ALEXANDRA: A POINT OF DIFFERENCE

UNIVERSITY
of
OTAGO

SAPERE AUDE

Te Whare Wānanga o Otāgo

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MASTER OF PLANNING

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Executive Summary

What has become apparent is that Alexandra is at a crossroads, and fundamentally this relates to a need to collectively define an identity befitting Alexandra's unique people, landscape and sense of place. In the collaborative process of defining this identity, Alexandra's people can realise a multi-layered transformation; socially, spatially, economically and ecologically. What is required is the establishment of a visionary, long-term strategic framework, which is built upon community aspirations guided by sympathetic land use and development principles that strengthen the *mauri* (life energy) of the Alexandra people, land and waterways.

The key questions of this research are as follows:

1. How can Alexandra's identity contribute towards the development of Alexandra as a destination?
2. What opportunities are available to promote economic, tourism and cultural development reflecting the identity of Alexandra?

To answer these questions, two objectives have been identified these are listed below:

1. Explore the evolution of Alexandra's identity
2. To investigate opportunities to (re)establish connections to features of Alexandra's historical and contemporary identity.

A mixed methods research approach was utilised in order to address these objectives. This approach made use of both primary and secondary sources in order to gather a wide range of data. The primary methods included 12 key informant semi-structured interviews and a focus group, and GIS analysis. The secondary methods included policy analysis and literature review to develop a theoretical framework for the research. The combination of the primary and secondary research provided adequate data, and from the findings, it was possible to suggest recommendations for the promotion of Alexandra in the future.

The findings of this research can be defined in five key topics – identity, cultural heritage, community-led development, industry-led development and local authority led development.

The findings suggested that identity and place attachment contribute to the sense of belonging and ownership in a community. Alexandra, Central Otago is at risk of experiencing small-town decline, and there is the potential for the opportunity to promote the cultural heritage to encourage economic growth, particularly in the tourism sector. There is a need for community, industry and local government involvement in encouraging the growth of Alexandra.

With this all taken into consideration, four key recommendations were developed which the Central Otago District Council and local community could potentially utilise or draw upon in order to more effectively promote Alexandra's cultural, economic and tourism sectors and overall promote Alexandra a destination. These recommendations are as follows:

Recommendation One: Development of a strong vision for the future

Recommendation Two: Development of a strong central hub

Recommendation Three: Integrate existing cycle networks into the town centre

Recommendation Four: Promote the packaging of high-value tourist activities

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CODC Central Otago District Council

RMA Resource Management Act

GIS Geographic Information Systems

1. Introduction

Central Otago is a significant area of Aotearoa New Zealand, and it has the opportunity to promote itself to residents and visitors all over the world. There are many small towns within the region, and these towns all have unique identities. Alexandra has had a history of being the central hub of the region as a service and administrative centre of the region. Due to a variety of factors, Alexandra no longer plays the role it used to, and like many other small towns, it is undergoing transitions in all sectors, particularly in the economic and social spheres (Mayers and Knox, 2010). Small towns on highways have an important role to play and promoting places like Alexandra is important to support the whole region (Ryan and Aicken, 2010). As transportation of goods and ease of travelling changes, service towns are no longer essential. However, it is important to regenerate them as destinations themselves.

This transitionary period that Alexandra is in provides an opportunity to create a new identity for the town. The identity of a town functions as an opportunity, as it can either draw people in or cause them to lose interest. Identity also evokes a sense of belonging among members of a community and therefore causes people to make connections with each other (Raagmaa, 2002). Having the community involved in strategic planning processes can improve their sense of belonging and place attachment, and therefore they have a greater sense of pride and responsibility to a town (Manzo and Perkins, 2006). In Alexandra, community involvement is vital to the growth of the provincial town.

Improving education and recognition of the cultural heritage in Alexandra also provides an opportunity to draw in visitors. There is a rich history of gold dredging and Māori heritage in this region, which can promote Alexandra. The cycle and walking trails are a big part of the tourism and economic sector in Central Otago, and it is evident that creating a hub in Alexandra will provide further opportunities for progress in Alexandra. Having physical connectivity encourages people to move around and explore different activities and makes the stay in a space for a longer period of time (Moore and Graefe, 1994). In regenerating Alexandra, planning decisions need to encourage further movement around the town and create a hub that will be appealing to all ages, demographics, residents and visitors and will create a space to interact.

1.1. Aims and Research Objectives

The aim of this research project is to explore opportunities for Alexandra's future. The research focuses on the strengths of Alexandra in order to identify aspects that can be utilised to encourage development in the town. The project will also endeavour to understand what revitalisation is required and how this can be accomplished with support from the community. The purpose of this research is to assist the Central Otago District Council in addressing the future needs of Alexandra.

The key research questions for the project have been prepared, and are as follows:

3. How can Alexandra's identity contribute towards the development of Alexandra as a destination?
4. What opportunities are available to promote economic, tourism and cultural development reflecting the identity of Alexandra?

The objective of this research is to use the research questions to:

3. Explore the evolution of Alexandra's identity
4. To investigate opportunities to (re)establish connections to features of Alexandra's historical and contemporary identity.

1.2. Research Approach

This research project used a mixed method approach to achieve the aim and determine results that will help provide solutions to the research questions. Interviews and focus groups were determined to be the most appropriate approach as it enabled a thorough investigation into the current issues in Alexandra and the unique ideas of business members and individuals in the community. Primary research was utilised in the form of semi-structured interviews, a focus group and observations of the area and secondary methods included a literature review, policy analysis. Finally, Geographic Information Systems (GIS) has also been used to portray a visual representation of key sites and potential routes through Alexandra. These various methods have provided a comprehensive understanding of the potential for Alexandra to promote its economic, tourism and cultural development.

1.3. Report Structure

This report has been prepared into sections to create ease of reading; this is outlined in the contents list. This chapter provided an introduction into the research and the aims and objectives. The next chapter will provide details on the region and will help situate the research in Alexandra. The third chapter will be a review of the literature, which will aid in providing a theoretical framework for the research in Alexandra. The following chapter will be a brief summary of key legislation and policy that relates to cultural, economic, tourism development in the town, as well as heritage policies. The fifth chapter will include the methodologies of the research and justification for the methods selected. Chapter Six will present the results and findings of the field research. Chapter Seven will then discuss these findings by linking to the secondary materials (literature review and policy) to explore what the results mean in relation to the research questions. The final chapter will present recommendations for promoting Alexandra as a destination for residents and visitors.

2. Context

This chapter provides the context for the research undertaken in Alexandra. Alexandra faces similar challenges to many small, service towns in New Zealand and globally. It is important for small towns to celebrate their heritage and culture and to create connections (both tangible and intangible) in order to make them appealing locations to reside and visit. This section will explain the geographical composition of the town, the historical features, and a brief description of the demographics of Alexandra's population. This information will help provide the context to support the information in subsequent chapters.

2.1. Research location

Alexandra is the provincial centre of the Central Otago District and is located inland in the lower half of the South Island (the research area is indicated in Figure 1) (Briggs *et al.,* 1989). This study is concerned with understanding how the identity, culture and heritage of Alexandra, and not the surrounding area of Central Otago. The figure also shows the surrounding townships to provide a greater context of the region.
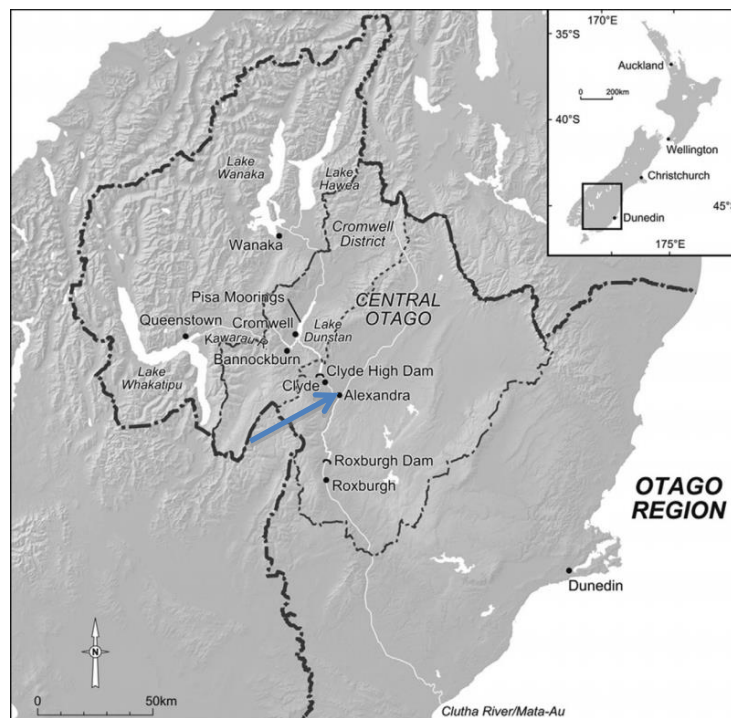
Figure 1. Map of Central Otago Area, the arrow indicates the location of Alexandra (Mackay et al., 2014: 47).

Central Otago has unclear boundaries, but it is often considered the inland area near Dunedin and in the Otago region. The town of Alexandra is located on the banks of the Clutha River at the convergence of Manuherikia River (Briggs *et al.,* 1989). Alexandra is also located at the junction between State Highway 8 and State Highway 85. Due to this, it is strategically situated due to its position on the highways and its topographical location near the rivers (CODC, 2013). It has become the administrative centre for the Central Otago region due to its locality to Cromwell, Roxborough, Omakau and other nearby towns (Briggs *et al.,* 1989). It is also a vital service centre for this area and has important supplies for the horticulture and viticulture industries as well as it more opportunities arising for tourism.

2.1.1. Geography and Climate

Alexandra has an oceanic or semi-arid climate with low rainfall and typically warm temperatures. The climate in this area is unique to the rest of New Zealand, as it is relatively sheltered as it is protected by the mountain ranges of Fiordland and the Southern Alps (Hall, 2006). This creates a dry and warm climate over Central Otago, with extremely hot summers and sometimes the region even faces droughts. However, in winter the temperature can be below freezing with frosts and snow. The town's location is one of the farthest from the coastline in New Zealand and due to this, experiences very cold winters and hot summers compared to move other places in the country (Hall, 2006).

Alexandra is famous for its landscape and is surrounded by the 'moonscape' of rocky schists tors and high country. As with many of the towns in Central Otago, Alexandra is surrounded by mountain ranges and hills, and it is located on the Dunstan Flat, where the Molyneux and Manuherikia rivers meet (Poyck *et al.,* 2011). Due to this geographical location on the highly fertile river flats, Alexandra and surrounding land are often utilised for sheep farming, fruit orchards and viticulture activities.

However, due to the location of the town at the junction of two rivers, it has been prone to flooding. In 1878, the flooding of the Clutha River caused the destruction of private and public property in Central and South Otago (Poyck *et al.,* 2011). The flood was caused by heavy rainfall and melting snow. As a result of this, there was a loss of buildings, which has meant that there are a limited number of older buildings in Alexandra (Poyck *et al.,* 2011). Since this flooding, there have been several other occasions where flooding has occurred in the region and caused further destruction but there is limited data on these events.

Since this historic flooding, there have been several other significant flood events that have impacted upon Alexandra, notably 1994, 1995 and 1999. While peak flow was lower for all three events than the 1878 event, the construction of the Roxburgh dam in the 1950's resulted in higher flood levels due to sedimentation increasing bed height upstream of the dam (CODC, 2008). The construction of flood banks and pumping stations along the Linger and Die section of the Manuherikia River, and the left bank of the confluence along the central business district provides protection against flood events of up to 4150m^3/s (MWH, 2007). This is 350m^3/s greater than the estimated instantaneous peak of 3800 m^3/s of the 1999 flood event and 300m^3/s greater than the estimated level of a 1:100-year event (MWH, 2007). Natural hazards maps of the area reflect this risk, with the Otago Regional Council including significant portions of the Alexandra central business district within its flood hazard zone as can be seen in Figure 2.
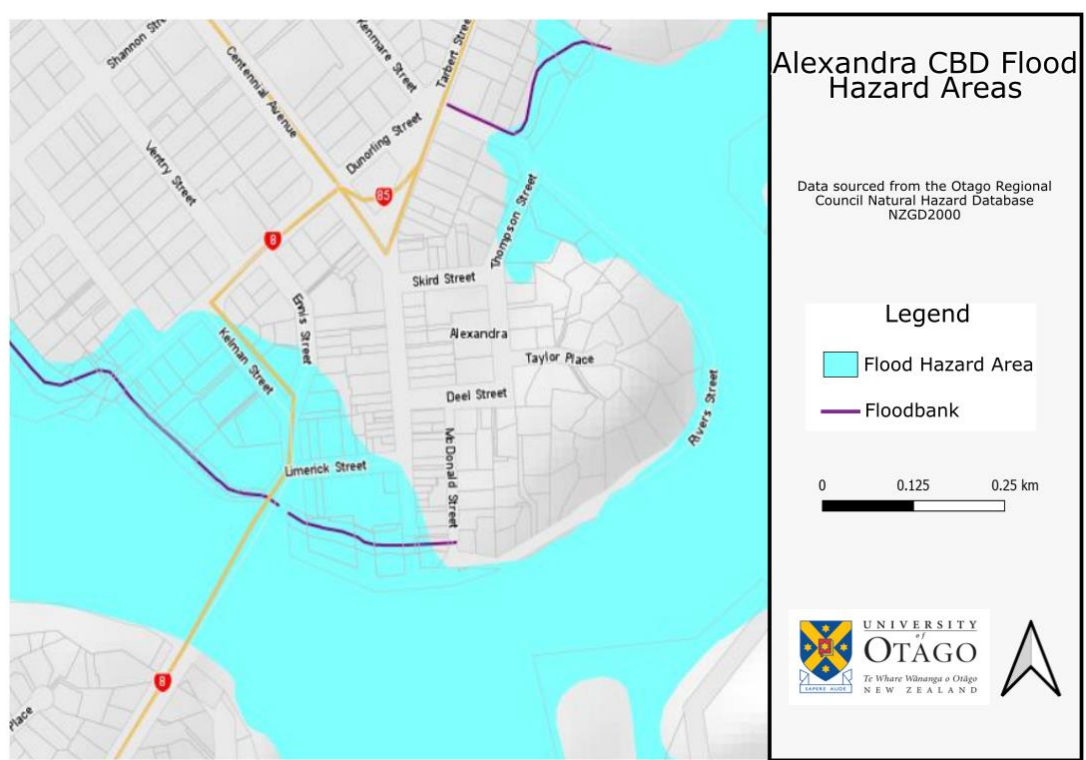
Figure 2. Flood Hazard Map shows the areas at risk of flood in Alexandra.

2.1.2. History of Alexandra

Māori were the first human inhabitants of the Central Otago district, and it was an important seasonal food source (Perkins *et al.,* 2015). In the nineteenth century, Alexandra was developed in the colonial period due to the discovery of gold in the area. Alexandra was a miners' settlement and was previously known as Lower Dunstan or Manuherikia (Perkins *et*

al., 2015). The mining history in Alexandra dated back to the 1860s and was heavily mined until the 1930s (Briggs *et al.,* 1989). The marriage of Princess Alexandra of Denmark to Edward, the Prince of Wales saw the name of the town change to Alexandra South, and later to Alexandra in 1863, renamed by John Aitken Connell who originally surveyed the town. In 1866, the Alexandra population decreased to 250 people as the gold declined (Cunningham, 2005). With the turn of the century, there was industry shift to orchards, and it became clear the area had highly fertile soil and a dry climate and good irrigation opportunities (Briggs *et al.,* 1989). Orchards are still highly important for the Central Otago economy, but in the 1980s many orchards were lost due to construction and development in the area. Many were also destroyed in the 1980s in aid of construction to provide more accommodation and buildings for residents and visitors to Alexandra (Cunningham, 2005).

Over time, the town has gone through several different industries in its history. The main ones include gold mining, coal mining, rabbit processing, gold dredging and eventually fruit growing (Cunningham, 2005). The first bridge was not installed in Alexandra until 1882. Previous to the installation of the Manuherikia Suspension Bridge trips across the river had been taken via raft or rowboat. The bridge is better known under the name Shaky Bridge, due to its swinging nature, it was used until 1952 when it became too dangerous to cross (Cunningham, 2005). Figure 3 below contains an image of this bridge.

Figure 3. The Manuherikia Suspension Bridge, fondly named Shaky Bridge

Eventually, additional bridges were added to the area to improve access and then a railway bridge, which enabled a connection to the Otago Central Railway. Over time, the routes into

the town have changed, and now State Highway 8 or 85 are the main arterial roads to enter the city (Victoria University of Wellington, 2016). Figure 4 below shows the current bridge into Alexandra from State Highway 8. This has been erected to replace the old bridge. However, the piers remain in place.

Figure 4. The State highway entrance to Alexandra

While fruit orchards remain a prominent industry in the Central Otago region, but there has also been a shift to viticulture in recent decades. The area is one of the newest wine regions in existence and is the furthest south in the world (Victoria University of Wellington, 2016). Since 2000, there have been hundreds of vineyards developed in the region, and it has become a very successful venture (Perkins *et al.,* 2015). The highly variable weather makes it more challenging and means there is a short growing period that experiences strong frosts and winds. However, viticulturists have learnt to manage the extreme climate and loss of crops due to weather events (Perkins *et al.,* 2015).

In recent times, tourism has become a more viable industry for Alexandra and the wider Central Otago region (Perkins *et al.,* 2015). The extremes of summer and winter help aid the diversity of activities that can be undertaken in the area. These activities include mountaineering, hiking, ice-skating, swimming, boating, and holidaying in the hot summer. Alexandra's proximity to the Queenstown-Lakes District has also improved the area as a more affordable alternative, with a similar climate and landscape (Perkins *et al.,* 2015).

2.1.3. Population size

In the 2013 Census, 17,895 people permanently lived in Central Otago, while 4,800 of these were situated in Alexandra (Statistic New Zealand, 2013). At the time of this Census, there

were 2,136 occupied dwellings and 312 unoccupied dwellings in the town (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). The median age of Alexandra is 49.1 years old, which is 2.1 years older than the median age for the Central Otago District (Statistic New Zealand, 2013). It is significant to recognise that 17.4 per cent of the population is under the age of 15 years, and 27.1 per cent of people in Alexandra are aged 65 years and over. The dominant ethnicity recorded in Alexandra is European, with 92.9% of the population. The second dominant group recorded is Māori, with 8.4%, with other residents identifying with Pacific peoples, Asian, and others (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

The main demographics in Alexandra are families, retirees and farm workers involved with horticulture, agriculture, viticulture and other trades (CODC, 2013). In Alexandra, there are a lot of seasonal workers and work in the agriculture and horticulture sector (CODC, 2013). There are also a many lifestyle block owners and holidaymakers during the summer, and therefore some of the houses remain unoccupied during the winter period.

