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Tourism and the Rural Culture Economy in

New Zealand: Insights from the Inner Rural Bays,

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by M.D. Mackay

During the 1980s in New Zealand, government-led bouts of economic restructuring destabilised the traditional economic foundations upon which many rural communities survived. Since then, and to evade ensuing socio-economic decline, many rural communities have sought to strengthen their local economies by developing *tourism*.

This thesis demonstrates that increasing rural tourism development in New Zealand can be understood as part of Christopher Ray's (1998) theory of emerging rural culture economies. The first stage of the study links Ray's (1998) theory and Typology of the (Rural) Culture Economy to theory found in tourism literature. As a result, four distinct dimensions of rural tourism development are identified and described: the commodification of rural culture, identity construction and rural place promotion, local initiatives to support rural tourism growth, and the community response to tourism. The link also leads to the conclusion that tourism is an ideal strategy for rural re-development because it relies on the use of a community's local/cultural resources — physical, symbolic and human — 'local' rudiments that ensure the social and economic benefits of tourism stay fixed in the community where the exchange between host and tourist takes place.

The second stage of the study uses qualitative research methods to examine Ray's (1998) rural culture economy theory and typology at one rural location where tourism has manifest: the Inner Rural Bays, Banks Peninsula (New Zealand). Results show that Ray's (1998) theory is: (1) a useful theoretical framework for rural tourism research and (2) a concise explanation for the current rise of rural tourism. Evidence suggests, however, that Ray's (1998) concept of the rural culture economy might be constrained to the early stages of rural tourism development when control is firmly in the hands of local people. Based on the results, a Typology of the Rural *Tourism* Culture Economy is devised. It is proposed that the Typology will be useful for individuals, groups or communities interested in *forming* a local rural tourism industry.

Keywords: *rural, culture economy, rural tourism, community development, Banks Peninsula.*

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Introduction

The countryside is increasingly viewed as a as both a commodity in itself and as a set of commodifiable signs and symbols that can be attached to particular places, peoples, products and lifestyles (Kneafsey, 2001, p.762).

Since the 1970s, in many advanced capitalist countries, globalisation and government-led bouts of economic restructuring have undermined traditional/agricultural-based rural economies upon which many rural residents survived (Ray, 1998; Bascom, 2001; Hall, 2003; Hall, Mitchell and Roberts, 2003). As a result, and to evade impending or ongoing social and economic decline, many rural communities have attempted to diversify their local economy by pursuing a range of 'non-traditional' commercial activities (Ray, 1998; Bascom, 2001). This pursuit has often entailed the adoption of 'cultural markers' as new resources to be developed, promoted and sold in the marketplace – such as the market of tourism (Ray, 1998; Kneafsey, 2001). Examples of rural cultural markers might include: traditional/local food, country art and craft, local language, heritage and history, architecture, local music, rural landscape and wildlife etc. Over time, and through the process of 'commodification', these markers have become "...key resources in the pursuit of territorial development objectives" and key components of Christopher Ray's (1998, p.3) emerging 'rural culture economies'.

Acknowledging the merits of Christopher Ray's (1998) rural culture economy paper, I explore the materialisation of a 'rural *tourism* culture economy' in New Zealand. Tourism, I believe, is the most obvious way rural communities in New Zealand are drawing economic benefits from their cultural resources, just as Ray (1998) had theorised. In this light, tourism can be viewed as a particular and significant manifestation of Ray's (1998) rural culture economy. Fittingly, the significance of tourism in rural New Zealand was outlined in an article published in the *Rural News* (Carnachan, April 27, 2004:16-17) titled: 'Rural New Zealand cashing in on tourism bonanza'. Here, tourism was heralded as an important new component of the nation's rural economy and a valuable tool for rural (re)development. This research paper shows

that the rural tourism 'bonanza' in New Zealand can be viewed as part of an emerging 'rural *tourism* culture economy' approach to rural (re)development.

Evidence of New Zealand's 'rural *tourism* culture economy' can be found in the scores of rural tourism advertising brochures freely available at information centres across the country. These brochures commonly draw attention to the innumerable: activities, experiences, attractions, accommodations and facilities now available (at a cost) to tourists visiting the countryside, and include: horse treks, 4WD tours, farm stays, farm tours, high country hiking, country cottages, rural backpackers, country garden tours, country retreats, country cuisine, rural landscapes, rural hospitality and participation in rural work (see Figure 1). In addition, evidence can be found in the many rural place names which are now synonymous with the inimitable 'tourism' products sold by residents: e.g., Nelson and arts and crafts, Hawkes Bay and wineries, Taranaki and heritage (Warren and Taylor, 1999), Queenstown and adventure (Cloke and Perkins, 2002; Schollmann, 2003), Tuatapere and sausages! (Kearsley, 1998). These products are inimitable (if only symbolically), for they are presented and sold to tourists as geographically unique 'experiences' of a 'local' culture, people and place. Such evidence supports the suggestion that an escalating range of rural 'things' are being transformed into components of a new rural economy – one reliant on the production and sale of rural 'culture' to tourists.

While the signs of tourism in New Zealand's countryside are often well marked (take for example the myriad of bed and breakfast signs lining rural roads), little is known about the *range* of tactics available to, or used by, rural residents in New Zealand as they construct and manage an operating rural *tourism* culture economy. As suggested earlier, a particularly useful place to start, which is also the theoretical underpinning of this study, is in the work of both Christopher Ray (1998, 1999a, 1999b) and, in the context of tourism, Moya Kneafsey (2001). Ray (1998) produced a typology (see Figure 2) depicting four possible 'Modes' (or strategies) available to, and used by rural residents as they develop and manage a rural culture economy.

> Mode I occurs as action to commoditise a culture through local products or services, or the incorporation of a territorial identity onto a generic product or service. Mode II involves the encapsulation of cultural identity into a strategic image for the territory. Once constructed, this image is then available to raise the visibility of the territory concerned in the wider policy and political

arenas. Mode III similarly involves the construction or re-discovery of a culturally based territorial identity but this time the goal is to cultivate a local solidarity *within the territory itself*...Taken together, modes I, II and III can themselves be thought of as a kind of *repertoire of strategic action* available to the territory in question. Mode IV of the Culture Economy typology, however, focuses attention onto the possibility of a *range of paths of development*...[i.e., *participation, coping and resistance*] (Ray, 1999b, p526).

Moya Kneafsey (2001, p.273) recognised that *tourism* was a significant component of rural culture economies and used Ray's (1998) Modes of the typology to examine the way rural residents turned their cultural assets (both tangible and symbolic), "...into [tourist] resources available for the local territory." Ray's (1998) typology was used by Kneafsey (2001) as a 'research framework' during a case study on tourism development and the commodification of culture in Commana, rural Brittany (Western France).

Figure 1: Rural Tourism Advertising Brochures in New Zealand

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(Source: Collected From the Christchurch Information Centre, 2003)

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Figure 2: Typology of the Culture Economy

(Ray, 1998, p.6)

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1.2 Research Aim and Questions

Guided by Ray's (1998, 1999a, 1999b) culture economy theory and Kneafsey's (2001) preliminary application of it in the context of tourism, the aim of this study was to examine the way rural residents in New Zealand might construct a new local culture economy based on the selective commodification, promotion and sale of 'cultural markers' to tourists. This responds to Meethan's (2001, p.5) call for tourism research to, "…address the issue of commodification as a central concern, that is, the ways in which material culture, people and places become objectified for the purposes of the global market." It also addresses a deficiency in research exploring resident participation in rural tourism development in New Zealand and the ensuing commodification of the countryside. Explicitly, the research questions I wanted to answer were:

Question 1: Can Ray's (1998) theory and supporting Typology of the (Rural) Culture Economy be placed in tourism literature, thereby providing new insights into the current

and prolific production of tourism in rural places, and in New Zealand more specifically?

Question 2: Can Ray's (1998) Typology of the (Rural) Culture Economy, following its placement in tourism literature, be used as a research framework for examining the specific dimensions of rural tourism development in New Zealand?

Question 3: How can a conceptualisation of the rural *tourism* culture economy be usefully applied in rural communities?

To help answer these three questions a case study was conducted in one rural New Zealand location where there was evidence of rural tourism development, the Inner Rural Bays, Banks Peninsula.

1.3   Thesis Outline

This thesis is divided into six chapters. This chapter, the 'Introduction', has provided the preamble to the study. The chapter introduced Ray's (1998) notion that rural communities were increasingly adopting their cultural resources as commodities to be sold in emerging rural culture economies. It was argued that tourism is the most obvious manifestation of the rural culture economy. I suggested that Ray's (1998) culture economy theory and supporting typology might provide new insights for understanding: (1) the proliferation of tourism in rural New Zealand, and (2) the way by which residents were turning their cultural assets (tangible and intangible) into saleable tourist commodities. The specific research aims and questions were then spelled out.

In Chapter Two, the first stage of the research is presented. The chapter begins by describing in detail Ray's (1998, 1999a, 1999b) notion of the culture economy approach to rural (re)development. Then, by matching Ray's four 'Modes' of the Typology of the (Rural) Culture Economy to literature found in the field of tourism, it is surmised that tourism is a clear manifestation of Ray's (1998) theory. Subsequently, the topic of rural tourism development in New Zealand is introduced. It is suggested that the rise of rural tourism in New Zealand is a good example of Ray's (1998) emerging culture economy approach to rural (re)development, and therefore, can best be understood through his ideas.

In Chapter Three, the second stage of the research project is introduced; a case study that applies Ray's ideas to the manifestation of one tourism-based rural culture economy in New Zealand. The chapter begins by describing the case study area (i.e., the Inner Rural Bays, Banks Peninsula) and the rationale for the site's selection. Following this, the qualitative methodology that was used during the case study is outlined.

The fourth chapter focuses on the history of the case study region – both Akaroa District and the Inner Rural Bays. The detailed history is essential, I argue, as it provides the context and foundation upon which the Inner Rural Bay's 'tourism' culture economy has been built.

Using Ray's (1998) 'Modes' of the Typology of the (Rural) Culture Economy as a framework, Chapter Five, entitled 'Results and Discussion', outlines the way in which a rural *tourism* culture economy has been formed and fostered at the Inner Rural Bays. Presented in this way, the chapter provides an account of:

1. Tourism as one form of local/rural (re)development in one New Zealand community.
2. The processes involved in the forming and fostering of a rural *tourism* culture economy in one rural New Zealand community.
3. Tourism as a significant manifestation of Ray's (1998) culture economy approach to rural (re) development in one New Zealand location.

In Chapter Six, the results of the case study are used to address the research questions and conclude the thesis. Future research opportunities are then discussed.

Chapter Two

LITERATURE REVIEW (STAGE ONE)

2.1   The Rural Culture Economy

In many advanced industrialised countries over the last thirty years, much has been written on the changing nature of contemporary rural economy, society and space (for examples see: Short 1991; Cloke, 1993; Ray, 1998; Marsden, 1999; Bascom, 2001). Generally, these academics have sought to understand the widespread rural response to globalisation and economic restructuring – forces that since the 1970s have undermined traditional rural economies, thereby changing the way the countryside has functioned and can be understood.

Within this literature, there began a focus on one particular rural phenomenon – the formation and fostering of a new, more diverse and sustainable rural economy. This new economy is often said to be founded more on the manipulation and sale of the countryside's cultural assets – human, physical and intangible – rather than on its primary productive capacity (see: Cloke, 1993; Bessiere, 1998; Hopkins, 1998; Mitchell, 1998; Ray, 1998; 1999a; 1999b; Bascom, 2001; Kneafsey, 2001; Moon, 2002; Gibson, 2003; Schnell, 2003). Often these studies emphasise the way by which the new culture-based economy can re-resource, revitalise, 'reinvent' (Moon, 2002; Gibson, 2003) and 'energise' (Bascom, 2001) rural places, and in turn, provide a valuable foundation for ongoing rural development and sustainability.

For Ray (1998, p.3), the emergence of new rural industries founded upon the selection and valorisation of local culture is the 'culture economy' approach to rural (re)development. In short, the notion of the rural 'culture economy', as projected by Ray (1998), developed from his following observations:

- In advanced capitalist countries, particularly those in Europe, forces such as globalisation and economic restructuring have undermined traditional micro-economies (such as those found in rural communities).

- Residents in these areas, in a bid to retain some degree of economic autonomy, social well-being and identity have sought to "reformulate economic activity" (p.3).

- As one result, a new economy has emerged, predominantly based upon the identification and commodification of a region's cultural resources (e.g., regional food, arts and crafts, unique landscape and architecture, a local language etc).

- These new rural products, derived from an individual or community assessment of 'what we have here', form the foundations of an area's rural 'culture economy'.

- Here *culture* equates to geographically distinct ways of doing things (e.g., behaviour, language and politics), geographically distinct resources (e.g., natural environment and landscape) and local realities (e.g., the weather and history); and *economy* refers to a system of exchange based upon the production, sale and consumption of local culture. While all parts of the economic system are important, Ray (1998, p.4) clearly states that he is more interested with 'development' or "…the production side: that is, the territory, its cultural system and the network of actors that construct a set of resources to be employed in the interests of the territory."

- As the culture economy develops, places are reorganised (socially, culturally and physically) to facilitate the operation of the new economy, and inevitably, one of three general community responses is likely to materialise.

- The response, which can be either: participation, coping or resistance, is determined by local ethics and reflects the community's "…sense of choice ('local' collective agency) in how to employ [their cultural] resources" (Kneafsey, 2001, p.764).

Although the theory of the rural culture economy, and its talk of 'local' empowerment and self-reliance, presents itself as the antithesis to globalisation, it is not. Rather, as Ray (1998) suggests, it is a form of 'local' action that addresses the economic and social needs and realities of rural residents in an increasingly global economic system. In fact, Ray (1998, p.4) clearly acknowledges a global and local geographical interdependence within a culture economy, whereby the extra-local market (e.g., tourism) forms the consumer base "…to which the territory seeks to sell itself…" Accordingly, the creation of a culture economy can be seen as a reflexive action that results in the manipulation of

local/cultural resources so that individuals and communities can: (1) 'participate' in the emerging global economy; (2) pursue "the interests of the territory" (Ray, 1998, p.4) (i.e., economic revival); and (3) retain or (re)develop a distinct sense of place in the global milieu. From Ray's (1998) summation, it is evident that rural communities have turned to rely upon themselves to ensure that both their 'place' and 'identity' are well looked after in the global marketplace.

Fundamental to Ray's (1998) culture economy approach to rural (re)development is the principal of 'endogenous development'. 'Endogenous development' refers to the fostering of a local economy "...by basing development action on the resources – physical, human and intangible that are indigenous to that locality" (Ray, 1999a, p.259). The underlying logic of endogenous development is that the local specificity of the (cultural) resources provides residents with something 'unique' from which new economic opportunities flow. The local specificity of the resources is also said to evoke a sense of community ownership, pride and enthusiasm – a 'love of place' – that beneficially and/or ethically guides the socio-economic fortunes of the community (Ray, 1998). In addition, this sense of ownership cements residents' finances, passion, knowledge and skills in the community (Ray, 1998, 1999a).

Another important underpinning of Ray's (1998, 1999a) culture economy theory is the 'need', in contemporary times, for rural places to develop specific place identities upon which their culture economy is then built. According to Ray (1999b) these identities are created as rural residents select 'things' from geographically defined, and therefore unique, 'repertoires' of cultural resources. These things then become, (through the process of commodification), place products and/or recognisable, and therefore marketable, symbols of the locality (e.g., 'local' landmarks, history, heritage, language, customs and traditions). For Ray (1998), this process can also involve the rediscovery of lost cultural traits, or even the creation of new cultural/place products. Generally, however, the ability to create 'unique' place identities and place-products is set firmly in the notion that 'culture' is geographically bounded:

> Place and culture are persistently intertwined with one another, for any given place – as it is understood here – is always a locus of dense human interrelationships (out of which culture impart grows), and culture is a phenomenon that tends to have intensely local characteristics thereby helping to differentiate places from one another (Scott, 2000, p.3)

A particularly good example of rural place identity construction leading to differentiation (i.e., a unique place), economic gain and enhanced community well-being is provided by Bell and Lyall (1995) in their book *Putting Our Town on the Map: Local Claims to Fame in New Zealand.* They argue that the 'need' to construct distinct place identities in New Zealand, as elsewhere, became prolific during the early 1990s as rural communities actively fought against the impacts of the global/rural economic recession (Bell and Lyall, 1995). The aim was to fight marginalisation by putting towns on the tourist map with constructed 'local claims to fame' (Bell and Lyall, 1995). Bell and Lyall (1995) believed that as a result a new cultural landscape had emerged, evident in the prolific display of giant sized objects, signs and themes that welcome the visitor to the towns and at the same time display an element of local cultural pride and identity. Examples included: Te Puke and its giant sized kiwifruit, Pokeno and its claim as 'bacon country', Dannevirke as Viking country (Scandinavian heritage), Westport and mining, Taihape – the Gumboot City.

For a number of academics, the aforesaid turn to culture as an economic resource for rural communities is part of the emerging 'post-productive' rural era (Gibson, 2003; Williams, 2003). Here, traditionally productive rural activities (such as farming and forestry) are now seen operating alongside significant, non-traditional, culture-based rural industries (such as tourism, festivals, rural property, and country art and craft markets). Other scholars (particularly in the field of geography) have drawn attention to the changing nature of contemporary rural 'space' as the post-productive era evolves (for example see Cloke, 1993). For them, the countryside has changed from a 'place' (society, economy and environment) organised for primary production, to areas organised for the sale of rural leisure/recreation/tourism opportunities otherwise referred to as: 'zones of consumption' (Shaw and Williams, 2002, p.283), 'landscapes of hedonism' (Halfacree, 2003, p.163), and the 'consumption countryside' (Marsden, 1999; also see Cloke, 1993).

For others, the rural 'transformation' is inextricably connected to increasing 'demand' for the countryside from urban consumers who are attempting to escape the chaos, crowds and concrete of contemporary city life. Urry (1996, p.97) for example, believed the countryside's appeal had eventuated from civilian (particularly service class)

dissatisfaction with "...the wholesale reconstruction of towns and cities in the postwar period". Similarly, Pigram (1993, p.157) stated that increasing visits to rural areas could be seen as "...an extension of life in the city...linked to a growing disdain for the impacts of urbanisation and industrialisation" (i.e., the highly developed metropolitan landscape). Pigram (1993, p.158) colourfully asserted:

> ...periodically, environmentally undernourished urbanites are pushed from the city because of the stresses imposed by their lifestyle. At the same time, they are pulled into the more natural hinterland by the opportunity to experience compensatory alternative surroundings and activities.

In more definite terms, Page, Brunt, Busby and Connell (2001, p.354-355) listed ten characteristics of the countryside that made it an appealing place to visit including:

1. remoteness and solitude
2. peace and quiet, relaxing environment
3. adventure and challenge, opportunity to pursue sport or hobby
4. health and fitness concerns, fresh air
5. wildlife and landscapes, interests in the environment
6. experience of rural communities, culture and lifestyles
7. pleasant backcloth for being with friends and family
8. a change from everyday urban life
9. take part in rural activities such as conservation work
10. explore historic identities, interests in heritage

From a different perspective, Kneafsey (2001), Cloke (1993) and Hopkins (1998), believed that the increasing demand for visiting and 'consuming' the countryside was linked to the ongoing projection (in advertising and media) of an idealised rural image. From a tourism perspective, Kneafsey (2001, p.762-763) makes this point:

> Through images and texts, attempts are made to attract tourists to rural areas through the promotion of representations of idealised, symbolic, cultural landscapes...Thus the rural is commodified not only as a physical place, but as a place with spiritual resonances, with connotations of romantic simplicity and golden traditionality. In many cases, the countryside is portrayed as a container of traditional cultures, national identities, and "authentic" lifestyles.

More generally, these sentiments can be connected to the work of Lash and Urry (1994) who debated the concept a new economy of 'signs' and 'space'. Here Lash and Urry (1994) described an economy saturated with products and consumption spaces (such as tourism sites) that, aided by advertising, marketing and design innovations, were given new meaning then sold to consumers as a range of 'cultural' or 'lifestyle' goods. In a

rural context, good evidence of this can be found in the rural property market where houses and land are advertised and sold to consumers as both a tangible commodity *and* an opportunity to experience rural culture and rural lifestyle (see Figure 3). This evidence shows that advertising helps establish and sell cultural commodities, and therefore, can be viewed as a driving force of Ray's (1998) rural culture economy.

Figure 3: Selling a Rural Lifestyle

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(Source: Left *Waikato Times*, Saturday 26th June, 2004:6. Right *The Press*, Saturday May 22nd 2004:G15)

As academics (in advanced industrialised countries) have acknowledged the surfacing of a new culture-based rural economy (built on increasing advertising and consumer demand for rural experiences and products), a number of published case studies have drawn attention to the transformation of rural space as it is arranged to facilitate the new culture economy. For example, Moon (2002) spoke of this 'phenomenon' when analysing the *muraokoshi* (village revitalization) movement in contemporary Japan. *Muraokoshi* surfaced in the 1970s as a consequence of "decaying rural conditions... [and was described as]...self-help efforts initiated by those living in the countryside to revitalize their economy and society" (Moon, 2002, p.228). Moon (2002) believed that *muraokoshi* developed robustly in Japan's rural hinterland when it was acknowledged (by locals) that anything rural could, in theory, be commodified, including history and culture. Consequently, rural communities in Japan employed 'regional character' and culture as attractions and connected this (through a variety of endogenous strategies including place promotion) to a myriad of (re)invented 'local' rural tourism products (Moon, 2002, p.228). The outcome was encapsulated in the paper's title – "The Countryside Reinvented for Urban Tourists" (Moon, 2002).

Bessiere (1998, p.3) also observed the transformation of the countryside in rural France as a 'culinary heritage' industry rose in prominence throughout the countryside. Here, Bessiere (1998) argued, place-bound cultural markers (in this case, local food product) had been used to widen the economic scope of the rural community and hence rebalance undermined rural economies. In another example, Schnell (2003) showed how, in Lindsborg (rural Kansas), a rural culture industry emerged based upon the valorisation and commodification of the town's Swedish ethnic heritage. Here, the town's inhabitants managed to evade ensuing rural decline by capitalising on their 'ethnic roots' — a cultural marker that has since become a valuable tool for rural (re)development. Other good examples include: the music industry in rural New South Wales, Australia (Gibson, 2003); heritage in St. Jacobs, Ontario (Mitchell, 1998); French history in Akaroa, New Zealand (Fountain, 2002); and language in rural Wales (Ray, 1998). In the context of Ray's (1998) rural culture economy theory, these examples of valorised, commodified and celebrated components of local culture are evidence of emerging, and increasingly significant, rural cultural economies.

2.2   Tourism and the Rural Culture Economy

Tourism is inextricably linked to the rural culture economy because 'tourists' often represent the largest market of rural culture/place consumers, thereby forming the backbone of many rural culture economies. Moreover, tourism is perhaps the most obvious way rural communities seek to derive economic benefits from their cultural resources (Edgell and Staiger, 1992; Lewis, 1998). As Edgell and Staiger (1992, [online]) stated, "Today, the world over, communities are tapping natural, cultural and historic resources in rural areas; and tourism has become an important tool for economic development."

The economic benefits of tourism development in rural areas are frequently documented (for example see: Pigram, 1993; Greffe; 1994; Lewis, 1998; Warren and Taylor, 1999; Eversole, 2003) and were summarised well by Gannon (1994, p.56), who states that tourism in rural places:

1. Brings more money particularly foreign currency to the economy.
2. Creates jobs and increases family and community income.
3. Helps to diversify and stabilise the rural economy.

