourism on the natural environment in Westland are considered. Third, the role of Tourism West Coast in marketing and promoting tourism in the region is described. Fourth, there is an overview of tourism related issues relevant to the case study communities of Hokitika, Franz Josef, Okarito, Haast and Harihari.

The relationships between residents and local authorities involved in tourism management in Westland can be viewed in the context of a district that has traditionally been on the periphery of tourism development but is now experiencing a transition into becoming established as a popular tourist destination. Keller (1987) studied tourism development in the peripheral economic region of Northwest Canada and argued that to avoid conflict in the community, local authorities should maintain control over decision-making and keep industrial development at levels appropriate for local resources. In Canada, the lack of a skilled local labour supply and tourism expertise present major challenges for local authorities seeking to develop tourism. As tourism develops, the dynamics of tourism management can also change as external investors join local investors in tourism initiatives. Local authorities need to be aware of their roles and responsibilities in tourism planning and management.

6.2 The Westland District Council

The Westland District Council plays a pivotal role in the management of tourism in the region. Interviews with Council officers showed that their policy towards tourism is to try to understand it, manage it and facilitate some of the initiatives that come from the community. They want to see all the towns and communities throughout Westland progress as tourism centres as well as helping the existing industries to continue to develop. Although there is not a separate tourism department within the Westland District Council, there are staff employed in event management and economic development. Chris Elliott, the Economic Development Officer, whose role is to promote general business development in Westland, described the importance of the tourism industry and council strategies to facilitate its promotion:

Tourism is important and we promote it wherever we can. We push out the business courses in order to strengthen local businesses, particularly on the service side of things. Tourism supports the majority of businesses in town. We are known as a tourism area but there should be more things for people to do here. From a Council perspective, we want to be able to create an infrastructure whereby we promote all that. We want to push tourism without actually getting involved with all the setting up. We want our website to be getting a lot of hits and to
provide good information. If people want to start a business we have got good information and we ensure that our commercial rates are still the lowest on the Coast. Our consent processes are also easy.

Inevitably, there are a number of critics of Westland District Council policies. Tourism operators interviewed mentioned a range of issues and problems relating to tourism infrastructure. For example, one Hokitika operator thought that the council’s performance was lacking in improving local transport infrastructure:

It lacks vision, it lacks leadership, it sets up all these committees because it can’t do it itself. It can’t make a decision on simple things let alone anything else. People are very unhappy with what they are doing. I mean infrastructure-wise where you have got a lack of emphasis on the major things like bringing people in and out. I mean how do you get them in and out? There is only one road, you can’t bring them by sea and you can bring them by rail, which is covered by Transrail. You can bring them by road, which is covered by Transit. You can bring them by air, which is covered by the District Council. But the airport doesn’t even feature in the annual plan!

As with every district in New Zealand, and especially those with small rating bases like Westland, there is limited money available and the Westland District Council is reluctant to implement large rate increases. The Economic Development Officer explained the dilemma:

People say to me, “You have got too many Council staff.” And I say to them, “Great, fine not a problem. You tell me what you don’t want us to do and we won’t do it and we will reduce staff accordingly. If you tell me what services you are not interested in, we will reduce things. Consequently, on the other side of the coin, when people say, “You should be doing this.” I say, “I agree with you, that is great. You tell me how much you want your rates to increase by and we will do it because we will have to increase rates.”

The Westland District Council organised a strategic-planning day in February 2000 so that ratepayers in the District could contribute to the planning process and generally have their say. The background for the meeting was a recent settlement of $120 million for the West Coast region from central government to compensate for the closure of the native logging industry. However, some interviewees were suspicious of the Strategic-planning day and the settlement in general:

I don’t know what is going on. When we went to that strategic planning day, I got the distinct impression that all it was about was that the Council wanting a whole bunch of rate-payers, ordinary people to do the work for them, to sort out how they were going to spend all this money they were going to get given.

Quite frankly, I think they tended to cave in. I would have been more pleased with my representatives if they had have stuck to their guns and taken the government on. Because the thing is that what we have lost is far more than the $120 million. What have we actually gained? We have gained money, which if the past is anything to go by, will be frittered away and we will see no lasting benefits from it.

Initiatives pursued by the Westland District Council in response to the Strategic-planning day and as part of the settlement process include the implementation of a strategic plan and the formation of the “Westland Working Group”. The Westland Working Group has provided a fee waiver on building and resource consent applications until 30 June 2001 to help facilitate local business growth and development.

The Westland District Council’s policy towards tourism is to understand, manage and facilitate community tourism initiatives. Although there is not a separate tourism department within the Westland District Council, staff in event management and economic development
take a close interest in tourism issues. As with every district in New Zealand, and especially those with small rating bases like Westland, there is limited money available and the Westland District Council is reluctant to implement large rate increases. They have embarked upon strategic planning and building and consent fee subsidies to facilitate tourism development in the District.

6.3 Department of Conservation

The Department of Conservation also plays a key role in the management of tourism in Westland. As the largest of New Zealand’s 14 conservancies, the West Coast Conservancy encompasses 1.8 million hectares of land in the region, which is managed by the Department in accordance with the Conservation Act, the National Parks Act, the Reserves Act and the Wildlife Act. The Department of Conservation views tourism as the most significant industry in the region and notes that most tourist attractions on the West Coast are located on land administered by the Department of Conservation (Department of Conservation, 1996).

The provision of visitor services is an important component of the Department of Conservation’s management of tourism in Westland. The planning and provision of these services is informed by a National Visitor Strategy that aims to meet the challenges of increasing visitor numbers and providing well constructed facilities to cater for a wide range of visitor types and expectations. Although most of the land administered by the Department of Conservation in Westland is in backcountry areas, most visitors seek recreational activities in front country areas that have easy access. Nevertheless, the range of visitor types and expectations requires the provision of a range of visitor facilities on the West Coast:

- The West Coast Conservancy manages a large number of visitor facilities. In addition to its visitor centres these include 160 huts, 1500 kilometres of tracks, 11 standard camping areas, 139 toilets, 85 bridges, one serviced campground, 94 picnic areas and associated car parks, ten recreational gold panning licences, eight boat ramps and seven jetties (Department of Conservation, 1996: 204).

As the major manager of land on the West Coast, the Department of Conservation is often the subject of debate among local residents with regard to its conservation and land management policies. With a long tradition of extractive industries based on natural resources (see Chapter 3), some local residents are suspicious of what they see as the “locking up” of resources. Two Department of Conservation managers, however, pointed out that the conservation value of the Westland District is of national and international significance and local residents do not always appreciate this:

- You could say that on the West Coast there is a whole lot of concern [about natural resource management]. Seventy-eight per cent of (the Franz Josef) area is under conservation management and is protected in some way. Seventy-six per cent of the West Coast is protected in some way and 96 per cent of South Westland is protected in some way. So you can’t blame the old boys for driving down the road thinking “There are heaps and heaps of trees. Why can’t we knock some down?” But there are not in the rest of New Zealand. From a nation-wide perspective it is quite different from a local one. People often can’t work out why herons are so special. They look cool, and there are heaps of them around here but they hardly occur anywhere else. They only breed here. So if you are on Steven’s Island, there are 40,000 tuatara, and you have to pick them off the tracks because they are like a plague but there aren’t many in other places. So the local perspective is skewed.

There is always going to be a bit of head banging with a few bruises from time to time. The fact is that the Department of Conservation is a major manager of land on the West Coast, so
people have got very strong views. If you live in Auckland or Wellington or Christchurch or Dunedin and you value natural resources for their intrinsic value, then you have a [legitimate] view. And if you live here on the West Coast and you have got economic values, then you have another view. So there has always been cause for debate. Also, with regard to tourism, there are a hell of a lot of voters in New Zealand that use the West Coast who have their views as well.

The Department of Conservation is aware of the need for establishing and maintaining lines of communication with individuals and groups within Westland communities. According to the West Coast Conservation Management Strategy (Department of Conservation, 1996), this is partly achieved through the West Coast Conservation Board, which serves as an intermediary between the public and the Department. Other public input into management planning can be achieved through submissions to the Conservation Management Strategies. In recent years the Department has also tried to improve communication with Westland residents at the local community level. As one Department of Conservation manager explained:

Each of the Area Officers has a very strong relationship with his community of interest. That is tempered here in this (Hokitika) office by a much wider view than an Area Manager can take. The Department’s policies and guidelines and the Minister’s intentions are carried through business plans and processes. The ones for Westland are assembled here and the work is done generally in the areas. We know community relations are an important component of that and there is a lot of discussion about issues of mutual concern. That could and/or does go on. So it is a matter of working into that in much more of a prioritised way, I suppose, on both counts.

Many interviewees, however, were more sceptical of Department of Conservation staffs’ attitudes towards community consultation throughout the 1990s. Some felt that most decisions relevant to conservation policies and land use in Westland were made in Wellington, and were simply implemented regardless of local opinion and/or input. One resident thought that while this has been the case, there had been some recent improvements to how Department policies are being implemented at local levels.