2.2. Current situation in Alexandra

Alexandra is currently a town that travellers pass-through and has difficulty having people remain both as visitors and permanent residents. One challenge the city faces is that there are larger, more attractive destinations in the vicinity of the town. For example, Queenstown is only 90 kilometres away and boasts far more opportunities for tourists (Victoria University of Wellington, 2016). However, Central Otago is often promoted as a region rather than individual towns, with its unique charm and historic sites and landscape features that cannot be seen anywhere else in the country (Victoria University of Wellington, 2016). Tourism has the capacity to aid the revitalisation of the town. However, there is a need to capitalise on the adventure opportunities and landscape in the surrounding areas to Alexandra to make it more attractive to people (Rosin *et al.,* 2013).

The Otago Central Rail Trail is an important feature in the region and offers walking, cycling and riding experience. The trail is 150 kilometres and is located between Middlemarch and Clyde (Otago Central Rail Trail, n.d.). It enables residents and visitors to the region to become immersed in the unique landscapes of Central. The Rail Trail opened in 2000, and a Trust operates it, working closely with the Department of Conservation, as it is a recreation reserve due to its heritage and recreation value (Otago Central Rail Trail, n.d.).

3. Literature Review

3.1. Small town development

3.1.1. Identity

Small towns play an important role as service centres. Nonetheless, there is an economic development away from production towards consumption activities (e.g. tourism) as time progresses (Ferreira, 2007; Ryan and Aicken, 2010). This provides a platform for employment generation, capital investments, buildings and infrastructure (Ferreira, 2007; Ryan and Aicken, 2010). Furthermore, the natural appeal of landscapes and cultural heritage sites allows opportunities for tourism development that possesses qualities of both push and pull motives, thus, attracting wider industries into the area (Ferreira, 2007; Ryan and Aicken, 2010).

However, there has been a lack of research into small towns; and with the effects of globalisation reaching these small towns, it has become increasingly important to understand and address the challenges and opportunities of small-town communities (Mayer and Knox, 2010). Resource-dependent small towns are undergoing economic and social transition, and this has significant implications on their identities (James *et al.*, 2016), the socio-economic wellbeing of the residents, as well as the governance of these regions (Tonts *et al.*, 2012).

This section focuses on how identity contributes to small-town development. The evolution of identity is explored in regard to the different forms of identities and the place attachments of residents, developers, and visitors to a location. The transformation in the economy that occurs due to place attachments is then studied by considering how community-led developments (partnerships and entrepreneurship) and tourism result in diversification that brings in capital, infrastructure development, employment generation, as well as in-migration to these small towns. The pros and cons of this 'second modernity' are discussed alongside the policy interventions of different levels regarding funding and governance.

The objective of this section is to determine the potential opportunities of small town revitalisation and how identity can contribute towards the development of a town as a destination for residents and tourists.

3.1.2. What is Identity?

Identity expresses a certain sense of belonging in terms of the common social space and the local culture (Raagmaa, 2002). It comes in different forms and connections (Raagmaa, 2002) and provides insights into the social, political, and economic landscapes within a community (Amsden *et al.*, 2010). This includes territorial, symbolic, institutional and the formation of regional identity, whereby each is associated with a specific space (Figure 5) (Raagmaa, 2002). The territorial shape represents the perceived space and refers to the setting for social practices regarding the spatial configurations and quality of built infrastructures (Raagmaa, 2002; Ryan and Aicken, 2010). This has major implications to the daily rituals of the residents in terms of ease of movements and aesthetics of an area, for example (Ryan and Aicken, 2010).
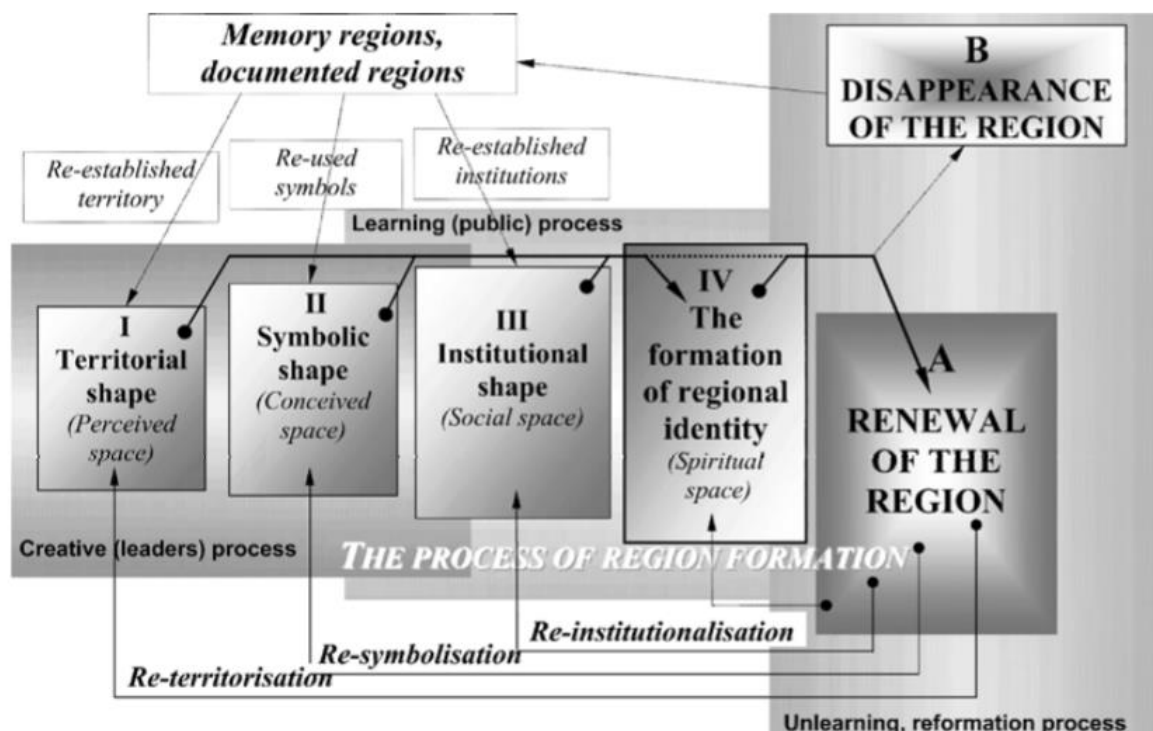
Figure 5. Definition of identity adopted from Raagmaa (2002).

The symbolic shape is characterised by the conceived space, which comprises the cognitive features of a region (Raagmaa, 2002; Ryan and Aicken, 2010). Conceived space can include

built structures, such as buildings or monuments; or even an element of lifestyle that defines a region (Raagmaa, 2002; Ryan and Aicken, 2010). Institutional space signifies the social space of which a community interacts within affective (emotive experiences) and cognitive (tangible experiences) aspects on both formal and non-governmental organisations. This is associated with the resident attitudes formulated within clubs, networks, friendships, relations, and common values (Raagmaa, 2002; Ryan and Aicken, 2010).

The formation of regional identity comprises the spiritual space through intangible elements resulting from the constant process of institutionalisation and transformation. This encompasses the sense and history of a region associated with the daily practices of a community (Raagma, 2002; Ryan and Aicken, 2010). In short, identity is a complex formula that incorporates the physical settings and the interactions of the community within the local landscape intertwining with personal impressions and social contexts (Amsden *et al.*, 2010; Ryan and Aicken, 2010).

3.1.3. The Importance of Place Attachment in Community Development

There are a number of varying concepts that refer to relationships with place. 'Place attachment', 'sense of place', and 'place identity' all describe a relationship to place. However the borders between them are not always clear. Indeed, sometimes attributes, for example, emotional ties or belonging, have been associated to one of these concepts by one author, but to another concept by a different author (Manzo and Perkins, 2006; Pretty *et al.*, 2003). For the purposes of this research, an in-depth analysis of the differences between these will not be undertaken. Instead, the focus is on how these concepts contribute to community development. The concept of community also has different meanings, it can either refer to groups of people that are identified by common interests, values, or culture, or, as will be used in this context, it can refer to a group of people inhabiting a specific geographic area (Pretty *et al.*, 2003).

The beginning of any of the concepts outlined above is placemaking, the process of 'space' becoming 'place' as people attach meaning to it (Manzo and Perkins, 2006). Manzo (2003) describes place as the combination of the spatial with the social. Place attachments are positive bonds between people and their physical and social setting (Brown *et al.*, 2003). They are formed through daily routines, stories attached to physical

structures or environment, and meanings that are built up over time (Manzo, 2003). The concept of place attachment was brought into planning theory through the disciplines of environmental and community psychology, and geography which highlighted the critical role that place relationships play in our lived experiences and place-related attitudes, behaviours, and feelings (Manzo and Perkins, 2006). Place attachment does not develop in a vacuum; it is affected by politics, place meaning, power relations and ideology (Manzo, 2003). It is developed within a broader context and is therefore never constant; it is a dynamic relationship and ever-changing.

Manzo and Perkins (2006) analyse the connections between place attachment and planning processes and argue the extent to which people participate in local planning efforts is influenced by their thoughts, feelings, and beliefs about local community places. This area of study has developed alongside concepts of social capital, sense of community, sense of ownership, and citizen participation (Manzo and Perkins, 2006). These aspects of community development are all intertwined and do not happen in isolation from each other. However, they have evolved largely independently as planners have focused on community development and participative planning and environmental psychologists have focused on place attachment. The combination of these and understanding how they influence each other is what is crucial for the success of communities (Brown *et al.*, 2003; Manzo and Perkins, 2006).

Brown *et al.* (2003) undertook empirical research on the links between social and physical indicators of neighbourhood decline and place attachment in the USA. They found that place attachment and sense of community play a significant role in neighbourhood revitalisation efforts. In places where neighbours are anonymous and in particular, where people do not stay long enough to form place attachment, they tend not to be committed enough to improve their own home or to engage in local groups. They found that place attachment is strengthened by daily encounters with the environment and neighbours, seasonal celebrations, and continued physical personalisation and upkeep (Brown *et al.*, 2003). This study reinforces the arguments by Manzo and Perkins (2006) above which a stronger connection involving positive thoughts and feelings towards a place leads to greater involvement in community initiatives and improvement of place.

One of the ways that place attachment influences social cohesion and strengthening the sense of community is through strengthening place identity (Brown *et al.*, 2003; De Bres and

Davis, 2001). The concept of place identity was first promoted in the 1980s. Prior to that, place was incorporated into identity only through what is called 'place identification' which is essentially a form of social identification, for example, a person from London calling themselves a Londoner (Twigger-Ross and Uzzel, 1996). Twigger-Ross and Uzzel (1996) argue place has far more importance to identity than basic place identification. Instead, they approach the issue in a much broader sense, arguing that all aspects of identity (i.e. social, cultural, political, values) have place-related implications.

While the discourse around place identity has largely been focused on the individual level, a sense of place and place attachment is also a key feature in creating a collective identity of a place (Pretty *et al.*, 2003). Community identity can be apparent at different scales, from national to regional, from cities to small towns, to even different suburbs. A strong sense of identity is usually apparent in the way that people talk about a place or the people from a particular place (De Bres and Davis, 2001). Pretty *et al.* (2003) conducted research that explored sense of place and place identity in a rural setting in Australia. They found that a key factor determining whether adolescents and adults wanted to stay in their town was a sense of community or feeling like one belonged. Pretty *et al.* (2003) argue that this suggests the importance of collective social identity which is influenced by place attachment. Another key factor was the presence of general community sites (parks, sports grounds, convention spaces) where people enjoyed formal and informal social activities, the perception of whether life in the town was dull or interesting particularly important for adolescents and younger adults. The study also reinforced what others have found, that those who have resided in a community the longest tend to have the highest indicators of attachment and identity (De Bres and David, 2001; Pretty *et al.*, 2003). The study showed that place attachment was more important to adults than to adolescents, who were more concerned with opportunities offered in their community (Pretty *et al.*, 2003).

Another aspect that contributes to community development that has not yet been discussed is the sense of ownership. As Wilcox (1994) points out, people are much more likely to be committed to carry something out if they feel an ownership of the idea. One of the biggest barriers to action is apathy or the perceived lack of agency. If the community is merely given information about what is planned or given a list of options to choose from, it is far more likely to result in apathy, instead of a commitment to an idea (Wilcox, 1994). The solution to this problem is for people to be able to say, 'we thought of that'. This involves brainstorming

workshops, helping people think through the practicality of ideas, and reaching an agreement on the appropriate course of action. However, it is not just procedural aspects that must be taken into account to encourage a sense of ownership. In order for a community to feel ownership of an idea to improve place, they must also feel ownership of the place that is to be improved and a connection to the other people involved (De Bres and Daivs, 2001). It is hard to know what comes first, a sense of ownership which leads to place attachment? Or place attachment that leads to ownership of the area and the drive to take care of it? These concepts are closely interlinked, and as stated above, they are dynamic and ever-changing, so it is impossible to formulate a normative process that community development follows. What is clear, is that when all these features are present in a community; place attachment; collective place identity; ownership of place and ideas, then it leads to a strong sense of community and greater involvement in community development (Brown *et al.*, 2003; De Bres and David, 2001; Manzo and Perkins, 2003; Pretty *et al.*, 2003).

3.1.4. Global Influences on Identity

Both residents and visitors can develop a sense of place attachment. This consists of the social structure of networks, bonds and individual and community sentiment upon symbolic, political and social perceptions (Amsden *et al.*, 2010; Raagmaa, 2002; Ryan and Aicken, 2010; Tauxe, 1998). Place attachment, in other words, is the sense of place that can determine the interactions and perceptions of the visitors and residents (Amsden *et al.*, 2010; Ryan and Aicken, 2010). The development of identity often changes over time; this can be illustrated by the experience of Waiheke Island.

Case study in Waiheke Island by Ryan and Aicken (2010)

Waiheke Island went through a change of identity from what was historically a rural community known for a lifestyle based on arts, crafts and bookshops (Ryan and Aicken, 2010). The improvements on ferry services and all-weather dependability led to an attraction by the upper-middle class community from Auckland (Ryan and Aicken, 2010). The influx of affluent ownership meant rapid growth and demand for property development and improvement of infrastructure and amenities, including restaurants, roads, lighting, sewage, retail stores and refuse services (Amsden *et al.*, 2010; Ryan and Aicken, 2010).

As argued by Argent (2002), Dredge and Jenkins (2003), and Ferreira (2007) the development of a distinctive image of a place that preserves the intrinsic quality of the town heritage will contribute to the economic growth and capital investments. In the case of Waiheke Island, it has marketed itself as a distinctive destination with a strong sense of local cultures; and has shown that counterbalancing the homogenising influences from gentrifying development appeals to foreign investments (Dredge and Jenkins, 2003; Ferreira, 2007).

The global-local discourse meant "glocalisation" is being reinforced. This refers to the strengthening of local identity with economic progress (Dredge and Jenkins, 2003; Ferreira, 2007; Nel and Stevenson, 2014). Globalising forces parallel with economic integration and has led to the homogenisation of small towns (Dredge and Jenkins, 2003). However, homogenisation forces can lead to a reassertion of the local identity and community pride from local actors to regain cultural, social and economic sovereignty (Dredge and Jenkins, 2003; Ferreira, 2007; Kargillis, 2011; Nel and Stevenson, 2014; Ryan and Aicken, 2010). This, in turn, helps to develop a competitive edge in the global market by driving motivations for migration into the small towns for either retirement or alternative lifestyles (Dredge and Jenkins, 2003; Kargillis, 2011).

Furthermore, this acts as a key factor to attracting potential foreign investments, which is a major source of income for regional development in terms of employment generation, corporate investments, enterprise development and tourism (Dredge and Jenkins, 2003; Ferreira, 2007; Kargillis, 2011; Nel and Stevenson, 2014; Ryan and Aicken, 2010).

3.1.5. Transitioning Economies of Small Towns

Small towns are highly susceptible to the economic decline from the effects of globalisation and technological change on larger cities (Figure 6). This is due to a lack of economic buffering from the sole dependence of small-town socio-economic wellbeing on local natural resources (James *et al.*, 2016; Force, 1998; Mayer and Knox, 2010; Tonts *et al.*, 2012). The effects of the rising international competition combined with the finite local resources meant a deleterious effect on the local economies (Force, 1998; Mayer and Knox, 2010; Tonts *et al.*, 2012).
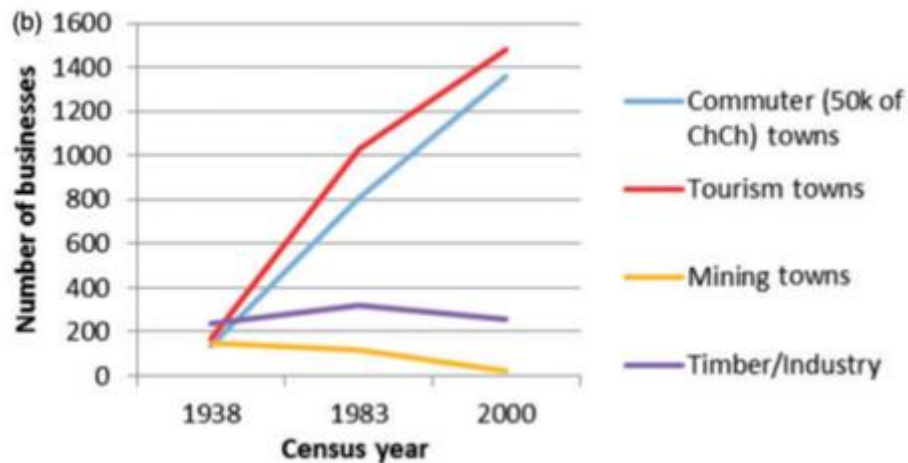
Figure 6. Number of businesses in commuting, tourism, mining and industrial towns in Canterbury and Otago/Southland (Nel and Stevenson, 2014).

Conversely, tourist destinations can be affected by the socio-economic of the surrounding regions and the spatial distance to larger metropolitan centres. This is often associated with higher and more diversified economic development potentials- mainly from the solid contributions from human resources, institutional and commercial services (Radu, 2016; Ferreira, 2007; Ryan and Aicken, 2010; Tonts *et al.*, 2012).