4. Provides a broader business base for the community and creates an opportunity for attracting other businesses and small industries.

5. Provides the opportunity for innovation and creativity.

6. Provides support for existing businesses and services.

7. Helps to develop local craft and trade.

While the economic benefits of tourism are usually heralded as the prime reason that rural communities adopt tourism, it is also appealing because it is perceived as an industry that can be established, controlled and managed by local people with local resources. As Lewis (1998, p.102) stated:

> Perhaps the most attractive thing about developing tourism in a rural community is that the leaders and residents of the community can foster pride and establish responsibility for the process of development. That is, the community can utilise local resources as well as local organisations to create tourism. Tourism is an opportunity that residents can create from within the community; it does not have to rely on out-of-state businesses or companies…it is something that the rural community can do by itself with assistance from – not reliance on – outside sources.

While the benefits of rural tourism development are well recognised, a number of academics have warned of inevitable costs (see Gannon, 1994; Page et al, 2001). For example, after reviewing a report published by England's Rural Development Commission in 1996, Page et al (2001, p.357) listed eleven negative impacts that may arise from rural tourism development:

- Encourages dependence on industry prone to uncontrollable change
- Creates part-time, seasonal or low-grade employment
- Incurs development costs and public service costs
- Leads to local land and house price inflation
- Creates feeling of invasion by tourists; overcrowding and traffic
- Increases crime
- Reduction in local services, e.g., food shops replaced by gift shops
- Import new cultural ideas – challenges existing way of life
- Increases wear and tear on landscape features
- Creates need for new developments which may not be in keeping with local area
- Increases pollution (noise, visual, air, water, litter)

When reflecting on these impacts, Page et al (2001) then called for a more sustainable approach to rural tourism development. Ray's (1998) culture economy approach to rural (re)development, when placed in the context of tourism, can answer this call by

providing a simple framework upon which a sustainable community development strategy can be built.

While both the proliferation of tourism in rural places and need for sustainable practices are widely acknowledged, one of the few to have linked tourism directly to Ray's (1998) culture economy theory is Moya Kneafsey (2001). For Kneafsey (2001), Ray's (1998) 'cultural markers' could also be viewed as an area's tourism development 'repertoire' (also see Ray, 1999b). In tourism studies the 'repertoire' has also been termed the 'destination mix' (Killion, 2001), 'local colour' (Greenwood, 1977) and 'host assets' (Smith, 2001). Generally, these terms refer to the unique supply side of a regional tourism package – what a locality has (or has produced) to offer visitors to a region.

Kneafsey (2001, p.764) was interested in examining 'how' rural residents selected local resources, and then, "through techniques appropriate to their requirements", constructed the product(s) for a local tourism-based culture economy. To do this, Kneafsey (2001) employed Ray's (1998) conceptualised Typology of the (Rural) Culture Economy (see Figure 2), particularly its four individual 'Modes', as a research framework for a case study in Commana, rural Brittany (Western France). Kneafsey (2001) described Comanna as a rural/agricultural centre that had (like many other rural places in advanced industrialised countries) declined in the modern era of global economics. Kneafsey (2001) believed that one result was that local policymakers had promoted, for the last two decades, a culture economy approach to rural (re)development of which tourism was a significant component.

Kneafsey's (2001, p.764) case study illustrated that the employment of Ray's (1998) culture economy typology did provide "...a useful framework for identifying the resources available to local economies and for analysing the strategies which can be employed to turn these into saleable [tourism] commodities." In addition, Kneafsey (2001) found that the typology exposed obstacles that a rural community might face when developing a distinctive and 'local' rural tourism product. These obstacles were related to the ambiguities surrounding the concept of local in post-modern rural society. Who, for example, can be defined as local? Who owns local knowledge and how can this local resource remain sincerely local? Kneafsey, (2001, p.765) believed her case study began "...to open up some of these questions."

Drawing from Kneafsey's (2001) study and literature, I now briefly explain the Modes of Ray's (1998) Typology of the Culture Economy in the context of tourism.

Mode I: The Commodification of Culture

The commodification of culture can be defined as "...a process by which [cultural] things (and activities) come to be evaluated primarily in terms of their exchange value, in a context of trade, thereby becoming goods (and services); developed exchange systems in which the exchange value of things (and activities) is stated in terms of prices form a market" (Cohen, 1988, p.380). More simply, the commodification process turns 'things' (both tangible and intangible) into 'commodities' that can be bought at a price by a consumer thereby generating profits.

The commodification of culture in a tourism context then means the process by which the cultural resources of a destination are transformed into saleable tourist commodities for the purpose of generating profit for the residents. Beforehand, the products may have had no exchange value (e.g., a local custom, a ritual dance, an abandoned building, a particular landscape). In this view, commodification, therefore, is the process that creates a tourism supply, industry and economy. Interestingly, Cohen (1988, p.382) stated that the process of commodification "... often hits a culture...when it is in decline" making it an appropriate area for academic analysis within rural territories. Moreover, Pawson and Swaffield (1998, p.266) describe it as a characteristic of "...the 1990s... part of a material shift in the articulation of capital towards consumption based activities" – part of a "new era" in rural environments (Hall and Page, 1999, p.181).

Tourism academics have long debated the impacts of commodification, and two opposing perspectives have emerged as a result. Firstly, the cynical view that is the commodification of culture inevitably results in some degree of cultural degradation. This viewpoint was established by Greenwood (1977) who witnessed the demise of Fuenterrabiai's Alarde (A public ritual held in Spain to celebrate victory over the French in 1683 AD) as entrepreneurs and city officials endeavoured to make the cultural event (1) a packaged spectacle for tourists and (2) a component of their place marketing strategy. What was once a performance for 'community' participation became, via commodification, a commercial activity for 'others' to view and for 'some' to

financially benefit from. "In the space of two years what was a vital and exciting ritual had become an obligation to be avoided…(t)he ritual [had] become a performance for money. The meaning [was] gone" (Greenwood, 1977, p.135). Greenwood (1977, p.137) scornfully concluded:

> Perhaps this is the final logic of the capitalist development, of which tourism is an ideal example. The commoditization process does not stop with land, labour and capital but ultimately includes the history, ethnic identity, and culture of the peoples of the world. Tourism simply packages the cultural realities of a people alongside with their other resources. We know that no people anywhere can live without the meanings culture provides; thus tourism is forcing unprecedented cultural change on people already reeling from the blows of industrialisation, urbanisation, and inflation. The loss of meaning through cultural commoditization is a problem at least as serious as the unequal distribution of wealth that results from tourism development.

MacCannell (2001) took a similar stance through analysis of the changing crocodile ritual of the Iatmul people of the Sepik region in New Guinea. He showed that for the purposes of tourism the ritual "…had been shortened from 3 days to under 45 minutes, and performed not annually, but upon the arrival of the cruise ship" (MacCannell, 2001, p.384). Here, the quest to profit from tourism through manipulating culture altered (and ultimately destroyed) the original meaning of the ritual for participants. From this observation MacCannell (2001, p.384) asserted: "wherever tourists are found, there is an emergent culture of tourism made from fragments of the local cultures that tourism destroyed".

Secondly, and in contrast, Cohen (1988), Boissevain (1996), Fisher (2003), and indeed Ray (1998), have argued that the commodification of culture for tourism can provide an 'opportunity' for (1) endogenous economic development (2) a means to protect, preserve or re-establish a cultural tradition and (3) a way to maintain a distinct sense of cultural identity within the turbulence of modernity. For them, culture is seen as a flexible local 'resource' rather than an unchanging and untouchable component of the world. Moreover, for Ray (1998), cultural commodification is a particular strategy available to communities to take control of and invigorate economic activity while at the same time protecting the community's social well-being and identity. Ray (1999) viewed each rural community as a repository or 'repertoire' of unique resources that could be turned into profit generating commodities.

The extent of rural commodification for tourism has been explored by both Cloke (1993) and Hopkins (1998). They sought to establish more precisely what rural 'things' had become commodities for sale to tourists. Through a socio-semiotic analysis of 210 printed tourism advertising brochures in the South-western Ontario countryside, Hopkins (1998) found a wide array of commodifed 'things' marketed to tourists as both rural experiences and cultural products including: camping in the countryside, the viewing of a nuclear power plant, boat tours, crafts, bed and breakfasts, and zoos. Rather than finding any 'loss' in the rural community from commodification, Hopkins (1998) found the 'addition' of a valuable, expanding and increasingly sophisticated array of rural tourism operators and products; his only question being – how much of this activity can the community and tourist tolerate as the countryside becomes increasingly like any other market or shopping place?

Employing a similar methodology, Cloke (1993) provided insight into how commodification had shaped Britain's rural space into a 'spectacle' for tourists. For Cloke, (1993) commodification was a process that transformed rural space (object) into a new commodity laden with new-fangled meanings i.e., from a place of agricultural production to a stage for the consumption of rural experiences for tourists. Through an analysis of rural tourism advertising brochures, Cloke (1993) found that the countryside as commodity was commonly characterised and sold to visitors as pristine natural landscapes, easy living and ideal family types. The study may have emerged from Cloke's (1992, as cited in Hall and Page, 1999, p.180) earlier observation that increasing commodification was dramatically changing the nature of rural space and that the processes implicated in this were in need of exploration.

Mode II: A (New) Territorial Identity – Place Promotion

The construction of a territorial identity and its projection to the extra-local market represents the second strategy (or Mode) Ray (1998) identified as operating within a culture economy. Here, place promotion can be defined as the "...conscious use of publicity and marketing to communicate selective images of specific geographical localities or areas to a target audience" (Ward and Gold, 1994, p.2). For Ray (1998) this involved (1) establishing a place identity based on the cultural resources of the rural area in question and then (2) selling this image to the extra-local market. This process, that results in the 'selling of place', is described by Philo and Kearns (1993) as the

"...conscious and deliberate manipulation of *culture* in an effort to enhance the appeal and interest of places...In part this manipulation of culture depends upon promoting traditions, lifestyles and arts that are supposed to be *locally* rooted..."

Academics in the social sciences are increasingly exploring the notion of 'place' promotion as an instrument for 'local' economic development in an increasingly 'global' marketplace (Hall, 1997; Hopkins, 1998). Hall (1997, p.63) describes this as the 'rediscovery of place', an awakening that has brought about the phenomenon of 'place wars' as each locality competes to attract "ever more mobile investors...[and]...mobile capital" in order to economically survive. Schollmann (2003, p.2) states, "(t)ourism is perhaps the foremost example of an industry which employs such place promotional strategies...as an alternative form of economic development" (Schollmann, 2003, p.2).

The underlying principal of promoting place is to generate a tourism economy of which will emerge a number of economic benefits (Philo and Kearns, 1993) namely inward investment, employment and commercial growth (Laws, 1995; Hall, 1997; Butler and Hall, 1998). For Philo and Kearns (1993, p.3) this is the "economic logic of selling place".

Place promotion and the "selling of place" (Philo and Kearns, 1993) are closely linked to tourism because 'places' are what tourists come to, move through and ultimately consume. Furthermore, a "...tourist's choice of destination reflects the relative appeal to that individual of its attractiveness over those offered by competing places..." (Laws, 1995, p.104) and these "...decisions are influenced by marketing communications" (*ibid*, p.112). Thus, place promotion is used in tourism in much the same way as advertising is used in contemporary product marketing i.e., to inform and persuade a consumer (tourist) to buy (visit) one particular commodity (place) over another.

Mode III: Territorial Initiatives

For Ray (1998, p.7) Mode III is also concerned with "...territorial strategies but now the new territorial initiative is engaged in selling itself internally...raising the self-confidence of local people and organisations, building confidence in their own capacities to bring about development, and valorising local resources." As an example

of Mode III, Ray (1998) pointed to the European Union's LEADER program. Fittingly, Jenkins, Hall and Troughton (1998) had described LEADER as a 'community initiative' – a government-led strategy focussed on supporting 'bottom up' approaches for rural (re)development. Moreover, Jenkins, Hall and Troughtron (1998) stated that tourism development was the dominant activity that had emerged throughout rural Europe since the LEADER program's inception. Essentially, LEADER encourages and supports endogenous development in marginalised rural areas, and according to Ray (1998, p.7):

> The rhetoric of such programs and initiatives talks of raising the self-confidence of local people and organisations, building confidence in their own capacities to bring about development, and valorising local resources. These resources include the local culture that, historically, may have been the object of suppression by a more dominant culture...

According to Bryant (1989), these initiatives need not always be derived by governments or local authorities or from their policies or strategies. In tourism studies, Murphy (1985), Simmons (1994) and Marien and Pizam (1997) would perhaps agree, having emphasised the importance of community-born initiatives for local community development. Entrepreneurs, individuals and community groups have an important role in encouraging new economic activity in rural areas by identifying and developing new enterprises. As Bryant (1989, p.345) stated, in doing so, these local people "...contribute to helping their own population realise their own potential by getting them to shoulder responsibility and take initiative to influence their own destiny". Bryant (1989) uses an example from Atikokan, a small town in north-western Ontario, to make his point. Facing economic decline in the wake of two iron ore mines closing:

> ...a not-for-profit association was formed to try to identify new opportunities for development in the town. One idea was to produce and sell classic replica automobiles...[and] after a long process...[the] community owned company has started production.

Bryant (1989, 346) stated that the formation of the new community company (or, in the context of this thesis, one manifestation of Ray's Mode III) raised the confidence of local people in their own capacities to bring about development and to secure their own social and economic well-being in global times. As a result, many local people were reported to have moved on to develop their own enterprises in, what Bryant (1989, p.346) coined, a new "entrepreneurial community".

Other initiatives at Mode III might include: developing a local tourism strategy, a town/site restoration project, establishing a local tourism promotion group, small business group meetings in the community, a festival or concert, an agricultural show (that might bring the community together to celebrate local products), a new town development project (such as a park or monument), or an art and craft market. For Ray (1998), such initiatives lead to the (re)valorisation of local culture, a renewed sense of place, local pride, and local confidence to guide the economic and social fortunes of the community.

Mode IV: The Community Response

The final Mode of Ray's (1998) typology is concerned with the way by which the community responds to the impending materialisation of the preceding three Modes. For Ray (1998) believed that the response could also be viewed as a 'decision' – one guided by community ethics and wisdom. Essentially, the response or decision reflects the degree to which the rural community is prepared to surrender themselves, their culture and place to the market. Ray (1998; 1999) offered three possible general responses:

1. Participation: full participation in the (newly) formulated culture economy.
2. Coping: partial engagement in culture economy activity i.e., keeping some resources for the community and surrendering others to the market.
3. Resistance: retaining all resources exclusively for the territory. Here local culture is seen as more than an economic resource.

One useful way to understand Mode IV of the Typology of the (Rural) Culture Economy (Ray, 1998), in the context of tourism, is through MacCannell's (1973) conceptualisation of 'arranged' tourist settings. MacCannell (1973) believed that host communities were able to control the degree to which the tourist could experience (or come close to) their culture by suitably arranging the 'stage' where the host-guest encounter will take place. At one extreme is the 'backstage'. Here the host community offers the tourist a close encounter with local people, their way-of-life, culture and space. This is parallel with Ray's (1998) concept of participation, whereby the rural community is fully prepared to commodify, present and sell their culture to wanting consumers. A good example here might be a rural bed and breakfast whereby the tourist is 'rubbing shoulders' with the host in their home. At the other extreme is the

'frontstage'. Here, the host community refrains from providing a full and authentic experience of local culture to the tourist. Rather, a set of artificial fronts are presented which, in turn, protect the 'real' community and its culture from becoming a developed tourist commodity. This notion perhaps compares to Ray's (1998) idea of resistance, whereby the rural community decides they are not willing to surrender their culture, or at least real representations of it, to the market.

Another useful way to view the community response to tourism, or Mode IV of the culture economy typology, is through Doxey's (1975) conceptualisation of the 'Index of Tourist Irritation' or 'IRRIDEX' (see Figure 4). From Doxey's (1975) perspective, it is likely that a community's response to tourism will change as tourist numbers increase at a location. In the beginning, when tourist numbers are low, residents are more accepting, supportive and embracing of tourists and tourism development. Underpinning this positive response is the community sentiment that its identity is not under threat by the impact of increasing visitor numbers (Doxey, 1975). As tourist numbers inevitably increase, however, Doxey (1975) argued that the community response was likely to shift towards irritation and antagonism, particularly as the burgeoning tourism industry disrupted the normal course (and cultural activities) of residents' everyday lives. Accordingly, this synopsis raises a simple question (see Figure 4): is the community response to an operational rural tourism culture economy likely to change as the industry intensifies or evolves over time at the rural location?

An answer to this question can perhaps be found in the work of both Butler (1980) and Keller (1987). Butler (1980) produced a model named the Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution (Figure 6). The model was based on the concept, "...that tourist areas are dynamic, that they evolve and change over time (Butler, 1980, p.5). To depict this process, Butler (1980) used an "S" shaped curve and the indices: number of tourists and time. Along the curve, Butler (1980) identified five stages of tourism development that were likely to occur as a tourism industry manifested at a destination, namely: (1) exploration, (2) involvement, (3) development, (4) consolidation, and (5) stagnation. From stage five (or stagnation), the tourist area may experience a number scenarios, but in its most logical sequence the outcome will be a decline in tourist numbers and the industry (Edwards and Cleverdon, 1982). The pattern is classically biological beginning with birth (exploration), moving through the experiences of life (development), and

inevitably ending in death (decline), or in some cases a second life (rejuvenation) (Opperman and Weaver, 2000). Alternatively, the model simply "...illustrates the well known characteristic curve over time for any non-essential element of consumer spending" (Edwards and Cleverdon, 1982, p.29).

The exploration stage is characterised by the visitation from small numbers of allocentric tourists seeking; cultural or natural experiences, non-commercial tourism settings, and strong interaction with the local community. Next, the area will pass through a stage of involvement. This is characterised by some small growth in the number of tourist operations and an escalation in tourist numbers. This is expected to lead to a stage of development whereby the area will experience a period of rapid growth. Here, control (and most likely, income) begins to slip from the hands of local residents. Furthermore, the community is now likely to accommodate large numbers of psychocentric tourists. As a result, severe social and environmental impacts transpire. Lastly, the area will reach a point of consolidation and stagnation representing the end of growth and the consequential reality of an externally controlled, large scale tourism operation that accommodates tourists at full capacity. The negative environmental, socio-cultural and economic impacts will have reached their pinnacle at this stage (Oppermann and Weaver, 2000). The decline will eventuate due to "changes in the preferences and needs of visitors, the gradual deterioration and possible replacement of physical plant and facilities, and the change (or even disappearance) of the original natural and cultural attractions which were responsible for the initial popularity of the area" (Butler, 1980, p.5).

From Butler's (1980) model, one can argue that a rural *tourism* culture economy will also evolve over time (see Figures 5 and 6) and, akin to Doxey's IRRIDEX, a changing rural community response will ensue (or Mode IV). In the beginning, when local residents control development and tourism impacts are low, Ray's (1998) notion of community 'participation' is likely to unfold. As the rural destination develops, however, and extra-local influences intensify, the community, (now isolated from development processes), may well resist the temptation to participate. This would end in a decline in the possible destruction of the local rural tourism industry, for it is the 'local' people and 'their' cultural resources that are indeed the tourism product.

Keller (1987) provides further insight on this subject. Based on Butler's (1980) Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution, Keller (1987, p.24) constructed a model (Figure 7) depicting the "hierarchies of control and capital input" that were likely to emerge as a tourism economy developed at a periphery location (in his case, Canada's Northwest Territories). Keller's (1987) model revealed that a locally-owned and operated tourism industry could only exist during the initial stages of development at a location. At this time, development is small-scale and investment is primarily local. As the destination becomes more established, however, extra-local organisations begin to invest capital, and thus, progressively assume control. As a result, the 'local' foundations upon which the tourism economy was built begin to erode. From this model, one can cautiously surmise that the community response to tourism (or Mode IV) is also likely to shift from participation (when the industry is 'local') to resistance (when control has been lost). Accordingly, I have tentatively placed Ray's (1998) three responses (participation, coping and resistance) above Butler's and Keller's (1987) models (Figure 5 – refer to the shaded areas).

Since the publications of Doxey's (1975), Butler's (1980) and Keller's (1987) models, analysts have continually stressed the importance of community-controlled tourism development (Murphy, 1985; Haywood, 1988; Simmons, 1994; Marien and Pizam, 1997; Eversole, 2003). For example, Murphy (1985, p.16) argued that, "It is the citizen who must live with the cumulative outcome of such developments and needs to have greater input into how their community is packaged and sold as a tourist product on the world market." Similarly, Milne and Ateljevic's (2001, 375-376) community approach to tourism development has "...communities and their constituent members playing an active role in determining tourism's outcome...planning and participating in tourism development...control(ling) the outcomes...[and shaping] the type of industry that is most appropriate to their needs." Similarities can also be found in Ray's (1998) culture economy approach to rural (re)development whereby local people are viewed as stewards of the community, their local knowledge, wisdom and ethics important factors for guiding development in a desirable, and therefore, sustainable manner.