They were just implementing policies, procedures and orders that were coming from high up. Whereas these days, they are still dealing probably with the same people, the same type of person, but the orders and the decisions that are being made are more at a local level. I should imagine that while the Department of Conservation head office still formulates policies, the implementation of those policies is now more autonomous. [Decisions] at regional level are more likely to be skewed or twisted or implemented in a way that is more appropriate to the local area.

While some efforts have been made by the Department of Conservation to improve its communication and to provide opportunities for input into conservation policies by members of Westland communities, there is still a lot to achieve. For example, several community group leaders and local government officials said that there is not enough liaison between Department of Conservation managers and their counterparts in community organisations, the Westland District Council and the West Coast Regional Council.

Some interviewees stated that the granting of concessions by the Department of Conservation to various groups and individuals, in order to enable access to conservation land and resources, was of concern. From the perspective of the Department, the concession system is necessary to encourage use, advocate conservation and protect conservation resources. As one Department of Conservation manager explained:

The work we do with recreation and tourism concessionaires, like helicopter companies, guiding companies, fishing, hunting, nature guides and heron tours is all about encouraging use
and enjoyment and advocating for conservation. The other sorts of concessions we have such as mining, moss harvesting and grazing are all about protecting the estate, acknowledging that it can be used but making sure people go through a process to recognise that you can’t use it in an inappropriate way.

A concern mentioned by two interviewees was that too many concessions are issued by the Department of Conservation, and that this is beginning to have a detrimental affect upon the quality of tourist experiences in Westland. One tourism operator drew attention to concessionaire problems experienced by kayak operators in Abel Tasman National Park, while another questioned the appropriateness and validity of Tourism New Zealand’s “100 per cent Pure New Zealand” promotional slogan, in the context of the Department’s policy towards granting more concessions:

My perception is that it is a general Department of Conservation thing. I don’t know if [the granting of more concessions] is specifically driven or an unwritten code. It has happened in Abel Tasman National Park where there are more and more concessionaires involved in sea kayaking. In 1992 there were three concessionaires up there and they put their heads together and made a gentleman’s agreement, “Let’s limit the size of the fleets and let’s keep up the quality of the product”. Then the Department of Conservation issued another four concessions and they claimed that they couldn’t not issue them. They say, “Our hands are tied by the commerce legislation”.

There is a standard Department of Conservation line when you go and talk to them. They have even got memos from Head Office. They cannot refuse to issue concessions. There is no strategy. The [District and Regional] Councils aren’t going to restrict them and nor are Tourism New Zealand and NZTIA because they are all driven by business. Big business such as airlines, hotels and buses only see bums on seats and they don’t know anything about resource management. The Department of Conservation are the only ones who can do anything about it and they are just not. I see there being big problems in the future in New Zealand. Tourism New Zealand comes up with “100 per cent Pure New Zealand”, the clean and green thing, but they are not actually using it as a resource management strategy. They say that they want an extra 200,000 people per year but there is no strategy to decide what are we going to do with them. We need to looking at tourists’ perceptions and say “Well, is this what these people have come to see?”

Concerns about the effects of tourism growth on natural resources, while a legitimate concern, should also be balanced with the observation that tourism growth and conservation need not be an either/or scenario. While the Department of Conservation is concerned with encouraging environmentally sustainable tourism practises, local residents must also undertake environmentally sustainable activities. Collier (1999) notes that many activities undertaken on the conservation estate are by local residents who have the potential to impact on the environment to the same degree as tourists. In order to espouse the principles of sustainable management, proponents must undertake sustainable practices every time they enter the conservation estate. For example:

If they truly want to convince international visitors that they are an environmentally aware and concerned populace then they should also engage in sustainable management activities outside of the recreational arena in areas such as recycling and litter control; practices which many visitors to New Zealand seem to undertake with considerably more success than New Zealanders seem at the current time to be able to achieve (Collier, 1999: 392).

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6 The Department of Conservation has only limited control over commercial kayak operations in Abel Tasman National Park because the Department only manage the land above the high water mark. The Tasman District Council is responsible for administering activities and operations below the high water mark.
The Department of Conservation is involved in the management of a range of tourist attractions in Westland, including forest, lakes and mountain habitats. Therefore, the provision of visitor services is an important component of the Department of Conservation’s tourism management strategy in Westland. As the major manager of land on the West Coast, the Department of Conservation is often the subject of debate among local residents with regard to its conservation and land management policies. In recent years the Department has worked to improve communication with Westland residents. This was in response to some residents’ feeling that most decisions relevant to conservation policies and land-use in Westland were made in Wellington, and were simply implemented at the local level. Additionally, some residents were concerned that too many concessions are issued by the Department of Conservation, and this is beginning to have a detrimental affect upon the quality of tourist experiences in Westland.

6.4 Tourism West Coast

Tourism West Coast is responsible for marketing the region, developing a local product manual for tourism products, maintaining a website, co-ordinating a West Coast booth at Tourism Rendezvous New Zealand (TRENZ) and developing strategic tourism alliances. In 2000, they had a staff of two (based in Greymouth), and are directed by a board consisting of District Council and industry representatives from Buller, Grey and Westland Districts. Interviews with Tourism West Coast highlighted both their role in encouraging tourism development on the West Coast and the special challenges in co-ordinating tourism businesses in the region. For example, the large geographic spread of West Coast communities presents a challenge in terms of travel times and organising co-ordinated regional promotion strategies. The large range of tourism operators and interests on the West Coast and the parochialism shown between each region also contributes to the difficulty of co-ordinating promotions. As a Hokitika business group member explained:

Tourism West Coast is restricted somewhat because it has to deal with the whole of the West Coast region and that makes it hard for them to get in and back developments in individual communities. So they can’t really get in and drive things such as developing a track in and around Hokitika for example.

The issue of parochialism surfaced in the communities of Franz Josef and Fox Glacier when Tourism West Coast had membership changes resulting in a lack of representation for these communities. A lack of representation on Tourism West Coast was a topic of concern because the economies of Franz Josef and Fox Glacier are predominantly tourism-based. Interviewees from Franz Josef had no problem with the newly appointed person from Hokitika but felt disaffected by the lack of representation. For example:

Unfortunately there have been some working relationship problems there. We had [a tourism operator] from Fox who has also been here for many years. She was removed from the Tourism West Coast board and replaced by a person from Hokitika. It just happened. I mean she was co-opted on to the board in the first place and they just said it was time for a change, so we are at a bit of a loss. It is all political.

It seems bizarre to me the way that the District Council puts representatives on the Board of Tourism West Coast who aren’t involved in the industry. I mean it just doesn’t make sense. They pay lip service to overcoming parochialism but really there needs to be, I think, someone from Haast, someone from the Glaciers, someone from each of the areas who knows most of the stuff.
Tourism West Coast staff recognise that the West Coast region has an ideal opportunity to plan for its tourism. However, concern was expressed that there is not a full appreciation in the community for strategic planning rather than simply marketing per se. One staff member said that local people are not always fully aware of the complexity of issues surrounding tourism development in comparison with those surrounding the traditional primary industries. Tourism West Coast has recently approached the Community Employment Group for funding to employ an extra person for the day-to-day operation of the organisation while experienced staff concentrate on strategic planning. The strategic plan that is to be developed by Tourism West Coast will seek to clarify the complexity of tourism development in the region so that a wider range of tourist types can be targeted for promotion.

The management role of Tourism West Coast in Westland includes marketing the region, developing a local product manual for tourism products, maintaining a website, co-ordinating a West Coast booth at TRENZ and developing strategic tourism alliances. The major challenges for Tourism West Coast include long travel times and difficulties organising co-ordinated regional promotion strategies. The large range of tourism operators and interests on the West Coast and the parochialism shown between each region contributes to the difficulty of co-ordinating promotions. Tourism West Coast is developing a strategic plan that will seek to clarify the complexity of tourism development in the region and allow for targeting of a wider range of tourist types for the region.

6.5 Tourism Issues in Selected Communities

The previous section included an examination of the issues surrounding the structure and management of tourism in Westland. This section includes an account of local tourism issues in each of the four case study communities. As previously mentioned (see Chapter 2), the four case study communities of Hokitika, Harihari, Franz Josef and Haast were chosen after considering the significance of tourism to each community’s local economy and the Westland regional economy in general. In addition to the various levels of tourism in each of the chosen communities, consideration was also given to exploring the perceptions and attitudes held by local residents towards tourism in each town. Thus, rates of employment, destination types, current rates of tourism, local acceptance of tourism, problems caused by tourism, and levels of planning involvement are all indicators of the roles and significance that tourism plays in each community and form the basis of the following section.