The lack of transferable labour skills, knowledge institutions and entrepreneurship in resource-dependent communities meant compromising the development of their own economic potential; which in turn influence a wide scope of factors like demographic changes, food security, telecommunication infrastructure, housing and service provision (James *et al.*, 2016; Marais, 2013; Nel and Stevenson, 2014; Tonts *et al.*, 2012). On the other hand, the growth of tourism in small towns is often demanding to the natural, socio-cultural, and built environments like historical sites, which in turn may affect the social, political and economic landscapes through inflation of the real estate market, modified traffic patterns, changing land use patterns and service providers (Amsden *et al.*, 2010; Ferreira, 2007; Ryan and Aicken, 2010).

Residents may range from pro-development to anti-tourism. In other words, preferring the status quo rather than expansion depending on the degrees of ambivalence (Ferreira, 2007; Ryan and Aicken, 2010; Nel and Stevenson, 2014; Semian and Chromy, 2014; Tauxe, 1998). Thus, the relationship that the locals have with development may also act as a determinant to whether the idea of identity would act as a driver or a barrier to regional development

(Ferreira, 2007; Ryan and Aicken, 2010; Nel and Stevenson, 2014; Semian and Chromy, 2014; Tauxe, 1998).

Some argue that many small towns reliant on resource exploitation have not benefitted from this new round of investments and have never fully recovered from the economic and population loss of the shrinking city/town phenomenon (Marais, 2013; Nel and Binns, 2002; Nel and Stevenson, 2014). This has significant impacts on the personal stability of the communities who have developed a sense of place attachment (Marais, 2013; Nel and Binns, 2002; Nel and Stevenson, 2014). The weakening of community ties and social linkages as a consequence of economic decline leads to the breakdown of social institutions like sports federations, women's and religious groups (Marais, 2013).

In short, the loss of capital and production in single-industry towns leads to community instability and division between the employed and unemployed, which in turn leads to the loss of a sense of belonging (Marias, 2013). At the same time, the wide scope of resources in an area, from natural (e.g. climate), built (e.g. historical sites) and socio-cultural (e.g. arts and festivals) provides tourism opportunities in an area, thus, contributing to the local economic development (Ferreira, 2007). In addition, the diversification of economic development will create more sustainable communities (Daniels, 1989) and stimulate a shift away from the productivism economy (Argent, 2002).

3.1.6. Community-Led Development

As traditional economic activities like extraction have declined, small towns are resorted look inward to their resources and capacities to encourage economic diversification (Force, 1998; Mayer and Knox, 2010; Nel and Stevenson, 2014; Tonts *et al.*, 2012). Grassroots action is often the driver for economic development and acts as a key collaborative role between private stakeholders and local governments in small-town communities (James *et al.*, 2016; Mayer and Knox, 2010; Nel and Stevenson, 2014).

Through community-led development involving partnerships, entrepreneurship, and networks, small towns have sought to address the challenges and opportunities of dynamic economic development in order to increase livability, environmental protection, and quality of life (Daniels, 1989; Mayer and Knox, 2010; Nel and Stevenson, 2014; Tonts *et al.*, 2012). Local festivals and viticulture, for example, can serve as sustainable attractions, and at the same time, satisfying both the tourists and the social and cultural roles of the community

(Andersson and Getz, 2008; Ferreira, 2007). In addition, grassroots movements that highlight local, organic and slow food, environmentalism, entrepreneurship and creativity allows the emphasis on liveability and quality of life (Mayer and Knox, 2010).

3.1.7. Government Support

Government interventions are important in facilitating and revitalising small towns on the transition of the economy. Key policymakers and the introduction of regulation and programs will shape the economic landscape of the rural communities (Argent, 2002). The transition into a socially and culturally heterogeneous rural community will contribute to the economic growth and capital investments around the area (Argent, 2002; Dredge and Jenkins, 2003; Ferreira, 2007)

Moreover, policy interventions that limit the homogenising forces of regional government will provide more opportunities for community involvement, thus, encouraging market interests and economic diversification. This allows for more emphasis on collaborative partnerships between government, agencies, local institutions and community groups in the local economic futures (James *et al.*, 2016; Nel and Stevenson, 2014).

A more responsive and creative style of governance can help improve the local identity, image and economy of the small towns. This can be done through financial assistance, support in the export market, access to energy, communication and natural resources, relocation and changing of jobs etc. Thus, reducing the impact of economic restructuring and redevelopment around a region (Radu, 2016; James *et al.*, 2016; Marais, 2013; Nel and Binns, 2002; Nel and Stevenson, 2014).

Case study in New Zealand small towns by Nel et al. (2014)

There was a realisation to the significance of non-state actors and private sectors for local development in the 1980s. This resulted in the reamendments to policies with an emphasis on partnerships, training and supply-side support. The state-led spatial intervention and community economic support were laid out particularly by the Ministry of Social Development (MSD), Department of Internal Affairs (DIA) and Ministry of Business Innovation and Enterprise (MBIE). MSD is involved with short-term community initiatives; DIA is providing community development advice; MBIE

assisting with export market etc.

3.2. Cultural Heritage

The concept of cultural heritage has long been subject to contention due to the broad application of the term and associated spatial, temporal, and value related differences (Alberti and Giusti, 2012; Loulanski 2006; Tweed and Sutherland, 2007). This is in part due to the conceptual focus of cultural heritage being dynamic, as represented by a shift from monuments to people; from objects to functions and therefore, from preservation to 'purposeful preservation, sustainable use and development" (Loulanski, 2006: 208). Beyond any difficulties with identifying a definition, theorists also talk of conflict, mainly associated with the shifting values of contemporary society from an object-centric perspective to a more 'functionalist' approach, one that sits within the broader context of sustainable development (Alberti and Giusti, 2012; Bowtiz and Ibenholt, 2009; Loulanski 2006). This shift has transpired in response to a growing awareness of the potential for diverse socio-economic benefits to be realised because of regenerative strategies that focus on cultural heritage as a driver and catalyst of change (Labadi, 2011; Loulanski, 2006; Tweed and Sutherland, 2007). This section will elaborate upon key themes and issues within the literature that is directly relevant to our two key cultural heritage questions as described below. Firstly, it is necessary to gain an appreciation of cultural heritage's potential for contributing to the development of stronger community identity. Secondly, in a more tangible sense, an understanding is sought as to what extent the 'purposeful preservation, sustainable use and development' of cultural heritage strengthens economic, social and environmental outcomes.

To start, we will explore how the concept and definition of cultural heritage have been in a constant state of evolution. We will then discuss the effects of integrating cultural heritage into regenerative development strategies, and how the effects are diverse and wide-ranging, with a particular focus on the socio-economic realms. Finally, reference will be made to specific case studies where cultural heritage has facilitated the transformation of socio-economic positions through adopting a 'functionalist' approach as the mechanism to achieve sustainable development objectives.

3.2.1. Cultural Heritage: An International concept

The concept of cultural heritage is constantly evolving as a function of its 'dynamism, complexity, and multiplicity as its primary feature(s)' (Loulanski, 2006: 298). This complexity is evident in the attention given within academic literature to identifying and discussing potential definitions and defining conceptual understandings of cultural heritage (Vecco, 2010; Gonzalez-Perez and Parcero-Oubiña, 2011; Ahmad, 2006; Loulandski, 2006).

The evolving notion of cultural heritage is most evident in the 40 or so international heritage charters and conventions aimed at heritage protection that have been implemented internationally since the 1950s. However, identification of a shared definition of cultural heritage has been contested by Gonzalez-Perez and Parcero-Oubiña (2011), who suggest the charters and guidelines do not contribute a 'shared understanding' of what archaeological and cultural heritage is, or what it is made up of (Gonzalez-Perez and Parcero-Oubiña 2011: 1).

One of the main functions of the international heritage documents was to develop and document the scope of heritage and associated definitions (Ahmad, 2006). The concept of heritage has been noted to exist on an evolving spectrum, and this is apparent within these documents as is the 'dynamism and elasticity' of what constitutes heritage (Ahmad, 2006; Loulanski, 2006). Vecco (2010) delves into the terminology used to define heritage and identifies the 'elasticity' of the concept as time has progressed. Reference to the term of cultural property was typical within the early instruments, such as the 1954 Hague Convention which recognised the need for protection of heritage in instances of armed conflict. The idea of the wider social and public importance of heritage preservation was also acknowledged, however, during this era the focus was still distinctly object-centric. The malleable nature of the concept was reflected in a subsequent 1956 charter that included recognition of the need to safeguard significant landscapes and natural and manmade environments of cultural or aesthetic interest (Vecco, 2010). This broadening definition for the first time alluded to more intangible concepts such as landscapes and aesthetics, which are value-laden and subjective.

The 1964 Charter of Venice provided a first definition of the 'concept of heritage' which acknowledged monuments as being 'imbued with a message from the past' while also recognising the responsibility of current generations to safeguard heritage in the 'full richness

of their authenticity' (Charter, 1964:1). These themes of heritage retaining human-centred values and associations such as intergenerational equity have persisted within a contemporary understanding of cultural heritage (Tweed and Sutherland, 2007; Murzyn-Kupisz and Działek, 2013). An innovative approach was introduced in the 1987 Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas, whereby historic cities were the targets of protection due to the fact that they 'embody the values of traditional urban culture' (Charter, 1964:1) as represented by 'both material and spiritual values and by the relationships they create between the city and its surroundings' (Vecco, 2010: 323). This signified a further expansion of the concept of cultural heritage to include both tangible and intangible values as the features to be protected.

Article 2:2 of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage consolidated the incorporation of tangible and intangible values into the overall concept when it defined 'intangible cultural heritage' as:

> *The practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills—as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith—that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage (Ahmad, 2006)*

Of relevance to this current research is the acknowledgement that cultural heritage is not just limited to built heritage, rather it incorporates intangible elements as well. Thus, this broadened concept demonstrates that even in a locality where few are remaining built heritage structures, there is still the potential for cultural heritage to be present, embraced, and utilised. Specifically, the remaining cultural heritage may contain intangible heritage such as localised knowledge and skillsets, traditional cultural events and 'ways of life' that give expression to local or regional identity.

3.2.2. Key Themes in Cultural Heritage (Conservation to Functional Approach)

A contemporary understanding of cultural heritage is to acknowledge a duality, one which recognises both economic and cultural capital and a definitive shift from simply conservation to economic enhancement (Alberti and Guisti, 2012). Whilst this progression is widely recognised (Bowtiz and Ibenholt, 2009; Alberti and Giusti, 2012; Loulanski, 2006; Tweed and Sutherland, 2007) a shift towards functionalism does not retain a hegemonic position, rather it is contested and as such has been termed a key focal point of 'heritage

dissonance' (Loulanski, 2006). What is not contested is the significant social benefits associated with the use and preservation of cultural heritage, particularly regarding the strengthening of individual and collective identities and place attachments (Labadi, 2011; Murzyn-Kupisz and Działek, 2013). Conversely, adverse physical and social effects have also been identified with a functionalist approach, such as displacement and other effects associated with opportunity cost (Murzyn-Kupisz and Działek, 2013). The following section will now discuss some of the key themes and effects of a functionalist approach particularly related to economic and social benefits.

3.2.3. Economic Value of Cultural Heritage

Cultural heritage-based development strategies have been recognised as a means to stimulate positive and sustainable economic outcomes (Dümcke and Gnedovsky, 2013; Labadi, 2011; Murzyn-Kypisz and Działek, 2013l Bowitz and Ibenholt, 2009) and as a catalyst for increased social benefits including a strengthening of collective identity (Maltese, Mariotti, Oppino and Boscacci, 2017; Murzyn-Kupisz and Działek, 2013; Tweed and Sutherland, 2007; Alberti and Giusti, 2012; Bowitz and Ibenholt, 2009). These two discourses are widely evident within the literature, but the economic value of cultural heritage and associated valuation methodologies appear more frequently than research into the social value of cultural heritage (Dümcke and Gnedovsky, 2013).

Bowitz (2009) has succinctly described the multitude of economic impacts associated with cultural heritage projects broadly categorising them as direct effects and indirect effects. Direct effects are those generated from the project itself such as increased sales volumes or additional full-time equivalent employees. Such effects are considered 'tangible variables' and are often less significant within the wider 'magnitude of effects' (Bowitz and Ibenholt, 2009: 3). Application of cultural heritage-based development strategies is often seen within regions of economic decline, so as to draw tourists and 'external money' into the local economy, therefore stimulating 'base service industries' and creating the potential for 'spill-over effects' (Bowitz and Ibenholt, 2009). These spillover effects may include increased employment opportunities within supporting sectors, increased accommodation numbers and wider and indirect expenditure within the supporting service sectors (Labadi, 2011).

Intangible heritage features such as localised cuisine specialties, crafts and locality specific skillsets are also seen to be valid sources of potential economic value (Murzyn-Kupisz and Działek, 2013). An example of spillover effects and intangible heritage contributing to outcomes is given by Murzyn-Kupisz and Działek (2013) who identified a wider palace regeneration project that inspired a local fish farm and traditional preserves businesses to be initiated to capitalise on increased visitor numbers and associated expenditure.

From a technical perspective, various methodologies are employed to establish and quantify the extent of economic 'added value', and in some cases justify public expenditure towards such initiatives. Maltese (2017) employs the commonly used contingent valuation method (CVM) to estimate the benefits related to a 'slow mobility project, in essence, a cycleway and pedestrian network in Europe. Of note was the author's referral to the complex spectrum of benefits to evaluate the project, stating that:

> *'the benefits from bicycle and walking facilities are certainly more difficult to be assessed since their value concerns intrinsic, intangible and non-monetary aspects such as cultural meaning, sense of identity, landscape perception."* (p 155)

Reference to the literature identifies that a CVM methodology is an acceptable and commonly used method to accommodate diverse and complex numbers of parameters. However, it has been argued that the benefits as assessed through these methods can be overstated and that there are flaws in the methodologies (Labadi, 2011). One area of contention is the assertion that some of the evaluations may be subject to 'optimism bias', in terms of being aimed at proving the positive impact of a proposal as opposed to being impartial evaluations, whereas another critique is in relation to evaluation's lacking robust supporting data (Labadi, 2011). Bowitz and Ibenholt (2009) further describe a lack of recognition of less desirable impacts or 'countering effects' such as displacement and gentrification. Furthermore, an often-neglected factor is the potential for increased infrastructure costs required to sustain tourism growth, as well as physical 'wear and tear' or stress on the heritage feature (Bowtiz and Ibenholt, 2009).

3.2.4. Social Value of Cultural Heritage

Cultural heritage can have an impact upon social values such as the quality of lifestyle, fulfilment of a local community's leisure needs or cultural and aesthetic needs (Murzyn-Kupisz and Działek, 2013). Tengberg *et al*. (2012) support this assertion by detailing that

cultural heritage generates intangible and 'non-material benefits' of 'spiritual enrichment; cognitive, emotional and social development; reflection; recreation; and aesthetic experiences' (Tengberg *et al*. (2012): 16).

Festivals can be another form of immaterial cultural heritage utilised in strategic development initiatives that realise the aforementioned 'non-material benefits'. Significantly the cultural festival as a form of cultural heritage is considered one of the most important examples of 'cultural consumption' as festivals are noted to 'bring together, display and re-interpret a cultural legacy' as a marketable good or resource (del Barrio *et al.,* 2012:236).

Other observed social outcomes have been the enhancement of community engagement and empowerment, social inclusion, intercultural communication, and capacity building (Dümcke and Gnedovsky, 2013). Museums, for example, can act as a catalyst and forum for intercultural dialogue, conflict resolution and reconciliation strategies through programmes that identify cultural commonalities and histories, and makes them accessible (Bodo, 2008; Dümcke and Gnedovsky, 2013).

Strengthening of cultural and community identity is frequently recognised due to cultural heritage being 'something that forms the basis of people's identity (Alberti and Giusti, 2012: 262) and the conduit for 'inter-intra generational communication' (Murzyn-Kupisz and Działek, 2013). Identity values such as a sense of place and community spirit can be cultivated via the memories and attachments to 'special or historic features within a landscape that remind us of our collective and individual roots, providing a sense of continuity and understanding of our place in our natural and cultural environment' (Tengberg, *et al.*, 2012: 16). This place attachment may lead to increased entrepreneurship within the local context which again strengthens the human connection and has the potential to realise positive economic benefits at various scales. New residents may subsequently be attracted to the area as a result of perceived community values and economic potential, i.e. gravitational effects (Bowitz and Ibenholt, 2009), as well as the quality of life associated with living in aesthetically pleasing and cared for heritage areas.

3.2.5. *The Contribution of Cultural Heritage to Sustainable Development*

Cultural heritage can be linked to sustainable development outcomes (Loulanski, 2006; Bowitz and Ibenholt, 2009; Murzyn-Kupiz and Działek, 2013; Tweed and Sutherland, 2007) as characterised by social, economic, and environmental outcomes. Many researchers have

identified strong benefits of using cultural heritage as a strategy for addressing rural and regional decline (Alberti and Giusti, 2012; Bowitz and Ibenholt, 2009; Maltese *et al.*, 2017; Labadi, 2011). This approach is often associated with strategies that seek primarily to attract tourists to the specific cultural heritage unique to an area, for example, industrial mining heritage, historical settlements, traditional cuisine or pilgrimage routes. Three concepts are of direct relevance to this current body of research. Firstly, one project assessed the strategic benefits of establishing a slow mobility network to increase the accessibility and 'connect the diffused heritage' to pedestrians and cyclists (Maltese *et al.*, 2017: 153) A contingent valuation method was used to establish the 'willingness to pay' of residents to justify public expenditure on the project. Benefits were found to be mostly 'intangible' such as an increase in quality of life and health and wellbeing outcomes, a reduction in vehicle emissions and better cultural outcomes associated with the experiences of promotion of the historical and religious heritage systems. In this case, it was found that associating cultural heritage with 'cycle tourism proves to benefit local trade and business opportunities, especially in rural areas, by utilising existing and often underused facilities' (Maltese *et al.*, 2017: 158).