Figure 4: Doxey's "IRRIDEX"

(Source: Murphy, 1985, p.124)

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Figure 5: Community Responses to the (Rural) *Tourism* Culture Economy Over Time

PARTICIPATION	COPING	RESISTANCE

TIME
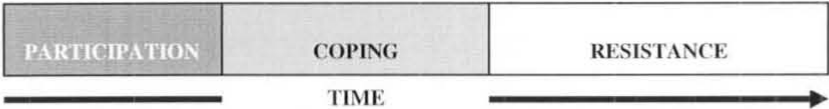
Figure 6: A [Rural] Tourism Area Cycle of Evolution

(Devised from Butler, 1980, p.7)
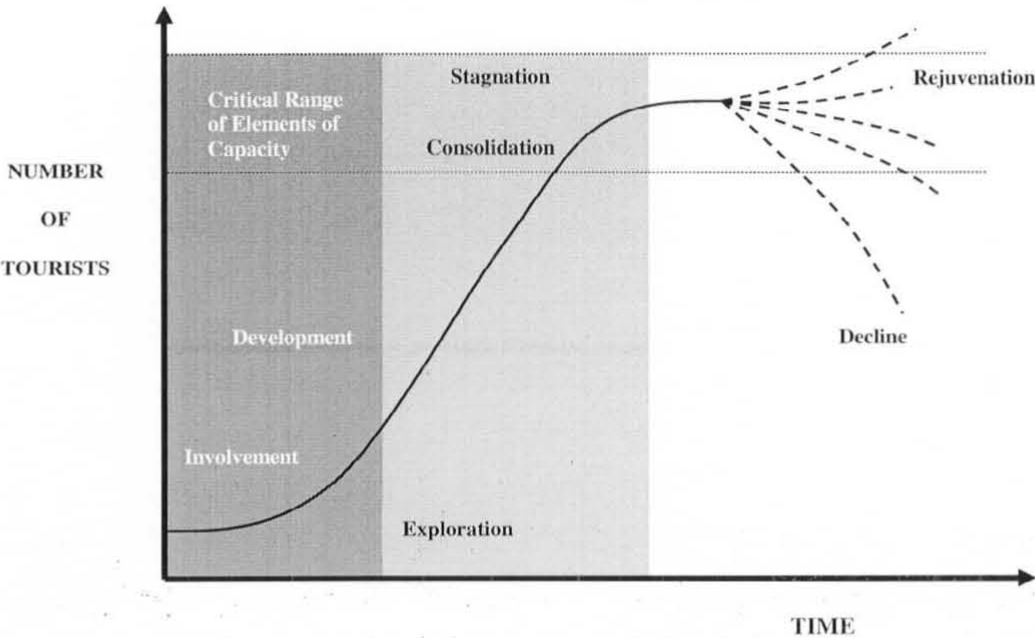
Figure 7: Hierarchies of Control and Capital Input (at a Rural Destination)

(Devised from Keller, 1987, p.24)
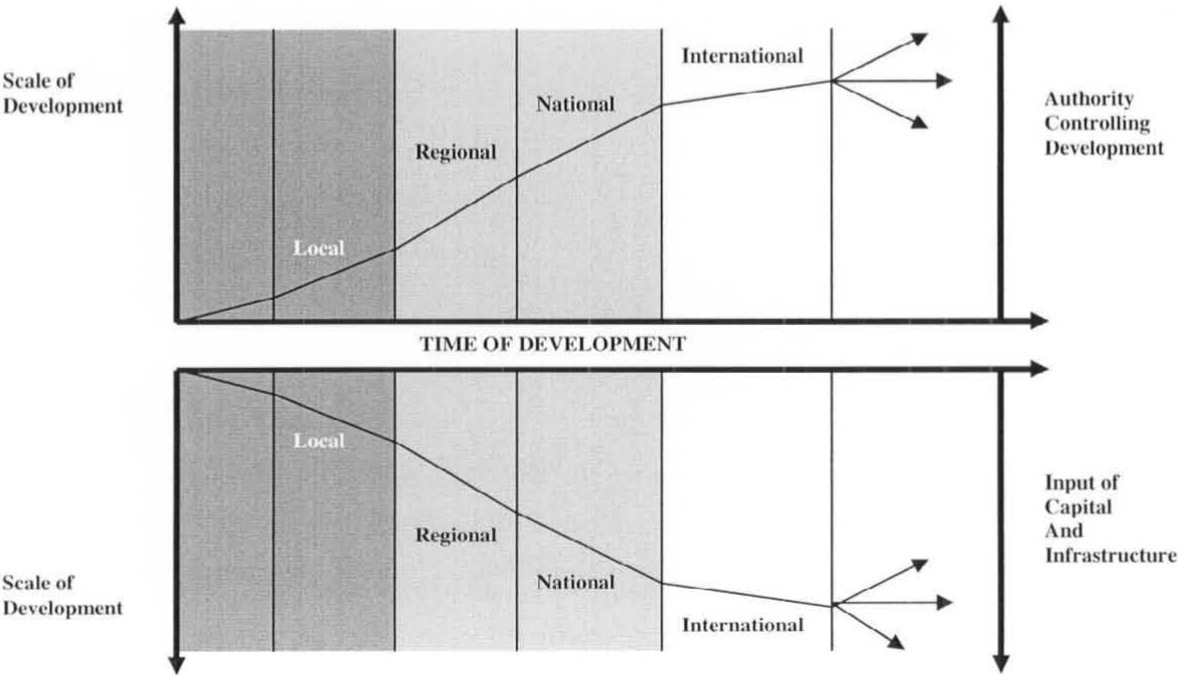
Many more attempts have been made to explain *why* communities respond differently to local tourism development. In New Zealand, a good example was provided by Horn and Simmons (2001) who investigated how the residents of Kaikoura and Rotorua responded to a marked influx of visitors and tourism ventures. Interestingly, Horn and Simmons (2001) found that residents at the two destinations had responded differently to tourism, despite a similar dependency on tourism revenue. In Rotorua, where a local tourism industry had been developing slowly for over a century, residents were found to be positive and supportive of tourism. For Ray (1998), this might represent the notion of community 'participation'. In contrast, Kaikoura residents were found to be more scathing but partially accepting of tourism, their industry surfacing more recently and with rapid speed. This perhaps best represents Ray's (1998) suggestion of a community 'coping' with development.

In analysis of their data, and in reflecting on the difference in timing of tourism growth at the destinations, Horn and Simmons (2001) then argued that communities responded to tourism depending on (1) their 'perceptions' of tourism's local economic contribution (2) the visibility of visitors (3) the perceived degree of local control (4) the meaning of tourism for the community and (5) how authorities acted towards tourism development. Most importantly, Horn and Simmons (2002, p.133) purported "...that the ways in which residents perceive and adapt to tourism depends on the history and geography of the destination, and how local residents perceive the local level of control." The study suggests that these response factors are also likely to be influential in determining how Mode IV of Ray's (1998) Typology of the (Rural) Culture Economy is likely to transpire in the context of tourism at a rural location.

The above attempts to place Mode IV of the Typology of the (Rural) Culture Economy (Ray, 1998) in the context of tourism have proved complex. This is perhaps because Ray (1998) views the community 'response' as a tactic itself – a calculated strategy to ensure that development is sustainable and impact free from the outset. The complexity also stems from the fact that each rural community is, "...markedly different in their economic structure and activity, their natural and human resources, the peripherality of their location, their demographic and social conditions (Marsden, 1999, p.503-504), and is therefore, likely to respond to tourism in unique and varied ways.

2.3 Tourism and the Rural Culture Economy in New Zealand

Rural New Zealand's 'proliferating' tourism supply, and therefore, inception of a rural *tourism* culture economy (based on Ray's four "Modes") can perhaps be traced to the mid-1980s (Warren and Taylor, 1999; Hall and Kearsley, 2001; Schollmann, 2003). At this time, "globalisation, combined with shifts in established patterns of production and consumption and resultant economic restructuring…" (Schollmann, 2003, p.1: also see Warren and Taylor, 1999) seriously undermined the agriculture sector that was, hitherto, the unrivalled backbone of the national economy (for a detailed account see: Clark and Williams, 1995; Joseph, Lidgard and Bedford, 2001). Hall and Kearsley (2001, p.165) identified four main factors contributing to this change:

- The old imperial market was partly closed due to the United Kingdom joining the European Community.
- Freer international trade in agricultural production led to greater competition in some markets.
- The withdrawal of agricultural tariffs and subsidies by the New Zealand government meant that some primary producers had to either change their production methods or get out of farming.
- New markets, for example Asia, which demand different produce, became available to New Zealand producers.

Figure 8: Changing Times in Rural New Zealand

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(Source: Roche, 2001, p.142)

The social, economic and political turbulence that followed forced many rural communities to diversify their traditional economic activities (i.e., primary production) or face an uncertain future (Hall and Kearsley, 2001). Many rural communities in New Zealand then turned to their cultural resources, and through tourism, sought to amend impending "…rural depopulation, reduced agricultural incomes and regional imbalances…" (Kearsley and McIntosh, 1999, p.3; also see Warren and Taylor, 1999; Hall and Kearsley, 2001). In this light, the diversification of New Zealand's rural economy, largely towards cultural/rural tourism, can be viewed as part of Ray's (1998) culture economy approach to rural (re)development.

In contemporary times, tourism in New Zealand (or the rural *tourism* culture economy) has become "…an important, if underestimated component of the country's multibillion tourism industry and it's diversifying rapidly" (Carnachan, April 27 2004:16). According to the Ministry of Tourism's research manager, Bruce Bassett, the significance of the new industry is not only economic because "…tourism [also]…maintains social structures, keeping facilities open. It helps maintain the fabric of rural communities" (cited in Carnachan, April 2004:16: also see Kearsley, 1998; Warren and Taylor, 1999; Hall and Kearsley, 2001; Joseph, Lidgard and Bedford, 2001). These social spin-offs are similar to those that Ray (1998) purports will flow from a rural culture economy based upon the principals of endogenous development.

Warren and Taylor (1999) estimate that at least one in five tourism businesses in New Zealand are based in the countryside. They also stress that rural tourism enterprises have evolved to become much wider in scope than only farmstays and farm activities. In support of their claim, Warren and Taylor (1999, p.10) direct the reader to their database of 3000 rurally based tourism enterprises in New Zealand (of which there were about 16,000 in 1997). Their analysis of the database found that the nation's rural tourism product included "…products that take advantage of the natural rural and landscape, a thriving retail sector dominated by crafts; garden tours; food outlets; vineyards/wineries; and cultural and historical events and tours". This diversity was also emphasised in the introduction of this thesis (also see Figure 1) where I connected it to Ray's (1998) idea that territories in the countryside can be viewed as vast repertoires of cultural resources that can be used for developing a tourism-based culture economy.

Against the backdrop of the preceding information, I was surprised to find sparse amounts of research on tourism development in rural New Zealand. This is perhaps because tourism in rural New Zealand is still a "comparatively new phenomenon" (Warren and Taylor, 1999, p.7) – one for which research is a "growing area of interest" (Hall and Kearsely, 2001, p.171). Indeed as part of this 'growing interest', and to help fill the substantial research gap, the following chapters are concerned with an exploratory investigation matching Ray's (1998) rural culture economy theory to the rise of tourism in rural New Zealand. The study, I hope, will broaden the way we think about, plan for and manage tourism in rural New Zealand.

Chapter Three

CASE STUDY AND METHODOLOGY (STAGE TWO)

3.1   Introduction

In further exploration of the rural *tourism* culture economy in New Zealand, and to address the second research question, a case study was conducted in one rural New Zealand location. This aim of this chapter is to introduce the case study site and the qualitative methodology used during fieldwork and analysis.

3.2   The Case Study

The case I selected for the study was rural tourism culture economy development in a small rural area situated on Banks Peninsula, Canterbury, New Zealand (see Figure 9). Banks Peninsula is a spectacular scenic area (see Figure 10) characterized by "...two extinct sunken volcanoes [that have provided] deep harbours...varied coastline...steep hills rising from the sea and little or no flat land" (Menzies, 1983, p.244). The case area included the small rural settlements of Duvauchelle, Wainui and neighbouring Bays (including Tikao Bay, Robinsons Bays, Petit Caronage Bay, Barrys Bay and French Farm Bay). Throughout this thesis I refer to the aforesaid bays in the case study area as 'the Inner Rural Bays'. A major proportion of the primary data for the case study was collected during six weeks living in residence at the Inner Rural Bays (July-August 2003). By car on State Highway 75 from Christchurch, the South Island's largest city, it takes approximately one hour and ten minutes to reach the Inner Rural Bays.

3.3   Site Selection

Aside from the obvious benefits of conducting case studies "close to home" (e.g., the ease of repeat visits, cheaper costs and the likelihood of some prior familiarity with the setting), the Inner Rural Bays were selected for the following two reasons:

1. *The area could be defined as rural.*

Drawing from Lane's (1994) discussion on the determinants of rurality, the following were identified as characteristics for rural areas, and prior to the case study were found to be features of the Inner Rural Bays:

- The population density (they are generally small). Fountain (2002, p.136) stated that, "in 1996 the permanent population of rural Akaroa District was 1086..." Although there were no population statistics available for each of the

Inner Rural Bays, they arguably make up only a small percentage of the district's 1086 people.

- The predominant use of the land, and the economic contribution of these activities i.e., primary production (agriculture, forestry, horticulture). Since European settlement, sheep and beef farming have been the "predominant land uses" on Banks Peninsula (Queen Elizabeth Trust II, 1987, p.5: also see Fountain 2002, p.114).

- The existence of a traditional social structure (hard to define but based around the "retention of older ways of life" [Lane, 1994, p.11]). This was particularly evident at the 2003 Duvauchelle Agricultural Show. Here I observed a strong community bond which appears to be maintained through a number of rural clubs and social activities such as wool-spinning, baking, and a 'backyard' winegrowers group.

- Set in the natural environment (see Figure 11 and 12).

2. *There was evidence of tourism development in the area.*

Drawing both from personal observations (see Figure 11) and available literature, there was clear evidence of tourism development (i.e., a rural *tourism* culture economy) in the case study area. In literature, for example, Pickering (1992, p.1) noted, "(t)here has in recent years been an upsurge of new services and facilities: farmstays, craft shops, restaurants, art studios, potteries, and even a winery, tempting both the local and overseas visitors to get to know more about the Peninsula and its people." In addition, Menzies (1983, p.248) stated that tourism was "…a growth industry on Banks Peninsula." Moreover, advertising media, such as newspapers and travel guidebooks, and local government publications provided evidence of tourism development, including lists of attractions and accommodations (for example see: Pope and Pope, 1986; Harper, Mudd and Whitfield, 1998; TRENZ, 2001; also see Fountain, 2002).

3.4   Research Methodology

To address my research questions (see pages 4-5), I employed a qualitative research methodology. This decision was based on Kneafsey's (2001) use and advocation of qualitative methods during her analysis of rural culture economies, tourism and the commodification of the countryside in Commana, rural Brittany (Western France). Kneafsey's (2001, p.765) qualitative methodology was formulated to capture the 'local

voice' of rural tourism entrepreneurs, local business people, tourism officials, politicians and development officers, based upon "two main strategies…participant observation and semi-structured informal interviews." To enhance these, Kneafsey (2001) gathered (and analysed) a range of other data including photographs, newspapers, postcards and tourism brochures (Kneafsey, 2001). As Kneafsey (2001, p.766) pointed out: "…in this way, a richly textured impression of the place was constructed…" from which conclusions relating to participation in the tourism culture economy could be made.

I also believed that a qualitative research methodology was appropriate because, by the nature of the study, I was attempting to understand local people's experiences and understandings (interpretations and perceptions) of a particular social phenomenon (the materialisation of a rural *tourism* culture economy). A simple definition supported my belief: qualitative research involves the study of things in natural settings whereby the researcher seeks to "…make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p.2). In more detail, and equally supportive of the decision, Gillham (2000, p.11-12) outlined three main points validating the use of qualitative research in the social sciences: (1) that "human behaviour, thoughts and feelings are partly determined by their context. [Therefore] if you want to understand people in real life, you have to study them [qualitatively] in their context and in the way they operate" (2) that the flexibility and depth associated with qualitative research creates results that are closer to the truth "in the practice of real life" and (3) that qualitative researchers embrace and analyse an exhaustive range of data in their attempt to holistically understand people's "…world(s) and what they are trying to do in it."

3.5   Research Techniques

From within the qualitative research discipline, three specific techniques were used to examine the rural tourism culture economy at the case study site. Firstly, semi-structured informal interviews were held with residents who have vested interests in tourism at the Inner Rural Bays. The interview provided a forum in which local people expressed their opinions and provided insight on the research topic. As Gillham (2000, p.65) noted, the semi-structured interview "…is the most important form of

interviewing in case study research. Well done, it can be the richest single source of data".

Participants for interviews were identified through local newspapers and tourism brochures. They included tourism operators, tourism employees and local tourism officials. These candidates were initially contacted by telephone and invited to participate in the study. Participation, as it was discussed, involved attending an interview at a place determined by the interviewee. Interviews were held at the participants' premises, or at their place of work. This included local government offices, the local store, the local pub, and at many bed and breakfasts, farm stays and attraction sites within the region. Participants were informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time up until publication of the thesis. Participants were also offered an information sheet of the study and contact details of the researcher (see Appendix A). These intricacies kept the study within the ethical framework laid out and approved by the Lincoln University Human Ethics Board prior to fieldwork.

A total of 18 interviews (including one telephone interview) were conducted during the six weeks of on site fieldwork (July and August 2003). Interviews ranged in length from 30 minutes to two hours. All interviews were recorded, transcribed and coded in a search for themes. A basic framework of questions (based upon Ray's (1998) four Modes of the Typology of the (Rural) Culture Economy) was used to guide the interview (see Appendix B); however, due to the exploratory nature of the study, new themes were followed as they emerged from the participant's narratives. This draws from Kneafsey's (2001, p.766) reference to Strauss (1987) i.e., that 'flexibility' at the interview stage was appropriate to account for the "...diversity of social settings and unexpected contingencies of research."

Additionally, in recognition of the emergent nature of qualitative research, or research that is not "tightly prefigured" (Cresswell, 2003, p.181), a number of "other" participants were drawn into the study "along the way". Other participants included a local real estate agent, a local elder, a local librarian, and several other residents who had good 'local knowledge' of the area. These participants provided valuable impromptu chats, their insights enriching the study.

Secondly, observational research was conducted. Observational research pertains to the analysis of things visually witnessed during the case study (Prus, 1996). "The overpowering validity of observation is that it is the most direct way of obtaining data. It is not what people have written on the topic...it is not what they say they do. It is what they actually do" (Gillham, p.46). Observations were made and recorded in two field diaries on a daily basis during, for example, walks and drives in the case study area, dining at local restaurants, visits to the local store, helping out with farm/vineyard work in the community and attending local activities including the Duvauchelle Agricultural Show (2004). Together, these provided greater familiarity with the setting and people whom live and work there.

For a more detailed impression of what was seen, observations were supplemented by an exhaustive collection and/or analysis of other on-site data or "observational materials" (Prus, 1996, p.19). Throughout the case study these materials included: tourism brochures, postcards, photographs, tourist maps, local products, advertising signs and monuments. In particular, tourism brochures and tourism operator websites provided a rich source of supplementary information. A detailed content analysis of these materials was carried out in search for common themes. As themes emerged they were followed up at interviews or by way of the third research technique - secondary data analysis. Secondary data analysis refers to "research where no new primary data are collected, but new interpretations (and conclusions) are drawn from existing data" (Kelsey, 2003, p.340). The Akaroa Community Library and the Akaroa Museum held a vast collection of secondary data used in the case study including; minutes from local meetings, council documents, past research and historical accounts of activity in the area.

In summary, the qualitative strategy employed for the case study provided an insightful and ongoing process of data collection, analysis, and reflection. To borrow Gillham's (2000, p.11) words, I got "under the skin" of residents in my attempt to understand the local perspective of "...what really happens" when tourism culture economies are formed and rural places are commodified for tourism. This thesis is a product of that pleasing engagement.

Figure 9: The Inner Rural Bays, Banks Peninsula, New Zealand
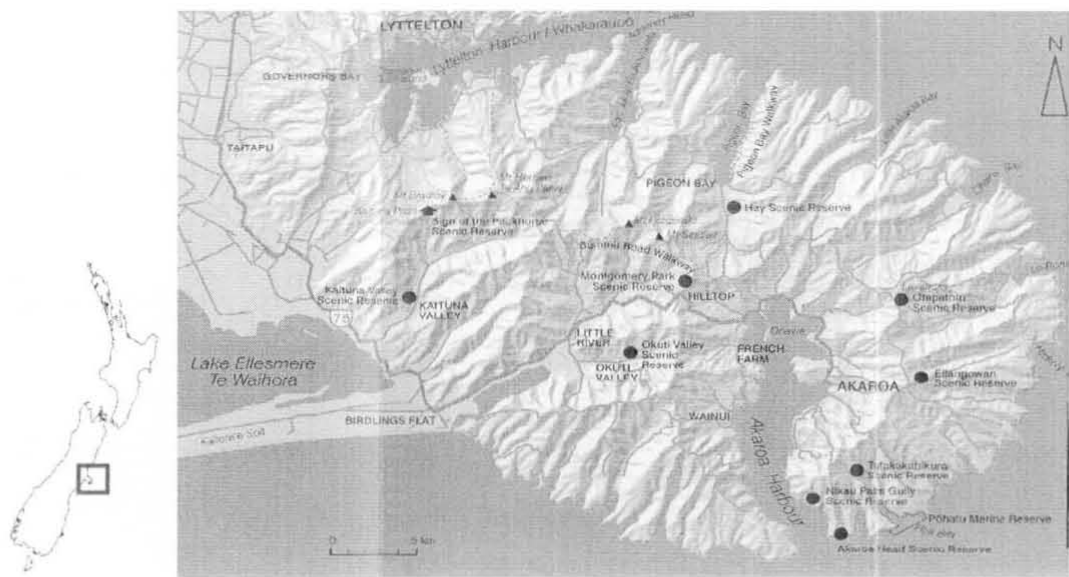
(Source: Department of Conservation Brochure, Banks Peninsula Conservation Walks, Purchased: 2003)

Figure 10: Banks Peninsula's Rural Setting

Removed due to Copyright

(Source: Postcard Purchased 2003)

Figure 11: Evidence of Tourism Development at the Inner Rural Bays

(Source: M. Mackay, 2003)

Chapter Four

A HISTORY OF AKAROA AND THE INNER RURAL BAYS

4.1 Introduction

Before providing the results of the case study, I present a detailed history of the case study site, Akaroa and the Inner Rural Bays. Such detail is essential, as it provides the context from which the Inner Rural Bay's rural *tourism* culture economy has emerged. In this study 'Akaroa' refers to what is officially known as 'Akaroa Ward' – one geographical boundary that resulted from the merging of four peninsula authorities in 1989 (Fountain, 2002). Today, 'Akaroa' (which includes the Inner Rural Bays, Akaroa Township and many other harbour bays) is one of two wards that make up the larger 'Akaroa District'.

Importantly and interestingly, during the research for this section, I often found it difficult to separate the historical literature of Akaroa, Akaroa Township and the Inner Rural Bays. This is perhaps because their histories are (to a degree) inseparable - the area as-one following a distinct pattern of settlement and development – intimately bound through time by a common culture and economy. Accordingly, the chapter begins with the 'bigger picture'. Here I outline the history and evolution of Akaroa. I then provide a brief historical account of each of the smaller Inner Rural Bays that were implicated in the case study. To ensure the chapter remains within the academic field of tourism, I pay particular attention to tourism development in the region. A summary concludes the chapter.

4.2 Akaroa District: 'The Bigger Picture'

The prominent feature that is the peninsula was indeed once an island with two major mountain peaks. Probably within the last 6 million years both these peaks erupted with explosive force, resulting in two deep craters – since enlarged by erosion – and now forming Lyttleton and Akaroa Harbours. Over thousands of years the hilly twisted remnants of the island gradually became linked to the mainland when the alluvial plains, extending east from the Southern Alps, reached its base (AA Banks Peninsula Leisure Map, 2000).

The unique geographical landmass that is Banks Peninsula has experienced four 'waves' of human settlement (Fountain, 2002) each characterised by the arrival of a "...group higher in organizational efficiency and warfaring skills" than its predecessor (Pickering, 1992, p.4). The Irakehu Maori (a *hapu,* or 'sub-tribe' of Ngai Tahu), were third to reach the Peninsula, first to settle in Akaroa, and perhaps the most culturally prosperous of the early peninsula people (Barley, 1974). Their presence is still evident today. They are likely to have arrived to steep hills of dense native bush rich in bird-life (including the now extinct Moa) and sea beds teeming with fish (Lowndes, 1996). The rich hunting grounds of the surrounding bays perhaps enticed the Irakehu Maori to explore and disperse, and "(b)y 1820 nearly every bay had a Maori settlement..." (Pickering, 1992, p.4).

The Maori population, however, never reached great numbers. The tribe's numbers were decreased: first by a civil war (known as the 'kai huanga' or 'eat relation' feud, 1810-1820: see Fountain, 2002) then by a single devastating attack at Onawe Peninsula (1830) by a group of North Island Maori led by the warrior Te Rauparaha (for a detailed account see: Ogilvie, 1990, Fountain, 2002; Broad, 2003). Only one third of Irakehu Maori survived the latter massacre - 400 slaughtered, 200 lived (Fountain, 2002).

In 1815, Europeans sailors landed on the Peninsula. These visitors were the first non-Maori to set foot in the Akaroa district (Barley, 1974). The sailors made contact with local Maori to trade for flax, potatoes (Barley, 1974: Fountain, 2002) and pork (McAloon, 2001). By 1830, a European presence was more evident, the bays and inlets of Akaroa Harbour serving as regular resting sites for Pacific Ocean whaling crews (an industry that boomed and declined within ten years) (Pickering, 1992: McAloon, 2001). The harbour provided excellent shelter for the whalers and served as an idyllic place to relax, replenish food stocks and repair their vessels (Lowndes, 1996).