Rates of tourism employment are a feature of the significance of tourism in a community’s local economy. For each community, the rate of tourism employment fluctuates according to the destination type and density of tourism in the local economy. There were significant differences between location and employment categories (Pearson’s $\chi^2 = 132.617$, df = 24, $p = 0.000$), tourism occupations (Pearson’s $\chi^2 = 87.792$, df = 24, $p = 0.000$) and family tourism employment (Pearson’s $\chi^2 = 48.935$, df = 8, $p = 0.000$). Residents of Hokitika were likely to be retired or employed in professional, retailing and trade occupations. Their most common tourism occupations were souvenir/jade/art and craft and, if family members were employed in tourism, they were equally likely to be employed in part or full time positions. The most common employment category in Harihari was farming. There were few tourism occupations reported in the town but when family members were employed in tourism it was likely to be on a part time basis. Residents of Franz Josef/Okarito were commonly employed in tourism and farming. The most common tourism occupations were accommodation and restaurant/cafe/bar and family members were often employed in tourism occupations on a full
time basis. Trade and tourism occupations were the most frequently reported employment categories in Haast. Common tourism occupations were restaurant/café/bar and tour guiding/tourist attraction. Family members involved in tourism were likely to be employed on a full time basis.

Another feature of the significance of tourism in a community is its level of acceptance by local residents. As mentioned in Section 5.4, there was a significant difference between the community in which Westland residents live and their perceptions of the current level of tourism (Pearson’s $\chi^2 = 41.221$, df = 8, p = 0.000). Hokitika residents were more likely to want more tourism. Franz Josef/Okarito, Haast and Harihari residents were more likely to be happy with current levels of tourism, and one in ten Haast residents said that there is currently too much tourism in their area (Figure 8). These data are confirmed in the following discussion of community tourism issues. The attitudes of residents towards tourism are partly reflected by employment patterns and acceptance levels of tourism in each community.

6.5.1 Hokitika

As the largest urban centre in Westland, and because it is the bureaucratic hub for central and local government in the District, Hokitika experiences a range of issues relating to tourism development. Interviews with local residents revealed points of difference and underlying tensions regarding tourism in Hokitika. The following section outlines the context of the growing tourism industry in Hokitika, and highlights specific issues faced by tourism operators and local community groups.

In terms of employment, survey respondents in Hokitika were more likely to be employed as professionals, retired or in retail services than other categories. For those employed in tourism occupations, respondents from Hokitika were more likely to be employed in souvenir/jade/art and craft, restaurants/cafes/bars, and accommodation than other categories. They were less likely to be employed in tour guiding/tourist attractions and transport. When family members were employed in tourism occupations, they were likely to consist of one family member employed part-time or one employed full-time in tourism.

In recent years the Hokitika community has witnessed a trend away from traditional retailing to an increase in the number of tourism operations. Hokitika was traditionally a service centre catering to farmers, mining, forestry and logging industries. With the general decline in small rural towns around New Zealand, Hokitika has followed the same pattern. An interview with a Hokitika tourism operator, with more than 30 years of local experience, revealed that the struggles faced by primary industries in the Westland region such as mining, logging and forestry also have an impact upon tourism. For example, the “locking up” of resources such as gold and timber has meant that many people with valuable community experience have left the area. This has resulted in a less skilled labour force and the loss of many dynamic young people. A number of businesses have closed in recent years including a shoe shop, a toyshop, a pet shop and a supermarket. Fortunately, there have also been a number of new businesses and some, such as the Ruby Rock shop and the Sheep Station, have expanded. New businesses have included a jade factory and retail outlet, a photo shop and a Kiwi house. There is a growing recognition that increasing numbers of tourists are visiting Hokitika and some businesses are seeking to capitalise on this trend. For two new Hokitika operators, the Westland District Council’s policy of assisting with building and resource consents was an important factor in their choice and ability to set up business in the town. The following quotes demonstrate this point:
I asked, “What doors would be closed and what would be open?” They more or less said, “We will take the hinges off to get you here”. I asked if they would guarantee the loan for us and they said we will do it. So they did and we did and it is as simple as that. Certainly the community has been pretty receptive. A lot of [locals] are likely to get really angry with the Council because I got a guarantee of a loan. But as I pointed out to them, I put a letter in the paper and I said, “Well, all you have to do is walk up the stairs and ask.” Otherwise I would have had to have done it all myself. I can only just inch forward slowly because nobody was prepared to fund me in. It is too difficult or too much of a risk to set up funding (for building and resource consent processes).

Some interviewees acknowledged the development of the jade souvenir industry as one of the main drivers for tourism development in Hokitika. Furthermore, as tourism has developed in Hokitika, and in conjunction with Westland District Council initiatives, the infrastructure has also improved with better footpaths, power lines, lighting, sewerage and other public amenities. However, competition in retailing jade has also increased during the 1990s, resulting in more efficient business practices than previously and a focus by many retailers on producing more quality products.

Immediate challenges facing Hokitika include not having enough attractions for tourists and the need to get local operators working closely together to promote the Town. Interviews showed a general sense of pessimism about development opportunities by many local residents. This has resulted in the re-emergence of a local business community group, Enterprise Hokitika, and the formation of a new community group called Vision 2010.

Formerly known as the “Hokitika Business Promotions Association”, Enterprise Hokitika originally resulted from the amalgamation of the Promotions Group and the Business Group, both of which were struggling. It was decided to restructure then because these groups were not as effective as they could be in terms of marketing and membership numbers. Activities undertaken by Enterprise Hokitika include liaising with the Westland District Council about business development, monitoring the formation of the Westland Working Group, developing a co-ordinated website and brochures for the area, and recognising the interdependence of tourism destinations throughout the West Coast. The restructuring of Enterprise Hokitika has created a lot more interest in the community than previously, with many more people attending the meetings.

Interviews with members of the Vision 2010 group showed that the group was set up in reaction to a perception of missed business opportunities in Hokitika. While supporting the need for strategic planning in the region, Vision 2010 members were critical of the time delay between strategic planning meetings and actual tourism developments. One reason they attributed to this was that there were too many committees (e.g., Strategic planning committee, Westland Working etc.), and that the committees are too large and lacking in specific focus.

Thus, Hokitika is a town that is capitalising on the increasing number of tourists who are visiting it. Residents are trying to establish Hokitika as a stand-alone destination with attractions such as jade and an accessible beachfront, rather than as a final opportunity to visit banks and supermarkets before heading south. As retailing patterns adapt to growing tourist numbers, both public and private sector interests are becoming closely involved in tourism planning and promotion. While the Westland District Council endeavour to create a healthy business environment by promoting business courses and subsidised building and resource consents, community groups such as Enterprise Hokitika and Vision 2010 are involved in
increasing the range of business opportunities currently available and developing strategic plans for long-term business and tourism development. Many residents of Hokitika want more tourism in their town.

6.5.2 Harihari

Harihari is the smallest tourist destination of the four case study communities in terms of population, tourist services and activities available. Few tourists stop in Harihari, partly due to the location of the Town being halfway between Hokitika and Franz Josef, which are much larger and more popular tourist destinations. Although Harihari can boast spectacular walkways, mountain scenery, lakes and forests as well as quality fishing and hunting, local initiatives have so far been unable to create a wider base of tourism activities and enterprises. Interviews and observations in the Harihari community showed that the physical location of Harihari acts as a liability with regard to the numbers of visitors to the Town. Situated 80 kilometres south of Hokitika, Harihari is approximately halfway between the destinations of Hokitika and Franz Josef. Many tourists do not stop in Harihari because it would increase their travel times between Hokitika and Franz Josef. This is a very serious issue for local residents who see large numbers of tourists passing through but can do little to capitalise upon their presence. As one resident explained:

[You have] to keep them in your area as long as you can. I think that when they come here it is just a stopover and that is why we really need to have something to hold them more because they drive from Hokitika directly to Franz Josef. I am not sure how it works going the other way but I think that is what happens. We are too close to Hokitika!

Survey respondents in Harihari were more likely to be employed in farming or “other” occupations. They were less likely to be employed in local government, manufacturing or other government departments. For those employed in tourism occupations, respondents from Harihari were more likely to be employed in accommodation and souvenir/jade/art and craft than other categories. Similar to Hokitika, when family members of Harihari residents were employed in tourism occupations, it was more likely to consist of one family member employed part-time or one employed full-time in tourism.

Outside of the traditional recreation-based activities such as hunting, fishing and whitebaiting, there are few tourism-based activities available in and around Harihari. A notable exception, however, is the Harihari Coastal Walkway, which offers spectacular views of the Southern Alps and the rugged coastline in the area. Since the mid 1990s, there have been several attempts to establish tourism activities in the town. For example, the Bushman’s Centre restaurant and museum was originally based in the Harihari township, although it subsequently relocated to Pukekura, approximately 20 kilometres closer to Hokitika. Additionally, an unsuccessful attempt to establish a helicopter service providing visits to the nearby Lambert Glacier has also been tried. The helicopter venture faltered after experiencing difficulties while being set up, which included a prolonged 13-month rainy period which resulted in fewer visitors stopping in Harihari at the time. A rafting and adventure company has been established since the completion of field research at the nearby Wanganui River.

A tourism initiative that has caused some debate amongst Harihari residents involves hot springs in the nearby Wanganui River. Interviews showed some disharmony in the Harihari community regarding the development of the springs. Some residents are aware that grants have been received for feasibility studies and are frustrated about the lack of progress to date. There is also a feeling that the springs “should remain for the locals”. Tension over the issue
has resulted in Transit New Zealand signs leading to the hot springs being removed by local residents.