The second concept is for tourism enhancement to be achieved by employing cluster arrangements as a mechanism to build regional competitiveness through 'leveraging their cultural heritage' (Alberti and Giusti, 2012: 1). Such an approach adopts a functionalist attitude (Loulanski, 2006). Whereby cultural heritage is interpreted 'not as a mere resource endowment to be purely safeguarded or exploited, but as a driver for the formation and development of new cluster forms able to sustain regional competitiveness' (Alberti and Giusti, 2012). Specifically, a cluster strategy is characterised by 'geographic concentrations of interconnected companies, specialised suppliers and service providers, firms in related industries, and associated institutions' in sectors that compete but also cooperate (Alberti and Giusti, 2012: 262). This case study is indicative of a 'strong consensus' in wider literature that strategic clustering of cultural heritage can contribute to creating competitive advantages and innovation in cities and regions (Alberti and Giusti, 2012).

A final complementary concept to the clustering arrangements of industry and service sectors mentioned above is the strategic use of heritage trails as an integrated tourism product. Heritage trails exist at various scales, such as the those that follow historic routes associated with past civilisations, for example, the Silk Route through central Asia and the Slave Route

through West Africa (Timothy and Boyd, 2006). Furthermore, heritage trails can function to connect heritage resources and individual sites for tourism as opposed to simply assuming importance for their historical context. On a smaller scale, trails may recognise regional heritage, such as those that incorporate networks of historical settlements and associated remnants. An example of this may be a heritage trail that connects historical gold mining settlements, often incorporating localities that contain industrial remnants of the operation.

(Mason and O'Mahony, 2007) Discusses how the combination of food and beverages with a local story, along with the 'memorable experience' of a trail can be combined to attract tourists to an area. Wine tourism in itself can attract visitors to a region as a stand-alone special interest tourism product. Significant wine producing regions such as Bordeaux and Napa, for example, have demonstrated this through leveraging their identity to market themselves as a wine tourism destination. Therefore, the integration of heritage and wine tourism in the form of Wine Heritage Trails can incorporate the collective appeal of distinct landscapes, wine culture and cultural heritage to realise beneficial social and economic outcomes (Villanueva & Girini, n.d.).

3.2.6. Conclusion

There is a multitude of factors that define what cultural heritage is, with the concept and definitions have evolved as a function of human values and temporal and geographical differences. This evolution is characterised by a shift from an object-centric perspective to a people-centric ideal that encompasses 'sustainable human development, which, by definition, has its philosophy rooted in the reconciliation between conservation and development goals and the better balance between economic, social, and environmental aspects of development' (Loulanski, 2006: 214).

Cultural heritage has the potential to generate a diverse range of direct and indirect effects, in nature, society and the economy. Economic effects can be measured through economic tools such as the CVM method, although the intangible nature of many of the spillover effects makes effective assessments difficult (Bowitz and Ibenholt, 2009; Labadi, 2011. Social effects have been observed by way of (although not limited to) a strengthening of identity, multicultural discourse and conflict reconciliation (Dümcke and Gnedovsky, 2013). Cultural heritage, therefore, has the potential to contribute to the regeneration of declining regional and rural economies, provided strategic and integrated strategies are adopted to increase

competitiveness and remain innovative (Alberti and Giusti, 2012). In the context of this particular research, it can be seen that cultural heritage does indeed have the potential for contributing to a strengthening of identity, and local and regional social and economic revitalisation.

3.3. Urban Form

3.3.1. Introduction

Any development of a city or town must consider urban form. It impacts everything from social connectedness, to economic success. Ad hoc development resulting in urban sprawl has a number of detrimental effects on the sustainable management of the environment, including increased car dependency, environmental pollution from emissions, a reduction in active lifestyles and social exclusion of the less mobile. (Knowles, 2012: Ewing and Cervero, 2010). Other effects have been identified such as decreased aesthetic appeal of the landscape, reduced regional open space, loss of sensitive landscapes, higher energy consumption, increased runoff, increased risk of flooding and visually monotonous (and regionally inappropriate) residential developments (Johnson, 2001: 722). Thus, given the wide-ranging adverse effects of sprawl, opportunities for strategic considerations of the urban form should incorporate good design principles that both aspire to sustainable management of natural resources as well as incorporates economic and social outcomes. Accordingly, three development approaches are briefly detailed below as conceptual backgrounds, and then the discussion will shift towards a description of some of the common and most significant design principles that these development approaches advocate.

3.3.2. Urban Growth Boundary

Firstly, one potential response to urban sprawl is to establish urban growth boundaries, as defined by Stoel (1999: 11) cited by Johnson (2001) 'a line drawn around a city at a distance sufficient to accommodate expected urban growth' thus prohibiting growth beyond these limits. Such an approach is intended to preserve the diversity of natural resources and channel development into areas with existing infrastructure capacity (Johnson, 2001). The three goals of urban boundary limits are to manage the rate of growth of residential and commercial development, increase the use of public transport and encourage infill development of areas closer to the urban centre (Johnson, 2001).

3.3.3. New Urbanism

A potentially more politically appealing strategy that does not fix the limit of growth is the application of new urbanism design elements that seek to counter the effects of urban sprawl through advocating compact urban design patterns, increased occupancy density, mixed-use urban living, active transportation modes, walkability of neighbourhoods and (re)building opportunities for social interactions. New urbanism theory has its roots in the "neo-traditional town planning of Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk" (Grant, 2002:73) and is promoted by Stephenson (2002: 99) as 'reinvigorating city planning history by invoking the tradition of American civic design to solve the conundrum of suburban sprawl'. The 1980's signalled its emergence as a form of postmodern urbanism in response to failing inner-city neighbourhoods, declining house stocks, regional stagnation, declining business districts, community instability, social segregation and urban sprawl and associated effects (Sharifi, 2016). In 1993 a coalition of Environmentalists, Architects and Planners established the Congress for new urbanism, whose charter advocates the following:

> ' the restructuring of public policy and development practices to support the following principles: neighbourhoods should be diverse in use and population; communities should be designed for the pedestrian and transit as well as the car; cities and towns should be shaped by physically defined and universally acceptable public spaces and community institutions; urban places should be framed by architecture and landscape design that celebrates local history, climate, ecology, and building practice (Congress for New Urbanism, n.d: online.)

3.3.4. Smart Growth

Smart growth is a further land development approach that, along with new urbanism, has been 'proposed by advocates and others as being the essential equivalent of sustainable development' (Jepson Jr and Edwards, 2010). The definition of smart growth by its principal advocate, the Smart Growth Network, incorporates issues such as natural resource protections, expanded housing diversity, regional collaborations and economic development that utilises local physical and human resources, and community involvement (Smart Growth Network, 2009). Smart growth attempts to restrain sprawl through the implementation of land use controls assisted with regional and local policy mechanisms encouraging compact

development; urban revitalisation approaches transportation and housing diversity, open space protection and collaborative decision-making processes (Jepson Jr and Edwards, 2010). While adopting similar principles, there are a number of differences between new urbanism and smart growth (Knaap and Talen, 2005) such as they have evolved from different theoretical origins and new urbanism is seen to be more concerned with physical form in design elements to guide behaviours. Furthermore, unlike smart growth advocates, new urbanists are said to have confidence in the potential of market forces and thus promote the removal of regulatory obstacles to urban development to facilitate implementation of their developments. Overall, there are commonalities between new urbanist and smart growth development principles, and therefore a selection of the primary ones are detailed below as a theoretical basis for strategic growth considerations.

3.3.5. Development Principles

A number of land development principles can be related to the definition of sustainable development as documented by Jespon (2010) below (Figure 7). Whilst there is much overlap, in total, fourteen broad principles are detailed comprised of the following: housing balance; spatial integration of employment and transportation; mixed land use; use of locally produced, clean and renewable energy sources; energy and resource efficient building and site design; pedestrian access (walking and biking) to work and leisure; housing affordability (for all income groups); housing diversity (of style, type and tenure); high density residential development; protection of natural and biological functions and processes; resident involvement and empowerment; social spaces (public spaces to encourage social gathering); sense of place and intermodal transportation connectivity.

Figure 7. Smart Growth Development Principles (Smart Growth Network, 2009).

The following is a selection of the most prominent and accessible design principles for Alexandra.

3.3.6. *Medium to High Density/ Intensification*

A New Zealand measure of success has often been the yardstick of owning a detached property, on a quarter acre section, which has mostly informed the development of New Zealand's urban forms. However, a key flaw in this approach is that single occupancy dwellings consume large amounts of land, are resource intensive, reinforces car dependency and contributes to cumulative environmental effects. Therefore, applying the design principle of increasing the density of homes, people and employment opportunities per unit of area is a primary means to mitigate the effects of urban sprawl (Knaap and Talen, 2005). Doing so allows for efficiency in the provision of infrastructure and therefore reduces development pressure on open space, (Jepson Jr and Edwards, 2010); provides opportunities for increased social interactions and encourages walking and cycling.

3.3.7. *Mixed Land Use*

Jane Jacobs famously promoted the benefits of mixed-use development when she stated that 'fine grain mixing of diverse uses creates vibrant and successful neighbourhoods' (Grant,

2002: 72). Mixed-use promotes diversity in the composition of building functions, scale and aesthetic as well as diversity in affordability and demographics. The vibrancy referred to by Jacobs can be encouraged through promoting uses of multi-use buildings and public spaces throughout the day as opposed to single function buildings that are only occupied during normal retail or office hours. Mixing of residential, retail commercial and employment activities provides increased opportunities for social use of the spaces, thus encouraging pedestrians and 'eyes on the street' as well as limits the necessity to travel for work. Social benefits can be achieved from having mixed demographics for example through encouraging multi-generational interactions that can mitigate risks and effects of social exclusion for older people who may be living in detached housing in low-density areas. Physical mobility issues may limit chances for these older people to easily access social interactions in these circumstances, thus contributing to social isolation. Higher density mixed-use urban forms can increase opportunities to do so.

3.3.8. Permeability/ Connectivity

Single-use, low-density developments and disconnected street layouts are generally found to inhibit walking and physical activity (Knaap and Talen, 2005). Similarly, cul-de-sacs are considered to be detrimental to maintaining the permeability of neighbourhoods in terms of walkability, whereas the use of the grid pattern facilitates efficient movement. Promotion of connectivity through smart urban design allows for increased walkability and cycling opportunities, and more opportunities for socialisation thus leads to better health and social outcomes.

3.3.9. Opportunities for Social Interactions

Talen (2002) describes how new urbanism promotes social benefits and outcomes through design by suggesting that 'the social goals of new urbanism are most concerned with the common good, followed by social equity and then community' (Talen, 2002: 167). These aspirations are apparent in that new urbanism forgoes the prominence of individual personal interest in favour of the promotion of communal interests. (Talen, 2002) Communal interests are promoted through sympathetic resource use by way of a reduction in lot sizes, equitably accessible public parks and green spaces and orientation of building structures to ensure increased 'eyes on the street' Correspondingly, a sense of place can be developed which increases attachment to a place, thus 'increases the propensity toward meaningful

involvement and interaction, which improves a community's ability to organise and respond to changing conditions' (Jepson Jr and Edwards, 2010: 422).

3.3.10.Integration

Integration of the above development principles into planning and policy documents provides the mechanism for introducing such design principles into the community's consciousness. (Talen, 2002: 183) notes that participatory processes in new urbanism, defined in terms of enhancing social interaction and building consensus, form a significant part of the community building efforts of new urbanism.

3.4. Connectivity

Connectivity as a concept exists in several distinct contexts including; urban planning, information technology, and biophysical and cultural contexts. In relation to urban design and human geography, two definitions hold particular relevance. In one, connectivity exists as a term to describe the ease of physical movement, an area with high physical connectivity has a physical landscape that either facilitates or impedes movement (Taylor *et al.*, 1993). In the other, connectivity is used to describe the intangible element that can hold communities and nature together in a shared experience or understanding of a place (Dutcher *et al.*, 2007). Dutcher *et al.* (2007) describe this as:

> *"Connectivity attempts to describe the perception of a force or essence that holds the universe together – the same essence or force that runs through all creation … Connectivity with nature means experiencing nature as a part of community and not just as the raw material for society. Community and connectivity involve a sense of belonging, and that sense of belonging includes not only each other but also some sense of place, one that exists on a human timescale." (*Dutcher *et al.*, 2007, pg. 479-480)

In assessing the connectivity of an environment, two questions need to be asked: How easy and accessible are important components of the natural and built landscape? Moreover, how easy is it to develop a sense of belonging, place and attachment from the environment? These questions are complementary and have received a significant amount of attention and will be the focus of this section.

3.4.1. Connecting People to Landscape

When considering the connectivity of an area, sense of place and place identity are concepts that appear in a tangent. These terms describe the way in which people derive meaning and feelings of a place from the physical setting and environment in which people experience their day to day activities (Proshansky *et al.*, 1983). Building upon this idea, physical characteristics of the environment, such as level of development or recreational infrastructure, have been found to have a great influence on how people derive meaning from the landscape around them (Stedman, 2003). An important part of the process of developing place identity is in the way in which people are connected to the built or natural environment. Proshansky *et al.* (1983) determined that active transport pathways that connect the different physical environments surrounding people have a considerable impact upon the development of sense of place and place identity. The need to connect these environments is driven by the innate way in which people place a cultural or social identity within a setting or place (Tilley, 2006). Taking this into consideration leads to a need for an examination of the ways in which we can develop the pathways that connect people to the environment.

One of the most prominent methods of developing connectivity within the environment is the utilisation of space for recreational purposes to foster intangible connectivity. The type of activity that the environment is used for and the frequency in which it is used has been shown to be an influential factor on developing bonds and subsequently place identity (Eisenhauer *et al.*, 2000; Hammit *et al.*, 2006). In assessing the role of recreation in valuing landscape and identity in a small town in Finland, the group that was most committed to place (highest sense of place) also had the highest rates of participation in recreation in their environments (Soini *et al.*, 2012). Clearly, recreation is an influential factor in developing the intangible connectivity to the environment in which people reside.

3.4.2. Physical Connectivity Infrastructure

The physical connectivity of a place is an important component of the recreational functionality of spaces. Promoting the value of recreational activities for developing a sense of place and identity is irrelevant if the infrastructure is not in place to accommodate it. Attachment to place and the subsequent development of identity is the product of recreational value combined with the features of accessibility and closeness (Vaske and Kobrin, 2001). The combination of these features allows for the

frequent visitation needed to develop the attachment to place (Vaske and Kobrin, 2001). Moore and Graefe (1994) support this conclusion. In their study of rail trail users in the United States, accessibility to the trail and distance from home was directly related to the frequency of use. This subsequently impacted upon the level of place identity that users developed and can provide other social benefits. This is explored by Dale, Ling and Newman (2008), they suggest that opportunities for connectivity are important in the creation of social capital. Natural spaces with strong physical identities encourage people to linger and interact with each other, enhancing the feeling of place identity they experience (Dale *et al*., 2008). In terms of experiencing the landscape and the environment then, improving the accessibility and physical connections provide greater opportunities for people to establish the intangible connections for identity.

3.4.3. Network Development

Developing connectivity across landscapes is facilitated by linking different paths into a coherent network. The facilitation of this connectivity allows for movement across space between a distinct origin and a destination (Bell and Iida, 1997). Networks themselves are composed of sets of node/vertices joined together by edges/paths that facilitate movement across space (Bell and Iida, 1997; Gastner and Newman, 2006). When networks consist of multiple nodes and edges they can facilitate: path development (unidirectional movement along nodes and edges), centroids (sources and sinks for network traffic) and degree of vertices/nodes (the number of edges connected to a node/vertices) (Bell and Iida, 1997; Gastner and Newman, 2006). The degree of vertices/nodes can be an important influence upon the network use as high degrees result in greater connectivity between the nodes and the sources and sinks for traffic within that network (Dill, 2004; *Handy et al.*, 2002). The degree of a node can control the activities and development that the node can support. This relationship is described as the node-place model, where the function of the area is a result of a balance between the development of node (a component of the network) and of the place (it is use and functionality) (Vale, 2015). While a node can exist independent of adjacent uses, its use will be controlled by the attractiveness of place it occupies (Bertolini, 2007). Within the context of our research, facilitating the growth of nodes could be of significant potential for facilitating the growth of the place.

The optimisation and development of networks can be an influential factor in cycle usage and subsequently destination and place development. Developing both paths and nodes within the

network is the primary means of achieving this. Of fundamental importance to this development is the degree to which the network facilitates low-stress connectivity (the ability of users to navigate a network without exposure to real or perceived dangers from other traffic) between nodes (Mekuria *et al.*, 2012). Essential to the development of low-stress connectivity is the provision of physically separated bike lanes, particularly important for the high-volume paths, and the ability of users to easily visually identify routes (Mekuria *et al.*, 2012). This holds significant relevance considering the high volume of cycle tourism experienced in the wider Central Otago area. (Cox, 2012) Illustrates the importance of low-stress connectivity by way of emphasising that the relationship of paths with other roads/routes and mobility infrastructures control the constructed experience of the user. For example, the provision of a cycleway alone may not strongly influence the experience of the user if access to it is restricted by a motorway. Through wider cycle discourse, the concept of quietness (referring to noise, speed and volume of traffic) of a path becomes an important selling point for users (Bonham and Cox, 2010).

While path development is influenced by quietness, node development is strongly influenced by the clustering of several activities. This has been described as the essential ingredients of touristic attractiveness (Shcherbina and Shembeleva, 2014). Many features contribute to this attractiveness and the diversity of activities available can be of significant influence; these include: natural factors (scenic value, climates etc.), social factors (architectural features, festivals, distinct local features), historical factors (heritage features, historical prominence etc.), recreational and shopping facilities, infrastructure and food and shelter (Shcherbina and Shembeleva, 2014). The attractiveness of a node will strongly influence the willingness of path users to detour to reach a point of interest (Cerna *et al.*, 2014). This willingness to detour is a function of the number of path traversals to reach the node, so the integration of a node with multiple paths will strongly impact upon the attractiveness (Cerna *et al.*, 2014). Any efforts to promote pathway network integration must then consider the formation of nodes.

Case Study: Maltese, Mariotti, Oppio and Boscacci (2017)

The Cammino dei Monaci is a 67.5km slow-mobility infrastructure project south of Milan. This region hosts numerous sites of historical and naturalistic heritage with access wholly reliant on motorised mobility. The aim of this project was to provide

greater connectivity for pedestrians and cyclists from the South of Milan to the border of the Emilia Romangna region while promoting local landmarks and cultural heritage. Many of the project's benefits were assessed to be intangible, for instance, increased quality of life and greatly improved promotion of the historical and religious heritage. This study employed the contingent valuation (CVM) method and the willingness to pay in their survey of local residents to assess the direct effect of these intangible benefits. Using these methods, it was determined that the Cammino dei Monaci project generated 16,962,257€ in total benefits over the 8,381,556€ estimated construction costs. This valuation excluded the tourist revenue streams that have also been added to the area. While the population of the area is around 800,000 people, a different scale project would likely have similar effects.