In 1838, a French whaler, Captain Jean Langois, negotiated with local Maori to buy the entire Peninsula for 1000 Francs (Barley, 1974; Armstrong 1977; Tremewan, 1990) - a deal that perhaps marked the inception of Akaroa's 'French connection'. After the deal was made, Captain Jean Langois returned to France to inform his government of the land acquisition. Subsequently, the Nanto-Bordelaise Company was established by the government to, (1) manage the sending of 63 French settlers (and several Germans)

back to the Peninsula aboard the *Comte de Paris* (with an escort of navel boats), and (2) to officially form New Zealand's first French colony (Armstrong, 1977; Tremewan, 1990; Fountain, 2002). The company "...hoped to make money from whaling and trading and by buying up the South Island from the Maori and reselling land to French settlers" (Tremewan, cited in McAloon, 2001, p.25).

In the days leading up to the French settlers return, the British negotiated a far more comprehensive land deal (The Treaty of Waitangi) through which they claimed sovereignty of all New Zealand. Thus, when the French disembarked in Akaroa (only six days later), they stepped onto British Crown land. The French decided to continue with their settlement plans, perhaps encouraged by a degree of British sympathy for French property claims (Barley, 1974: Armstrong, 1977). In fact, for some time, two legal systems were allowed to operate side by side (Fountain, 2002). The first major influx of British residents arrived in 1850 aboard the Monarch (Armstrong, 1977). However, their residence in the region was never as marked as the French. Aspects of French settlement can still be seen today in local architecture (see Armstrong, 1977 for a detailed account of French architecture in the region).

According to Fountain (2002), the period of (predominantly European) migration and settlement wound down by 1876 and hereafter began a prosperous era of consolidation that would last for approximately fifty years. During this time the *Akaroa Mail* was established (a local newspaper still published today) and the first municipal organizations were set up for regional management, among their achievements: the connection of electricity in 1911 (four years before Christchurch) (Ogilivie, 1990; Fountain, 2002).

A prosperous timber milling industry had, however, dried up by the turn of the century – the hills once dense in native bush left barren (Barley, 1974). The clearing of flora made way for two new and prosperous rural land based economies. Firstly, dairy farming was established and flourished in the first two decades of the 20th century (Lowndes, 1996, n.p). Subsequently, the region became renowned for the production of high quality cheeses (Fountain, 2002). "By 1900 cheese was being made by 70 different people on the peninsula besides the [local] factories. Cooperative cheese factories gave further impetus..." (AA Banks Peninsula, Leisure Map, 2000). Second, and perhaps

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more prominent at the time, the region earned an international reputation for the production of top quality cocksfoot grass seed. During the industry's peak (around 1904) one seventh of all Peninsula land was sown in cocksfoot pasture crops (Pickering, 1992). Accordingly, and also in reflection of a healthy rural economy, access roads to the rural periphery were improved and basic amenities in the region were put in place (Fountain, 2002).

Tourism, although not entirely new to the region, also began to grow, helped along by the publication of the region's first guidebook in 1891 (Fountain, 2002). In addition, tourism increased as a result of, (1) improved access by way of the completion of an unsealed road from Christchurch to Akaroa (1872), (2) the development of a horse drawn coach service (Ogilvie, 1990), (3) the development of up-to-date tourism amenities (mainly hotels), and (4) a growing reputation as a well-developed, highly cultured, and historically rich, tourist resort (Fountain, 2002). By 1912 these factors contributed to the region becoming 'the playground of Canterbury' – accommodation reportedly full to capacity during summer months (Fountain, 2002, p.86). Increasing visitor numbers were further bolstered by "...the advent of the motor car, from about 1911..." and the development of a number of alluring summer attractions and activities including sailing regattas, swimming and launch trips (Lowndes, 1996, n.p). It is perhaps for this reason that by 1920 Akaroa became known as 'the *Riviera* of Canterbury' (Lowndes, 1996).

The era of consolidation and prosperity weakened in the wake of World War I and the developing global economic depression. This slow 'period of decline' (emerging in the 1920s) lasted well into the 1950s (Fountain, 2002). The era was characterised by increasing agricultural costs, decreasing profits, the closure of dairy factories and inevitably – urban population drift (Fountain, 2002). Heightening local financial strain was the development of an improved national road system that opened up new areas of rural New Zealand – the Peninsula farmers now facing increased domestic market competition (Fountain, 2002). The cocksfoot grass seed industry was one victim of cheaper and more accessible competitor products – the industry showing rapid decline through the 1930s (Fountain, 2002). The subsequent closure of many dairy factories led farmers to replace cattle with sheep in a bid to diversify and survive (Fountain, 2002).

A local assessment of tourism's economic potential was met with the realisation that the district lacked winter attractions (e.g., hot springs or mountains), and therefore the economic capacity of tourism was seasonally determined (Fountain, 2002). Compounding the issue was Akaroa's isolation from Christchurch, the steep hill between Little River and Barry's Bay (with precarious unsealed road) excluded the region from the international tourist's 'beaten track,' and therefore, out of national tourism marketing campaigns and guidebooks (Fountain, 2002). The tourism market was also evolving: visitors travelling more independently, taking shorter visits, and residing in an emerging array of private holiday homes and baches bought from local farmers or built upon idyllic sections of their land. Fountain (2002) describes this phenomenon as the rise of 'informal tourism' in the region.

An important turning point for the District was the sealing of the road to Christchurch in the late 1950s. This event saw the area become more accessible for tourists and for new migrants from the city (particularly artists and writers) who were looking for alternative places to reside (Lowndes, 1996; Fountain 2002,). Here began a new era, Fountain's (2002) 'period of diversification' which continued through the 60s and 70s, intensifying in the mid 1980s, when the then Labour government restructured the national economy threatening the viability of the Peninsula's rural sector.

Among options for added rural diversification (which by now included: horticulture, forestry, deer farming and alternative animal breeding) was farm tourism. This was not a unique phenomenon to the Peninsula. As Roche (2001, p.144, also see Bell, 1993; Bell and Lyall, 1995) proclaimed many of New Zealand's "(s)mall rural towns...[were experiencing] mixed fortunes, a juxtaposition of unemployment and new economic initiatives...[and] tourism provided growth opportunities that were taken up with enthusiasm in places such as...Akaroa..." Thus, "...Akaroa's tourism industry, which had long been an important contributor to the economy, was increasingly recognised as the lifeblood of the economy" (Fountain, 2002, p.104).

It was during the 'period of diversification' that the region had bestowed upon it a 'French' theme – a phenomenon that remains an important part of tourism marketing in the area today. 'Frenchification', as Fountain (1998) coined it, began with the adding of 'Rue' to the beginning of street names in Akaroa Township during the 1960s (also see

Lowndes, 1996). The French theme spread throughout the Peninsula, differentiating it from the plethora of themed rural tourism destinations that also began to emerge around New Zealand at the same time.

Following the 'period of diversification' there has been a period of intensive tourism development in the Akaroa District. Many farm-based tourism operations have emerged – particularly in the form of farm stay and bed and breakfast accommodation (Fountain, 2002). This surfacing has occurred alongside the steady development of new local services and small-scale attractions, such as restaurants, garden tours, walking tracks, harbour cruises, wildlife viewing and cafes. As one long time resident observed:

> From the earliest days tourism played a part in Akaroa's economy, but not like today when we have at least fifteen eating places from the Hilltop Tavern to the main wharf competing for business. Numerous motel and bed and breakfast accommodations are available to cater for the ever-increasing number of visitors. I have seen the Peninsula change from a small, active, close-knit community into a tourist Mecca (Hedgecock, 2002, p.14).

Today, tourism is a vital economic provider for communities throughout the Akaroa Harbour region. This was illustrated in a series of research reports recently published by Lincoln University. The reports, of which there are five of relevance to this study (see Appendix C), acknowledged impending tourism sector growth and stressed the need to develop a comprehensive management plan for tourism in the Akaroa region. Throughout the reports, tourism was recognised as a new and important growth industry on the peninsula, progressively replacing manufacturing and agriculture as the leading generator of revenue and jobs (for example see Report No.39/2003). The reports concluded, however, with a warning that Akaroa was "…yet to develop a robust, well resourced institutional structure for tourism management" and therefore it was doubtful that tourism could remain a sustainable activity. Perhaps the recent publication of the Banks Peninsula Tourism and Economic Development Strategy 2004-2007 (see section 5.5.2) and the appointment of a Tourism and Economic Development Officer (see section 5.5.1) have answered the reports call for better tourism planning in the Akaroa region.

Other commentators have acknowledged growth in tourist numbers to the Akaroa region. For example, the manager of the Akaroa Information Centre stated that 56,000 visitors passed through the centre's door in 2001 (*pers. com.* 2003), a figure that had

doubled since 1997, when it was reported in the *Akaora Mail* (1997:8), that 27,000 visitors had visited the centre. Further confirmation of growth was provided by Crean (2004: D5) who stated: "...2400 vehicles a day, on average climb form Little River to Hilltop. About 200 turn off and take the summit road while the rest go down to Barry's Bay" – a number that has doubled since 1995.

Increasing tourism activity has given rise to a new peninsula landscape marked by modern tourism: facilities, service centres, attractions and activities. Often these have appeared or occurred in places once set aside for more traditional rural services and activity. The following two proclamations allude to this change and smartly characterise the current state of affairs in the Akaroa region:

> There is little doubt that tourism is now the most significant contributor to the economy of Akaroa Township. The closure of businesses serving the needs of farmers and local residents has been tempered by the establishment of new businesses catering for the visitor industry. As a sign of Akaroa's changing role from a rural support centre to tourist town, the old Post Office building now houses the visitors Information Centre, the Electricity Board service centre has been replaced by another café, and the premises previously home to the last general drapery in Akaroa has reopened as the 'Dolphin Experience' souvenir shop...(Fountain, 2002, p.120)

> Having lived in the Akaroa area all my life I have watched the town change with the decline of the fishing industry and the amalgamation of land, and seen many families leave the area and small schools close. Our local community now relies heavily on the domestic tourist industry to supply us with employment and the facilities we all enjoy and take for granted (Tony Rhodes, President of Akaora District Promotions, cited in Alexander, 1997, p.8).

4.3   The Inner Rural Bays

Within the 'regional' historical outline set out above has been the development of the Inner Rural Bay settlements (see Figure 9 and 12). Local authorities do not officially recognize this geographical boundary; however, the local populace (which represent a small proportion of the District's permanent population) do, having formed a territorial/tourism promotional group that consists of these bays. This group is known as Top of the Harbour (see section 5.4.1). Residents of this self-determined geographical boundary described the Inner Rural Bays as having both a unique and diverse environment and social structure. This widespread conviction was encapsulated in the proclamation of one interviewee:

The community is definitely diverse. There are farmers, new people from town and new people from overseas. Follow the road around these bays and its also amazing how different everything is. Two hundred meters up any one of those valleys you feel like you are in a different place, a completely different environment and often with very different people – I love it.

The remainder of this section briefly describes the unique historical and present-day characteristics of each settlement implicated in the case study (i.e., Robinson's Bay, Duvauchelle, Barry's Bay, French Farm Bay, Petit Caronage Bay, Tikao Bay, and Wainui). The information here was drawn from secondary sources, interviews and my own personal observations during the case study.

4.3.1   Robinson's Bay

'Robinson's Bay' is named after Charles Robinson, a magistrate sent from Britain aboard the 'Britomart' in 1840 to facilitate the running of Akaroa's civil court (Reed, 2002). The first major saw mill in the harbour region was established here in 1854 (Anderson, 1927; Pickering, 1992) and in the following forty years; dairy farms, a school, a post office and telephone service was put in place. Ogilvie (1990, p.172) described the area as, "…lost in time. Few communities' hav(ing) such a range of pioneer cottages, dairies, cheese rooms, stables and outhouses in such original condition." Several historical sites remain marked at Robinson's Bay including: the historic sawmill and the regions last official post office (which was the smallest post office in the province of Canterbury (Ogilvie, 1990). Bed and Breakfasts that currently operate out of the Robinson's Bay area include: Cabbage Tree Corner and Le Rue.

4.3.2   Duvauchelle

'Duvauchelle' is named after two French brothers who were granted land at the head of the harbour by the Nanto-Bordelaise Company (Reed, 2002). The two brothers decided, however, to settle in Akaroa Township (1840) and never actually lived at Duvauchelle (Anderson, 1927). Timber mills were established at Duvauchelle (largely for the harvesting of Totara). The area was reportedly covered in totara before milling (beginning in the 1860s) removed some 6 million meters of the native tree (AA Banks Peninsula Leisure Map, 2000). Subsequently, a rural community emerged with school, post office and telephone exchange (Anderson, 1927: Ogilvie, 1990). Boat builders also

worked here, attracted by the close proximity to the waters edge and the ample supply of timber (their building site is now the Duvauchelle Domain) (Ogilvie, 1990). After the milling industry declined, an intensive cocksfoot grass seed industry was established (AA Banks Peninsula Leisure Map, 2000). One notable 'claim to fame' is having the first licensed hotel in the South Island, built in 1882 to replace an accommodation dwelling that burned down (AA Banks Peninsula Leisure Map, 2000; Broad, 2000). Nowadays, a visitor to Duvauchelle can stay in the restored home of the bay's first blacksmith, dine at the French themed Hotel des Pecheurs or, in the town's original post office (now a restaurant), take rest in the original saleyards (now a backpackers), golf where timber was once milled, or walk the restored wharf first built in 1912 (Broad, 2003).

4.3.3   Barry's Bay

'Barry's Bay' is named after William Barry, an early settler who worked as a sheperd in the area (Anderson, 1927). The Maori name for the area is Tarauta - *tarau* meaning kelp fish, and *uta* meaning to put aboard a canoe (Reed, 2002). Barry's Bay had the first 'stream' sawmill in the region, and like in its neighbouring bays, had a school and post office in place by 1900 (Anderson, 1927). Nowadays, Barry's Bay is known for having the only operational cheese factory left on the Peninsula -- a popular tourist attraction. Two Bed and breakfasts operate from Barry's Bay: Halfmoon Cottage and Rosslyn Estate.

4.3.4   French Farm Bay

'French Farm Bay' is named for its function as a 'farm' used by the 'French' to grow vegetables and herbs for visiting navy crews (Reed, 2002). The gardens were also used to grow some of Canterbury's earliest grape vines (Ogilvie, 1990). The botanist responsible for the gardens establishment (in 1840) was de Belligny (AA Banks Peninsula Leisure Map, 2000), the gardens, however, were maintained by 15-16 French sailors stationed at the bay (Reed, 2002). French Farm has the longest history of European settlement than any other location on the western side of Akaroa harbour (Ogilvie, 1999), but followed a similar path of development: timber milling, farming (initially dairy and cocksfoot grass, then deer and sheep) and amenities put in place for the community. Many of the homesteads built by the original French Farm Bay families have been restored and are now offered as rural bed and breakfast accommodation

including: Bantry Lodge and Onshore. In contemporary times, visitors to French Farm can be found having picnics on the shores of the wide bay, tending to their anchored boats, touring the local vineyard, or dining at French Farm Winery and Restaurant. One local 'claim to fame' is having the oldest surviving building of French origin in the district (Ogilvie, 1990). This, the old school house, was recently restored by a collaboration of volunteer residents.

4.3.5 Petit Caronage Bay

Petit Caronage Bay is also named after its function for French sailors. Here the French used the sheltered inlet and large mudflat (that became exposed at low tide) for careening the hulls of their boats (Ogilvie, 1990). Ten acres of land here also supplied French whalers with firewood, however, this was extracted by 1865 and the land then sold (Anderson, 1927). The Maori name for the bay is Opakia, referring to the small stream that runs through the valley into Akaroa Harbour. The residents at Petit Caronage Bay run a small nursery with large display garden – the gates open in summer to those passing by.

4.3.6 Tikao Bay

Tikao Bay is named after the chief of a Maori pa located at the head of the bay (Anderson, 1927), a village that was 'flourishing' in 1857 with 20 Ngai Tahu occupants (Ogilvie, 1990). The Bay was once home to the Hone Tikao who was a local signatory on the Treaty of Waitangi (Ogilvie, 1990). The steep narrow road that leads to the waters edge is now lined with many second homes and baches - their inhabitants enjoying holidays in the most sheltered, bush-clad bay on the Peninsula. A boatshed built by early twentieth century settlers still stands on the waters edge. A Bed and Breakfast operates from Tikao Bay named Telf 'n' Al.

4.3.7 Wainui

Wainui, (meaning 'big river' in Maori, Reed, 2002) was originally a Maori settlement used for horticultural and agricultural activities. "In 1857 there were 40 Ngai Tahu tending 50 acres (20 ha) of wheat, 30 acres (12 ha) of potatoes, 26 cattle, 4 horses and 182 pigs" (AA Banks Peninsula Leisure Map, 2000). A European settlement was established here, operating alongside the Maori site (Anderson, 1927). European travellers frequently visited Wainui for picnics and swimming (Anderson, 1927) – the

long sandy beach still a tourism drawcard today. Like the neighbouring bays, Wainui had a school, telephone exchange and cheese factory (Anderson, 1927), the latter of which is now the community hall (AA Banks Peninsula Leisure Map, 2000). Overlooking Wainui is Mount Bossu, a spectacular peak that stands at 680m (Pickering. 1992). Tourism enterprises operating out of Wainui today include: the YMCA Holiday Park, The Gables Country House, Kahikatea Country Retreat and Bossu Bed and Breakfast. Also based in Wainui is Akaroa Salmon, a delicacy now commonplace on restaurant and accommodation menus around the bays and in Canterbury, generally.

4.4   Chapter Summary

I began this chapter by presenting an overview of Akaroa District history. I described how the area became populated: initially by Maori and then by Europeans (predominantly of French origin) who engaged themselves in a range of traditional rural activities that came to characterize life on the peninsula (i.e., primary production) including: forestry, sheep and beef farming, horticulture and dairy production. These activities, I established, were gradually undermined as modernization and globalization changed the way traditional rural economies operated in New Zealand. The region, I showed, turned to its burgeoning tourism industry to: diversify the local/rural economy, create more employment and provide valuable income for residents.

I then briefly described the history of the individual Inner Rural Bays i.e., the places that are implicated in the case study of this thesis. It was shown that these bays followed a similar pattern of regional development i.e., Maori and European settlement, the establishment of traditional rural activities, and the eventual turn to tourism as a panacea to imbuing socio-economic decline. The result, I illustrated, was the emergence of many new rural tourism activities, attractions and accommodations at the Inner Rural Bays. This evidence supports the suggestion that a new rural *tourism* culture economy has emerged, a surfacing I examine in the following chapters.

Figure 12: Images from the Inner Rural Bays
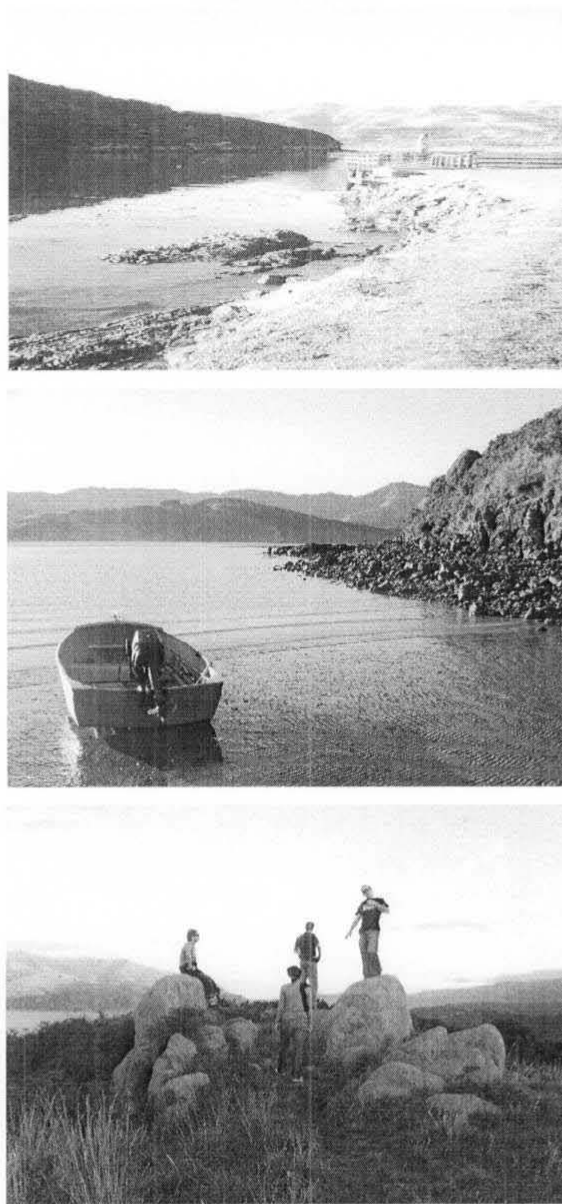
(Source: M. Mackay, 2004)

Chapter Five

RESULTS & DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

The following chapter presents the results of the case study ('Stage Two' of the research project). The case study examined the forming and fostering of a rural *tourism* culture economy at the Inner Rural Bays. The chapter has four main parts, each one a 'Mode' of Ray's (1998) Typology of the (Rural) Culture Economy. A summary of the results concludes the chapter. Here I also present of a model called "The Inner Rural Bay's Tourism Culture Economy" that was derived from the research findings. I open the chapter, however, by discussing residents' rationales for participating in the local rural *tourism* culture economy.

5.2 Rationale

Before revealing the way Ray's (1998) four Modes have manifested at the Inner Rural Bays, it is first necessary to address *why* residents are participating in the local tourism industry. This 'starting point' is essential, I argue, as it attends to Ray's (1998) conviction that culture economies manifest in rural places as residents seek to control, more fully, the socio-economic fortunes of the local community.

It became apparent during fieldwork that the Inner Rural Bay area was in a period of rapid demographic change. This I felt (after conversing with a local real estate agent and the Banks Peninsula Tourism and Economic Development Officer, 2003) was associated with a nationwide rural property boom, resulting in the arrival of many new residents and an increasingly diverse rural population. Many local tourism practitioners at the Inner Rural Bays were part of this new demographic and, like the tourists they now served, came to the area for its rural qualities. As one Bed and Breakfast operator stated:

I think we [tourist operators] are like the tourists. We buy into the area because we like the beauty, the lack of people and the isolation.

Interviewing revealed that the primary rationale underpinning interviewee's decisions to develop a tourism enterprise was not simply for economic profit, but to profit just enough to maintain the distinct 'rural way-of-life'. As interviewees attested:

We were drawn to the peace and tranquillity of the area. Doing a bed and breakfast provides us with a bit of extra money so we can afford to remain out here.

The tourism business provides us with a steady income that allows me to live the way I do. It's quiet here. The only noises that you can here are the stream, the bellbirds and the tree-frogs at night. I feel closer to the people here than I did in my neighbourhood in the city. I love it here. You might be isolated but you don't feel alone. There's a great sense of community. That's why small-scale tourism is so important to a lot of us because we can keep this lifestyle and don't have to go back to the city to work.

I wanted to do something in the area so I didn't have to go to the city. I also didn't want a full-time job so I guess it was sort of motivated by lifestyle choice.

It's a lifestyle thing. People do it so they can stay there with all that scenery. It could be looked on as a type of pocket money rather than a serious income.

We set up business here so we could live here. My husband loves the landscape, the relaxed atmosphere, fishing and walking.

Farmers who embraced tourism echoed a similar belief, that is, that extra income from tourism enabled them to retain a lifestyle in the countryside:

...with a more uncertain agricultural dollar, it allows us [farmers] to keep to the more traditional sheep farming without having to convert – we can maintain what we have been doing for the last number of decades – and just do the tourism thing on the side. Some are better than others because it's all about relating to people. Not all agrarian people are good at that.