Several Harihari residents raised the issue of “kickbacks” in the West Coast tourism industry. As a small rural community, Harihari is particularly vulnerable to the changing whims of large tour bus companies and their patrons. While the whole issue of “kickbacks” is a complex and under-researched area, several examples of bus drivers asking for a percentage of their passengers’ purchases at establishments in Harihari were relayed to the interviewer. Tourism operators in Harihari were united in their opposition to the principle of kickbacks, although this is quite possibly economically detrimental to their tourism business prospects.

6.5.3 Franz Josef

Interviews with residents in Franz Josef showed a number of key elements of tourism development that will be considered in this section. First, Franz Josef is the most dependent of all communities in Westland upon tourism as a form of employment. This has an impact on the make-up and values of the local community. Second, perceptions of the Westland District Council and the role of community groups in the town are discussed. Third, as tourism has increased in Franz Josef, a number of physical impacts of tourism have become evident. These include a lack of space for development in the township, high levels of use of the glacier valley and the threat of the Waiho River flooding the Township. Fourth, due to fluctuations of tourist numbers throughout the year, there are some concerns that increasing competition may force some operators to shut down in the slower winter months.

In Franz Josef and Okarito, survey respondents were more likely to be employed in tourism, as professionals, in farming, or in cafes, restaurants and bars than other categories. They were less likely to be employed in forestry, local government, manufacturing or as students, tradespeople or unemployed. For those employed in tourism occupations, respondents from Franz Josef and Okarito were more likely to be employed in accommodation and restaurants/cafes/bars than other tourism categories. Their less likely tourism occupations were tour guiding/tourist attractions. When family members were employed in tourism occupations, it was more likely to consist of one family member employed full-time in tourism.

Tourism is a primary influence in the make-up of the Franz Josef community. As with other tourist destinations, there is a significant fluctuation in population between summer and winter months due to tourism activity. Not only are there many tourists during summer, there are also many tourism workers including cleaners, guides, bar and restaurant workers. An implication of increased numbers of residents during the summer months is that there is increasing pressure on accommodation in the township. This pressure is partially offset by some local residents who choose to live in surrounding rural locations and nearby communities such as Okarito and Whataroa throughout the year in order to maximise the peaceful and quiet lifestyle opportunities available in Westland.

The composition of permanent residents in Franz Josef is varied in relation to their backgrounds and perspectives towards tourism. One interviewee observed that many residents of Franz Josef were not “born and bred” in the Town, but had moved there through

7 Issues relating to waste and water for all four case study communities are discussed in a separate report. Of the four communities, there are indications that waste systems and water supply are most crucial for Franz Josef.
lifestyle choice. Many residents of Franz Josef have only moved there within the last five to ten years. Often, their primary reason for moving to the Town was to advance their careers in the tourism industry. For example, some motel managers and owners that were interviewed have been involved in the tourism and hospitality industry elsewhere before moving to Franz Josef. Similarly, Department of Conservation workers and managers also moved to the area for career advancement. Other tourism industry workers such as glacier and adventure guides moved to the area due to specific outdoor and adventure opportunities provided by the glacier and surrounding natural environment.

As mentioned in the previous section, some residents in Franz Josef expressed concern about a lack of representation on the board of Tourism West Coast. This was also the case for the Westland District Council. Currently, the nearest District Councillors are based at Paringa and Harihari. Although residents say that they are happy with the job that these councillors perform, it is not the same as having a councillor living in the immediate area. The following quotes outline the issue:

Now we have got no Council representation in Franz or Fox. Let’s face it, [the glaciers are] the strategic assets for the District Council with regard to South Westland. Yet, as the hub of South Westland and certainly the economic generator, we have no Council representation. They didn’t miss out by a lot but they just missed out altogether. It has been, I believe, disadvantageous not to have a Councillor here even though we have got two other wonderful good keen men at Haast. They are not here as part of the community. Sure I get to speak to them quite often about the Town, but their interests are other interests because that is where they live. I really do believe we need a District Council person present and working within these communities.

We all feel the Council here doesn’t recognise that the glaciers are the icon of the West Coast and Westland National Park is one of the biggest jewels in the West Coast’s crown. We are such a small community, only 250 permanent residents, and we don’t have enough numbers to vote for a new councillor. I think the Council has concentrated in Hokitika on the appearance of the whole town. They are not concentrating on Fox and Franz, even though we probably pull most of the tourists. There doesn’t seem to be any interest in putting in any toilets. The Council has been asked a few times and I think they have said that we might get a grant towards building some but the maintenance would be up to us. In the last five to seven years property values in the town have shot up and the rates too, but we don’t seem to have got back anything for that.

Tourism operators between Whataroa and Paringa have formed a business group called “Glacier Country”. In 2000, there were approximately 55 members. However, as one member explained, there was an ongoing challenge of raising enough funds for effective marketing and promotion:

It is a good working group and we have subs., which are reasonably low, which go towards what marketing we can afford to do. There is not a lot of money on the Coast so we have to be self-sufficient. Frankly all that we can do with the money we are getting from subs. is to produce our Glacier Country brochure. We also make a contribution to the West Coast Touring Guide in conjunction with a group from Hokitika and Westport. Unfortunately a lot of the people in between don’t have the interest or funding to help.

The physical impacts of tourism in the Franz Josef area are mainly concentrated in the township and in the glacier valley. One operator thought that the high number of tourists currently visiting the glacier valley was a potential barrier to maintaining quality tourism experiences. He stated that the number of walkers and helicopters was at its peak in terms of what the valley can handle both physically and aesthetically. Other operators and residents had different opinions. For example, interviews with Department of Conservation staff
revealed few concerns about the glacier valley reaching its threshold for visitor numbers. In many ways, it was desirable to have tourists concentrated in the one glacier valley, where their physical impacts can be managed rather than having them spread out over a wider area of vulnerable natural environments. The main concern expressed by Department of Conservation staff was the high cost of upgrading and maintaining tracks and structures in the valley as the glacier advances and retreats.

The flooding potential of the Waiho River is never far from most residents’ minds. However, there are considerable differences in opinion as to finding suitable solutions. Any new development in the wider Westland region carries some degree of risk due to the rugged natural environment. However, as the Franz Josef glacier has advanced and retreated during the previous ten years, the riverbed has risen in close proximity to the Town and, in particular, several tourism operations on the south bank. There is now considerable potential for flooding in the Town, although accurate predictions of the exact nature of such flooding are unclear. Both the West Coast Regional and the Westland District Council have been involved with consultation with the local community regarding the problem, and have identified the south side of the Waiho River as a likely flood zone. However, many local residents remain frustrated because no clear guarantees can be given, and residents on the south side of the river feel that it is unfair to declare this area as a likely flood zone due to a lack of “hard evidence”. Due to the unpredictability of flooding in the area, flood protection options, such as increasing and improving stop banks, are of limited value because of the constantly changing nature of the river.

Several tourism operators in Franz Josef stated that seasonal variation in tourist flows was as an important economic and social issue. The local tourist “season” begins slowly during October and November. The period immediately after Christmas usually sees a dramatic increase in tourist numbers, when domestic tourist numbers peak alongside high numbers of international tourists. The high tourist numbers continue through January and February and begin to wind down during March and sometimes April. The main concern is the decreased flow of tourists between May and September. While many businesses can comfortably survive the summer months, the likelihood of increased competition during the winter months increases the pressure faced by new and struggling tourism operations. One resident thought that there was already some pressure on local eating establishments, with queues at peak times. He was worried that, with increasing tourist numbers, crowding during summer will detract from tourists’ satisfaction in visiting the area. Tourism development is, however, continuing in the Franz Josef township with the recent construction of a restaurant, bar and scenic flight complex on the main street. There is also a “ribbon” of development several kilometres outside the northern outskirts of the township with motels and a golf driving range.

Franz Josef is a tourism icon destination in Westland. The spectacular glacier at a relatively low altitude provides a natural draw-card for the area. The glacier valley provides many opportunities for hiking, guided walks, scenic flights, nature appreciation and adventure activities. Many local residents have moved to Franz Josef in order to pursue careers in tourism occupations such as motel and hotel management, guiding, aviation and hospitality work. Private sector tourism initiatives are common in Franz Josef with the formation of the “Glacier Country” group of businesses and the establishment of new accommodation, food and beverage, and adventure-based enterprises. Most public sector tourism planning in the area is carried out by the Department of Conservation, who provide visitor facilities and promote conservation advocacy. Some local residents are concerned about their lack of
representation on the Westland District Council and Tourism West Coast. As tourist numbers continue to increase, some tourism operators are concerned that the quality of tourism experiences in Franz Josef will diminish through overcrowding and a lack of visitor facilities.

6.5.4 Okarito

Okarito residents and tourists alike value the isolation and quietness of the township. The close proximity of ocean and mountains accompanied by an abundance of unique wildlife, spectacular sunsets and views of the night skies were often cited in interviews as primary attractions for living in the area. These very attributes are also attractive to many tourists. Currently many visitors to Okarito are day-trippers. Estimates from some local residents suggest that the number of day-trippers may be in the region of 20,000 to 30,000 each year. Additionally there may be between 7,000 to 10,000 bed nights occupied in Okarito in the local motel, YHA hostel and at private dwellings. Importantly, the types of tourists currently visiting Okarito value the same isolation, quietness and wildlife in the area that residents do.