3.4.4. River Connectivity

There are some landscape features that are frequently identified as having particular significance for landscape value. Historically, rivers have been a source of power and control, transportation and trade routes, ecological resources and recreational spaces. Subsequently, rivers have become important components of identity as symbols that people can experience strong association between rivers and place (Francis, 2012). As such, rivers have become important components of many natural and cultural landscapes and improving connectivity to these resources has become an important component of the urban design. Kondolf and Pinto (2017) describe several dimensions of connectivity within urban/peri-urban rivers: longitudinal (connecting places along the river), lateral (a barrier to movement) and vertical (the ability of people to access the water and uses of the river features at multiple levels). Rivers are also an important part of the urban design, as they present opportunities for people to connect with natural processes within the city and create a hub of social activity because of their potential for greenway and destination development (May, 2006).

There is some contention surrounding the best development practices of urban rivers to promote identity. Some advocate for highly engineered design that promotes human interaction with rivers at all dimensions, with bridges, terraced designs and flood

management structures (Kondolf and Pinto, 2017). Others promote the need for a more ecological approach that seeks to restore the ecosystem value, while promoting sustainable behaviour with natural resources (May, 2006). Regardless of what approach is chosen, rivers are an integral element of place identity because of their physical appearance and their cultural value as important components of past development (May, 2006). Enhancing the connectivity to these resources can be achieved not just in the creation of social spaces, but also in the communication and education of ecological and cultural significance to a local area (May, 2006).

3.4.5. Connecting People to Heritage: Education

A reduction in authentic connections to landscapes, history, culture and community has been associated with a diminished sense of place and identity (Wheeler, 2013). Establishing and maintaining connections to other, more social dimensions within the environment are important for facilitating the growth or renewal of identity. Lazzeroni, Bellini, Cortesi and Loffredo (2013) contend that connecting local and regional cultural heritage becomes an important driver of small-town development. Connecting residents and visitors with what is largely an intangible construct can be a challenging task. Tilley (2006) argues that material forms/artefacts of heritage can act as metaphors and tools which encourage people to create connections and identify with wider social notions of character on a variety of spatial scales. Wheeler (2013) affirms this view, arguing that the tangible heritage forms (buildings, monuments etc.) become the evidence for underlying norms, values and history of intangible heritage which shapes and creates the significance of these icons.

It is important to explore avenues in which people can experience and establish connections with these materials forms. It becomes necessary to facilitate the learning and education of the people consuming the cultural heritage through enhanced communication of the importance of what they are consuming to the local and regional identity (Lazzeroni *et al.*, 2013). The delivery of this education can take multiple forms as new media types are developed that facilitate the connections to cultural heritage. Utilizing mobile technologies to identify and disseminate knowledge about local landmarks and the stories behind them has been shown to be a positive influence on the development of cultural heritage (Han *et al.*, 2014). The development of these platforms enhances the ability of people to connect to the cultural heritage of a place due to the learning they facilitate (Han *et al.*, 2014).

Enhancing Connectivity Case Study: Budruk *et al.* (2008)

The Canyon de Chelly National Monument in Arizona, USA is a Navajo heritage site. This study aimed to assess visitors' perception of authenticity and their experiences at the monument. Visitors positive experiences and strength of place identity were most strongly influenced by the preservation of physical artefacts and monuments and the learning experience of Navajo history and culture. In considering these results, a more immersive educational experience was recommended. This experience would connect people with the cultural heritage of the site with targeted educational programmes, services and exhibits delivered by employees of the National Park Service.

3.5. Public Participation

Public participation is a core component of the decision-making processes of urban and regional local governance. One definition by the World Bank (2000: 237) describes it as the process by which stakeholders influence and share control over priority setting, policy-making, resource allocations, and/or program implementation'. Public participation theory has evolved through the 'communicative turn' of planning theory, as advocated by such esteemed theorists such as Fainstein and Healey. The incorporation of public participation into the decision-making process is said to have an 'inherent desirability' as it allows for the planning system and associated processes to be open to public scrutiny. However, conceptualisations of public participation tend to be diverse, contested (Hilbrant, 2017) and 'dominated by dilemmas, paradoxes and ambivalence' (Innes and Booher, 2004: 421). Thus, to understand participation, we must try and define the term and explore some of its variations. As such, the following will seek to provide a theoretical background to public participation and in doing so will identify commonly accepted concepts, aims and considerations as identified within the existing literature.

3.5.1. Typologies

There are a number of typologies that represent various approaches to participation by citizens, and they are a useful mechanism for differentiating degrees and kinds of participation (Cornwall, 2008). Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen participation, seen in

Figure 8, is a prominent one which situates the levels of engagement on a continuum, ranging from non-participation to tokenism then to citizen power, which allows for citizens control of decision-making authority. The graduations in effect represent the differing degrees of power transfer between the participants and authorities, thus indicates the extent to which participants are empowered or not.
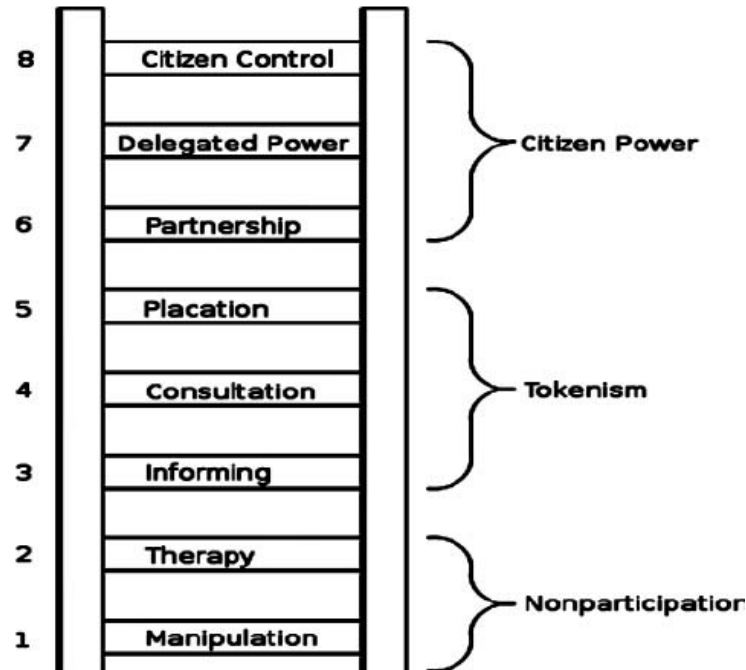
Figure 8. Sherry R. Arnstein's Ladder of Participation processes (Arnstein, 1969).

Other typologies have developed Arnstein's hierarchical participation concept by suggesting alternative structures. Jules Pretty's (1995) typology develops from less preferred types of participation as represented by manipulative and passive participation, which allow for no transfer of power and an inability to influence decisions. The 'better' forms of participation are defined as (in ascending order) participation by consultation, participation for material incentives, functional participation, interactive participation and then finally self-mobilisation. The most relevant to the context of this research is the interactive participation form within which participants undertake joint problem analysis and development of subsequent action plans. The process is described as involving 'interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and make use of systemic and structured learning processes. As groups take control over local decisions and determine how available resources are used, so they have a stake in maintaining structures or practices (Cornwall, 2008: 272).

3.5.2. *Purposes of Participation*

Judith Innes is a prominent theorist in the communicative planning space, and she suggests that effective participation should be collaborative, where multiple interests can participate in a common framework where all are interacting and influencing each other, yet each is still independent (Innes and Booher, 2004: 42). Multiple interrelated purposes are identified by Innes which justify participation in policy and governance, and a selection of these are considered directly relevant to the current research in Alexandra, thus are described below.

Firstly, decision makers can utilise participatory forums to find out what the public preferences are. Such an approach can have multiple benefits be they social, environmental or economic. The diversity of public stakeholders can result in a wide-ranging contribution to existing knowledge bases, thus providing opportunities for efficiency in resource use, risk identification and management and social learning. The second purpose is that it can lead to better, more robust decisions, ones that reflect negotiated spaces, and integrates all available information, thus strengthening the basis for a decision. New information may come to light during the participation process, and this may be particularly valuable when new Council members or staff are introduced into the decision-making framework, perhaps as a result of new governance terms or staff rotations. If effective succession planning is not undertaken, then there could be the potential for previous decisions and arrangements to be lost or not given sufficient weight. Participation of the wider public has the potential to address this through decision makers exposure to a broader knowledge base.

Expression of the publics preferences within participatory forums can empower communities and individuals, provided the public feel that the matters raised are at the very least genuinely considered and negotiated within an open and inclusive context. This leads to a third purpose which identifies legitimacy gains for the decision makers, where legitimacy is described as the relative adequacy of participation or representation, the practicalities of policy implementation and the fairness of the process (Quick and Byrson, 2016). The legitimacy of the process has the potential for 'strengthening of democracy' beyond that provided for by representative democracy, such as representation through voting (Newig, 2007). Participants need to feel that they have the ability to influence a decision and a legitimate process that adopts procedural fairness can meet this requirement. A final purpose that justifies the use of participation in decision making is that it can transform adversarial relationships (Forester, 1999). Often marginalised groups in society are unable or unlikely to participate in decision-

making processes due to constraints with accessibility, indifference, purposeful exclusion and lack of trust in the decision makers. Thus, an open, just and transparent, participatory process can provide opportunities for sharing knowledge and developing understandings of the trustworthiness of decision makers, and consequently can transform relationships.

Hence, as demonstrated above, there are a number of benefits associated with incorporating public participation into the decision-making framework of local and regional Councils. Indeed, there are also legislative requirements to satisfy as well particularly in respect of plan changes and strategic matters. However, at a local level, an effective participatory process that engages the public but also considers an appropriate level of engagement (in terms of power transfer) has the ability to realise multiple benefits, socially, environmentally and economically. Therefore, consideration of the place of public participation in local and regional governance should not be underestimated and in terms of available benefits should be given strategic priority.

4. Legislative and planning frameworks

It is important to have an understanding of the legislative and policy context of Alexandra to understand how it will affect the identity of the town and the potential for improving it as a destination for residents and tourists. The documents that will be analysed are the Resource Management Act (1991), Central Otago District Plan, and the Central Otago Tourism Strategy 2013-2018.

4.1. Resource Management Act

The Resource Management Act (RMA) 1991 is the primary environmental statue in Aotearoa New Zealand and is responsible for regulating natural and physical resources. Section 5 of the RMA stipulates the purpose of the Act, "to promote the sustainable management of natural and physical resources," (RMA, 1991). The RMA operates as a "framework" statue and encapsulates all aspects of planning. Detailed management of local environments is provided for in a hierarchy of policy statements and plans. This ensures there is consistency nation-wide of planning instruments but enables local authorities to make rules that are relevant to their specific region.

 It is important to recognise that provision for heritage protection is a complex practice, but any persons exercising functions and powers under the Act, shall recognise and provide for matters of national importance, whereby the classification for protection of heritage is defined (Warnock and Baker-Galloway, 2014). The RMA defines heritage as natural and physical resources that contribute to an understanding and appreciation of New Zealand's history and cultures. Several sections of the RMA ensure that all persons exercising function under the RMA are required to recognise and provide for matters of national importance in plans and assessment of resource consent applications (RMA, 1991; Gregory and Stoltz, 2015). As a result of this, heritage sites and areas of importance must be acknowledged in plans.

For this research, it will be important to recognise that any changes made to the Alexandra environment will have to adhere to the RMA and any regional and district plans.

4.2. Operative District Plan

It is expected that local authorities have a district plan that closely aligns with the wishes of the community. It is important to note that Alexandra comes under the jurisdiction of the Central Otago District Council, as such; the plans from the council are made to accommodate not just Alexandra, but the entire Central Otago district. There are objectives, policies and rules in the Central Otago District Plan that allows for the protection of heritage, urban design, infrastructure, and Tangata Whenua. In this section, the applicable sections of the operative plan are discussed. Section 11 of the District Plan includes the relevant objectives, policies and rules for the heritage precincts in the region.

Section 1 of the District Plan explains the purpose, and the need to promote sustainable management of natural and physical resources as expected in the RMA 1991. The Council is responsible for managing any effects of resources in the region. The policies above ensure that urban form; heritage, amenity values and transportation networks are all developed or progress in a way that does not harm the character of the Central Otago District.

Table 1 below recognises some of the key aspects of the operative Central Otago District Plan that are relevant to this research. It lists the relevant objectives, issues, policies and rules that may have to be considered in the recommendations of this project.

Table 1. Important sections for the operative Central Otago District Plan.

Section of Plan	Issues, Policies and Rules	Summary
Section 3 Manawhenua	Significant Issue 3.2.1 Kaitiakitanga (Guardship)	This section of the District Plan is to ensure that local Iwi is adequately consulted in any major changes in the
	Significant Issue 3.2.2 Waahi Tapu (Sacred Places)	region and that all significant sites are identified. Section 8 of the RMA
	Significant Issue 3.2.2 Waahi Taoka (Treasured Resources)	requires every person who exercises functions and powers in relation to the use, development and protection of the natural and physical resource, to
	Policy 3.4.1 Kai Tahu Ki Otago –Natural Resource Management Plan (1995)	take into account the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (Te Tiriti o Waitangi).
	Policy 3.4.2 Waahi Tapu and	Section 3.5 of the District Plan

	Waahi Taoka	discusses the methods of implementation, and details the development of an active process of consultation with relevant Kai Tahu ki Otago runaga on resource consents, plan changes, and policy development involving the natural and physical resources of the Central Otago District.
Section 6 Urban Areas	Issue 6.2.1 Management of the District's Towns and Settlements, and Associated Services Issue 6.2.3 Heritage Resources Issue 6.2.4 Residential Character 6.2.7 Business Areas Policy 6.4.1 Maintenance of Quality of Life within Urban Areas Policy 6.4.3 Heritage Resources Rule 6.5.3 Promotion of Community Projects Rule 6.5.4 Education, Information and Incentives	These issues are relevant to the research because they inform what activities are suitable in the urban areas of the region and the necessary measures to protect the heritage and history of the area, as well as the character of the residential areas. The business areas are vital to the economy of the towns and are focal points for the community. Policy and rules are included in the Operative District Plan to maintain the quality of life of residents in the community. The Council encourages community initiatives to aid in the improvement of amenities in the district. The Council also wishes to encourage individuals and local communities to enhance buildings and streetscapes of heritage or amenity value by assisting building owners and communities with information and advice.
Section 11 Heritage Precinct	Objective 11.2.1 Heritage Character Policy 11.3.1 Erection and Alteration and Structures Policy 11.3.2 Demolition of Structures	This section of the District Plan endeavours to recognise and protect the heritage values and character of the District's heritage precincts. There are clear policies and rules in the District Plan to protect heritage values in the region, and all activities

	Policy 11.3.5 Heritage Precincts Rule 11.4.2 DISCRETIONARY ACTIVITIES	must provide adequate information. Any alterations or demolition of heritage buildings or structures must be justified and approved by the Council.
Section 13 Infrastructure, Energy and Utilities	Issue 13.2.1 The Development and Use of the Transportation Network Objective 13.3.1 Transportation Network Objective 13.3.5 Landscape and Amenity Values Policy 13.4.1 Positive Contribution of Infrastructure Policy 13.4.2 Managing the Development of the Transportation Network Policy 13.4.15 Public Access	It is identified in the Plan that Central Otago relies on an efficient transportation network and that adverse environmental effects must be mitigated. This section states infrastructure provides a positive contribution to the development of the social, economic and cultural well-being of the District's people and communities. It is also recognised that activities must not affect protected areas of indigenous vegetation or significant habitats. Furthermore, there is a need to protect Kai Tahu ki Otago's cultural values and public health and safety.
Section 14 Heritage Buildings, Places, Sites, Objects and Trees	Issue 14.2.1 Archaeological and Other Historic Sites Issue 14.2.2. Heritage Precincts Issue 14.2.3 Heritage Buildings and Objects Policy 14.4.1 Heritage Precincts Policy 14.4.2 Heritage Buildings and Objects Policy 14.4.6 Archaeological Sites	This section protects heritage values that are not recognised in Section 11 but are of cultural and economic interests. The District has a large number of archaeological and historic sites, particularly associated with early Māori and gold mining activities. Section 14 protects and ensures that all historically and archaeologically significant sites are adequately treated.

Policy 14.4.7 Historical Sites
Policy 14.4.8 Assessment of Activities Affecting Heritage Resources

4.3. Alexandra Community Plan

A Community Plan was developed in 2013; the first community plan for Alexandra was developed in 2006 and was a process that enabled the local community to portray their desires for the future of the area. It is important to acknowledge that this document does not represent formal policies and was prepared by the local community, and due to the divergence of the opinion within the community of the result, the 2013 plan remains a 'dormant' document. However, the Community Plan recognises local points of difference and identified opportunities for the region. The core values of the plan recognised the need for a vibrant economy, and Alexandra being a service centre for the region. Furthermore, there is also the intent to protect the distinctive landscape and climate, as well as being a vibrant community that is inclusive and celebrates the peace and quiet of Alexandra. The community also wanted a greater focus on the tourism and recreation sector and the history and heritage of the area. All the values are displayed below in Figure 9; this figure shows the core values and the specific aims of each.

Figure 9. A diagram of the core values of the Alexandra Community Plan (CODC, 2013).

In the community plan, there is a chapter that discusses the need to promote Alexandra as a destination. It is evident that the community wishes to be more than a town to pass through and want to take advantage of the opportunities available due to the unique landscape and moonscape, as well as the tourism and recreational activities. This section also included the potential for adding trails and walkways and encourages the growth of the Otago Central Rail Trail. The desired outcome was to improve accessibility in the region and strengthen Alexandra's position as the hub for cyclists in Central Otago. These ideas align closely with the aim of this research and the need to recognise the strength of Alexandra's identity.

4.4.   Central Otago Tourism Strategy 2013-2018

This document was prepared by the Tourism Strategy Working Group with the consultation of the community and was supported by Tourism Central Otago. This is a non-statutory document but provided a vision for improving the tourism industry in Central Otago and the current opportunities available in the region. The tourism industry produces over $30 million annually for the Central Otago economy, and it is the second largest export market for the region. The document recognises there is a need to capitalise on the unique qualities of the district, namely the landscapes, climate, historical values and authentic people, as well as the genuine experiences that can be gained.