With the rise in tourism it seems that anyone with a spare bed seems to have come up with some accommodation. It has given the wives of farmers and opportunity to stay

in the area and contribute to the family's income – otherwise they have to travel into town (Christchurch). That's because a lot of farmers in the area are finding it hard to survive on farming alone. Now a lot of them are doing four wheel drives. Some are hosting guests and some are opening up their gardens to visitors and adding a cafe. It all helps.

Operating a tourist venture in the area, therefore participating in the local rural *tourism* culture economy, also provided new residents with an effective passage for integration into the rural community. Here tourism was used as a pathway to social integration which equated to the ideal rural way-of-life for these people. As two tourism practitioners pointed out:

It seemed like the thing to do because there was tourism businesses popping up all over the place – it gave me a purpose I think you could say. I felt like having a business makes you a bit more like part of the community, rather than just turn up and live.

I came here because I wanted to get to know people better; you know the ones around you everyday. In the city you don't even know your neighbour. The tourism operation allowed me to get involved in the community, feel involved. I thought it would be the perfect lifestyle – life on the wonderful peninsula.

The abovementioned results indicate that participation in the rural *tourism* culture economy occurs at the Inner Rural Bays as residents seek to both engage in, and maintain, a rural way-of-life. This is made possible by the small economic contribution that tourism makes – particularly in a place and time where few other economic opportunities exist.

Interestingly, interviewees did not think that tourism development (at its current level) was destroying the rural environment or the rural ambience that characterised their reasons for living at the Inner Rural Bays. Rather, tourism was seen as a particular commercial activity that could help retain these rural aspects through co-ordinated and responsible planning. Interviewees recognised that this would depend upon the local tourism community developing appropriate forms of tourism for a 'rural' area. Here

local residents were recognising their responsibility to 'control' the outcomes/impacts of tourism development in the community. This implication was encapsulated well in the comments made by one local bed and breakfast operator:

I think tourism is an industry that allows us [local people] to manage our local environment and resources better than anything else – even farming (laughs). I mean we are in control of what we do really; no one is going to do anything silly like set up a roller coaster or start to build a huge hotel – that would destroy the rural feel of the place. That's the thing I like the most about the area: the quietness, the fresh air, the paddocks, the isolation and seclusion. I'm sure that we [local people] all feel the same way about tourism and the way forward for the industry here. The future is in our hands I guess.

These results support Ray's (1998) conviction that rural residents are likely to engage in the culture economy so that they can: (1) benefit both socially and economically from the opportunities that flow from the new economy, and (2) have greater control over, what is taking shape in 'their backyard'. With this information in hand, the remainder of the results section uses Ray's (1998) four Modes to establish *how* rural residents with a vested interest in tourism at the Inner Rural Bays are 'taking the future in their own hands' – moving forward by developing a tourism-based rural culture economy.

5.3   Mode I

In this section I identify and discuss the main components of the Inner Rural Bay's tourism product (i.e., the local/cultural resources that have been commodified for the tourism culture economy) as was determined during fieldwork in 2003. This correlates to Mode I of Ray's (1998, p.6) Typology of the (Rural) Culture Economy:

Mode I can be called the commoditization of culture (including historical and environmental components. In essence, this refers to the creation and valorisation of resources that have a place identity and that can be marketed directly or used in the marketing of a territory.

Tourism products of the Inner Rural Bay's can be characterised under the following four headings (as seen in Figure 20): (1) food and drink, (2) historical buildings, (3) the natural/rural environment and, (4) passive (rural) recreation activities. Accordingly, these headings outline the structure for the remainder of section 5.3.

5.3.1 Food and Drink

As emphasised in Chapter Four, the Inner Rural Bay's has a long history of Maori and European settlement. This has provided residents with a genuine foundation upon which a range of inimitable food and drink products have been developed and sold to tourists. These products are often associated, through advertising and product packaging (see Figure 13) to the area's history and location, whereby the production and trade of produce was commonplace. As one local tourism operator pointed out, culinary history coupled with the current availability of locally produced food and drink has provided "a good platform" for local tourism development. Thus, in contemporary times, food, drink and history have become intricate parts of the Inner Rural Bay's rural *tourism* culture economy.

The continuing production of cheese at Barry's Bay is a good example of historical food production, place and tourism amalgamating in the region. As discussed in Chapter Four, the Inner Rural Bay area has been a major producer of cheese on the Peninsula. The Barry's Bay Cheese Factory is, however, the only place on Banks Peninsula still producing cheese. Over time, the Cheese Factory has become a quintessential component of the Inner Rural Bay's tourism experience. This fact was encapsulated in an article presented in *New Zealand House and Garden* (McManus, 1997, p.138). Here it was stated that the Cheese factory was an essential tourist stop when, as the title suggests, 'Ambling Through Akaroa'. The owner, it continued, had "more than thirty years experience and crafts cheeses using age-old techniques" (McManus, 1997, p.138). The article promoted tours to Banks Peninsula whereby the visitor could come face to face with local people, their history and cultural products. Here the symbolic relationship between food, history, tradition and place (i.e., local culture) are intertwined to appeal to tourists, and therefore, generate tourism revenue for the community.

The Cheese Factory has provided the Inner Rural Bay's community with a distinct 'cultural marker' (Ray, 1998) that has in turn benefited other tourism practitioners at the Inner Rural Bay's. As one local resident was quick to assert:

The Barry's Bay Cheese factory is a huge tourism draw card for the area. They've done fantastic things for this place and its people.

For instance, a number of local tourism operators incorporate a stop at the cheese factory as part of their offering. For example, Vin de Pays Wine, Food and Garden Tours stops in at the Barry's Bay Cheese Factory, as their brochure claims, "for tastings and to see where the cheese is made". Similarly, the Akaroa Banks Peninsula 4WD Day Tour brochure maintains that: "We visit Barry's Bay Cheese Factory, where you can taste local boutique cheeses and wines and perhaps buy some to take with you". This evidence supports Ray's (1998) notion that community benefits are likely flow from the valorisation and commodification of a specific place-bound cultural marker.

Wine has also been developed as an important feature of the local tourism product, and therefore, of the Inner Rural Bay's rural *tourism* culture economy. For example at French Farm Bay (the historical site of French vegetable gardens and vineyards during the time of European settlement), French Farm Winery and Restaurant has been established. As two publications rhetorically state:

> French Farm has many connections with France. French settlers first planted vines on the sheltered slopes of Banks Peninsula in the 1800s, the architecture of the winery is in the French Provincial style, and the chef, Nico Fini, is French...One feature of the restaurant is the emphasis on using produce from Akaroa, Banks Peninsula or France (Cuisine Wine Country, 2003, p.246).

> ...rest in a wonderful setting that evokes memories and visions of the real French countryside (Tyack, 2001, p.153).

Here the nexus of history, environment, people and place have come together to be sold as a single and unique visitor experience attainable only by dining at the restaurant.

Interestingly, local culinary development has allowed other producers to incorporate "new" local products into the local food/tourism experience. The widespread use of locally farmed salmon at local restaurants and bed and breakfasts is perhaps the best example. 'Akaroa Salmon' was established in 1984 as a result of the pressing need for rural diversification (www.akaroasalmon.co.nz/about.htm). Since that time, Akaroa Salmon has developed into a successful national business – the product featuring on

many local menus and supplied at many bed and breakfast operations throughout the Inner Rural Bays. The emergence of salmon as a new tourism commodity at the Inner Rural Bays, perhaps demonstrates Ray's (1999b) notion that an area's 'repertoire' of cultural resources (like culture itself) is dynamic and can therefore evolve and become enmeshed in the area's (new) identity.

Currently, the experience of consuming unique local culinary products is visible in the promotional offerings of many local tourism operators. These operators have made a concerted effort to use local goods to make the visitor experience as authentically satisfying as possible. In response to a line of questioning regarding the use of local food and drink as a tourism resource for the region, tourism practitioners asserted:

We use local salmon and we grow our own vegetables. That's not part of doctoring the experience. Tourists come here for what we are and what the environment has to offer – what the area has to offer. For example, if Japanese tourists come here we don't give them rice for breakfast we give them bacon and eggs with as many local goodies as possible. If they don't like it bad luck. We want them to taste these things.

We sell as many local products as we can. People are interested in what's grown here. What's the wine like? What's the cheese like? I don't see the need to produce anything else other than locally grown food because that really is what we have got.

We, and many others in the community who provide food as part of their business, concentrate on providing salmon, venison (we have deer on those hills), local food products, local wine. I like to think that the community does well by this and so does the tourist – that's what it is about. People come to an area to and want to experience what the area has to offer. We've got plenty to offer and we do offer it and I think we do it very well.

We use Akaroa Salmon - we try and keep as local as possible, and I mean using the vegetable shop just out of Robinson's Bay. Sometimes I'll use the Akaroa butchery...and Barry's Bay cheese. It's all local product.

The notion of the area's culinary 'uniqueness' was captured on a blackboard located at the Akaroa wine exhibit at the Duvauchelle Agricultural Show 2004 (see Figure 14). Here, the term 'unique' was used extensively to ensure the visitor was aware that the wine product for sale was locally entrenched and inimitable – its consumption was therefore a 'unique' experience of both drink and place. Interestingly, in the very same tent, visitors could purchase a locally made cookbook – a composition of local recipes and information that celebrated and buttressed the area's history and growing reputation as a unique culinary setting. The book entitled "From the Volcano: Akaroa: A Taste Explosion" was composed by a variety of local people, the proceeds from sales going to a local school. Such evidence adds power to Ray's (1998) suggestion that rural place identities can emerge through the identification, sale and appropriate promotion of locally rooted, and therefore inimitable, cultural markers i.e., food and drink.

Figure 13: Food and Drink Commodities of the Local Culture Economy

(Source: M. Mackay, 2004)

Figure 14: 'Unique' Product at the Duvauchelle Agricultural Show 2004
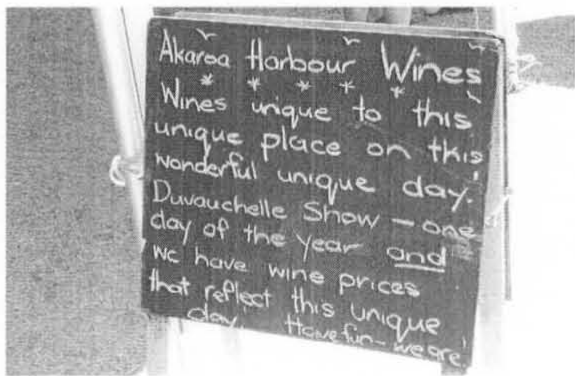
(Source: M. Mackay, 2004)

Interestingly, four tourism operators from the Inner Rural Bays now feature on the Taste Canterbury Tour's itinerary (i.e., Barry's Bay Cheese, French Farm Winery, Akaroa Harbour Wines and Vineyard and The Gables Country House). In their brochure, Akaroa is sold as "a touch of France on Banks Peninsula", part of an experience for "lovers of good food and wine" that includes a chance to "...watch the makers at work, taste their products, and take some home". The tour helps foster the Inner Rural Bay's rural *tourism* culture economy by selling a distinct place identity (i.e., a culinary Mecca) and a unique cultural marker (i.e., food and drink), to the tourist market. Of further interest, the tour is run by an extra-local organisation from Christchurch City, a sign that the Inner Rural Bay's rural *tourism* culture economy has started to evolve beyond a purely local movement.

5.3.2 Historical Buildings

The built environment can also be categorised as an inimitable and commonly commodified tourism product of the Inner Rural Bay' rural *tourism* culture economy. Evidence of this can be seen in the many tourism operations that use historical buildings as tourism assets and promote them to tourists as unique aspects of the local landscape and culture. In fact, the restoration and utilisation of historical buildings has perhaps come to characterise the Inner Rural Bay's (re)built tourism 'landscape'. This is most obvious within the accommodation and hospitality sector where restored farm and rural community buildings are often used as facilities for overnight stays. This provides a 'rural' component to the 'local' tourist experience while also maintaining a distinct sense of rural identity for Inner Rural Bay residents.

In Duvauchelle, for example, the agricultural sale yards (established in 1890) have been transformed into backpacker accommodation (see Figure 15). According to the owner, the building provides the budget traveller with a 'unique' experience as they sleep and stay where locals once traded agricultural goods (*pers. com.* 2003). Adjacent to the Sale Yards is the Hotel des Pecheurs (established in 1855) (see Figure 16). Here, the visitor is fervently reminded of the area's distinct history (particularly 'Frenchness') through advertising rhetoric and the preservation of an image of times passed. For example, the owners display a number of historical artefacts on the buildings walls, including a bread and bacon slicer from the late 1800s. To buttress the image, the hotel's owners have

their staff wearing red, white and blue uniforms, representative of the French flag. When reflecting on this, one of the owners stated:

We are as French as you can get (laughs). I mean very few people speak French – but we wear red, white and blue and we have the building looking French in character – I mean we put hanging baskets of plants out there etc. Its part of our marketing – how more French can you get!

The hotel's historical assertion is perhaps best exemplified in its advertising brochure (see Figure 16). The brochure is coloured red, white and blue and includes a lively historical summary of the building:

History

The Hotel des Pecheurs (Hotel of Fisherman) at Duvauchelle on Banks Peninsula is full of charm and history.

At the base of a steep hill overlooking the lovely harbour, the hotel was built (3 bricks thick) in the 1800's after the first hotel of 1850 was burnt down by a fanatic who believed hotels to be places of sin! Francois Le Lievre built the original hotel, called it the travellers rest and operated a ferry service from it to Akaroa. It served farmers, fisherman, seaman and poachers.

These two examples of historical rural buildings being used for tourism, of which there are many more, highlight the value of 'local' history (i.e., as an inimitable cultural marker) within the Inner Rural Bay's tourism culture economy. The evidence also demonstrates the way by which history and architecture – two local cultural markers – have been used to generate not only an identity for the Inner Rural Bay's area but also revenue as part of the local/rural *tourism* culture economy.

Figure 15: 'The Saleyards' Accommodation in Duvauchelle
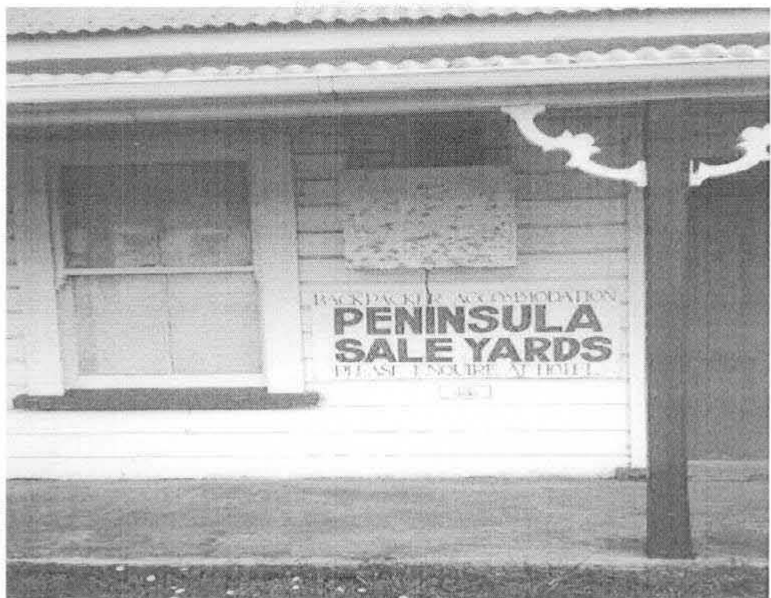
(Source: M. Mackay, 2003)

Figure 16: The Hotel des Pecheur's Marketing Brochure

Removed due to Copyright

(Source: Collected from the Akaroa Information Centre, 2003)

Further evidence of the valorisation of the Inner Rural Bay's history and architecture (as cultural markers) can be found in the advertising rhetoric of historical farmsteads that have been transformed into accommodation facilities. For example, Cabbage Tree Corner 'Country' Bed and Breakfast (located in Robinson's Bay) is described as a "...newly-restored 1920s farmhouse [that] offers peace, comfort and views to die for" (New Zealand Bed and Breakfast Book 2003, p.431). Similarly, in the same publication (p.427), Rosslyn Estate is described as a "...large historic homestead built in the 1860s. It has been our home and lifestyle for four generations. The homestead and farm buildings are rich in history including the original building that milled timber for the Christchurch Cathedral." The Gables Country House brochure is another particularly good example. Their brochure claims that a visit will be a "step back in time" into a dwelling "built out of solid Totara in the late 1860s for a local farmer...lovingly restored...it captures the romanticism of the age without compromising on comfort". Additional examples, of which there are many, include: the Blacksmiths Cottage (Duvauchelle, est. 1850s), Bantry Lodge (French Farm, est. 1860s), Duvauchelle Cottage (Duvauchelle, est. 1864), and Kahikatea Country Retreat (Wainui, est. 1860s). The brochures show evidence of a rural *tourism* culture economy developing around the valorisation and coupling of history and architecture in the region – particularly old 'rural' dwellings.

5.3.3 The Natural/Rural Environment

The natural environment and rural landscape (see Figures 10 and 12) have also become important components of the Inner Rural Bay's local tourism product, experience and economy. Tourism brochures and regional marketing materials frequently draw attention to the distinct features of the natural surroundings through the use of specific text and photographs. The Wainui Park Conference and Outdoor Pursuits Centre brochure provides a good (somewhat poetic) example of the valorisation of the local environment as an intrinsic visitor resource:

> Taking people away from their natural surroundings can be tricky unless you take them to a place they won't want to leave. Take a deep breath of fresh air. Gaze at the green rolling hills diving gracefully into the emerald waters of Akaroa Harbor. A native songbird symphony surrounds you...the perfect soundtrack.

The valorisation of the region's environmental qualities had evolved from the widespread belief that the environment (natural and rural) was the only 'real' tourism resource the area had – however intrinsic this was. As the local tourism development officer expressed:

The landscape in many ways is a give in. If we didn't have it we wouldn't have tourism here...if we didn't have the volcanic harbours we wouldn't have a destination...but you have to be careful about how you market the landscape because as you know, New Zealand is a place full of natural wonders. You just need to go one or two hours in either direction away from the Peninsula and you get some pretty amazing landscape features – we simply have a harbour.

Tourism practitioners at the Inner Rural Bays believed that a primary motivation for tourists to visit the area was to experience and consume the unique aspects of the environment. Operators believed that the 'local' environmental experience was facilitated by the unique (and often intangible) characteristics of, and attainable from, rural settings i.e., serenity, open space, quietness, closeness to nature, isolation and romance. As interviewees asserted:

It is the natural scenery that brings the tourists to a place like this – that's it. The open space and the rural landscapes are what we have here.

The peace and tranquillity, that's why people come and stay here, that's what they [the tourist] look forward to – the fact they can unwind and relax in the countryside.

The landscape is our main draw card – just ambling along the Bays you can see why.

I think tourists come here for the peaceful environment and the view - the landscape.

We mainly offer an environment that is very, very quiet, very remote and very tranquil.

They come here specifically, as opposed to Akaroa, for the rural feel – the spacious views.

I think that our surroundings are the biggest attractions in the area, the hills, the water – those are what we can develop and use for tourism. The rural environment is particularly special here. I grew up on a farm here and have always loved it. I'm sure the tourists also adore what we can offer in that respect.

On a similar theme, the geographical isolation of the Inner Rural Bays is often used to create and market a sense of 'escape' from life in the city for tourists. Tourism operators at the Inner Rural Bays frequently played on this idea in their advertising rhetoric, for example:

...retreats...when you need to get away from it all... (www.coasttocoastcottages.co.nz, accessed 17/09/2003)

...what a place to come and unwind from the city life...relax in serene surroundings (Hotel des Pecheurs Brochure)

Take a group away from the distraction and stress of everyday life...take them to Wainui (Wainui Holiday Park Brochure).

Another way that tourism practitioners make use of the environment is by outlining the 'passive' recreational activities available when visiting the Inner Rural Bays - particularly walking (this is discussed in more depth in section 5.3.4, where I discuss the collective action by tourism practitioners in the area to focus on a theme of passive recreation). As one tourism operator stated:

From our rural environment you get your recreation opportunities like your walk around Wainui, which incidentally is one of the best-rated walks in Canterbury. You get opportunity with access to the beach. I mean they are not great bathing beaches but you can get out and sail your yacht and you're not going to be cluttered up with one hundred people doing the same thing.

Another inimitable resource of the Inner Rural Bays natural habitat is local wildlife. As one local authority advertising publication pointed out, wildlife was a Peninsula draw card particularly around "the mudflats of Robinson's Bay, Duvauchelle and Barry's

Bay...home to many wading birds like Oyster Catchers, Pied Stilts and Herons; Canadian Geese, swans and ducks..." (TRENZ, 2001, p.6). Tourism practitioners had begun to valorise wildlife as a cultural marker and incorporate it into product marketing. As one bed and breakfast owner pointed out when reflecting on the value that local wildlife added to the experience that he offered:

Other than the rural environment just being here and the sea view there are very few opportunities to diversify the local tourism product based on the geology. But there is wildlife. I mean a dawn chorus of bellbirds wakes you up in the mornings – a tourist couldn't ask for more than that – beautiful. And we also have woodpigeons, which could be fantastic tourism attractions in their own right.

A complex twist in the valorisation and commodification of the local rural setting surfaced when exploring the value of Onawe Peninsula to tourism practitioners in the area. In tourism publicity material, Onawe Peninsula was often used as an iconic landscape image – a natural attraction – its impressive geographical dimensions and dominating presence an obvious explanation (see Figure 17). For local Maori, however, the landmark is an *Urupa* (burial site) associated with the tribal massacre of 1832. For this reason (cultural reverence) Onawe Peninsula remains undeveloped as a local tourism resource. The property is currently managed by Ngai Tahu and has been left to regenerate back into its original native condition (*per. com*, DOC, 2003). As a landmark, however, Onawe Peninsula continues to stand as an impressive environmental backdrop that inescapably sells the location in regional pictures and often in marketing texts for tourism. Tourism development on the site has, however, been discouraged due to a much deeper sense of place for local Maori. This demonstrates Ray's (1998) notion that a culture economy is often guided by local ethics and knowledge, and therefore, some resources (in this case the Peninsula) can be removed from the process of commodification.

Figure 17: Onawe Peninsula

(Source: M. Mackay, 2004)

5.3.4   Passive Rural Recreation Activities

'Passive' rural recreation activities emerged as the final component of the Inner Rural Bay's rural *tourism* culture economy. This stemmed from interviewees' widespread belief that it was inappropriate for the community to develop 'adventure' tourism activities and attractions. Inhabitants felt they could not compete on this front with other established adventure tourism destinations such as Queenstown. Rather, interviewees felt it was more appropriate to develop a 'passive' recreation tourism industry by exploiting the idyllic rural qualities of the surroundings, luring tourists with the image of a romantic, relaxed countryside:

There will not be any adventure activities over here. The area is not designed for that. It's not what we are and it's not the type of tourist we are targeting. We are targeting relaxation and romance. The message is getting through. People come to this area for that – to get away – and they're saying 'wow' when they get here 'what a lovely place to romance' and that's what we are working towards.

We tend to have a cautious approach to tourism development in this area. Most of the focus is on more passive tourism because we believe that's what tourists who come to this area want.

People don't come here for the nightlife...It's not your adventure tourism kind of place like Queenstown. It is certainly quite relaxed here. We don't even give our guests a telephone because we find people come to these rural places for a break, to relax and get away from city chaos.

The development of passive rural recreation activities in the community was still coming to fruition at the time of my interviews. However, common 'talk' in the community was of developing walkways around the bays or a range of easy hikes, better heritage information and trails, and the continued development of the dining/accommodation sector. Like the emergence of Akaroa Salmon as a new tourism resource, passive recreation demonstrates Ray's (1998) notion of an evolving, community led culture economy approach to rural (re)development.