Interviews with both development interests and conservation interests confirmed a degree of polarisation and mistrust over the future development of infrastructure at Okarito. While the Boffa Miskell (2000) report, commissioned by the Westland District Council, provides a starting point for addressing the conflict over Okarito, further consultation and dialogue will be required before a compromise can be reached. There is a range of current concerns in the settlement over water supply, sewerage, electricity, lighting and communications. Development of infrastructure in Okarito has been on an ad hoc basis. However, with the growing number of visitors to the Township, many locals are finding themselves undertaking more and more voluntary work to maintain the camping ground and public toilets. There is a growing disillusionment in by some Okarito residents that the Westland District Council is neglecting planning for their settlement. The following quotes illustrate:

There is a good community spirit so people really take pride in their community. They are happy to do these things but certainly there is distrust in the council, which has been heightened by this development thing. I said, “Look, what really is needed here is planning”. We need a plan for Okarito for the future because this isn’t going to be an isolated thing. We want a comprehensive plan and so [the Council] engaged Boffa Miskell to write a report. So Boffa Miskell identified development opportunities and development limitations. Then it went back to Council and the pro-development factions didn’t like what they heard. Council didn’t like it and decided that it was load of rubbish and basically binned the whole thing. Now, every issue will go through the resource management process.

We have asked the District Council to build on the Boffa Miskell report and come up with, as part of their District Scheme, more guidelines for the development of Okarito. There are constraints on building design, a little on boundaries, residential building requirements but little else. Council has basically told us now that they are not prepared to do anything in terms of a plan for the town. They would prefer to see each development submit a proposal and handle through it the Resource Management Act on a consent by consent basis.

After that report Boffa Miskell said that they would not draw up a plan. They would refer it back to Council. Council could get the parties together and use that information to carry forward and we have just been cut out of the picture. We have never had a meeting as it was suggested where we could sit around the table with the developer and the report and just try and get some consensus. It has never happened.

Okarito residents are fiercely protective of the beauty, isolation, quietness and “undeveloped” nature of their township. Many tourists also value these attributes along with the easy access to forests, coastline and lagoons in the area. Plans to develop the Town, through the
construction of holiday homes and tourism ventures, have polarised the local community and increased participation in public meetings, where issues affecting the future of Okarito are debated. Local residents are sometimes suspicious of the Westland District Council because they feel that the Council is not implementing the recommendations of the Boffa Miskell Report (2000), which called for community participation in the planning process. The Westland District Council maintains that the Resource Management Act provides sufficient checks and balances for considering the appropriateness applications for development in Okarito. Thus, as tourist numbers have increased in Okarito, the attitudes of local residents have become protective towards maintaining their isolated and quiet lifestyles.

6.5.5 Haast

Survey respondents in Haast and its surrounding area were more likely to be employed in a trade or in tourism than other occupations. They were less likely to be employed in local government, manufacturing, as professionals or unemployed. For those employed in tourism occupations, respondents from Haast were more likely to be employed in restaurants/cafes/bars and tour guiding/tourist attractions than other categories. Their less likely tourism occupations were transport and souvenir/jade/art and craft. Similar to Franz Josef/Okarito, when family members of Haast residents were employed in tourism occupations, it was more likely to consist of one family member employed full-time.

Tourism resources in the Haast region are spread over a large geographic area (Figure 10). These include Ship Creek, Haast township, Haast Junction, Haast Beach, Haast Pass, Okuru, Hannah’s Clearing, Neil’s Beach and Jackson Bay. Possibly, due to this large dispersal of the small communities that form the Haast region, there is some fragmentation of the Haast community based upon where residents live. Although people who live in this isolated region will “pull together” when faced with a common threat, there is often suspicion of other local residents who live in nearby communities.

Observations and interviews showed that some tourism operators have recognised the importance of Haast as a southern gateway to Westland. For example, the establishment of jet boat safaris, helicopter adventures and a recently completed luxury accommodation lodge are evidence of growing tourism in the area. There is also a craft shop and helicopter tourism venture planned for Haast township. An interesting feature of tourism development in the Haast area is that newer residents have brought fresh business ideas, while longer-term residents are recognising that tourism provides avenues for diversification away from the traditional primary industries. Several newer residents said that there were few problems with them being accepted into the local community and a generally positive response to the tourism ideas that they have embarked upon.

There have also been some unsuccessful attempts to develop tourism initiatives in recent years. Interviewees described several attempts by local residents during the 1990s to develop tourism attractions. These included a jet boat operation and guided horse tours. These attempts were ultimately unsuccessful due to a lack of capital, insufficient market research, fluctuating weather and the need to adapt to a demanding service industry. Current jet boat and helicopter operations have demonstrated that a professional approach to providing quality tourism products and services can achieve commercial success in Haast.
As mentioned earlier in this chapter, some interviewees spoke of an historical mistrust and suspicion towards the Department of Conservation, dating from the 1980s, as access to natural resources became more restricted than previously experienced. There was frustration that policies developed by bureaucrats in Wellington were being too rigidly applied by Department of Conservation staff in the South Westland region. Since the mid-1990s, the Department of Conservation has decentralised some local decision-making authority to the regions, which has helped to alleviate the mistrust felt by some Haast residents. Many Haast residents are aware that a healthy conservation estate is vital to the future of tourism in the area. In some cases, their mistrust of the Department of Conservation has been focused upon local policy contradictions that, many locals say, harm both the conservation estate and the local tourism industry. For example, several local tourism operators mentioned the use of 1080 poison to kill possums as a source of local frustration. They were convinced that 1080 also kills local bird life, and mentioned incidents when tourists had expressed disappointment at the lack of bird life soon after 1080 use.

Interviews also highlighted mixed responses regarding Haast residents’ perceptions of the Westland District Council. In one example, an operator felt that the isolation of the Haast area and competition with the desires of ratepayers from other Westland communities was detrimental in terms of securing council funds for various local projects:
We certainly don’t have the services here. We don’t have rubbish collection, we barely have streetlights and footpaths and that sort of thing. So we pay rates, obviously not on capital value but pretty much land value. The Council now want us to pay rates on the capital value to compensate for those residents of Hokitika that pay a bit more. Things like that don’t really make sense. We don’t have public toilets yet and it is very difficult to get through the building consent process down here.

Haast is a gateway destination linking Westland with Otago. As tourist numbers have increased since the completion of highways in the 1960s, which connected Haast with Otago and the rest of Westland, attitudes towards tourism have evolved from suspicion to acceptance. The creation of the Te Wahi Pounamu World Heritage Area in the mid-1980s creating tension between the local community and the Department of Conservation over fears that local residents would have reduced access to local resources. The isolation of the Haast region also contributes to suspicion by locals towards both Department of Conservation and Westland District Council policies regarding tourism planning and the provision of adequate infrastructure. As tourist numbers have increased and some private sector tourism ventures such as jet boats and helicopter services have proved successful, local attitudes have become protective towards the natural environment and supportive of the tourism industry.

6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, the structure of tourism management in Westland was described in detail. In the first sections, the roles of the Westland District Council, Department of Conservation and Tourism West Coast in providing infrastructure, managing the conservation estate and promoting and marketing the region respectively were outlined. The Westland District Council recognises the growing importance of tourism in their region. They face a common dilemma for district councils, in wanting to provide infrastructure for the region without implementing large rates increases. The Westland District Council has embarked upon initiatives to promote regional and tourism development, including the formation of the Westland Working Group, which subsidises building and resource consent fees in the District. The Department of Conservation provides a range of visitor services and promotes conservation advocacy in the region. A challenge for the Department in Westland is to balance its requirement to implement centralised policies with the need to establish and maintain clearer lines of communication with Westland residents regarding those policies. Tourism West Coast faces the challenges of funding, overcoming parochialism between communities and districts in the region, and convincing local tourism planners of the need for strategic planning, as well as marketing and promotional initiatives.

Hokitika is a destination seeking to increase its involvement in tourism. For example, retailing patterns are becoming more tourism-orientated than previously, with increasing production and employment in the souvenir/jade/art/craft sector. As retailing patterns adapt to growing tourist numbers, both public and private sector interests are becoming closely involved in tourism planning and promotion. The Westland District Council endeavours to create a healthy business environment by promoting business courses and subsidising building and resource consents. Community groups such as Enterprise Hokitika and Vision 2010 are attempting to increase the range of business opportunities currently available and are developing strategic plans for long-term business and tourism development. Many residents of Hokitika want more tourism in their town.
Harihari is similar to Hokitika in that survey respondents were more likely to work in areas such as farming than in tourism. However, Harihari is the smallest tourist destination of the four case study communities in terms of population, tourist services and activities available. Fewer tourists stop in Harihari than other places, partly due to the location of the Town being halfway between Hokitika and Franz Josef, which are much larger and more popular tourist destinations. Although Harihari can boast spectacular walkways, mountain scenery, lakes and forests as well as quality fishing and hunting, local initiatives have so far been unable to create a wider base of tourism activities and enterprises. Residents of Harihari are evenly divided between wanting more tourism and perceiving current levels of tourism to be “about right”. In comparison, residents of Franz Josef/Okarito and Haast are more likely to be happy with current levels of tourism.