The slogan "A World of Difference," was developed to describe Central Otago and was important in celebrating the regional identity. The 'Vision' for the tourism industry was acclaimed as:

> *To maximise the economic contribution of inbound tourism to the Central Otago community through a coordinated destination management approach while retaining those values deemed core to the lifestyle of Central Otago residents.*

(CODC, 2010: 18).

This document then proceeds to elaborate on sustainable tourism and stresses the importance of delivering a satisfying experience for visitors, while safeguarding Central Otago's natural and historic resources. Destination management relies on the support of an entire community, as the approach requires a relationship between the community and agencies. The planning and environmental management role for this is to provide adequate information to visitors

and managing infrastructure. Furthermore, it is stated the public and private sector will achieve the greatest gains by coming together to plan for tourism.

Tourism is thought to be so important in Central Otago because it will have the following social effects. Table 2 shows that there is a multitude of benefits and the Central Otago Tourism Strategy 2013-2018 document wished to provide recommendations on how this can be captured to promote the region.

Table 2. Description of the main social impact of tourism on Alexandra (CODC, 2010)

	Stimulate population growth and improve vibrancy through an increase in employment and good economy
	Encourage new development of facilities, services and public spaces
Social Impact of Tourism	Provides an opportunity for public events and festivals
	Celebrates current cultural and local identity
	Promotes localised enthusiasm and pride

This document expresses the significance of industry, community and local government involvement needing to be combined to produce the most attractive environment for visitors.

4.5. Summary

The legislation and policy above provide an indication of the legal context for promoting Alexandra as a destination for new residents and visitors. It also provides information about the policies and rules in relation to the heritage of the town and what this means going forward for development. The locally prepared plans help to understand what the members of the community desire for the future of Alexandra. In conjunction with the literature review,

this section will make up the theoretical underpinnings of this research. The following chapter shall outline the methodologies associated with this project.

5. Methodology

This chapter will discuss the methods used to answer the research questions and achieve the objectives of the research. A pragmatic methodology was chosen to allow for a mixed methods approach to the research. Primary research methods included key informant (KI) interviews, a focus group, and GIS data. Secondary research methods included a desktop study of the current and historical context in Alexandra. These methods provided qualitative information that revealed an in-depth look into the issues that came up through our interview questions. The nature of qualitative interviews and the focus group also allowed us to tease out tangible and intangible ideas that came through in the research. This type of mixed-method approach provides a strong base for interpreting and analysing the data (Amaratunga *et al.*, 2002).

The research design was developed from an initial project brief given by the clients. Further discussion with the clients gave guidance on their expectations and helped to develop the following research objectives:

1. Investigate opportunities to promote economic, tourism, and cultural development reflecting the identity of Alexandra
    a. Explore the evolution of Alexandra's identity
    b. Investigate opportunities to (re)establish connections to features of Alexandra's historical and contemporary identity.

The interviews and focus group were conducted during a field week in Alexandra, from the 7-11 May. This chapter explains the purpose behind the chosen methods, how they were implemented, the analysis process, the limitations of the study, and the ethical procedures adhered to when conducting the research.

5.1. Primary Research Methods

5.1.1. Key Informant Interviews

Key informant interviews made up the main part of the primary data. This method was chosen to gain a deep understanding of the key issues surrounding our research questions. Key informant interviews allow the time and flexibility to explore issues, thoughts, feelings, and/or experiences in depth (DeLyser and Sui, 2014). A semi-structured approach was used

when conducting the interviews. This meant some questions and topics were identified prior to going into the interviews, but there was still flexibility within the interviews to follow new lines of questioning depending on the information revealed. This approach allows for unanticipated issues to be explored and considered and leaves avenues of enquiry open that might otherwise be shut down if it were more rigidly structured (Entrikin and Tepple, 2006). The questions and topics developed prior to the interviews incorporated generic themes of the overall research but were unique to each KI, ensuring the questions were relevant to each KI and most effective for the research.

Twelve interviews were undertaken during the field week in Alexandra. The KIs represented a wide range of perspectives from different areas, including members of Promote Alexandra, Sharp Pencils community group for women, Otago Rail Trail Trust, Tangata Whenua, local business owners, locals involved in community projects, and Central Otago District Council staff. The privacy of the KIs was of great importance, so extra care has been taken to protect the identities of those involved. The reason for this is so KIs can speak freely without worrying about how other people would react to what they were saying, also, to avoid creating any tension. To ensure KIs knew exactly what their participation would involve, and how their contributions would be used, an information sheet was provided before each interview with those details. They were then asked to sign a consent form before their interview began. Templates of the consent form and information sheet used in the study are provided in Appendix 3. To ensure that KIs can still be identified from each other, each KI was assigned a code, e.g. KI1, KI2, KI3; these are listed in Table 3. Most interviews were set up through email or phone prior to the field week. At least two researchers attended each interview, and each interview was recorded.

Table 3. Table of Key Informants

Key Informant	Code
Council Staff	KI1
Central Otago Railtrail Trust	KI2
Council Staff	KI3
Heritage Expert	KI4
Community Group Organiser	KI5
Council Staff	KI6
Central Otago Heritage Trust	KI7
Community House	KI8
Business Group	KIG9
Iwi Member	KI10

Viticulturalist	KI11
Social Entrepreneurs	KI12
Central Government Staff	KI13

5.1.2. Focus Group

Focus groups as a research method have many benefits. They are a useful way to examine how knowledge and ideas are developed, and how they operate within a given cultural context (Kitzinger, 1994). Focus groups also provide an open platform to understand how groups express themselves, the language they use, their attitudes, group norms, and framework of understanding (Kitzinger, 1994). It is most productive if the group has a common association so that they can bounce ideas, question each other, or agree/disagree with comments. It also helps if the participants already know each other, as it assists with making them feel comfortable which is essential to creating a safe space to encourage discussion (Longhurst, 2003).

This research included a focus group with nine members of the *Alexandra Clyde and Districts Business Group*. The focus group was run in a relaxed manner, with only a few prompting questions then allowing the group to carry on the conversation naturally. This group was chosen in part based on a suggestion from one of the clients, the *Alexandra Clyde and Districts Business Group* represents many of the business and development interests in the district and using a focus group format allowed us to capture more than one opinion about the issues that these people deal with. It was also convenient to organise as the group meets regularly with a social breakfast, so they were very willing to organise a special event for us to come and meet with them. This also had the benefit of the participants feeling very comfortable, as meeting in that setting was a familiar experience.

The ethics procedure followed was the same as the KI interviews. Information sheets were given to each participant and a consent form signed to acknowledge they understood how the information would be used and stored, and that they were happy with the session being recorded.

5.1.3. Site Observations

During the field study period, site observations were made to understand the visibility of heritage, urban form and cycling infrastructure available within Alexandra. These

observations were important for providing context and knowledge about the features and issues of Alexandra that were referenced within the key informant interviews and focus groups. These observations also aided in the understanding of Alexandra and its identity. Site observations were completed during periods of Monday and Wednesday afternoons and the morning of Friday. Representativeness of observations may have been skewed because of the seasonality effects on visitor and tourist numbers.

5.2. Secondary Research Data

5.2.1. GIS

To understand the spatial patterns of development, map data was sourced from OpenStreetMap for the Alexandra area and imported in a GIS software package. Feature location collection was completed using a place marking within Google Earth Pro software. This data was then used for applying buffers to vector objects which were then used to produce maps. No primary data collection was undertaken for the production of maps contained within this report.

5.2.2. Desktop Research

As part of the background research to inform the research design and questions, a context study of Alexandra was done. This focused on the environmental, demographic, historical, and cultural aspects of Alexandra. Part of this desktop study also looked into the policy context and strategic planning influencing or impacting Alexandra in relation to our research objectives.

5.3. Analysing and Interpreting the Results

5.3.1. Key Informant Interviews

The recordings of the key informant interviews were transcribed following the field week. For the analysis, key themes were identified from the interviews that captured the key ideas expressed by informants, themes identified in the literature review, and themes of the research questions. These were community initiatives, heritage, opportunities, constraints/challenges, land use, identity, connectivity, GIS, demographics, and tourism.

These themes were then used to code the transcriptions, making it easier for the researchers to analyse and interpret the results.

5.3.2. Focus Group

For consistency and so the results of the focus group could be analysed and interpreted together with the interviews, the same process and themes were used to code the focus group as with the KI interviews.

5.4. Ethical Considerations

As the research involved the participation of people, certain ethical procedures had to be followed. As participants were sharing personal views and opinions, and the nature of the topic involved comments about how the community functioned and relationships within the community. The main potential issue was that some comments may cause conflicts or insult if others heard about them. To protect the participants and reduce the risk and potential harm the research may cause, anonymity was preserved throughout the research process.

5.5. Limitations

One of the limitations of the research was the nature of the participants that were interviewed. While participants were from different backgrounds and involved in different areas of the community, they were predominantly all strong figures in the community in terms of organising and involvement. Their involvement in community groups, events and/or planning/government make them valuable sources but could also skew the results as these people may not represent the views of the general public within Alexandra.

Another limitation was the change of focus of the research. Prior to going to Alexandra, we focused our research around heritage and how it could help to promote Alexandra as a destination. Upon starting our research in Alexandra, we realised that it is not a strong part of the identity of Alexandra residents. As there is not much visible heritage, people associate more with other elements of landscape and culture. This meant that our focus broadened to incorporate other aspects of development.

6. Results

This chapter presents the results compiled from data collected from interviews and focus groups with stakeholders in Alexandra. The results have been arranged into the key themes that came out of the interviews. Within each theme, tables display key quotations from the participants of the research. The tables with explanatory paragraphs will provide a basis for the discussion in the following chapter.

6.1. Identity

The interviews with key informants revealed that there is a sense of pride among the residents of Alexandra and a positive connection to the place. Key informants could list a number of reasons why they were living in Alexandra, why it is a good place to live, and the culture of the town. These included the landscape and climate, the culture, and intergenerational connections. Many respondents expressed concerns about the future of Alexandra. There was a feeling that the future of the town is unknown and there was a mixture of fear and optimism when people discussed the future. While many possible opportunities were discussed, there were also fears that if not well planned for, tourism and development would mean changes in what people value about Alexandra.

6.1.1. Landscape and Climate

Two important attributes that respondents highlighted were the unique landscape and climate. People enjoyed the dry, hot summers and cold, dry winters, and the seasonality of the region. There were also comments about the uniqueness of the schist rock that is characteristic of the area, the dry tussocky hills, and several people commented on how special the autumn colours are in Alexandra. Table 4 exhibits some of the views on this topic.

Table 4: Key Informant Comments about Landscape and Climate

Key Informant 12: Even the colours at the moment. We went to America to see the colours in Vermont. But it has nothing on here. It's just got so much to offer that people need to know more about.

Key Informant 8: That's why a lot of people live here as well, ones with younger kids. They're here for the lifestyle, they're here for the biking tracks, they're here for the hills, they're here for the river, and it would be interesting to see, but I'd say there'd be more bike ownership here than most places as well.

Key Informant Group 9: It's a small town where we're able to know our neighbours, know the people around us which is quite unique. But we're so central to so many amazing places so quickly. We don't have to live in Queenstown and deal with the hustle and bustle, but we can get to a ski field in under an hour, we can head down to the coast.

Key Informant Group 9: I think some of the attributes of why we live here is the fact that we've got this lovely big river that runs through, we 've got these big rocks that's very very unique for New Zealand. We've got weather that's totally unique, we're one of the hottest places in the country, also one of the coldest. We've got these beautiful autumn colours that people from Sydney, Auckland, just never see and I think that's one of the big things. We grow fruit here we're well known for, people know about our cherries, our apricots, apples etc, and also, I think one of the big things is the uniqueness of scenery.

Key Informant 11: I mean people that come here they don't sort of realise how good it is, there's a cold period in the middle of the year, we expect that some of us go away for a little bit. But it's a pretty good climate; it's a dry climate, it's got major advantages, so yeah, the climates a big one.

6.1.2. Culture

Respondents spoke very positively about the culture of Alexandra, and there seemed to be a general agreement about what that was. Respondents noted that while there was a general regional identity incorporating Queenstown, Cromwell, Clyde, Alexandra and the other small towns, Alexandra still had its unique culture that they described as down-to-earth, friendly, and with proactive community members. A few respondents described it as it being normal for children to walk around in bare feet, climb trees, and get dirty. An emphasis was made on the high regard and participation in sports in Alexandra and how it brings the community together. In addition, there has been a more recent uptake of biking, both on the rail trail and

on the mountain biking tracks in the area. Comments about these views from key informants are collated in Table 5.

Table 5: Key Informant Comments on the Culture of Alexandra Residents.

Key Informant 5: The one good thing for our kids, that I've noticed for our kids, for our youngest is there is still the attitude that it's okay to climb a tree and like at his school the kids wanted to build a dirt jump for their bikes, so the teachers were like, "ok get a shovel and do it," so they are, they are building their own track.
Key Informant 6: Great climate, Alexandra is always known as that domestic holiday destination, and I guess that again, Wanaka and Queenstown have been that more contemporary and classy, I suppose, whereas Alexandra still has the old-school feel, like from my parent's generation, come pick fruit and walk down the street in your bare feet.
Key Informant 6: I guess another strong point to Alexandra, even though a turn has pushed hockey out to Cromwell there is still a really strong sporting, and helpful for school kids. Again, it's the community centre and brings people in, so the netball is up at Pioneer Park, they have tournaments here, and there is still a lot of sporting activity here. So that's quite cool.
Key Informant 8: If you're coming from Queenstown or even Arrowtown, Wanaka, it's really busy and hectic, you know, which is lovely, they're wonderful destinations but I think some of the joy about when people come to Alex, they actually slow back down again, and they can actually sit down for an extra hour and have a coffee.
Key Informant Group 9: I think this is unique to our area too, as they do the rail trail, they talk to the locals, and they're down to earth, and they thoroughly enjoy the environment and meeting those sorts of people, and that's what we 're good at, being ourselves and being friendly and welcoming.
Key Informant Group 9: [On why younger generations are not participating so much in community groups] I think you'll also find that they'd be very active, and it's not a community way of active, but if you go to the local netball courts, all the mums are there playing netball. If you go down past Monteith's, there's a massive amount of mountain bikes there. They 're out biking at night time; they're doing all that sort of, it's a whole

change of movement of lifestyle, and it becomes an outdoor thing.

Key Informant 11: Yeah, great climate, it's so dry, so they always used to have provincial cricket here over the summertime, and because it's so dry it's so reliable… so sporting is a huge thing here, locals are right into their sport, be it rugby, or athletics or curling.

6.1.3. Historical identity

The history of Alexandra and the Central Otago region is still very much part of the current identity of the town. A couple of respondents talked specifically about the gold mining period and following that, the orchard and viticulture industry. There were also a lot of government sector jobs at one stage that brought in many young professionals to the town, also a significant science community. There was another boom when the Clyde dam was being built, this drew in many working people and again changed not just the physical landscape and infrastructure, but also the culture and identity of Alexandra. Some of these comments can be seen in Table 6.

Table 6: Key Informant Comments on Historical Culture and Identity.

Key Informant 11: After the first gold mining, a lot of them set up orchards and things. So, most of the orchard, when they run out of gold, they started growing apricots and stone fruit and stuff and realised that was good for that. And then these French guys in Clyde set up the first commercial winery... This is one of the first areas to grow grapes in New Zealand.

Key Informant 3: Alexandra had four flights a day into the airport here. The airline at that stage was operating four flights a day in here. There was quite a significant play out, and then with the reorganisation of government, the big ministry closed a lot of the provincial and operation, and ministry works moved out and so forth.

Key Informant 3: One stage, it used to be quite a significant scientific community here. They used to meet regularly, and they just went away because of various period organisation that re-focused their business. That changed the nature of Alexandra a lot. Then there was the construction of the Clyde dam. That went through another boom period because there was a huge community of dam workers here. That changed the nature of the place of course because it was generally more of a working people against the people who

previously were farmers, scientists, and bureaucrats and so forth. It was a very vibrant time for the town, but when the dam was finished, they packed up and went away too.

6.1.4. Sense of Ownership and Pride

A number of respondents brought up the sense of pride that Alexandra residents have for their town. These feelings come in part from the length of time people have lived in the region, for many, their families have been connected to Central Otago for many generations. This translates to the care they take to keep the town tidy, the high levels of participation in community groups and organisations, and the positivity about the future of Alexandra. The comments below in Table 7 highlight some of these sentiments.

Table 7: Key Informant Comments on Pride and Ownership.

Key Informant 6: It's that pride; you got some of that intergenerational stuff happening, where you've got families that have been here for a number of generations, so you've got that strong sense of ownership. So that means you get that sense of responsibility.

Key Informant 2: There has been new businesses and new accommodation places and Bed & Breakfasts popping up all over the place, and there is renewed pride in their community. We are getting a lot of people coming down from Auckland and further North and settling in this area because they like the atmosphere of being in the country, but they know the Rail Trail is offering them something that wasn't there before.

Key Informant 6: The main things living here, I think there is a massive pride for the people that live in Alexandra, if you drive around, people have very tidied gardens, and they look after their places, and they have a sense of pride of place.

Key Informant 6: Some people think "how can we hold our youth?" but it's actually quite healthy [that they leave] because it creates open-mindedness, but some people would disagree with that and would say it would be good to have those people stay. I think if you have people coming who have a choice they come back, then you have an open mind person that can bring new ideas into a place but also values what is here, and why they are here. They aren't just staying by default because they are too scared to leave.

6.1.5. Branding and Promotion

Some key informants mentioned the branding of Alexandra or the greater Central Otago region, particularly in the context of tourism. Some respondents expressed fear or concern about losing Alexandra's unique identity and cultural values with growth in tourism or development. A few talked specifically about the influence of development spreading from Queenstown, Wanaka and Cromwell, and the impact it might have on Alexandra. While many respondents were wary of the destructive effects that tourism and development could have on the town, they also recognised its value and expressed that it should be planned for. Some of these views can be seen in comments in Table 8.

Table 8: Key Informant Comments on Brandings and Promotion.