5.4   Mode II

The next Mode of Ray's (1998) Typology of the (Rural) Culture Economy can be described (in the context of tourism) as 'place promotion'.

> Mode II occurs as the construction and projection of a (new) territory identity to the 'outside,' i.e., the emphasis here is on the incorporation of cultural resources into a territorial identity in order to promote the territory (Ray, 1998, p.7).

This section outlines the way by which residents with a vested interest in tourism at the Inner Rural Bays promote both their area and local tourism products to the extra-local tourist market, thereby contributing towards the construction of a distinct place image and identity. During fieldwork I found that this occurred locally on two different scales (as is depicted in Figure 20), i.e., (1) by an organised group of tourism practitioners in the area (i.e., Top of the Harbour), and (2) by individual tourism operators.

5.4.1   Top of the Harbour

The most obvious manifestation of Mode II at the Inner Rural Bays, occurred some five years ago with the inception of a local tourism promotion group named 'Top of the

Harbour.' Top of the Harbour - a collaboration of residents with a vested interest in tourism - is concerned with developing a distinct territorial identity for the Inner Rural Bay region to be used for marketing the area to the extra-local tourist market. When asked to define the group, members said:

...the Top of the Harbour group is a gathering of people in the community, bed and breakfasters, the local hotel and store etc. We just got together very informally and basically agreed that a local promotional group would be a good idea.

It is a group of local business people involved with accommodation and a few from the community involved in accommodation as a hobby. So, I guess there might be different agendas for different members but we all have the tourism dollar in mind and are aware of the benefits that it can bring to the community if it is promoted in an appropriate way.

The group's main objective is to raise tourist awareness of the range of cultural resources; activities, accommodations and services, available in the area to them. Members believed that increased awareness would result in more tourists stopping at the destination, spending money and therefore generating income for residents. This objective was underpinned by a belief that tourists visiting the Peninsula were currently passing through the Inner Rural Bays on their way to the more established and better-promoted 'Akaroa Township':

It really is a small community focused cluster group who are trying to work together to keep people from driving back to Christchurch when Akaroa is full. The aim is to promote the things people can do in this area - our uniqueness - and the places where they can stay. We let the tourists know about us and we also let the community members find out about each other so that we give tourists better information. Hopefully they will spend some money in the community and not just go sightseeing or driving through to Akaroa.

Top of the Harbour is a logical group of residents. You see, a lot of our business is from tourists passing through and the group is really for tourism-orientated people.

What we get out of it is a better way of promoting ourselves so tourists will stop, not just drive past. Hopefully they'll stop and buy something.

Top of the Harbour also evolved out of community sentiment that: (1) not enough was being done to promote the Inner Rural Bay area by local authorities and district tourism promotional groups, and (2) the area needed a new identity to differentiate it from its neighbour i.e., Akaroa Township:

We felt we were not being adequately served by Akaroa. We voiced our concerns and so-on and nothing really changed. We certainly made them aware that we weren't in competition with them but that we just wanted to create a different market niche which would promote this area.

Before we set it up tourists simply came over the hill and went to Akaroa. Tourists had it in their minds that that is all there is to do. It was difficult to get them to move around the Peninsula. People in the group assumed that this was the fault of promotional groups in Akaroa, of which many had paid fees to, not doing enough to convince tourists to head out and explore the wider Peninsula. I think we thought if tourists had a way of finding out what we could offer here then they might come our way. Top of the Harbour was one way of doing this.

We were getting dismayed by the promotional activities of larger regional promotion groups. We found that some people were getting together in a group called the Top of the Harbour. They were all equally disenchanted in a lot of ways that we were with promotion groups based in Akaroa Township. We felt that people in Akaroa Township were getting, and trying to keep, all the business and not sharing it to the outer regions.

We didn't want to only be part of Akaroa promotional groups because we aren't Akaroa. We are the outskirts so we should do something for ourselves.

The Banks Peninsula Tourism and Economic Development Officer added:
There were a small group of people over in the French Farm/Wainui side of the harbour who felt that Akaroa was not doing enough to promote their area. People

who were arriving in Akaroa Township and turning around and going straight back to Christchurch. They actually didn't want to go back into those areas. So a group of people over there, people with a link to tourism, set up a community group that focused and called it 'Top of the Harbour'. This was to promote their area.

A common feeling expressed by Top of the Harbour members was that the Inner Rural Bays area should not be marketed strongly on the French connection – a theme particularly evident in the marketing of Akaroa Township. This feeling perhaps equates to a local identity crisis. Group members believed that more appropriate themes should be developed based upon the unique repertoire of rural resources that were more endemic to the location. Thus, the Top of the Harbour group was attempting to re-image the area for tourism purposes. They were doing this by creating, what residents believed was a more genuine local identity. (At the time of fieldwork the Inner Rural Bay's community was amidst this transition, and therefore, there was still some evidence of the local French connection/image in local tourism advertising material and at some tourism sites e.g., Figure 16). As three members stated:

It's a useful little tourist idea – but the reality is not there (laughs) and I don't like unreality. Nonetheless, whenever you hear about it on television, the area being marketed, they say 'think France, think French' and I don't know how one will come to think of the 'Akaroa District' out of all that. Very few people speak French in this area so it is hard to claim we are French. The buildings might look French in character – but to be honest I wouldn't really know (laughs). There are more appropriate themes for marketing this area based on our great location and surroundings.

The French Connection is a joke (laughs). Well, it's not really a joke because there is a little French connection and that adds some colour to the town.

When you think of this area it's always French this and French that. Sure there's a nice French settlement over there [in Akaroa Township] but over this side of the harbour it's not quite that noticeable. We [local residents] need to paint our own picture that shows off what we've got, all the unique things like the bush-clad bays,

the steep valleys, and the beautiful farmsteads — it's not France it's rural New Zealand.

This feeling was echoed in the comments made by the Banks Peninsula Tourism and Economic Development Officer:

You couldn't really go and market Akaroa as being a French settlement in France because it was basically only one shipload of settlers who came here. There was a lot of other French influence here — there was the naval base over in French Farm and there were French whaling ships around the Bays in the 19th century. But you can't go and market it in France for example...the best you will get over in Akaroa is a 'bonjour' in the Township. So I think it is appropriate to market it at an appropriate level — so that you have a French flavour for the whole harbour, particularly in the periphery areas, but you can't overplay it.

Top of the Harbour members were always quick to assert that the Inner Rural Bays area was a unique and distinct tourism destination. This uniqueness is characterised by the opportunities that flowed from particular aspects of the area's rural surroundings. This point was also made in the previous section where I pointed out that tourism practitioners believed the rural environment is the only real tourism attraction the area had. Again, the characteristics identified by tourism practitioners were based upon opinions regarding the wants and needs of the extra-local tourist market. This point emphasises the tourist's power of agency as Mode II transpires:

We are targeting relaxation and romance. The message is getting through. People come to this area for that — to get away — and they're saying 'wow' when they get here 'what a lovely place to romance' and that's what we are working towards.

The tourists come out to this area to be on their own — escape and walk around. They like to do hikes in the countryside — this is what makes the area special and this is how we should be promoting it.

We tend to have a cautious approach to tourism development in this area. Most of the focus is on more passive tourism because we believe that's what tourists who come to this type of [rural] area want.

It was difficult to ascertain how Top of the Harbour members physically promoted the Inner Rural Bays area as a tourism destination. The production of a glossy brochure was perhaps their most obvious attempt (see Figure 18). The brochure lists and maps the attractions, accommodations and services available within the Inner Rural Bays area and displays a large picture that highlights the rural qualities of the region. Due to the small budget of the group, however, a limited number of brochures had been produced, and therefore, were difficult to locate outside of the Inner Rural Bays. In fact during fieldwork, I was only able to locate the brochures at the local Duvauchelle store. Nevertheless, the brochure indicated an initial effort by local residents to develop and actively promote the Inner Rural Bay region as a distinct and geographically definable tourism destination.

Figure 18: 'Top of the Harbour' Accommodation and Activities Guide

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(Source: The Duvauchelle Store, 2003)

In addition to the brochure, Top of the Harbour members had developed and continued to maintain an Internet website to promote the Inner Rural Bay area to the extra-local tourist market (see: www.akaroaharbour.co.nz). Like the brochure, the website draws attention to the Inner Rural Bay tourism industry and directs site visitors to group members' individual tourism websites. The website also goes someway towards constructing and maintaining a unique/rural territorial identity, one evident in the following rhetorical text (www.akaroaharbour.co.nz, last accessed 25/4/2004):

Welcome to the top of the harbour home page
We want you to know that Akaroa is not just a popular picturesque township. It is also a beautiful harbour, the top end of which is the perfect place for a quiet relaxed holiday away from the summer crowds.

At the top of Akaroa harbour you will find excellent accommodation in various forms and price ranges, from camping facilities, backpackers, motels, self-contained cottages, to farm stays or B and Bs. All our member hosts can help you with information on local history, walking tracks and things to do in their unique vicinity.

We have in our neck of the woods the Akaroa golf course, boat launching ramps, tennis courts, vineyards, a cheese factory, restaurants, churches, a historic hotel, fishing wharves, swimming, diving and boating opportunities. We offer tracks and off beat roads to explore on foot or by mountain bikes - all overlooked by our distinctive Onawe Peninsula, the historic pa site of Te Rauparaha's massacre of the local Maori believed to be in autumn 1832. (A chilling story worth hearing about from your host before you go out there to feel the horror for yourself.)

If you are looking for a more peaceful unspoilt holiday, take a look at us.

5.4.2   Individual Tourism Practitioners

Individual tourism practitioners also help to construct an unambiguous territorial identity for the Inner Rural Bays by projecting a consistent (tourism) place-image through private Internet websites, tourism brochures and advertisements. In the remainder of this section I discuss the distinct characteristics of the Inner Rural Bays as I found them in advertising resources. Nineteen Inner Rural Bays' tourism operator advertisements were collected and examined for common themes (a list of the advertisements surveyed can be found in Appendix D). The synchronised image I found

represents another manifestation of Ray's (1998, p.7) Mode II of the Typology of the (Rural) Culture Economy, i.e., the "...projection of a (new) territory identity to the 'outside'..." based upon the valorisation of locally rooted cultural resources.

The advertisements' text and photographs repeatedly drew attention to the Inner Rural Bay's: rural environment, rich history, close contact with farm animals and wildlife, local cuisine, rural ambience (particularly tranquillity, peace and romance), isolation, and 'spectacular' views. (It was interesting to note that this material does not emphasise the local French connection, an observation that further highlights the construction and projection of a new local identity). In the remainder of this section I 'briefly' categorise and discuss the place identity projected under the following four headings: (1) rural landscape, (2) wildlife and farm animals, (3) rural ambience, and (4) rural culture.

- *Rural Landscape*: all tourism advertisements made some reference to the Inner Rural Bay's unique rural landscape. Photos of the rural surroundings, supported by colourful textual descriptions, commonly drew attention to: farm paddocks, vast empty spaces, country gardens, pockets of dense native bush, farm streams, and the harbour itself. The tourist was frequently reminded that the 'unique' Inner Rural Bay's environment produces 'spectacular', 'beautiful' and 'unique' views. The advertisements also highlighted the passive recreational activities that the rural environment facilitates, particularly casual walking and the experience of 'real' rural nature. A particularly good example was found in the Kahikatea Country Retreat advertisement in the *Boutique Lodgings of New Zealand Guide* (2001, p.177). A photo of the homestead, complete with rural backdrop, was supported by the following text:

  > The outstanding features of Jane and Joe's 20 acres of land, overlooking Akaroa Harbour to the heads, are isolation, peace and the view...a stream runs through a patch of native bush, and tips into a large pond rimmed by flax and other bold-leafed plants. In another paddock [they have built] a cottage for guests, which has its own garden area and the pick of the dazzling sea views.

- *Wildlife and farm animals*: in almost all cases the images and descriptions of the Inner Rural Bay's rural landscape were flanked by references to local wildlife viewing and the opportunity to come close to farm animals. This characteristic added clout to the projected image of an authentic rural surrounding. An

exceptionally good example was provided in an advertisement for Rosslyn Estate in the *New Zealand Bed and Breakfast Book* (2002, p.427):

> Experience the tranquillity of farm life...Our 160 cow-working farm also runs deer and much loved pets, most of whom live outside. The streams are lined with bush attracting an abundance of native birds.

- *Rural ambience:* the aforementioned portrayals of the Inner Rural Bay's rural environment were often said to evoke a unique sense of local ambience. Words such as 'peaceful', 'romantic', 'tranquil', 'relaxing', 'isolated' and 'quiet' came to characterise this representation. Perhaps the best example was provided on the Twin Gullies Bed and Breakfast website (www.akaroa-honeyhouse.co.nz, accessed 17-09-2003):

> ...a lovely spot, wonderful and peaceful, absolutely beautiful, charming and idyllic! It provides the perfect setting for romance, rest, relaxation, rejuvenation and renewal. Or maybe just a quiet read. The constantly changing view is an unending source of fascination to all who admire it.

- *Rural culture:* tourism practitioners regularly promoted the Inner Rural Bays as an area where the tourist could experience various traits of traditional rural culture – particularly the consumption of country cuisine, the experience of country life and contact with aspects of local rural history. For example, advertising rhetoric often alluded to the possibility of trying homemade, or locally produced, food and drink. Additionally, the brochures commonly spoke of coming face to face with rural families and folk, thereby receiving 'warm' and 'welcoming' local hospitality. Rural history was also promoted as a unique aspect of the Inner Rural Bay's cultural make-up. For example, tourists were frequently reminded of the age of buildings or family homes they could stay in and the feeling they would get of times passed. These ideas were well articulated in the following text from an advertisement for Roslyn Estate published in *Charming Bed and Breakfast* (2003, p.308):

> Embrace the tranquillity of farm life...Rosslyn is a large historic homestead built in the 1860s. It has been our family home for four generations. The homestead and farm buildings are rich in history...We take pride in offering quality homegrown and prepared produce, from vegetables and fruit to preserves. We invite you to join us for dinner...in the farm-style kitchen.

The four characteristics I have briefly described reflect the local tourism industry's collective and consistent promotion of the Inner Rural Bays as a 'real' countryside experience and authentic rural place - an idyllic and spacious environment (both natural and built) evoking a 'unique' ambience characterised by 'romance', 'tranquillity' and 'peace'. The promotion of the Inner Rural Bays, in this way, is consistent with the favoured image by members of Top of the Harbour, and therefore, goes someway towards constructing a distinct and sustainable (tourism) identity for the community.

5.5   Mode III

In Mode III, the emphasis is still on territorial strategies but now the new territorial initiative is engaged in selling itself internally…raising the self-confidence of local people and organisations, building confidence in their own capacities to bring about development, and valorising local resources (Ray, 1998, p.7).

Mode III of Ray's (1998) Typology of the (Rural) Culture Economy was evident at the Inner Rural Bays in four key ways: (1) the activities of the newly appointed Banks Peninsula Tourism and Economic Development Officer, (2) the development and publication of the Banks Peninsula Tourism and Economic Development Strategic Plan 2004-2007, (3) the Top of the Harbour tourism group, and (4) the initiatives of local tourism and community groups – particularly those involved with the newly formed Peninsula Pioneers Tourist Drive. The remainder of this section discusses these four manifestations of Mode III at the Inner Rural Bays.

5.5.1   The Banks Peninsula Tourism and Economic Development Officer

In 2003, The Banks Peninsula District Council appointed a Tourism and Economic Development Officer upon recognising both the significant contribution of tourism to the Peninsula's economy and increasing resident participation in tourism development. During interviewing the officer outlined three key aspects of his job. The three aspects correlate to Ray's (1998) Mode III for they reveal a concerted effort to foster and encourage tourism development on the Peninsula. While the officer is responsible for the entire peninsula, he recognised that there were specific needs for different areas, one of which was the Inner Rural Bays. A brief summary of the officer's job and comments regarding the fostering of tourism at the Inner Rural Bays follows:

1) *Industry liaison*: The officer stated that the most important part of his job was to act as a link between the various tourism groups and individual practitioners operating in Banks Peninsula (including the Inner Rural Bays). This mediation, he believed, would result in a more coordinated, conflict-free approach to tourism industry development in the region. This, he stipulated, would also successfully carry the current passion residents have for tourism development into the future in a sustainable manner:

> *Each of the communities throughout Banks Peninsula have their own community characteristics, they have their own values and they have their own internal politics...there's been a history of them not communicating with each other and not supporting other groups. I try to get them singing from the same song-board. My role as [tourism] industry liaison is to encourage that passion they have for promoting their communities (in their own ways), but also to try to help them avoid crossovers so they're not just reinventing the wheel. (Banks Peninsula Tourism and Economic Development Officer, 2003).*

2) *Promotion and marketing*: the second role of the officer was to direct the promotion and marketing of the region to the extra-local tourist market. The tourism officer believed that Akaroa Township was the only area of the peninsula with a recognised tourism brand (i.e., the French connection). He believed that other parts of the peninsula also needed to develop competitive promotional strategies. The officer was not enthusiastic about additional 'branding', but was more favourable to each community establishing an appropriate tourism 'theme'. As he stated:

> *I'm not a great believer in brands and jingles and logos, all that sort of thing, but I do see coordinated promotion and marketing strategies as a necessity. I think more in terms of themes – establishing what the appropriate themes are for each area.*

3) *Infrastructure development:* The final aspect of the officer's job was to assess and take care of the infrastructure needs of each community as tourism developed. The officer was aware that because of the Peninsula's small population base (and

therefore ratepayer base), infrastructure management and development was a
critical part of the role:

*...you have to have roads in place, sewage and water supply – all those sorts of
things need to be in place. And its been struggling here with those because there's
a very small ratepayer base.*

The appointment of the officer was particularly encouraging for members of the Top of
the Harbour group who, for some time, had felt neglected by local authorities. For
tourism practitioners, the officer finally symbolised a commitment of tourism resources
to areas peripheral to Akaroa Township, the established tourism stronghold of the
Peninsula. As one Top of the Harbour spokesperson voiced:

*We think that tourism is an important part of the local economy and that the local
government should be putting more money into developing it. I'm really pleased that
they have created a position for a local tourism officer – to get everything moving
along. At least somebody is out there now trying to promote the whole Peninsula not
just Akaroa...*

The Tourism and Economic Development Officer often relied on the *Akaroa Mail* to
communicate to residents with a vested interest in tourism on the peninsula. In his
regular column, that can be found in the *Peninsula Bulletin* insert of the *Akaroa Mail*,
the officer informs residents of his activities and commitment to helping develop a
'community' driven tourism industry on the peninsula. He often highlighted the value
he placed on the opinions of tourism operators in the community as he structured policy.
For example, soon after his appointment the officer (cited in *Akaroa Mail*, May 2003:
Peninsula Bulletin Insert) wrote:

I have enjoyed meeting various groups, business operators and individuals during the last month. You
have all provided me with valuable insights into make-up of communities in Banks Peninsula, the
values that shape the identity of each community and the possibilities that exist for appropriate future
development...[my] goals cannot be achieved without the general support of each community...I look
forward to working closely with these groups over the coming months as we strive towards our
common goals.

The column consistently ends with an invitation for community residents with a vested interest in tourism to contact the officer to discuss issues at hand. Effectively, the invitation 'leaves the door open' for residents of the Inner Rural Bays to become, or at least feel as though they can become, an important voice in local tourism development policy and planning. Despite this spotlight on the 'community', the tourism officer's appointment does symbolise the regional government's increasing interest in directing rural tourism development in the area. It will be interesting to see if this 'interest' evolves into 'control' (refer to Figure 7), and if so, how this will affect the local/rural *tourism* culture economy – one built on Ray's (1998) scheme of 'local' self governance.

5.5.2 The Banks Peninsula Tourism and Economic Development Strategic Plan 2004-2007

The publication of the *Banks Peninsula Tourism and Economic Development Strategic plan 2004-2007* in February 2004, by the Banks Peninsula Tourism and Economic Development Advisory Board, was another obvious manifestation of Mode III, and another example of emerging regional government interest in local/rural tourism development on the peninsula. The strategy - sold to Peninsula residents as a "...fully community owned initiative for developing the economy of the Banks Peninsula in a long and sustainable fashion" - has five key objectives of which the first four relate 'directly' to the fostering of 'tourism' development on Banks Peninsula (p.5-26). These are:

1) *To manage tourism growth:* Here the strategy recognises and highlights both the significant economic contribution tourism makes to the wider Banks Peninsula community (particularly Akaroa District) and the likelihood of sustained growth. The benefits of tourism are, however, emphasized alongside the inevitable consequences of mismanaged tourism growth. The report (p.7) states that the solution rests in local authority involvement in tourism development: "...it is essential that Banks Peninsula local authorities adopt a leadership role in consulting with communities and managing destination development within the district."

2) *The provision of information services to Banks Peninsula:* Here the strategy talks of placing tourist information facilities throughout the wider community to enhance tourist awareness of the range of attractions and activities, particularly in the lesser

known areas including the Inner Rural Bays. The report (p.14) also outlines the positive benefits that will stem from information centre development:

> In addition to being important community facilities in their own right, information centres also provide employment opportunities, are forums for displaying local promotional material, encourage visitors to stay longer and experience more activities in the district and encourage visitor expenditure in the local district.

In addition, the strategy suggests that the proposed information centres will also become valuable hubs for collecting tourism data that can in turn be used to help manage and understand tourism development in the region. The evidence here clearly demonstrates the local government's desire to foster future tourism growth in the community, therefore nurturing a viable tourism culture economy.

3) *The improvement of stakeholder relationships and the development of co-ordinated planning approach to tourism development:* Here, common goals and a clear direction for tourism development are discussed. This, it is suggested, can be achieved with improved communication between groups and individuals with vested interests in tourism throughout the Peninsula. The report identifies the various groups that currently influence tourism development in the community and maintain that these groups must come together to ensure they have a collective vision for tourism development. Also emphasised is the importance of including the voice of smaller tourism groups in the community (such as Top of the Harbour). The section concludes (p.8):

> Key stakeholders in the Banks Peninsula tourism industry have potential to shape the future direction and increase their yield from the local industry by adopting a coordinated approach to planning and establishing a commitment to providing quality products and services. To achieve these goals, however, various community and promotion groups need to develop closer horizontal and vertical links so that there is closer coordination and a clearly defined direction for developing the local tourism industry.

4) *Create strategies for destination marketing and promotion:* Here the strategy talks about Banks Peninsula communities potentially benefiting from enhanced and more co-ordinated promotional and marketing activity. Again, impending tourism growth

is highlighted, yet this time alongside a need for communities to project suitable and corresponding images of the area that will result in enhanced tourist satisfaction. The policy's rhetoric (p.22) suggests that more effective and coordinated place promotion activity will create a clearer sense of direction for tourism development in the region:

> After considering the origins and predicted growth patterns of visitors to Banks Peninsula it is important that that a clear branding message be developed to ensure that perceptions of Banks Peninsula are of a quality destination. In addition to attracting targeted visitors by increasing the district profile, a branding strategy is also beneficial for expressing a strong Banks Peninsula identity, unifying local tourism stakeholders, increasing destination credibility and providing a directional rudder for the local tourism industry.

Mode III is evident in the strategic plan as its objectives represent the local government's: (1) recognition of tourism's significant contribution to the local economy and (2) support for fostering future community-driven growth. The objectives described above raise local residents' awareness of the value of tourism resources in the area and the necessity of good community management.