Franz Josef is a tourism icon destination in Westland. Tourism employs a majority of workers in comparison to other employment categories, and many residents have moved to Franz Josef in order to pursue careers in tourism occupations such as motel and hotel management, guiding, aviation and hospitality work. The spectacular glacier at a relatively low altitude provides a natural draw-card for the area. The glacier valley provides many opportunities for hiking, guided walks, scenic flights, nature appreciation and adventure activities. Private sector tourism initiatives are common in Franz Josef with the “Glacier Country” group of businesses and the establishment of new accommodation, food and beverage, and adventure-based enterprises. Most public sector tourism planning in the area is carried out by the Department of Conservation, who provide visitor facilities and promote conservation advocacy.

The “conservation versus development” debate surrounding tourism development at Okarito has polarised the local community and increased participation in public meetings. Some residents are suspicious of the Westland District Council because they feel that the Council is not implementing the recommendations of the Boffa Miskell Report (2000), which called for community participation in the planning process. The Westland District Council maintains that the Resource Management Act provides sufficient checks and balances for considering the appropriateness applications for development in Okarito. The conflict at Okarito between development interests and those who wish to protect their current lifestyle is not just about pro- or anti-development. Rather, proponents of both sides of the argument seek a form of appropriate development. The argument is over conflicting perceptions of appropriate development rather than whether or not there should be any development at all.

Haast is a gateway destination linking Westland with Otago. Tourism and trades were the most common employment categories indicated by survey respondents. As tourist numbers increased since the completion of highways in the 1960s, which connected Haast with Otago and the rest of Westland, attitudes towards tourism have evolved from suspicion to acceptance. This was partly influenced by the changing role of the natural resource base in the area. The creation of the Te Wahi Pounamu World Heritage Area in the mid-1980s created tension between the local community and the Department of Conservation over fears that local residents would have reduced access to local resources. The isolation of the Haast region also contributes to suspicion by locals towards both Department of Conservation and Westland District Council policies regarding tourism planning and the provision of adequate infrastructure. As tourist numbers have increased, and some private sector tourism ventures such as jet boats and helicopter services have proved successful, locals have become protective towards the natural environment and supportive of the tourism industry. However,
there remains a strong desire by many residents to protect their peaceful and isolated lifestyles.

As tourism numbers continue to increase, community issues relating to the maintenance and protection of the environment, piece and quiet, isolation and privacy are likely to increase. In Franz Josef, some tourism operators are already concerned that the quality of tourism experiences will diminish through overcrowding and a lack of visitor facilities. In Okarito, residents are fiercely protective of the beauty, isolation, quietness and “undeveloped” nature of their township. Many tourists also value these attributes along with the easy access to forests, coastline and lagoons in the area. As tourist numbers have increased in Okarito, the attitudes of local residents have become protective towards maintaining their isolated and quiet lifestyles.

Gunn (1998) observes that development at the community level should be the primary focus of tourism planning. Crucial areas for planning include tourism planners making use of all local amenities, including both rural and urban areas in the planning process, fostering commitment and leadership within communities, adopting clear strategies for tourism development and enhancing total community life (Gunn, 1988). Many of these issues have surfaced in the context of tourism development in the Westland case study communities. It is clear that most of the communities are ill prepared for the complexity required for effective tourism planning.
Chapter 7
Discussion and Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

The geographic spread, low population and isolation of many communities in the Westland District presents a challenge for local authorities involved in tourism planning including the Westland District Council, the Department of Conservation and Tourism West Coast. The provision of adequate infrastructure for increasing tourist numbers, difficulties in communicating policies to local residents, and overcoming community and regional parochialism are some examples of current issues faced by these organisations. Westland is experiencing increasing tourist numbers and is quickly becoming a very significant tourist destination within New Zealand. Westland residents are generally accepting of tourism in the District and most are either happy with current levels or want more tourism. They are proud of their natural environment, lifestyle and friendliness and, in most cases, are happy to share these assets with visitors. Given the increases in tourist numbers, the presently favourable attitudes towards tourism and the widely recognised challenges of tourism, tourism planning and management are critically important.

This chapter makes further connections between the major findings of this study and discusses their policy implications for the District. First, key features of tourism in Westland communities are outlined. Second, stages of tourism development in the selected case study communities are examined closely in relation to the theoretical models of Doxey (1975), Butler (1980) and Keller (1987). Third, a range of general policy goals and specific recommendations for local authorities involved in tourism management in Westland are presented.

7.2 Key Features of Tourism in Westland Communities

Tourism has contributed to community development in Westland throughout its history. The rugged, isolated and spectacular physical environment is an ideal natural attraction. The natural environment is also an important reason for many residents choosing to live in Westland. Many residents maintain a close affinity with the backcountry and appreciate the peaceful, quiet and often isolated lifestyle with the ample access to outdoor activities that are available. The tourists who visit the region also value these lifestyle and outdoor attractions and some locals worry that increasing numbers of visitors will threaten their quiet and peaceful existence.

The ways in which tourism issues are played out in each of the communities involved in this study are related to their features as tourist destinations. While the Westland District, as a whole, can be described as at the “involvevement” or “development” stages of tourism development it is obvious that the communities within Westland are at different stages of Butler’s (1980) model. Franz Josef is a tourism icon destination in Westland. However, some residents are concerned that the quality of tourism experiences will diminish through overcrowding and a lack of visitor facilities. In nearby Okarito, residents are fiercely protective of the beauty, isolation, quietness and “undeveloped” nature of their township. As tourist numbers have increased the community has become protective of its isolated and quiet
lifestyle opportunities. Community members in Franz Josef and Okarito are happy with current levels of tourism. In contrast, Hokitika is a destination seeking to increase its involvement in tourism. Retailing patterns are becoming more tourism orientated than previously and many residents of Hokitika want increased tourism in their town. As tourist numbers have gradually increased since the 1980s in Haast, many locals have become protective towards the natural environment and supportive of the tourism industry. In a similar way to Okarito, however, Haast residents are often protective of their quiet and isolated lifestyles and relatively more members of the community would prefer less tourism development. As the smallest tourist destination in the study, Harihari also receives few visitors due to its location and relative lack of tourist services. There is an even split between Harihari residents being happy with current tourism and wanting more.

Another feature of tourism in Westland communities are the different roles played by natural resources and attractions in each area. In Franz Josef, the spectacular glacier is a natural drawcard and the glacier valley provides many opportunities for hiking, guided walks, scenic flights, nature appreciation and adventure activities. Similarly, the creation of the Te Wahi Pounamu World Heritage Area in the mid-1980s in Haast has contributed to a growing awareness of the role of the natural environment in tourism and has contributed to a general acceptance of tourism. However, natural attractions are under-utilised in Hokitika and Harihari. For example, Hokitika has a beach and close access to lakes and rivers, but many tourists do not stay long enough to visit them. In a similar way, Harihari can boast spectacular walkways, mountain scenery, lakes and forests, but local initiatives have so far been unable to create a wider base of tourism activities and enterprises. Thus, although there is an abundance of natural resources and attractions throughout the Westland District, there are differences in the ways that these are utilised for tourism in each community.

A third feature of tourism in Westland communities are the differences in employment patterns. Tourism is playing an increasing role in the local economy of each Westland community and there is a trend of increasing tourism employment in Westland amidst declining traditional industries. Tourism now employs approximately 30 per cent of workers throughout Westland (See Chapter 4.2.4). In Franz Josef and Haast, tourism employs more people than other employment categories, and many residents have moved to Franz Josef specifically to pursue careers in tourism occupations such as motel and hotel management, guiding, aviation and hospitality work. However, in Harihari and Hokitika people are less likely to work in tourism, although there is increasing employment in the souvenir/jade/art/craft sector in Hokitika. The lower levels of tourism employment in Hokitika and Harihari reflect relatively lower levels of tourism development in these communities compared with Franz Josef and Haast.

The balance between public and private sector involvement in tourism planning and promotion is a fourth feature of the way tourism is played out in Westland communities. As retailing patterns adapt to growing tourist numbers in Hokitika, both public and private sector interests are becoming closely involved in tourism planning and promotion. The Westland District Council has commissioned tourism fact-finding research for the region, promotes business courses and subsidises building and resource consents. Community groups are also developing strategic plans for community promotion and business opportunities. Private sector tourism initiatives are also common in Franz Josef with the “Glacier Country” group of businesses and the establishment of new accommodation, food and beverage, and adventure-based enterprises. Most public sector tourism planning in the area is carried out by the
Department of Conservation, who provide visitor facilities and promote conservation advocacy.