Key Informant 5: They (*the towns)* are very proud they come from Central Otago, and people are very proud of that as a label. And most people if you ask them where they are from will say Central Otago they won't go, Cromwell, Alex, whatever until you break it down to the next level."
Key Informant 6: In my role, I sit close to Tourism Central Otago and the communications team. In tourism, they are just developing a new strategy for the region, and there is a big push that tourism focus is around value-based tourism. So, about value not volume, and really identifying who we are as a region and what we stand for and what our values are and making sure that's what we are promoting. So, we don't necessarily get big tour buses that want to stop at a Starbucks and want to have those functionalities and those creature comforts. We are actually about sparsely populated, beautiful vistas, not a lot of built infrastructure. Making sure people understand when they come here they are most welcome on our terms, saying this is what we have and if doesn't suit you then, drive to Queenstown with their fantastic facilities. I think that there is a real growth opportunity for this region, about authentic tourism, about authentic visitor experiences and being in an authentic place.
Key Informant 7: Already the 'Queenstown disease' is spreading into Central Otago.
Key Informant 7: We have yet to discuss how much more change can we accommodate in Central Otago without suddenly waking up one day, and it's no longer 'a world of difference' *[slogan for Central Otago]*, it's just another place.
Key Informant Group 9: It's not seen as a trendy town, it's not seen as a town like Wanaka or Queenstown, it's got other attributes that attract people and it would

appear…because of Clyde's uniqueness we're attracting quite a few tourists who land in Queenstown...and Alexandra... gets quite a spinoff from that, probably not enough, but its gets a bit.

Key Informant Group 9: You only have to get in your car, and in 5 minutes you're in a magical environment, the rocks and the trees, it 's just a magical place, it's a different place than anywhere else in Central Otago. And I think we're missing that point; it's not always the tourist attractions we should be thinking about here, it 's about promoting Alexandra as a beautiful place to be.

6.2. Cultural Heritage

Cultural heritage is an important component of the fabric of Central Otago. However, the feelings about its importance to Alexandra are mixed. While other towns within the region have a strong built heritage focus (e.g. Clyde), the nature of development with Alexandra has removed many of these material forms. There was, however, a strong sense of values within the landscape and a widespread acknowledgement of the importance of historic mining activities for Alexandra. This consensus was not shared in attitudes towards its importance moving forward in the development of Alexandra.

6.2.1. Heritage Values

The importance of the landscape in the Alexandra area resonated across most members of the community interviewed. There is a distinct shift between the way in which this is demonstrated in comparison to built heritage forms. The importance of stories and oral histories was highlighted, particularly for Māori in the area. A key informant spoke in depth about the Māori history in the area, as a place for the gathering of food and resources such as moa, tuna, pounamu and harakeke. The comments in Table 9 highlight these views.

Table 9: Key Informant Comments on Māori Heritage in Alexandra.

Key Informant 10: [speaking about the Old Man Range] There are two stories of Kopuwai, who was supposed to be the taniwha that used to hunt in this area for humans, and he is the stone you see as the obelisk on the mountain next to that pylon. He was a dog, lizard type person, monster and he had two-headed dogs that were his companions, and as all taniwha,

he fell in love with a beautiful woman from Southland, they never got ugly ones. Always the pretty ones. He tied her hair to some harakeke and sent her down to the Mata-au to get the water for him and his dogs, but she showed her resilience and her patience. She was down there building a mōkihi out of the rushes. She planned her escape… She tied her hair to some rushes that gave when you pulled on them, and she headed off down the river. He rushed down and swallowed water, didn't work. She got down to the end of the river, Balclutha. She told her family what happened, they went back and killed him. So that's our taniwha.

Key Informant 4: There are some great stories, from where they got their use of this place. As a resource whether it be making blades this long out of rocks. It was a factory almost, you come up here, probably during the warmer months, and make these things, and there are things like the Hawkesburn moa hunter sites, where they were exploiting moa.

The heritage values within the landscape are not limited to pre-European times. Changes in the landscape capture stories and provide reminders of key events in the history of the area. Things such as the extensive tailings piles are evidence of this. However, other features are also captured in stories. These values can be seen in Table 10.

Table 10: Key Informant Comments on Chinese Heritage in Alexandra.

Key Informant 12: There's certainly a big influence of the Chinese heritage here. Like when you see what they've done down there *[the Clutha Gorge]*, it's just incredible. Pretty much a whole side of the hills been changed looking for gold and the tailing look as if they have just walked off yesterday.

Key Informant 4: One of the really simple things, there was a guy called Li Bo, who was a Chinese miner. And I think pretty quickly he got into the market gardening and business. He didn't sell, he refused to sell his water rights to other gold miners and instead eventually gave it to Alexandra. That's the Butchers Dam. If not for him, we wouldn't have water coming out of the tap. And it's little stories like that of that place, like drive past it, oh yeah, Butcher's Dam, I wonder what it's named after? There's always little stories like that dotted around. There no sort of grab bag of heritage in Alexandra.

These stories and shared histories are important for Alexandra, as they represent a history that is not always visible. This was acknowledged through the research, with key informants noting the lack of built heritage in comparison to other towns in the Central Otago District (Table 11).

Table 11: Key Informant Comments on Built Heritage in Alexandra.

> *Key Informant 6: [speaking about Alexandra]* It doesn't look like it has strong heritage because it has evolved through the generations unlike some of the other towns that have been left, I don't want to say stagnate, but they haven't had the need to change and develop. So, if you go to the main street, you can see 1960's, 1970's architecture. So, built heritage is a wee bit different to other towns, and so as a consequence, it hasn't called itself a 'heritage town', but it's also very proud of its gold mining and Central Stories have good collections of the dredging and those types of things.

6.2.2. Mining

A central component of the Central Otago history has been the gold mining. This was acknowledged across many of the interviews with key informants. The importance of later dredging operations was also a core theme, with some pointing to this as a major point of difference to other towns. This mining heritage is not reflected in Alexandra today, however, as much of it is not easily visible within the town itself. Several key informants mentioned this and advocated for the proposed mining village as an incredibly important way of bringing this heritage back to the public realm. These views expressed can be seen in Table 12.

Table 12: Key Informant Comments on Mining Heritage in Alexandra.

> *Key Informant 3: [on mining history]* We're going back to the early stage of the establishment of the community into gold mining, and that's why the miner's village is so important, to remind people of where this place has come from, and how its grown, and what caused it to be and so forth.
>
> *Key Informant 4:* The things that make Alexandra different or special, the point of

difference? One of the things that this place talks about is that the Alexandra region was the home of, or the capital of dredging, gold dredging. So, there was this huge number of gold dredges which operated through to the 1940's, and there's not a lot left that you can see.

Key Informant 12: [on mining heritage] We have got a lot of it, but there is not a lot on display. This is really down where a lot of the action was. We have a fantastic canyon down the river that gets good exposure with the river cruises; there were 3-4000 miners working down there at one stage.

6.2.3. *Attitudes Towards Heritage*

Key informant's attitudes towards the importance of heritage for the future of Alexandra were conflicting. There is a general recognition that while something should be done to celebrate the mining heritage more, it should not become the focus of the town as a whole. Many felt that other aspects of the town should take prevalence over the historical aspects. Some key informants were even more opposed to any future efforts to develop it, arguing that other towns in the area are already better positioned to leverage it and that Alexandra would be better served by focusing on developing other cultural features of the region (Table 13).

Table 13: Key Informant Comments on Attitudes towards heritage in Alexandra.

Key Informant 3: While there is no harm to looking backwards and capturing what's important, as I've just said, sort of repurpose that but taking it forward. I think that there are opportunities there in the high tech, cycleways and tourism.

Key Informant 4: [On strategy for wider Central Otago district] I think we should have a couple of places that do the heritage and do it really well, and one might be Naseby, one might be Clyde. But everyone else, nah, should stay away from it.

Key Informant 11: No there's a bit missing here. Clyde's stronger connected to their heritage with the old buildings in Clyde, and they are looking at strengthening the Clyde Precinct, which is that historic area in Clyde.

Key Informant 6: There is a lot of presence of old stone relics, and you can certainly see

the presence of the gold mining and the impact and the modified environment from sluicing and that sort of thing. But I wouldn't say that's shaped people now; I think people have just adapted to the environment. I think the environment is more of a key thing than heritage.

While the view that heritage should not be the dominant focus moving forward was prevalent, there was support for incorporating the existing elements into the town. Key informants advocated for the repurposing of heritage elements to make them more accessible and to secure their future. The Clyde Railway Station was pointed to as a great example of this and plans for further projects are underway for repurposing heritage features such as the historic piers. The views expressed can be found in Table 14.

Table 14: Key Informant Comments on Incorporation of Heritage in Alexandra.

Key Informant 3: We probably need to find ways of remembering the past and leveraging it for appropriate use way into the future. You don't want to spoil whatever we've got; it needs to be preserved, I suppose repurposing of buildings we want to keep. What's good and special, but make it fit for purpose, for a new age.

Key Informant 1: [on the Clyde Railway Station] As part of the conservation plan that said you need a future use, which is generating income for the building. So, you will see that He Bikes She Bikes is in there… and that is a really great example of a positive heritage project. So that is what we are trying to do with Valence Cottage.

Key Informant 8: I know that there's been talk of a Miner's Village down the end there, but my gut feeling to that is then it's in one spot, and you're not necessarily as a local going to go to that spot, vs having it interspersed within the town as a passage. So, I haven't been sold on the idea, but I think bringing history into the town is really important, like the bridge.

6.3. Community-Led Development

Community spirit is an important part of Alexandra's culture and is vital to evoking progress in the small town. The diversity of the Central Otago Region means the progress of the individual towns falls on community-led projects and initiatives. This sentiment was reflected

in the interviews undertaken in the research field. There was a multitude of opinions on the current processes, and the informants provided suggestions on strategies that would encourage a more cohesive network in Alexandra.

6.3.1. Community Initiatives

From the research conducted in Alexandra, it is evident the community is responsible for making many changes and organising unique cultural features in the township. Key informants commented that there is a need to encourage community groups and the action they take to improve Alexandra and creating innovative projects that encourage drawing people to the Central Otago region but engaging them in the area. The following quotes show the diverse opinions of the community groups in Alexandra (Table 15). It also shows the Central Otago District Council is aware of the significance of engaging with these groups and assisting them in any way possible. These quotes portray that the community in Alexandra feel they must take charge of projects and voluntary participation is vital to the progress of its vibrancy. Council and other government agencies also endeavour to have a positive relationship with those that wish to initiate schemes that will improve Alexandra as a destination for residents and tourists. The Central Otago Heritage Trust is also a volunteer group that wish to protect the heritage that remains in the area. However, the generational shift of the population threatens the efforts made. There needs to be a reinvigoration of the projects to enthuse young people. Key Informant 9 also made it evident that there is a shift of activities the younger generations undertake, and they need to become more active in the projects as the prior generations have.

Table 15: Key Informant Comments on Community Initiatives in Alexandra.

Key Informant 6: Yeah, there are lots of community groups that do really cool things and work in the space. There is Keep Alexandra Clyde Beautiful, who do townscapey and garden things that sort of more traditional making nice community spaces. There a place called John Dale Park, which is as you come into Alexandra off the Half Mile, which is that road that drops in from Dunedin and into town. There are some pine trees up on the hill, and there is a gentleman, who just passed away a couple of weeks ago, he set that up as a, he gifted it to the community and planted things. That sort of initiative of beautification and spaces for people.

Key Informant 5: I think the fact that people here, what makes us unique is actually the people and the fact that people here are very used to rolling up their sleeves and getting the job done. We don't live in a big enough place that there are all the resources under the sun, so we just make stuff happen ourselves. I've only been here two years, and I've found it's a place that people volunteer unbelievably. And everyone is on every committee because you kind of have to be to make stuff happen. For a small town, we make an awful lot of stuff happen here, which I think is kudos to the people. Nothing seems to be impossible; if you want a movie theatre, then they'll get a movie theatre if you're passionate enough people will get behind you and make things happen. It just seems to be no idea is a crazy idea if you know what I mean.

Key Informant 7: Right throughout there have been always those people who have recognised the value of heritage. So, again given the small size of our population we have a huge number, relatively speaking, of people that are involved in saving and attempting to preserve heritage, but in very diverse areas… The membership is growing. But it reflects the fact that all the groups and the people that are involved have been slaving away for years. Age is now becoming a factor, it's taking its toll, and we are not getting the same number of volunteers.

Key Informant Group 9: I think you'll also find that they'd be very active, and it's not a community way of active, but if you go to the local netball courts all the mums are there playing netball, if you go down past Monteiths, there's a massive amount of mountain bikes there, they're out biking at night time, they're doing all that sort of, it's a whole change of movement of lifestyle, and it becomes an outdoor thing, and it's not so much I've got to go and sit on a committee with boring old farts, but there's also young ones who'll do that, and this area probably needs a young business people to start up, and I think this area needs some form, historically you had young people's organisations called things like JCs, roundtable that sort of things, and they've all disappeared, they were more young guys.

Key Informant 1: [On the revitalisation of the bridge piers in Alexandra] So there are some really key people who are very keen to make this happen no matter what, I can't actually say no matter what they are passionate that this will be a really good outcome for the community

Key Informant 2: Absolutely. When I was really busy in the community, my theory has always been involve as many people as you can, be open about what you're doing, encourage other people to become involved and then things will happen. Councils are very good at saying 'we can't, we can't, we can't afford that', you've got to the listen to that, but if you believe that something is good for your community, you've got to find a way through it. And lots of councils and community boards are only made up of people who have been voted in.

6.3.2. Unique Projects: Miner's Village, Blossom Festival, Hot Air Balloon

There has been a proposition to develop a 'Miner's Village' on a site in Alexandra. When in the field it was apparent creating a hub that encourages people to linger in the space has the potential to draw more people to the site and surrounding amenities. There was a multitude of statements made about the prospect of a mining village model to be erected in the area. The proposed village would include access to the river for the embarking/disembarking of cruises, a booking service for activities within the region and interactive features that would promote learning opportunities for local children and visitors (See Figure 10 for a schematic sketch of the proposal). The proponents of this development priorities are for providing an educational experience that celebrates the rich mining and dredging heritage of Alexandra. Many of these projects have created a greater opportunity for tourism in the area, especially because they are unique to Alexandra and cannot be seen anywhere else. The quotes in Table 16 portray that the community-driven project, which pays tribute to the mining history of Alexandra and creating a central point for visitors to spend time helps to create a buffer zone for the shops and restaurants in the area while connecting the natural landscape.
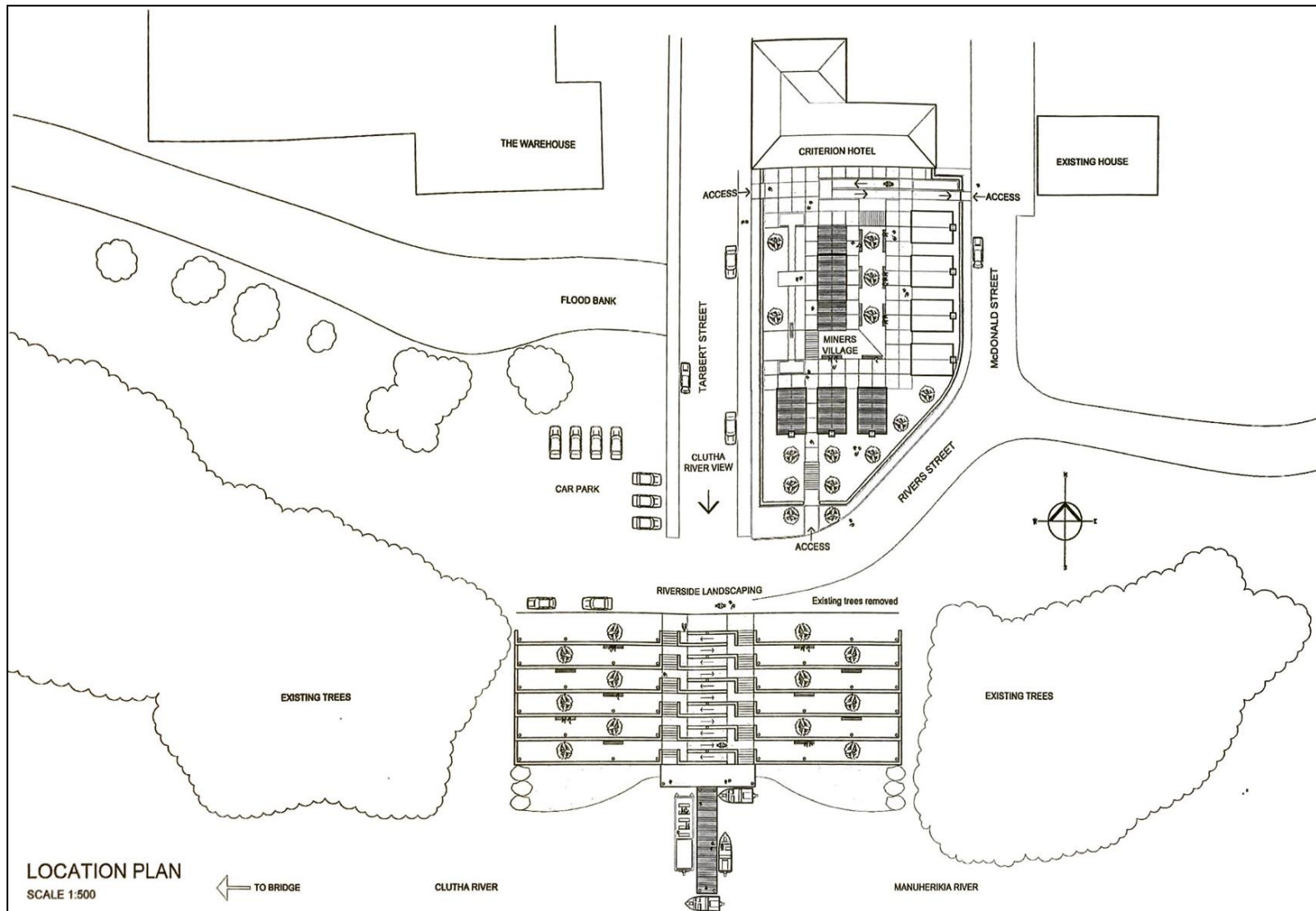
Figure 10. Map of Potential Mining Village in Alexandra.

Table 16: Key Informant Comments on Miner's Village in Alexandra.