The strategic plan also outlines improvements that will be made over the following years to support tourism entrepreneurship. This, the Tourism and Economic Development Officer believed would keep the tourism community "moving forward" (*pers. com. 2003*). He also believed the community would be positive about the results "...because people see a need for a coordinated tourism strategy." It is my belief that that this forward trajectory will depend on the level of control and guidance regional authorities assume overtime over local tourism initiatives throughout the region.

5.5.3 Top of the Harbour

Another way that residents of the Inner Rural Bays participate in Mode III, or, to borrow Ray's (1998, p.7) words, "...build confidence in their own capacities to bring about development..." can be seen through a deeper analysis of the Top of the Harbour tourism group. While the group serves primarily as a forum for discussing and guiding the promotion of the Inner Rural Bays area, it also functions as a forum for socialising, communicating, and constructing a collective vision for community tourism

development. This in turn fosters and encourages 'successful' tourism development within the community. As members said:

It is partly a social thing, to sort of get people together that were running similar businesses and to see what they provide, to hear each others difficulties and ideas – it is very good from that point of view.

It is a friendly group. It has been sweetly running. We go to a meeting and everybody takes a potluck and we stay for dinner afterwards. We quite enjoy the social side of it. It keeps us all together and in touch with what's going on and what we should be doing as a community group.

Top of the Harbour is a social group and a tourism group. We have a meeting, some food and some fun. In the end we may not come up with a major idea but we will all know where everyone is at in regards to their business, who needs help and who needs advice.

When I asked one member if he had an example of collective community action evolving from the group that contributed towards invigorating tourism development in the area, he replied with the following story:

We [Top of the Harbour members] believed that the wharf in Duvauchelle was a valuable historical resource for the community. We discussed this. One member told us that there were several piles on the wharf that were suspect and that he was reluctant to use it [for his tourism operation]. Well blow me down it took about five minutes and we realised that there were a whole lot of telephone poles being taken out up the valley here. Why don't we get those? Would they be all right as piles? And we still have money in the account from the restoration fund – one of the other members, part of the restoration committee said we still had three thousand bucks there. Well, before we could say Jack Robinson they had these piles down at the wharf and someone from Akaroa had come down and driven the poles in and it was done – restored in about three weeks at next to no cost. And there you are –that's the sort of thing we as a community tourism group can get together and discuss – and more importantly get done.

Top of the Harbour members also cultivate tourism in their community by, as one interviewee stated, "...bouncing tourists around the community so that everyone here wins - not just Akaroa Township." This evidence demonstrates the pledge of local tourism operators in the group to nurture and support a collective 'community' rural *tourism* culture economy. Other tourism practitioners reinforced this idea:

All the tourism operators have it in their minds to use local products as much as possible. A lot don't provide an evening meal – that's a no-no. They expect the tourist to go out and eat at the local restaurants. This kind of thing supports the growth of the industry here.

We always try to promote other parts of the area. I have made up a folder with all the brochures of other tourism operators and just information about things to do in the area. People can just look through. Hopefully they will get out and about and that's good for those with interests in tourism.

: I think to continue moving forward in a positive manner we need more meetings or social gatherings with Top of the Harbour members. In a small community like this, that's where it all happens. That's one of the reasons we set up our local group – to keep things happening.

We provide stacks of information about the area to all the guests. We like to get them out there spending money and supporting other [tourism] operators in the community.

5.5.4   Local Initiatives: The Peninsula Pioneers Tourist Drive

A more recent example of Mode III transpiring throughout the Inner Rural Bays has been the inception of the 'Peninsula Pioneers Tourist Drive' by the Banks Peninsula Tourism and Economic Development Board. The aim of the new tourist drive is to spread tourists around the peninsula, increasing tourist flows and revenues to the smaller, lesser known communities, "stimulating development" by providing residents there with new opportunities (Crean, 2004:D5). During the trail's development the manager of the Akaroa Information Centre said:

There is a new heritage trail we are bringing in with road signage and a new brochure that will capture people and give them the opportunity to branch out around the eastern bays and all around the southern bays before they hit Akaroa. Other districts in New Zealand have got them. We are basing it on the same thing. But we think we have got a unique product here. The whole peninsula is unique and once people get here we have got the roads for them to move around. We are concentrating on the heritage thing. That's going to be the key along with wildlife and geology.

The manager believed that the heritage trail would be particularly beneficial for members of the Top of the Harbour group because tourists would be directed (by the brochure map and road signs: see Figure 19) to these bays. The manager was aware that for some time it had been difficult to get tourists to visit the periphery areas (particularly the Inner Rural Bays) where many unique historical sites and attractions exist. The trail, however, was one step towards fostering the emerging tourism economies in these bays.

Figure 19: The Peninsula Pioneers Tourist Drive, Brochure Map

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(Source: Collected from the Akaroa Information Centre, 2004)

5.6   Mode IV

As stipulated earlier in the thesis, Mode IV concerns the way local residents choose to direct the new rural *tourism* culture economy. By assessing what is occurring 'in their backyard', residents can use, according to Ray (1998), their collective/local knowledge, ethics and opinions to influence the fate of tourism in the community. Ray (1998) suggests three possible responses: resistance, coping or participation.

At the Inner Rural Bays, 'participation' in the developing rural *tourism* culture economy was extensive. Interviewees often voiced the opinion that 'all' residents in the area were either directly or indirectly dependent upon tourism, including: old and new residents, farmers, 'lifestylers' and entrepreneurs:

Tourism is critical for all of us here in the outer areas. It keeps most of the community employed – it keeps us all working and that keeps us here.

This is a real farming area except that everyone we know is involved in tourism really (laughs). In fact every single person and I really do feel like we know them all. Even the farmers are starting to get much more involved.

I would guess that everyone in the area is linked to the tourism industry. Even farmers have responded to tourism subtlety and gradually. Many have assessed where they are, the access they have, where they are likely to benefit from tourism – for example, here we are located on the crest of the hills, we've got spectacular views, why don't we convert the old shearers quarters we have up there. Do it up, whack in a nice fireplace. And we've got a road going up there so we'll just maintain that and build a fence line and we'll put another track in and we'll put a couple of styles over a few fences. Then we'll talk to the local guy about having a 4wd safari come over the property or to come and see the operating farm.

Local tourism authorities also acknowledged that residents were keenly participating in the Inner Rural Bay's tourism culture economy:

It seems that everyone has or is turning to tourism with a degree of enthusiasm. People are buying lifestyle blocks, maybe with an old house on it, then moving

straight into a B and B operation. They all think they can make a market there – no question (Akaroa Information Centre Officer).

As Ray (1999a) indicated at Mode IV, widespread community participation in endogenous development initiatives (particularly tourism) should result in a degree of local pride, enthusiasm and commitment to the activity. This notion, I felt, had materialised at the Inner Rural Bays, particularly as the community collectively embraced and sought to responsibly manage tourism. As respondents stated:

I'm more enthusiastic than ever [about tourism]. I think it's going to boom. It's a little frightening to me. I'm just hoping they're not going to break off big chunks of land here and develop it as tacky. If people come to the peninsula to get away from it all they don't want to come and see a developed place. You want it to be a wonderful place that you can just wander around in. Just a place to get away – we find tourists actually don't need a lot.

People in the area, particularly the ones who are new are excited by the possibilities of tourism and what they can do. However, that excitement is contained because there is only so much you can do without infrastructure in place in the bays.

The locals are most definitely excited. They see that it is not a new phenomenon but it is one that must now be fully utilized (Banks Peninsula Tourism and Economic Development Officer).

Although aware and excited about the benefits of tourism, interviewees expressed caution about the manner in which tourism might develop at the Inner Rural Bays. Practitioners were particularly aware of the damage mismanaged tourism might cause to the rural attributes of the area:

I think it takes a while for a place to get discovered. This area has problems because its small, rural and we have to cope with big influxes. If we do it wrong we could end up in a big mess – we'll ruin the place for everyone. If we do it well we'll keep everything just the way we like it. We have to provide the facilities – that's our job. We're going to get problems with that so we have to learn to cope and get on with it.

In the end we all see the benefits tourism brings so there's no point complaining – it's not constructive.

The problem is we all want the many benefits of tourism but we don't want to change. We don't want too many tourists coming but we like the idea of the benefits that having lots of tourists could bring. You know what I mean? It's a hard balance to find.

A particularly useful device tourism practitioners at the Inner Rural Bays use to successfully manage tourism in the area is the Top of the Harbour group (as discussed in section 5.4.1). Group meetings allow members to discuss issues regarding tourism development in the area, which has led to a clear and calculated community vision for tourism at the Inner Rural Bays. This vision was characterised in the following comments made by two group members:

We don't want any mass tourism. We don't like the idea of busloads of people coming in for the day – pushing them through – I don't think that's sustainable.

I don't want this area to develop like Akaroa. I don't want it to be as busy as that. Akaroa in summer is just horrible. There's just no room and it's so costly. I hope we keep it small but sophisticated – that's what we'll keep trying to do.

Another common response from interviewees was that the Inner Rural Bays should not develop in the same way as Queenstown, New Zealand. Queenstown is one of New Zealand's leading tourism destinations. Members felt that Queenstown was the prime example of a rural place that had lost its charm as it embraced and sought to foster mass tourism:

What we don't want is another Queenstown. I think that is the worst thing that could happen – hosting thousands of people at a time. What would we be left with? It could drive everybody out and in the end you'll be searching for a place like what you used to live in – probably for the rest of your life.

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We are now trying to avoid becoming a 'mini-Queenstown' – there just won't be any adventure activities here.

...as long as we don't end up with a mini-Queenstown then I think this area will keep its charm.

There's a feeling that the area could become another Queenstown and that is not what we want. The tour buses do come and the cruise ships do come and when they are here, unfortunately it does seem like a mini Queenstown.

These results suggest that residents at the Inner Rural Bay's were 'participating' wholeheartedly in the emerging rural *tourism* culture economy. This is in line with Ray's (1998) 'participation' response in Mode IV - residents collectively tolerant of small-scale tourism development and aware of the benefits it brings to the community. These positive sentiments were echoed in the comments made by one bed and breakfast operator in the area:

I think the community is pretty happy with tourism in the area. We know people all through the bays, we really do. I find that very good, it's very pleasurable. We are all supportive of each other and I think that's only because we are a small community. Everybody respects the tourism businesses that everybody is doing. We usually look at the quality of other residents' tourism operations and learn. It's all very different – everyone has something special to offer – the standard is very high. You don't have to go and try to flog off Qualmarks on us or star ratings and the rest of it. That's just a way to make money. We don't need that because we know we have quality.

Interested in what characterised the local 'high-quality' tourism product, I asked interviewees to describe the Inner Rural Bay region to me as though I were a tourist contemplating a visit. The following three quotes are typical of the response and fitting words to end the results chapter:

...first and foremost you will have a recreation and relaxation experience. It's going to be a getaway from the hustle and bustle of city and you will be able to interact with genuine people to get a real taste of New Zealand rural life by the sea.

...get out of the city, get over here and enjoy the environment and hospitality of the local people.

It's a unique place because of its geography, the volcanoes and harbour. We can actually tell tourists we are living in a volcano (laughs). We have spectacular scenery and can offer a peaceful holiday in the 'real' countryside.

5.7   Summary of the Results

In this chapter I have explored the ways by which residents at the Inner Rural Bays have formed and fostered a rural *tourism* culture economy. This was done by using Ray's (1998) four Modes of the Typology of the (Rural) Culture Economy as reference points during a qualitative investigation. At the outset, however, I examined *why* residents were involved with tourism at the Inner Rural Bays. A common reason was that tourism was a means-to-an-end; a form of development that provided enough income for locals to maintain a rural way-of-life while, at the same time, could be controlled so not to destroy the distinct rural character of the locality.

I then explored how rural residents had constructed an operational tourism-based culture economy. Beginning with Mode I (or the commodification of local culture), I identified what cultural resources had become products of the local rural *tourism* culture economy at the Inner Rural Bays. I found that these products could be characterised in four distinct groups namely: (1) food and drink, (2) historical buildings, (3) rural/natural environment, and (4) passive rural recreation activities. At the time of fieldwork (2003), this distinct 'selection' of 'appropriate' place-products formed the foundation of the local rural *tourism* culture economy.

I found that Mode II (i.e., the construction and projection of a territorial identity) had transpired on two main scales at the case study site: (1) as a community group (Top of the Harbour) promoted the area, and (2) as individual tourism operators promoted their individual businesses. It was found that both mediums were working to project a co-ordinated and consistent image and identity for the Inner Rural Bays. This image could be described as a real New Zealand rural area that provided tourists with the chance to: come close to and view spectacular nature, experience a 'unique' local culture, feel the ambience of the 'real' countryside, and to be immersed in local history. Interestingly, it

was found that this image/identity was a new creation; residents deciding that their longstanding 'French' connection was no longer an appropriate image.

I found that Mode III (support for the tourism culture economy) came from four sources in the community: (1) the newly appointed Banks Peninsula Tourism and Economic Development Officer, (2) the Banks Peninsula Tourism and Economic Development Strategy 2004-2007, (3) Top of the Harbour meetings and, (4) local initiatives (the example discussed being the Peninsula Pioneers Tourist Drive). These manifestations of Mode III demonstrated a concerted effort by people in the community to: (re)invigorate tourism activity, nurture tourism development, and guide the industry in an appropriate and sustainable manner. The results also indicated rising regional/authoritative interest in local rural tourism development such as that which is occurring at the Inner Rural Bays.

Mode IV, or the (tourism) community's response to the new rural *tourism* culture economy based upon their assessment of what was occurring in their 'backyard', was then described. The extensive involvement in, and transpiring dependence on tourism suggested Ray's (1998) notion of 'participation' was currently occurring. Moreover, it was discovered that the widespread participation had evoked a sense of 'passion', 'pride' and 'enthusiasm' for tourism development in the community.

The results are depicted below in Figure 20. The model, is presented as the Inner Rural Bay's Rural Tourism Culture Economy (as in 2003).

Figure 20: The Inner Rural Bay's Rural Tourism Culture Economy (2003)

(Devised from Ray, 1998: see p.4 of this thesis)

The Community's Rationale for Developing a Rural *Tourism* Culture Economy at the Inner Rural Bays

Residents believe that...

...*tourism* creates the income and employment necessary for local people to retain their rural way-of-life
...*tourism* can be based on local resources, and therefore, can be controlled by the community so that it responds to specific local needs
...*tourism* protects and conserves the Inner Rural Bay's unique cultural/rural resources

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| **Mode I**: The Commodification of Local/Rural Culture for Tourism	**Mode II**: Rural Identity Construction and Place Promotion	**Mode III**: The Inception of Local Initiatives to Support/Encourage Rural Tourism Growth
Main Characteristics of The Inner Rural Bay's Unique Rural Tourism Product	*The Inner Rural Bay's Unique Rural Tourism Identity and Place Promotion Activities*	*Community Initiatives Working to Support and Foster Rural Tourism Growth at the Inner Rural Bays*
Local/rural food and drink products (particularly wine, salmon and cheese).	Currently developing a new identity/theme for tourism purposes: real rural New Zealand life(styles) by the seaside.	The formation of 'Top of the Harbour' – a community tourism group that: supports local tourism entrepreneurs, promotes tourism, evokes new ideas, and involves the local community in tourism development and decision making.
Historical rural buildings (particularly farmsteads and retired civic buildings for accommodation and restaurants).	The identity is primarily being constructed by 'Top of the Harbour' – a locally formed community tourism group.	The appointment of a regional tourism officer by the regional council. The role of the officer is to support and foster rural tourism development in Akaroa District (including the Inner Rural Bays).
The unique local/rural setting by the seaside (particular emphasis on experiencing rural ambience, encountering local wildlife, and viewing the rural landscape and harbour vista).	The identity is also being promoted by individual tourism operators in their marketing brochures and websites.	
Passive rural recreation activities (particularly dining, sightseeing and walking).	The new identity represents a shift away from a French identity, one it has shared with neighbouring Akaroa Township for many years.	The development of a tourism strategy for the Akaroa District (including the Inner Rural Bays).

Mode IV: The Community's Response to Tourism (Participation, Coping, or Resistance)

'Participation'

Widespread community acceptance of, and participation in the local rural *tourism* culture economy that is developing (as depicted in the preceding three Modes) at the Inner Rural Bays.

The high level of community participation has evoked a sense of pride, ownership and excitement for tourism development at the Inner Rural Bays. This keeps the local tourism industry "moving forward".

Chapter Six

CONCLUSIONS

6.1   Introduction

This chapter begins by restating the main aims of the thesis and the initial research questions. A summary of the projects key discoveries follows with suggestions of how they might be useful for those with an interest in developing a rural *tourism* culture economy. Finally, the limitations of the research project and opportunities for future study in the topic area are discussed.

6.2   The Research Aim and Questions Revisited

The aim of this thesis was to determine if Christopher Ray's (1998) theory of the emerging rural culture economy could be used to understand rural tourism development in New Zealand. To accomplish this aim a two stage research strategy was developed. Stage One (the Literature Review) linked Ray's (1998) theory and Typology of the (Rural) Culture Economy to relevant studies found in the field of tourism. Stage Two (the Case Study) used the theoretical framework that resulted from first undertaking to analyse tourism development at one rural New Zealand location. The Inner Rural Bays, Banks Peninsula served as the case study site.

Why Ray's (1998) work? To reiterate, Ray had detected that rural communities the world over were converting their cultural resources into commodities for sale in a range of new non-traditional rural markets. He believed they were doing this to protect their social, cultural and economic well-being in the ominous global milieu. Ray developed a theory and typology to explain this phenomenon. He called it the "culture economy approach to rural development" (1998, p.3).

In light of my own experiences and observations (see Chapter One), I believed that many rural New Zealanders were drawing social and economic benefits from their cultural resources, just as Ray (1998) had theorized. Moreover, tourism seemed to be the most accessible and widespread medium with which rural New Zealanders were gaining these benefits. Thus, it was perceptible that in New Zealand *tourism* was a significant manifestation of Ray's (1998) rural culture economy. In a bid to validate this

conjecture, learn more about rural tourism development, and contribute to the small (but growing) body of literature addressing rural tourism development in New Zealand, three specific research questions were developed for analysis. For convenience they are recalled as follows:

Question 1: Can Ray's (1998) theory and supporting Typology of the (Rural) Culture Economy be placed in tourism literature, thereby providing new insights into the current and prolific production of tourism in rural places, and in New Zealand more specifically?

Question 2: Can Ray's (1998) Typology of the (Rural) Culture Economy, following its placement in tourism literature, be used as a research framework for examining the specific dimensions of rural tourism development in New Zealand?

Question 3: How can a conceptualisation of the rural *tourism* culture economy be usefully applied in rural communities?

6.3   Key Discoveries

In Stage One of this study (see Chapter Two) Ray's (1998) theory and Typology of the (Rural) Culture Economy were situated in tourism literature. This grounded the study in tourism theory and created a unique framework through which the dimensions of the rural *tourism* culture economy could be examined at one rural New Zealand location.

It was established that Ray's (1998) general theory of the rural culture economy was a tourism truism – all his summations readily corresponded to prevalent themes in tourism research. Consequently, a useful account of the current rural tourism phenomenon came to the fore. The account suggested that in rural areas the proliferation of tourism is part of a general shift away from primary production towards culture-based industries. Rural communities have recognised that their cultural resources are valuable assets for development, apparent in three main ways:

1.   Local/rural cultural resources have *economic* value as unique rural tourism products, services, attractions and activities for which there is increasing demand.

2. Local/cultural resources have *symbolic* value i.e., they signify a rural community's uniqueness, and therefore, can be used to promote a rural destination as a special place to visit.

3. Local culture (e.g., local knowledge, ethics and skills etc.) is a valuable tool for developing and *managing* a successful local tourism industry in a rural community.

The outcome confirmed my assumption: that in New Zealand (as elsewhere in advanced industrialised countries), tourism is a significant manifestation of Ray's (1998) rural culture economy.

By placing Ray's (1998) work in the field of tourism it was necessary to introduce a wide range of tourism topics. The numerous introductions were needed because Ray's (1998) thesis is a general introduction to what is otherwise a complex, multifaceted rural phenomenon. For this reason, the depth of the analysis was compromised by the need to briefly touch upon, and then tentatively link, a plethora of different theoretical concepts. Although seemingly a limitation of the research and Ray's (1998) work more generally, the task did result in a simple theoretical postulation of the rural *tourism* culture economy and, more importantly, in a concise outline of all its essential working parts. I argue therefore that Ray's (1998) rural culture economy theory and Typology provide a valuable *starting point* for understanding and further examining the dimensions of the current rural tourism development phenomenon in New Zealand.

To elucidate and address the second research question, a case study was conducted at a rural New Zealand location where there was evidence of tourism development (Stage Two of the thesis). The Inner Rural Bays, Banks Peninsula, served as the case study site. This stage of the research involved a field examination of the prevalent themes that had emerged from placing Ray's (1998) theory and Typology of the (Rural) Culture Economy in tourism literature (see Chapter Two).

The following was learned about rural tourism development in New Zealand. Evidence suggested that the main reason for developing rural tourism is to generate the income and employment necessary for retaining a rural way of life. This is particularly important in places such as the Inner Rural Bays where traditional forms of rural

enterprise, such as farming and fishing, have declined. As residents at the Inner Rural Bays confessed, the modest financial contribution of tourism is vital for maintaining the community's current economic and social well-being.

Evidence also substantiated Ray's (1998) general claim that in contemporary times, small rural communities need to employ endogenous development strategies to ensure that the benefits of development stay fixed in the community. Residents at the Inner Rural Bays believed tourism was an ideal, and therefore increasingly popular, form of endogenous development because it necessarily entails the following three local/endogenous principals:

1) The participation, skills and knowledge of the *local* community.

2) The use of *local* cultural resources.

3) The exchange between host and guest/tourist to take place *at the rural location.*

These local rudiments have ensured that the benefits of rural tourism development stay fixed at the Inner Rural Bays. Thus, the development of a rural *tourism* culture economy can be seen as a new means to an old end – an ideal way for rural communities to generate the income and employment necessary for retaining their rural way of life.

How tourism, or the means, has formed and is fostered by the Inner Rural Bay community was examined qualitatively by using Ray's (1998) Typology of the (Rural) Culture Economy as a research framework. The Typology is the most valuable component of Ray's (1998) thesis because, once placed in tourism literature, it provides a simple/structured configuration of the rural tourism development process i.e., four critical points of investigation, when once examined, create a detailed impression of how tourism both develops and operates at a site (see Chapter Two).

Mode I

The study confirmed that the first dimension of a rural tourism culture economy involves communities commodifying their local/cultural resources. Rural communities select items from a conceptual "repertoire" (Ray, 1998) of local/cultural resources to

convert into profit generating place products, local attractions, activities or experiences. The local rural tourism repertoire is made up of the community's indigenous resources – a pool of potential local tourism commodities, both tangible and symbolic. Since the tourism commodities that emerge from the local repertoire are indigenous to the locality, they can be marketed and sold to tourists as genuine products of the local/rural culture.

The case study supported Ray's (1998) positive view, that cultural commodification is not an uncontrollable/undermining extra-local force. Rather, it is a selective process orchestrated by the rural community to control the type of tourism that will manifest at the location. Rural communities can *choose* the resources that are most suitable, or appropriate, for conversion into tourism commodities. This may involve, if necessary, the exclusion of revered resources (e.g., Onawe Peninsula at the Inner Rural Bays), the rediscovery and/or preservation of lost local traditions (e.g., cheese production at Barrys Bay), the restoration of sites of cultural significance (e.g., the wharf and agricultural 'Saleyards' in Duvauchelle), or the unearthing and valorisation of new, cultural realities (e.g., Salmon production at Wainui).