The relationship between private, public and community interests in tourism development in Okarito is more contested than in the other case study communities. The “conservation versus development” debate surrounding tourism development has polarised the local community with many residents becoming suspicious of both tourism developers and the Westland District Council. While the Westland District Council maintains that the Resource Management Act provides sufficient checks and balances for considering the appropriateness applications for development, community members want more participation in the planning process. Thus, the conflict at Okarito is about appropriate forms of tourism development that enhance, rather than threaten, residents’ current lifestyles, rather than a backlash against any form of development per se.

A final feature of the ways in which tourism issues are played out in Westland communities is the provision of infrastructure to cater for both local residents’ and tourists’ needs alike. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the isolation, climate, distance, rivers, frequent flooding and dense vegetation have meant that the development of tourism is closely linked to the development of infrastructure in the Westland District. The development of pack tracks, rail and tramways, river ferries, accommodation, roads and air services were vital for the establishment of both the communities themselves and the industries that have supported them. Increases in tourist numbers since the late 1990s is in contrast to the struggling fate of other local industries such as logging and mining. Tourism is now a leading sector of the Westland economy and community planners need to ensure that roads, sewerage systems, public toilets, rubbish collection and rubbish disposal facilities keep pace with the increasing growth of tourism in Westland.

7.3 Stages of Tourism Development in Westland Communities

When viewed with the theoretical of models of Doxey (1975) and Butler (1980) in mind, tourism in Westland has contributed to the evolution of community attitudes in each of the case study communities. The generally tolerant attitudes towards tourism held by Westland residents are perhaps surprising considering the high levels of contact reported between locals and tourists. With a population base of slightly more than 10,000 persons, and a combined international and domestic tourist visitation rate in excess of 800,000 persons per annum, high levels of contact are inevitable. Although community attitudes towards tourism could not be described as “euphoric”, there is nevertheless a high level of acceptance of tourism in Westland. However, the high level of contact between local residents and tourists (70% of respondents reported regular contact with tourists) and the increasing numbers of visitors, especially since the late 1990s, have resulted in a small minority of Westland residents expressing feelings of apathy and irritation towards tourism. Future studies into community attitudes in Westland could document whether such perceptions become more common over time if stress thresholds between residents and visitors become more critical.

Tourism development in Westland could be described as being at Butler’s (1980) “involvement” or “development” stages where there are increasing numbers of tourists, increasing public investment in infrastructure and increasing advertising of the destination. Although there were signs that some Haast residents do not want increased tourism
development, residents from other communities, especially Hokitika, were quite happy for such development to continue. These positive perceptions of tourism are reflected in reported benefits of tourism in the region, including improved business and financial opportunities, more jobs, exposure to different people and improved community facilities. However, reported benefits of tourism must be qualified by concerns about their fickle and unreliable nature. Residents from Harihari expressed concern that their community misses out on many of the financial gains associated with increasing levels of tourism in other parts of Westland, such as Hokitika and Franz Josef. This suggests that Harihari lags behind the other case study communities in terms of developing its tourism potential. Indeed, in terms of business and financial benefits, Harihari best fits the “exploration” stage of Butler’s (1980) model of tourism development, where tourism opportunities, infrastructure and promotion are in the early stages of their potential development. The stages of tourism development in the different Westland communities provide an interesting area of focus for future follow up studies of tourism in the region.

Keller’s (1987) concerns that peripheral regions of economic and tourism development face a challenge of providing a skilled labour supply for tourism were confirmed by Westland residents’ perceptions of jobs created by tourism. Although tourism is viewed as a means for creating jobs, residents were wary that tourism does not create enough permanent jobs to replace those lost when many local industries and government agencies closed in the late 1980s and early 1990s. While tourism does create jobs, residents realise that they are often seasonal or part-time positions.

While improved community facilities were seen as a positive spin-off of tourism development, inadequate infrastructure was the source of most Westland residents’ dissatisfaction with tourism. Although tourists are often blamed for littering, effluent dumping and poor driving habits (especially campervan drivers), residents are also aware of a current lack of public toilets, campervan and sewerage facilities, inadequate roads, too many one-lane bridges, poor rubbish collection and poor rubbish disposal. Getz (1992) notes that the “involvement” stage of tourism development usually sees increased public investment in infrastructure but this appears to be lagging in Westland District. The discrepancy between the provision of infrastructure and the requirements of residents and tourists is contributing to a number of community tourism issues and has policy implications for the District.

7.4 Policy Implications

The policy implications of tourism development in Westland have far-reaching consequences for the future cohesion of each community. Collier (1999) reminds us that tourism development impacts on communities not only in the physical sense, but also in terms of their social and cultural climates. When tourism development is unstructured, we believe the potential for negative impacts upon a community are increased and this creates a need for local and central government to become involved in tourism planning and policy-making.

As the local authorities charged with managing and planning for different aspects of tourism in Westland, the Westland District Council, Department of Conservation and Tourism West Coast face some very real challenges. Growing pressure on local infrastructure will continue as tourist numbers increase. More visitor facilities will also be required at ‘front country’ attractions. As tourism operators make the most of increasing opportunities for development,
there will be a pressing need for an accurate database on tourism businesses in the region to co-ordinate promotion strategies. In some cases, local authorities have responded by recognising the need to develop strategic tourism policies and plans. The growing significance of tourism in the District should make this need more urgent than is currently the case.

Keller (1987) warns that planners should be cautious of a fast rate of tourism development in disadvantaged regions. While initial development often involves local entrepreneurs on a small scale, should the tourism trade prove profitable, as is occurring in Westland, there is a likelihood of externally owned and controlled operations setting up in the area to cater for the growing number of tourists. While such development can attract much needed capital investment, the use of local finance and labour resources should also be encouraged, as the Westland District Council has been doing. Local tourism planners will therefore need to provide clear leadership and direction to achieve effective tourism planning. However, as the following quotes demonstrates, tourism planners must be aware of complexities of tourism development in their local area:

In this context, some doubts exist in terms of the regions’ capability to discharge the augmented planning responsibilities likely to be thrust upon them. Mainstream tourism planning theory suggests that many regional/local tourism planners are career local government officers, well versed in traditional land-use planning techniques but rather less familiar with the specific demands of planning for a complex human activity such as tourism. In other parts of the world, it has been suggested that the sub-national tourism plans which result under these circumstances can be an uneasy amalgam of industry practitioner concern with the short-term future and local government devotion to procedural issues. The result has been said to be a blend of promotion and pragmatism which eventually satisfies no-one (Simpson, 2000).

If responding to local needs is considered important by local authorities, the economic benefits of tourism development in Westland should not be sought at the expense of threatening the peaceful, quiet and often isolated lifestyles currently enjoyed by many residents. While tourism development can serve as a catalyst for economic growth, the management of tourism in Westland should take account of inevitable changes in the dynamics and power relations within each host community (Carmichael, 2000). As business opportunities, employment and community facilities are created in the region, local authorities must also protect residents’ lifestyles through the provision of adequate roads, waste disposal, sewerage and other community facilities. A balanced approach between implementing appropriate tourism planning policies and establishing clearer communication between community members is vital in this regard. If these steps are not taken, the mostly positive perceptions of tourism currently held by community members may well be replaced with increased community conflict and an overall disillusionment with tourism development in Westland.

Finally, the dynamics and issues surrounding tourism planning and development in Westland reflect some of the concerns and issues faced by other regions within New Zealand. The interaction between private sector, public sector and community interests as tourism develops in Westland is dynamic and evolving. Although there are always likely to be points of contention between various interests about the appropriate rate and nature of tourism development, it is important that Westland communities remain supportive of tourism if it is to achieve long-term success. As a region whose recent economic development has received close national and political attention, tourism planners and development interests on the West Coast can expect close scrutiny during the next few years. Increased levels of consultation
and co-operation between private, public and community interests should ensure that tourism development in Westland not only stands up to such scrutiny but also acts as a means to improve economic prospects and enhance community well-being in the District.

In view of the general issues and planning goals raised in the section, local authorities involved in tourism planning in Westland should consider the following specific recommendations:

- Given that community conflicts are a vital component in the formation of a shared community identity, the Westland District Council and the Department of Conservation should continue to increase communication with local community groups such as business and residents’ associations. Improved communication between various community groups and local authorities will assist all stakeholders in developing a shared tourism vision for Westland.

- Local authorities should monitor the social impacts of tourism development. For example, increased pressure on car parks, busier shopping areas and crowded recreation areas can quickly reduce local residents’ acceptance of tourism.

- Given the current high levels of satisfaction, involvement in tourism and the necessity to sustain these characteristics, local authorities should continue to encourage local initiatives in developing tourism attractions in Westland (such as current funding initiatives by the Westland Working Group). This will allow for a style of tourism that is well integrated with local business and lifestyle.

- Tourism West Coast and local Visitor Information Centres should encourage and promote more local and regional tourism linkages. For example, closer working relationships should be sought with both neighbouring regions (e.g., Wanaka, Queenstown, Greymouth, Nelson and Christchurch) as well as communities within Westland. Such initiatives will help to reduce local parochialism and increase the effectiveness of regional marketing strategies.

- Tourism management strategies and activities should be integrated between the Westland District Council, the West Coast Regional Council, the Department of Conservation and Tourism West Coast. For example, relevant central and local government policies such as the district plan, regional tourism policies and the Department of Conservation Visitor Strategy should all be considered when developing tourism plans and strategies.

- As tourist numbers continue to increase, more urgent attention is needed in providing adequate infrastructure such as roads, bridges, sewage systems, water supplies, rubbish collection and disposal, campervan dumping facilities and public toilets. The provision of adequate infrastructure is required to mitigate the physical impacts of increased tourism development and to avoid discrepancies between tourism promotional strategies and actual tourist experiences. If Westland is promoted as a “clean and green” destination, tourists will react adversely if confronted by evidence of human effluent, littering and unsightly rubbish dumps while visiting the region. Sub categories of recommendations to mitigate the physical impacts of tourism in Westland include:
  - Continue to monitor campervan dumping and provide more dumping sites where necessary.
  - Improve the cleanliness and image of public rest stops along Westland highways.
• Provide information and education for campervan drivers regarding the appropriate disposal of waste.

• Provide more public toilets at key townships and other locations throughout Westland.

• Provide more rubbish bins and a rubbish collection service at key tourism sites throughout Westland.

• The Westland District Council, the West Coast Regional Council, the Department of Conservation, Transit New Zealand and Tourism West Coast should continue to address specific tourism issues such as roadside effluent dumping on a united front. Any attempts to shift responsibilities between the Department of Conservation, Westland District Council and Transit New Zealand will achieve little in finding lasting solutions to such problems.
References


New Zealand Domestic Travel Study (1999). *New Zealand Domestic Travel Study*. Forsyte Research.


Tourism could become New Zealand’s most lucrative industry: Minister of Works addresses local bodies conference here. (1965, November 4). *West Coast Times*.

Appendix 1
Westland Tourism Questionnaire

Residents’ Survey

Interviewer instructions appear in italics - please do not read these to the respondent.

Introduction
Hello. My name is _____________________, and I am working for Lincoln University. We are trying to find out what the local community thinks of tourism and the visitor industry on the West Coast.

To make sure that we have a random and balanced survey, I need to interview the person in the household who is 15 years or over and who has the next birthday. Is that you?

[If not: May I speak to that person please? Repeat introduction: if necessary…. ]

Is it convenient to ask you a few questions. This questionnaire takes about 10 minutes to complete and the answers are kept entirely confidential. We do not even need to know your name.

If not, Is there a more suitable time when I could arrange to call you back?

Proceed . . .

If you feel that this person just needs some encouragement to participate:
[Your views are important and we are trying to get the views of many different types of people within the community, so it does not matter whether you feel that you have anything to do with visitors to the area or not. We would still like to hear what you think of tourism here on the West Coast]

Please note that this questionnaire is for people who reside in West Coast and not for bachowners or owners of holiday homes who do not live in the area.
Q. No.
Interviewer:              Date:  
                     time:

This questionnaire is in 3 parts. You do not have to answer every question.

THE FIRST SECTION: asks some general questions about living and working in the West Coast region

1) In which town/community do you live? How long have you lived on the West Coast?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location:</th>
<th>(Delete one)</th>
<th>Years/ months</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

(if respondent mentions family / other connections, please note here- no probe)

2) What do you like about living in the West Coast area? (Record in order as answers are given)

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 

3) In the last year, have you worked casually, part time or full time in any of the following tourism-related jobs - tell me as I read them out (try to get an estimate of the average number of hours per week worked in each & length of time they worked for (months))

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Average hrs/wk</th>
<th>Time Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation e.g. motels, hotels, backpackers,</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport e.g. bus/ taxi driver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurants/ cafes/ bars</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel agency/ information centre</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tour guiding or tourist attractions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Souvenir/jade/art &amp; craft shops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (specify)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4) Does anyone else in your immediate family living on the West Coast work full time or part-time in tourism-related jobs?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Full time</th>
<th>Part time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No (✓)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(if yes) Person 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THIS SECOND SECTION of the survey is designed to gauge your overall reactions to visitors and the tourism industry on the West Coast.

5) What, if any, benefits are there from tourism and visitors on the West Coast?
Record in order as spoken.
If not clear, check whether this is a community benefit and/or one that affects them individually (or both).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Community (✓)</th>
<th>Personal (✓)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6) Do you think the community as a whole benefits from tourism and visitors on the West Coast?

(if 4) specify who

7) What, if any, problems are caused by tourism and visitors on the West Coast?
Record in order as spoken.
If not clear, check whether this is a community benefit and/or one that affects them individually (or both).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Community (✓)</th>
<th>Personal (✓)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8) What are your greatest concerns about tourism and visitors on the West Coast?

1 |  |
2 |  |
3 |  |
4 |  |

9) Have you ever been concerned enough about these things to do something like write to a newspaper, or contact the council or an MP?

1. Yes  2. No

If yes: What did you do?
10) To what extent does the Westland District Council consider community concerns when deciding whether tourism developments should go ahead?

1. Not enough
2. Adequately
3. Very well
4. Don’t know

11) To what extent does the West Coast Regional District Council consider community concerns when deciding whether tourism developments should go ahead?

1. Not enough
2. Adequately
3. Very well
4. Don’t know

12) To what extent does the Westland District Council provide adequate roads, car parks and public toilets to meet the needs of tourists?

1. Not enough
2. Adequately
3. Very well
4. Don’t know

If not enough: Which services are not provided adequately?

13) Overall how often would you meet visitors/ tourists on the West Coast? Read out options

1. Never
2. Very little
3. Sometimes
4. A lot

14) How often would you meet visitors/ tourists while you are doing your favourite recreation activities? Read out options

If 3 or 4: what recreation activities?

1. Never
2. Very little
3. Sometimes
4. A lot

15) Could you please tell me about the last 3 leisure trips of 4 hours or more duration you made on the Coast?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trip</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>How long ago</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trip 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trip 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trip 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
16) The next few questions use a 3 point scale: never, sometimes or often

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Have you ever:</th>
<th>✓</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>s/times</th>
<th>Often</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Changed your shopping times to avoid crowds?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changed your local recreation patterns to avoid crowds?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gone away at busy times to avoid crowds in the West Coast area?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you ever take your own visitors to local attractions?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you ever go to these attractions without visitors?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(If other things are mentioned note below)

17) Are there any places on the West Coast that you enjoy seeing and meeting visitors / tourists?

18) Are there any places in the West Coast area that you would prefer not to see visitors/ tourists?

19) In the previous 12 months, how many visitors (e.g. friends, family, colleagues etc.) have stayed in your residence? How many nights did they stay? What town/region were they from?

| 1. Number of visitors |       |
| 2. Nights stayed     |       |
| 3. Town/region       |       |

20) Are there any types of visitor / tourist that you particularly like or dislike?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Like</th>
<th>Dislike</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

21) I have a 3 point scale here and I would like to know where you would place yourself on it. 1 means that there is far too much tourism now, 2 means that there is about the right level of tourism now and 3 means that we could do with a lot more tourism.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There is far too much tourism now</td>
<td>There is about the right level of tourism now</td>
<td>We could do with a lot more tourism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE QUESTIONS IN THIS FINAL SECTION will allow us to check that we have a good cross section of the community and to make comparisons with census data. As I said before, your answers are completely confidential.

22) What is your main form of employment?

Not applicable 88
Farming 1
Tourism (accommodation, transport, attractions) 2
Cafe, restaurant, bar 3
Retail Services 4
Forestry 5
Manufacturing 6
Trade (eg. mechanic, plumber, electrician) 7
Local government 8
Professional (doctor, dentist, private consultant, nurse, teacher etc) 9
Other Govt. Depts 10
Student 11
Homemaker/ housewife 12
Retired 13
Unemployed 14
Other (specify) __________

23) Are you
1. male  or  2. female __________

24) What age group are you in? (stop me when I reach your age group)
1. 15-19 5 50-59
2. 20-29 6. 60-
3. 30-39 7. 70+
4. 40-49 __________

25) What is your highest educational qualification?
1. Some high school 6. TOPS course or similar
2. School Certificate 7. Partial tertiary qualification
3. 6th form certificate/ UE 8. Uni degree/polytech/teaching/nursing
4. 7th Form, Higher school cert. 9. Overseas qualification
5. Apprenticeship/ trade qualification
10. Other (please specify) __________
26) In the last year, what income group was your household in (read until respondent stops you)?

1. Nil income or loss
2. $1-$5,000
3. $5,001-$10,000
4. $10,001-$15,000
5. $15,001-$20,000
6. $20,001-$30,000
7. $30,001-$40,000
8. $40,001-$50,000
9. $50,001-$70,000
10. $70,000-$100,000
11. $100,001+
12. Don’t know
13. Refused

27) What is your ethnicity? Tick only one.

1. Maori (if possible, specify Iwi & hapu group?)
2. Pakeha/European
3. Both Maori and Pakeha/European (Iwi/hapu?)
4. Other (specify)

If Maori (1 or 3):
Another part of this study is looking at tourism issues that are important to Maori on the West Coast. Would you be prepared to participate in this part of the study?

If you agree, we will record your first name and phone number and this will be passed onto our researchers so that they can contact you at a later date.

Thank you very much for your time