The commodification of rural culture for tourism or "Mode I" (Ray, 1998) of the rural tourism development process enables rural culture to be sold to tourists, thereby generating income for the community. In more profundity, however, it can be seen as a purposeful and constructive local activity involving: the appraisal of local culture – (what do we have/what is special?) the valorisation of local culture (what do we value?) and the selection/exclusion of tourism commodities from the local "repertoire" (Ray, 1998) of cultural resources. It is a process that, if done well, can ensure tourism development results in the maintenance, celebration, sharing and selling of local/rural culture with tourists, while also working to meet the changing economic, social and cultural needs of rural residents – a win-win situation.

Mode II

The study also substantiated Ray's (1998) assertion that the second dimension of a rural culture economy involves residents manufacturing a distinct place identity to raise the profile of the destination. For the purposes of tourism, rural residents construct this identity by selecting an inimitable and appealing theme from within their cultural

repertoire. The theme: (1) differentiates the rural destination and its range of products from other rural places engaged in the sale and promotion of tourism, (2) indicates what the unique local tourism experience (or product mix) entails, and (3) entices the tourist to stop by, stay and spend.

Several interesting revelations emerged from the case study regarding "Mode II" (Ray, 1998) of the rural *tourism* culture economy. It was found that a rural identity is not a fixed representation of place. Rather, it is a flexible abstraction that can be changed or modified as the circumstances or needs of the community change. The identity is dynamic.

At the Inner Rural Bays for example, residents were attempting to change their identity from a *French* settlement – a theme it had shared with neighbouring Akaroa Township for many years – to one that signifies real rural *New Zealand* life(styles) by the sea. Residents were making this transition to address a local problem; tourists were driving through the Inner Rural Bays, without stopping, on their way to the larger and better marketed French Akaroa. Residents believed that by differentiating themselves from Akaroa through the projection of a new and unique cultural image, passing tourists would recognise that something special was on offer, and therefore, would stop to explore.

Currently, the Inner Rural Bays is amidst the identity transition and therefore several tourism operators were still projecting strong images of the area's French connection (for example see Figure 16). These images exist alongside the greater community's new symbolic banner. Although outside the scope of the current study, it would be interesting to see how tourists visiting the Inner Rural Bays respond to this mixed message and which of the themes may survive.

The results have also shown that the construction and projection of a rural identity for tourism is more than a tourism advertising campaign. It is also a tool that, like commodification, can be used by a rural community to control the type of tourism that will develop. At the Inner Rural Bays for example, residents were targeting passive tourists by highlighting in their advertising, as part of their new identity, the romantic and relaxed cultural and environmental qualities of the rural setting by the sea. Their

reason for doing this stemmed from a local belief that adventure tourism would threaten the local rural idyll, an attribute of the Inner Rural Bay's the community was keen to protect. Like commodification, therefore, the results show that rural residents can, via purposeful place promotion, use their identity to control the type of tourism that will develop in the community.

The study has also shown that the construction of a rural tourism identity can provide residents with a new or renewed sense of belonging in the rural community. This takes hold as residents look inwards to (re)discover the idiosyncrasies they share as a community and which can, in turn, be shared with tourists. At the Inner Rural Bays this process has united the residents under a new symbolic banner, one that currently drives endogenous tourism development at the site.

Mode III

The study has also confirmed that the third dimension of the rural *tourism* culture economy involves residents with a vested interest in tourism rallying support and enthusiasm for tourism development within the community. This "Mode" (Ray, 1998) rests on the creative capacity of residents i.e., their ability to create ideas that will ensure the tourism industry is accepted by local people. The ideas also work to keep tourism operators supporting each other. As Ray (1998) described, the aim of Mode III is to "create local solidarity" within the community for the kind of development that transpires.

From the current study, the formation of the Top of the Harbour tourism group is a prime example of a local initiative of this sort. As was described, Top of the Harbour is a local forum where residents with an interest in promoting and guiding local tourism development can meet to discuss new ideas, resolve problems, offer support for other tourism operators, and involve the community. Essentially, it is a local tourism think-tank. Top of the Harbour also operates as a social group where food is shared and fun is had. The strong social aspect of the group works to secure not only solidarity between members but also their enthusiasm for ongoing participation in the local tourism industry.

Top of the Harbour has implemented a number of ideas that have helped to maintain local pride, passion and enthusiasm for tourism (for example, the restoration of the historic Duvauchelle Wharf). By doing so, the group unequivocally elevated the reputation of tourism operators, and the industry in general, within the wider population at the Inner Rural Bays. Additionally, the group formulated a local bounce-around principle. This group ethic requires members to use and offer tourists local products and provide information about other tourism offerings in the area. The objective is to share the tourist dollar around the community, and therefore, maintain a robust and cherished local industry.

The case study has demonstrated that as local initiatives, such as those developed by Top of the Harbour, help build a successful tourism industry, regional authorities, aware of the benefits transpiring, will introduce ideas of their own to assist in the management of tourism development. At the Inner Rural Bays for example, I reported that the Banks Peninsula District Council had recently initiated a rural tourism development strategy, appointed a local tourism development officer, and created a historic tourist drive. It will be interesting to see if these regional ideas are welcomed or rejected by the local Inner Rural Bays community who have, until now, assumed relative autonomy over the management of their tourism activities.

Drawing from both Ray's (1998) concept and evidence from the case study, the third dimension of the rural *tourism* culture economy is about the management and invigoration of local tourism activity rather than the production and marketing of the local rural tourism product. Essentially, it is what keeps tourism moving forward in a positive and sustainable manner at a rural location.

Mode IV

The final dimension examined was the community's response to the manifestation of the rural *tourism* culture economy in their 'backyard'. This relates to Ray's (1998) more general notion that a rural community responds to a local/rural culture economy in one of three ways: participation, coping or resistance. In the context of tourism, the case study has found that the Inner Rural Bay's residents have, thus far, responded with Ray's (1998) concept of participation in the rural culture economy.

The participatory response to tourism at the Inner Rural Bays can be explained by revisiting the work of Horn and Simmons (2001). Based on case study research in New Zealand, they outlined a range of factors that can influence a rural community's response to tourism including: residents' perceptions of tourism, visibility of visitors, perceived degree of local control over tourism development, the meaning of tourism for the community, authorities actions towards tourism, and history of tourism development in the area (see Chapter Two, p.27 of the current study). Drawing on their ideas, the following reasons explain the Inner Rural Bays' participatory response to tourism:

1. The Inner Rural Bays community believed they 'all' (see Research Limitations: section 6.5) benefited socially and/or financially from the local rural *tourism* culture economy.

2. Residents at the Inner Rural Bays' consider tourism to be "critical" for the well-being of the community; it provides a vital supply of locally situated jobs and income.

3. The Inner Rural Bays' community felt they had an immense degree of control over tourism development at the location and therefore could guide development in an appropriate manner for local people. At the time of fieldwork for example, residents were adverse to mass and adventure tourism and as an alternative they were guiding local development towards what they believed was passive/impact free tourism.

4. The everyday lives of residents at the Inner Rural Bays were not seriously affected by the presence of tourists or tourism operations at the destination.

5. Residents at the Inner Rural Bays had a good understanding of tourism. This understanding or knowledge stemmed from a long history and experience of tourism in the District (see Chapter Four).

Results also substantiated Ray's (1998) notion that the participatory response to tourism will be associated with the emergence of a number of positive emotions such as local pride, optimism and enthusiasm for the operating local/rural culture economy. Residents at the Inner Rural Bays for example, often expressed their "excitement" for tourism development in the community and their support for each other and their tourism

ventures. Residents were also proud of the high quality of the local tourism product, and as a result, were welcoming of tourists. This was particularly evident with the large number of bed and breakfasts that had emerged at the location; hosts were willing to offer the visitor a genuine "backstage" experience of the local/rural culture (MacCannell, 1973: pp.21-22 of the current study).

Because this study was conducted at a single site, the research cannot report on Ray's (1998) two other responses to the rural *tourism* culture economy: coping or resistance. This limitation emphasises the need to conduct a similar study at multiple sites where the different responses are evident (see Future Research Opportunities: section 6.6). Evidence does however suggest that Ray's (1998) other responses to tourism might surface at a rural site should local circumstances (political, social or economic) change. For example, it is feasible that increasing local government control over tourism at the Inner Rural Bays could erode the current level of local enthusiasm for tourism, and therefore, the high degree of resident participation. Additionally, should tourist numbers increase (see Doxey, 1975: pp.22-25 of the current study) at the site thereby threatening the local rural qualities which are valued by local people (such as tranquillity and empty spaces) residents may become less welcoming of their guests, and therefore, might withdraw their support for tourism. Further studies at the Inner Rural Bays will need to be conducted to substantiate these suggestions.

The Evolving Rural Tourism Culture Economy

An additional discovery, also connected to the idea that local/rural circumstances will change over time, is that the rural *tourism* culture economy may be constrained to the early stages of the rural tourism development process. This is when industry control is exclusively in the hands of the local population. As can be seen at the Inner Rural Bays, the economic success of the local tourism industry has started to generate interest and influence from outside institutions such as regional authorities, universities, and tourism operators from Christchurch City (such as Taste Canterbury Tours). Accordingly, the Inner Rural Bay's rural *tourism* culture economy is showing signs of evolving beyond the local endogenous principals upon which it was built. As reported, the regional Banks Peninsula authority has talked of taking more control over tourism development in the area. It will be interesting to see if this motion will erode the enthusiasm and pride residents have for the tourism industry they have created and currently control.

Ray (1998) does not discuss the possibility that a rural culture economy will evolve beyond local control. He is optimistic that an operating culture economy will *secure* local command over development and fix the ensuing benefits in the community. Based on the case study evidence, however, I would suggest that, in the context of tourism, his optimistic view of the rural culture economy approach to development is perhaps frail. Butler (1980) and Keller (1984) might agree. Both have argued that tourism areas and industries *inevitably* evolve beyond the local control and participation that was evident at their inception (see pp.22-26 of this thesis). By situating Ray's (1998) work alongside their ideas (see Figures 5, 6 and 7) this suggestion becomes more palpable. However, I do believe that Ray's (1998) theory and Typology provide a useful explanation for the unprecedented *rise* of tourism in rural places, and therefore, provide valuable insights into the current rural tourism "bonanza" (Carnachan, April 27, 2004:16) in New Zealand.

6.4   Applying the Research

In view of the results reported above, I have conceptualised a simple Typology of the Rural *Tourism* Culture Economy (see Figure 21, p.103). The Typology can be used by community groups, local authorities, tourism consultants or those individuals wanting to construct, inspect or guide a local/rural tourism industry. While the Typology has been produced using data from one rural community's tourism experience, the Inner Rural Bays (see Figure 20, p.90) there is sufficient evidence in literature to suggest that it will apply to other rural places where tourism has manifest (see Chapter Two).

Drawing upon the general configuration of Ray's (1998) model (see Figure 2, p.4) the Typology depicts four working "Modes" of the local/rural *tourism* culture economy. These "Modes" (Ray, 1998) have been discussed throughout this thesis and include: (1) the commodification of local/rural culture for tourism, (2) rural identity construction and place promotion, (3) community tourism management, and (4) the community response to rural tourism. In the Typology each Mode is briefly described to provide some basic *tourism* context. Akin to Ray's (1998, Figure 2, p.4) model, the Typology emphasises the value of local/rural cultural resources for tourism development and the importance of community participation, control and management during the local/rural tourism development process.

Using the Typology of the Rural *Tourism* Culture Economy as a framework for tourism enquiry – as has been done in this thesis – an individual, community or group could acquire a snapshot of an operating local tourism industry (for an example see Figure 20, p.90), create a model of a conceivable local/rural tourism industry, or get an impression of what the community's ideal local/rural *tourism* culture economy should look like. As mentioned above, the "Modes" (Ray, 1998) of the Typology would be useful *starting points* for those with an interest in understanding and nurturing local/rural tourism development.

The Typology is simple and therefore its use is perhaps limited. However, it does provide a basic understanding of the rural tourism production system and its facets and functional capacity. In view of this, its application may provide:

- A simple understanding of how tourism has formed and/or is being fostered at a specific rural location, which was the case in this current study.

- An understanding of why tourism is, or is not, functioning successfully at a specific rural destination – for example if a particular dimension was missing or was developing weakly.

- A simple means to identify local/cultural strengths that could be employed in the shaping of a successful local/rural tourism industry.

- A model that could be used to compare and contrast, with ease and speed, the different ideas rural communities are using as they attempt to develop local tourism industries, particularly those at a similar stage of tourism development.

Figure 21: A Typology of the Rural *Tourism* Culture Economy

(Adapted from Ray, 1998: see p.4 of this thesis)

A Community's **Rationale** for Developing a Rural *Tourism* Culture Economy

- The reasons and motivations residents have for developing a local rural tourism industry (e.g., to retain a rural way of life, to derive new sources of income and employment).
- Equates to the benefits that a community believes/perceives will flow from developing a local tourism industry.
- *Consider*: Is tourism the most appropriate form of alternative rural development for the community? What other development options could derive similar benefits?

MODE I

The Commodification of Local/Rural Culture for Tourism

- The selection and subsequent production of a distinct and unique local tourism product.
- Here the community *selects* suitable items from their pool of local/cultural resources – the "cultural repertoire" (Ray, 1998) – for converting into tourism attractions, activities, and commodities.
- When derived from the "repertoire" the items can be marketed as genuine tourism products of the local/rural culture.
- The sense of choice during the selection process enables the community to control the type of tourism that will develop in their 'backyard'.

MODE II

Rural Identity Construction

- The (re)construction of a community identity that can be projected to tourists.
- Chosen by the community.
- Based on a unique and genuine aspect of the local culture such as a: craft, product, tradition, or geographical feature.
- *Aim*: to differentiate the community from other rural places selling tourism thereby enticing tourists to stop by, stay and spend.
- The identity should have a strong link with products at Mode I.

Place Promotion

- How the community chooses to use the identity to promote the destination e.g., brochures, marketing campaigns, the internet.

MODE III

Local Initiatives to Support/Encourage Local Rural Tourism Development

- The way residents choose to organise/conduct themselves at the destination for the successful fostering of tourism in the community.
- Rests on the creative capacity of residents and their ability to think up ideas that will ensure tourism is accepted by local people and operates productively overtime.
- Examples: organising a local festival, forming a community tourism group, creating local industry etiquette (such as always using local products and bouncing tourists around local tourism operators), involving local people in decision making and planning.

MODE IV

The Community's Response to the Operating Rural *Tourism* Culture Economy

Participation	Coping	Resistance
This response indicates widespread community approval of local tourism development/activities.	This response indicates mixed approval within the community for local tourism development (some locals keenly participating, others adverse to development).	This response indicates that the community does not believe that tourism is an appropriate form of local/rural development.

6.5   Research Limitations

This research project has three main limitations that need to be considered. The first limitation is methodological and relates to implications brought about by the way participants were selected for the study. People with an *obvious* interest in tourism at the Inner Rural Bays were chosen to be interviewed. Because of this decision a biased, positive depiction of tourism at the Inner Rural Bays emerged from the interview data. In hindsight, a more balanced result may have been gained by interviewing people who were not directly involved in tourism, and therefore, were not benefiting from it. Despite this misgiving, I did not encounter any disgruntlement with tourism development among the more general Inner Rural Bay's population during my time living at and studying the site. The community's overall positive attitude towards tourism was explained by several interviewees who believed that everyone at the Inner Rural Bays was involved in tourism in some way, and therefore, that everyone, at the time of this research, was benefiting from the rural *tourism* culture economy. A lack of official statistics for the area meant that this opinion could not be verified officially.

The second limitation of the study relates to the timing of the fieldwork. The main period of data collection took place in July and August (2003). At this time many residents were occupied with early lambing in what some locals described as unusually adverse weather conditions. For them, this was a stressful and busy time of the year. Accordingly, interviews could not be conducted with some residents who were significantly occupied with the realities of their rural lifestyle. In addition, this time of the year was considered the off-season for many tourism operators and, as a result, several potential key informants were away and could not be contacted. In some cases, interviews were organised outside the time set aside for fieldwork, however a limited Masters budget and timeframe did not afford much flexibility. Consequently, some interview opportunities were missed. Despite this shortcoming, secondary data analysis, a local newspaper, magazines and advertising material provided useful insights into the tourism operations of the missing local voices.

The third limitation of the study relates to the wide scope of Ray's (1998) work. As mentioned above, Ray's (1998) theory is a broad/introductory explanation for what is a complex, multifaceted rural phenomenon. Thus, when attempting to situate Ray's work

in the field of tourism it was necessary to introduce and link a vast array of topics. This broad scope meant that the depth of the analysis was, at times, compromised.

6.6   Future Research Opportunities

As a result of this study, several topics for future research have come to the fore. Researchers could:

- Examine the manifestation of the rural *tourism* culture economy at multiple rural sites by using the Typology I have constructed or by following the methodology employed in the current study. This approach would enable the researcher to establish if a rural *tourism* culture economy develops differently in different historical, environmental, social, political or cultural contexts.

- Explore the way a single local/rural cultural item, such as a local food product or tradition, has become a component of a local/rural *tourism* culture economy. This would narrow the scope of the investigation, thereby allowing deeper analysis of each dimension or "Mode" of the Typology of the Rural *Tourism* Culture Economy. Such an approach would be particularly interesting in a comparative study of circumstances where several rural communities were basing their tourism development action on a similar local/cultural resource. Here, the researcher could examine if similar rural *tourism* culture economies follow a similar development trajectory.

- Revisit the Inner Rural Bays to examine how the local/rural tourism culture economy there has evolved/changed over time.

- Use the Typology of the Rural *Tourism* Culture Economy (See Figure 21) as a model to be worked through during focus group research at a location where tourism was at the initial stages of development. This would help verify its value as a model/framework for communities wishing to take the rural *tourism* culture economy approach to development.

6.7   Concluding Statement

This study demonstrates that the proliferation of tourism in rural New Zealand can be understood as part of Ray's (1998) general theory of emerging rural culture economies. At the heart of Ray's (1998) theory is the notion that a rural community's cultural resources (physical, symbolic and human) have immense value for rural development. Local/rural culture has: *economic* value when converted into tourism commodities, *symbolic* value when used as the basis for marketing and rural place promotion, and *management* value when viewed as the unique way residents organise themselves, their space and their local/indigenous assets for tourism.

The study also demonstrates that Ray's (1998) Typology of the (Rural) Culture Economy, when placed in the context of tourism, provides a useful *starting point* for examining the strategies rural residents can use to form and foster local/rural culture based tourism action in their community. The range of strategies identified and detailed in this thesis are: (1) the selection and commodification of local/rural cultural resources for tourism, (2) the construction of unique and appealing rural place identities which can be marketed to the extra-local tourist market, (3) the inception of community initiatives to support local tourism growth, and (4) the community's response to tourism development. Together, and drawing from Ray's (1998) work, these strategies can be viewed as the necessary components of the rural *tourism* culture economy approach to rural development, or more simply, the main parts of the rural tourism production system.

The research has led to the conceptualisation of the Typology of the Rural *Tourism* Culture Economy (Figure 21). It is proposed that this Typology can be used by individuals, local authorities, or community groups as a *first stop* on the way to formulating or assessing a local/rural tourism development strategy.

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LINCOLN UNIVERSITY

Dear Sir/Madam,

I would like to invite you to participate in a research project titled Tourism and the Rural Culture Economy in New Zealand: Insights from the Inner Rural Bays, Banks Peninsula. The study is part of my Masters of Applied Science degree at Lincoln University.

The aim of the project is to explore the development of rural tourism in New Zealand through a case study of Duvauchelle, Wainui and the neighbouring bays. It is anticipated that the results from the study will provide useful information for those rural communities (and individuals) wishing to develop or manage a tourism enterprise in their rural region (e.g., a farm stay, a farm based tourism activity, a retail store, etc). In addition, the research will add to a growing (yet relatively new) discussion on rural tourism in New Zealand and how this represents a change in traditional rural activity. Upon completion, the final report will be available at the Lincoln University Library.

Should you choose to participate in this research you will be asked to attend an informal, semi-structured interview. The time, location and duration of this interview will be entirely up to you, the participant. The research will be conducted during the months of July and August 2003 (during this time I will be residing in the district).

All information and data that you provide will be confidential and only available to my supervisors and myself. To ensure that you remain anonymous throughout the study, I will not use your name or any personally identifying information: during the processing of data; in the final report; or, in the instance that the study (or any part of it) be published. You can withdraw from the study at any time, including the withdrawal of any information you have provided, prior to the publication of the final report.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please contact my principal supervisor or myself at the following contact details:

Supervisor	*Researcher*
Dr David Fisher	Michael Mackay
Environment, Society and Design Division	Environment, Society and Design Division
Lincoln University	Lincoln University
Phone: 325 3820 ext 8149	Phone: 021 188 2637
Email: fisherd@lincoln.ac.nz	Email: mackaym2@lincoln.ac.nz

The project has been reviewed and approved by the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee.

Thank you for taking the time to read and consider the above information.

Yours sincerely,

Michael Mackay
Lincoln University Postgraduate Student

APPENDIX B: Basic Interview Structure/Themes

1. Activity the research subject was involved in *before* establishing a rural tourism operation.

2. Factors that contributed to the decision to establish a rural tourism operation.

3. Distinct characteristics of the interviewee's tourism activity/product/business.

4. Resources utilised to establish the tourism enterprise (social, cultural, economic, environmental).

5. Factors that hindered the development of their rural tourism enterprise.

6. How the local product has evolved over time.

7. Important (distinct) features of "local" tourism products.

8. The local tourism product's presentation and marketing.

9. The identity of the area being projected to tourists.

10. The importance of the rural location to the research subject and the activity.

11. The importance of a rural lifestyle to the research subject.

12. Key changes in local lifestyle and the local environment since tourism has proliferated.

13. The subject's future outlook for tourism in the area.

14. Interviewee's involvement in community tourism groups.

APPENDIX C: Useful Lincoln University Reports on Tourism in Akaroa

*For full copies refer to: http://www.lincoln.ac.nz/trrec/trrecpub.htm (last accessed: 21/10/04)

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APPENDIX D: Tourism Advertisements Examined from the Inner Rural Bays

Tourism Business and Location	Category/Source
1. Cabbage Tree Corner (Robinson's Bay)	Brochure (2003)
	The New Zealand Bed and Breakfast Book (2003)
2. Halfmoon Cottage (Barry's Bay)	Brochure (2003)
3. The Gables Country House (Wainui)	Brouchere (2003)
	www.gaytravel.net.nz (17/09/2003)
4. YMCA Wanui Holiday Park (Wainui)	Brochure (2003)
6. Telf 'n' Al's Tikao B & B (Tikao Bay)	Brochure (2003)
7. Bantry Lodge Bed and Breakfast (French Farm)	Brochure (2003)
8. Fox II Coastline Adventures (Duvauchelle)	Brochure (2004)
9. Duvauchelle Cottage	www.akaroafoxsail.co.nz (6/10/2003)
10. Hotel des Pecheurs (Duvauchelle)	Brochure (2004)
	www.gaytravel.net.nz (17/09/2003)
11. Rosslyn Estate (Barry's Bay)	Charming Bed and Breakfast Guide New Zealand (2003)
12. Bossu Farmstay (Wainui)	The New Zealand Bed and Breakfast Book (2003)
	Charming Bed and Breakfast Guide New Zealand (2003)
13. Coast to Coast Cottages (Duvauchlle)	www.coasttocoastcottages.co.nz (17/09/2003)
14. Barry's Bay Cheese Factory (Barry's Bay)	Brochure (2003)
15. French Farm Winery (French Farm)	Cuisine Magazine: Wine Country (2003)
16. Twin Gullies	www.akaroa-honeyhouse.co.nz (17/09/2003)