Key Informant 3: [On Council Support for the Miner's Village] We very much support that vision, it's in a part of town that needs revitalisation, but also the project, of course, is going to have some great attribute from an educational perspective, recognising our heritage, and putting it on display, and also providing a potential tourist attraction.
Key Informant 13: Yeah and so the miner village would run along I can't remember the name of the streets, to the river basically, then they are talking about terracing, and landscaping and grass and beautiful areas for people to picnic, it would be really cool, so but then, there are the Piers right there.
Key Informant 12: It's something I've always wanted to do, with something for the children. I didn't know what, but we have a franchise that's part of contact energy, and one year we won franchise of the year competition, so we got $5000 for that. So, I thought gee that would be good to come up with something, and I always looked at that area as a good area to do something. So, I just sort of took the money to an architect and just asked him to come up with some concepts. And from there it was just a matter of gauging the support around the community, and it was all good. So, we then formed a trust to start making things go forward.
Key Informant 4: [Opposition to the possibility of a Miner's Village] The miner's village is a good one, let's not do that. That's not a point of difference; other people are doing that. Some sort of focus on the arts, absolutely. Certainly, events such as wool on, the Easter bunny hunt, the brass monkey, looking at tourism, accommodation-related things. So, I think accommodation needs to step up in Alexandra.

Another important activity that occurs in Alexandra is the annual Blossom Festival. The festival supports the culture of the town, but it also encourages extensive tourism (Table 17). It would not be possible without the huge number of volunteers that are involved each year. These different events and potential projects have all been organised by local community members and provide the town with opportunities for further progress.

Table 17: Key Informant Comments on Blossom Festival in Alexandra.

Key Informant 5: I mean the Blossom Festival alone is thousands of volunteers to make that event come together, there is just thousands and thousands of people, and it happens. They all just appear out of nowhere because they believe in this iconic event and they take ownership of it, and it happens, it's amazing. It's cool!
Key Informant 5: It's just a really busy time, I think the good thing about the Blossom Festival is that it probably changes with the times, last year we had our first Prince enter, what has been up until now a Princess parade because there were no rules that it had to be princesses, so it was just about honouring young people, which was awesome. And there were no dramas; nobody threw a paddy about it, people just accepted that's how it rolls.
Key Informant 2: To have that mining village, that's a wonderful attraction to have, you don't have several other mining villages scattered around the place. Then you take them along the river or something like that. Then they can bike to a vineyard or something or go to the shaky bridge. But how many of the same attractions do you want? If it's one more thing that they are going to do, isn't that good?

Key Informant 5 also discussed the potential for new festival and activities. One of these was the potential for a hot air balloon festival, which tests have already been conducted to see if this is a viable option. There are some current challenges; these are portrayed in Table 18 below.

Table 18: Key Informant Comments on Hot Air Balloon Festival.

Key Informant 5: Because that's through Promote Alexandra, possibly, it could be a partnership between Promote Alex and something [someone in Alexandra] is doing on her own. But I don't know if that had been finalised yet. So, we have had the hot air balloons come, to see if they can land there and to see if it's all safe in Pioneer Park. And they had a great time; they said that our skies are perfect for hot air ballooning and that sort of stuff.
Key Informant 5: It's just it's a very expensive event to pull off. If it can happen that will be great.

6.3.3. Connectivity

Connectivity in Central Otago is important to both the identity of the region and growth. The Otago Central Rail Trail Trust was founded by a member of the community that wished to have better connections in the region and provide a unique opportunity for people to cycle through the vista. Table 19 below provides insight into the importance of the Rail Trail and the opportunities it has provided. There are also comments on the potential to create more cycle tracks in the region to further improve the trails.

Table 19: Key Informant Comments on Otago Central Rail Trail Trust in Alexandra.

Key Informant 2: So, the economic benefits of having the Rail Trail has been huge, absolutely huge. The challenges have always been to keep it going and keeping it, at the moment it's the Number One trail in New Zealand, we actually won that two years in a row, and apart from that we've got it in otherways. You can never sit back and say, "Gee, we are good," you can't, you've got to keep working and keeping it as the best place possible.

Key Informant 2: The Arts on the Rail Trail is on at the moment, you know about the Arts on the Rail Trail, that's relatively new, that's about the third year we've had that. And its where all the artists in our area can choose or be selected by a business where they can actually show their work and its one artist per premise. It's found now that some of the artists want to go back to the same place because they enjoy it.

Key Informant 2: We've just introduced, you may have heard about the Inter-Planetary, on the Otago Rail Trail we've got all the planets, and its one hundred million to one *(scale)*, so the Sun is in Ranfurly and then you start going out to the various planets, and I think Pluto is the last one because it's quite small. And if you go on your bike the distance from the Sun to the next planets is precisely as it would be if you were travelling through space, one hundred million to one. So, the revolution on the wheel, is actually on our information sheets, so kids go through there with school groups or family groups, and they can actually learn about space, distance and speed, all that sort of stuff by travelling the Rail Trail.

Key Informant 1: The other cool thing I should mention about Valence Cottage is that

the working group have also put a submission to the long-term plan to make this a community orchard as there are actually old historic fruit trees on there that the locals know when they are due, and they go down and pick them… trying to incorporate them and getting more use out of them in this reserve we have come up with the concept, and did used to be an orchard associated with the cottage… have it as a community orchard and promote that off the Rail Trail… So, we are hoping that the more people come down here and use this reserve hopefully there will be somebody on site who will then pay a ground lease and help fund the cottage.

The quotes in the table above portray the range of unique aspects that the Rail Trail has and the inspiration from community members to maintain the track for residents and tourists. In relation to connectivity, it is also important to consider that creating links in the town centre will encourage people to walk around and see more of Alexandra and the key informant interviews made it clear that there is the potential to explore this in the future planning of Alexandra.

6.3.4. Māori Values

There are currently community-led projects in place to celebrate the Māori history in Central Otago. A key informant discussed an organisation that has been developed to provide support in the community and attempt to portray its importance to the history of Alexandra. These views are portrayed in Table 20.

Table 20: Key Informant Comments on Māori Values in Alexandra.

Key Informant 4: We're discussing it with Kai Tahu right now, the whole discussion in that. It's a huge gap, and it's so easy to do…it's good enough for us to start using Te Reo in all our ways we communicate. Whether it be signage, whether it be our website, our way to address on emails and so forth. That's a really simple one, and Kai Tahu is really keen to help us with that. They say yup; you have to get ticked off by the language people, using the Kai Tahu dialect as well. So that's a really easy one.

Key Informant 10: [In reply to evidence of Māori in the community] Yes, it started

back in 2005 I think, a Māori health service, it's called Uruwhenua Health, it's on the main street in Alexandra. Its open to the community but their focus is Māori. It started because we have a big shearing contract here, contractor. They can contract up to about 500 workers at times, right at this minute, now, it is about 300 right now.

6.4. Industry-Led Development

There was a consensus that industry-led development contributes significantly towards the social, economic and physical development of Central Otago. However, concerns regarding these developments were brought up, and the informants provided suggestions on a way forward for Alexandra.

6.4.1. Rail Trail Benefits

Industry-led development such as the rail trail has provided a platform for economic growth regarding accommodation and hospitality services. This sets Central Otago up for increased employment and business opportunities and drives conversations between the public and private sectors. Table 21 shows some of these views through the key informant quotes.

Table 21: Key Informant Comments on Rail Trail Development.

Key Informant 1: *[On the Clyde railway station]* So, the Clyde railway station was not looking like it looks today, it was really rundown there was a community group in there that was supposed to be looking after it. Unfortunately, they had let it deteriorate… We then had a conservation plan done and then used that to get funding, and then the community said "yes", we definitely want to keep that it is important. We then use the funding to do all the urgent maintenance and then as part of the conservation plan that said you need a future use, which is generating an income for the building.

Key Informant 2: *[On the transition after the rail trail]* These are all improvements, they are all things people can see that there's potential there, they wouldn't put their money into it if they didn't think there was potential. Why has that happened? I think it's because the Rail Trail has come through and its brought people back to this area again.

Key Informant Group 9: One of the attractions for people travelling to the area is the

availability of good cycling tracks, we got the rail trail, but we also got the river tracks and other tracks that have been established around the place, so cycling is the big thing, and it's a reasonably friendly cycling town. And there's a few big businesses that have been built on top of that.

Key Informant 11: [On recreational activities] … that's a real growth opportunity in terms of recreation, you've got all these baby boomers, but they're getting ready for retirement or are retired, and want some exercise, and they're prepared to pay, so there's a big opportunity there.

While there were many positive associations with the Rail Trail, concerns about the supply and demand for these services were brought up. The environmental impacts of such development were also mentioned by Key Informant 2. Several key informants also spoke about being cautious around the over-reliance on one specific industry, whether it's tourism or big key businesses and that it is not a direction that Alexandra should be heading, see Table 22 for these comments.

Table 22: Key Informant Comments on Concerns with Industry-Led Development.

Key Informant 2: It's a chicken and egg situation when the Rail Trail first opened up. We didn't have the accommodation; we didn't have the eating-houses, we didn't have any of that… Now, you've got Oliver's, you've got Pitchy Store, you've got all these really top line accommodation all the way through to Bed & Breakfast, to Backpacker accommodation...But it takes a while, because you put a Rail Trail in, and you aren't going to build a big complex if you've got nobody to fill it, so the people have got to come through, if people are coming though and saying they haven't go anywhere to stay then, it's a very tenuous time, which one is going to come first? But, it comes naturally, the more people that come through, the more demand there is. (On the destruction of natural resources and values) As the numbers increase and the other thing too, you don't want too many on the Rail Trail, because then the experience of wilderness and being out there in something quite unique will be spoilt if you to put passing signs up.

Key Informant Group 9: … Until the rail trail started we weren't on the tourism road, now we are. I think tourism is a fickle thing; it is good to have as an extra, you can't hang your

hat on it all year round. So, it's a really great thing to have, but council seems to want us to be a tourism town, 100 per cent, instead of a service town, and I think that's a bad move.

Key Informant 6: I see from a work perspective, there are still some key industries like Fulton Hogan, that are based here, and I guess there are a few government departments that are based here. That means, it's a logical hub for Council to work in, because you've got that crossover. If that changes then that would be tricky. You are relying on that historically set up, service centre set up is probably the history for a business perspective.

6.4.2. Science and Technology

Science and technological advances around Alexandra also attract people into the region. Technological infrastructures such as the broadband connection act as an important supplement for incoming high-tech businesses. In addition, several key informants mentioned the potential for mobile technology to be incorporated for the communication of cultural and built heritage around Alexandra (Table 23).

Table 23: Key Informants Comments on Science and Technological Benefits in Alexandra.

Key Informant 11: [On integrating technology with heritage] … there's apps that would be commentated by local people which would link into GPS, and GIS and that sort of stuff and you could get little video of the great gold hoist of Clyde.

Key Informant 3: [On internet broadband infrastructure] I've been working on behalf of the council, to try and get better ultra-fast broadband across the district. Because we it as one of the key enablers for the community to prosper.

Key Informant 3: [On Centre for Space Science Technology] We've got the new centre of space, science and technology here, which has potential to help re-stimulate Alexandra as a place for science, high tech type activities, and leading-edge stuff… and we're hoping that in the due course, is a spinoff of businesses that want to take advantage of what the Centre for Space Science and Technology has to offer, and to some extent, establish here.

Key Informant 3: We've seen quite a lot of people actually moving into to live in Central Otago, including Alexandra, just for lifestyle reasons, because their business or

professional skills are transportable. They can basically choose where they want to be and practice, and so, people are coming here. So, you're finding popping up here, people doing the most extraordinary things around the world, that you would never expect really to be done here in Alexandra, but they are because people are choosing this place to live for the lifestyle.

6.4.3. Opportunities for Industry-Led Development

As Key Informant 11 pointed out, the central location of where Alexandra is situated in makes it a good place for a conference centre. The unique climate and landscape also means opportunities for further development on horticulture and viticulture. A couple of key informants talked about some untapped opportunities that could boost the wider region through tourism opportunities (Table 24). It is a matter of leveraging the Central Otago image and going for a point of difference to attract more people, especially the younger demographics.

Table 24: Key Informant Comments on opportunities for Alexandra.

Key Informant Group 9: [On organic horticulture] This area, because of our climate, it's probably the most prime area to grow organics in NZ and one of the prime areas in the world. And the growth in organics worldwide for export is absolutely huge.

Key Informant 11: [On the development of a conference centre] So, there's room for growth in the conference facility because it's quite easy to get to.

Key Informant 11: [On educational opportunities through industry] One of those would be winemaking, viticulture. Cromwell is doing it to a certain extent with the viticulture, but no one has picked up the winemaking side, so there's really an opportunity for a winemaking school to be established here that would be a really good one.

Key Informant 4: [On what Alexandra should do to attract more people] To do things other people aren't doing. So, people aren't doing the packaging of food, then maybe focus a bit more on the packaging. When I say packaging of food, putting several food opportunities together, then maybe focus on that. The miner's village is a good one, let's not do that. That's not a point of difference; other people are doing that. Some sort of focus

on the arts, absolutely. Certainly, events such as wool on, the Easter bunny hunt, the brass monkey, looking at tourism, accommodation-related things.

Key Informant 4: [On leveraging the Central Otago image] The one that's not emphasised very much is the edible stuff, other than wine, there's food… There are some opportunities there for pitching food as the heart of that experience… and this is where we go broader than Alexandra.

Key Informant 6: [On the lack of youth population] I think if you have people coming who have a choice they come back, then you have an open mind person that can bring new ideas into a place but also values what is here, and why they are here. They aren't just staying by default because they are too scared to leave.

6.4.4. *Limitations on Infrastructure and Services*

The lack of housing affordability and quality infrastructure for business and economic growth in Alexandra is also a key theme that was brought up amongst the key informants. Some of the key informants spoke about the competing growth between the towns and the disconnection and a lack of support from the council (Table 25). The efficiency of policy implementation to tackle these issues appears to be uncertain.

Table 25: Key Informant Comments on the Limitations of Industry-Led Development in Alexandra.

Key Informant 4: It may be that some of the other things that are offered here, don't encourage people to stop. So, I think accommodation needs to step up in Alexandra.

Key Informant Group 9: Ultra-fast broadband been a problem for some businesses who have large amounts of data that they want to send, but that is currently being addressed by people in this group to try and get that into town. That's going to make a big difference, it's interesting how many businesses are run from home in this area, and I think if we get ultra-fast broadband sooner rather than later it'll make a big difference.

Key Informant Group 9: [On competing growth] We're only servicing a much smaller area, so it's especially hurt especially the retailers as well the internet supplying a lot of services too that people things they used to buy in shops. So, it's, we think the only way to

improve that situation is to increase the population, but because there are no sections for sale in the area, it's really hard to increase the population. And there are people that want to come here, lots of people want to come. … I think the affordability as well, me and my wife moving back here we really struggled to find any sort of affordable rental accommodation and then finding something to purchase; there wasn't a lot at the lower end of the market.

Key Informant Group 9: [On the dam] One thing we haven't touched on is water, water is our biggest economic driver is agriculture and farm etc., primary production and you can't do that without water. At the moment, we've been hamstrung because falls dam is one of our biggest suppliers of water and its having obstacles put in its way for redevelopment

Key Informant 2: You can't say in 10 years we are going to have X amount of people on it, and X amount of motels, you don't know, it's just got to evolve. Hard to plan for that –how would you plan for it? Well, our policy is there is no commercial activity on the rail trail because in the early stages all the businesses wanted to be right there. But if we allow that we are going to have so many little places on the trail that we are going to lose what the trail is all about; the wide-open space, there's nothing in the way; it's nature. So, we said because it's on the rail trail we said you can't have a commercial enterprise there.

Key Informant 6: [On competing growth within the region and nearby areas] I think competing growth with outside regions; the need the service area pull has reduced for Alexandra. It's not Central Otago wide anymore, closer proximity, and then the other side to that too, what's been developed out there, it even pulls those local people to Frankton.

6.5. Local Authority-led Development

One of the key themes that emerged from the findings is the enthusiasm of the community to be part of the planning processes, and for their voices to be heard. On some occasions, key informants suggested ways for the processes or approaches to be improved in this area. Other topics raised in relation to local authorities included matters relating to Councils functions, relationships and proposed initiatives, through to perceptions of Councils processes and performance.

6.5.1. Strategic Planning

There were a couple of key informants from the focus group that referred to the need for the Council to be proactive with respect to strategic land use planning, suggesting a longer-term outlook is required to shape the future of Alexandra. This was in reaction to the relatively short-term (10-year) plan that is in action now. A number of respondents expressed uncertainty about the future, and a member from Key Informant Group 9 expressed this as an issue for businesses wanting to invest in Alexandra (Table 26).

Table 26: Key Informant Comments on Strategic Planning in Alexandra.

Key Informant Group 9: I think a big constraint is, they do 10-year plans, I can never get my head around a 10-year plan. I think a valley like this, Clyde Alexandra area, the council should be sitting down and doing a minimum of 50-year plan or 100-year plan. This is where the growth we should be working through... and you keep on going back to review it or changing it.

Key Informant Group 9: I will also point out that we've got a problem coming up that they've allowed for 12,000 people for the Alexandra Clyde area, well we're nearly there now, so there's another restriction for growth.

A number of members of Key Informant Group 9 suggested the need for the community to engage in the process of strategic planning, possibly by way of the community-led workshop that helps to formulate plans for the Community Board and Council to consider (Table 27).

Table 27: Strategic Planning in Alexandra (continued).

Key Informant Group 9: I think one respect of the negativity is the issues of not being able to do something like buying sections or whatever. But that's also our fault, because …it's probably due time, that we as community need to pull, I mean …it's time to draw up something for our valley here that's going to look forward 50 years. We need to talk to them about that. And that then gives our community board the guidance to go forward. But at present, I don't know what they're actually doing.

With further reference to strategic planning, various respondents saw potential in a revised consideration of the existing urban form, to incorporate cycle lanes and a more 'green' urban form. A member of Key Informant Group 9 mentioned the opportunities to incorporate more cycling infrastructure within the town, making it easier and safer for residents, as well as Rail Trail users to move around (Table 28).

Table 28: Key Informant Comments on Urban form in Alexandra.

Key Informant Group 9: And I see those verges now as an opportunity to redesign the town, and you guys would understand what cycling means now in city planning, and I think this is the opportunity, you go to the local primary schools, and you'll hardly find a pushbike because the mums are too worried about children riding their bikes there. But those verges could be a nice cycle lane going through town. But to me, that old-fashioned design of the town should be redesigned and utilised and made into a very vibrant area. I think we should be looking at this town and sending it into a healthy green image.

One respondent suggested that the Council could do more to support heritage within the region. A primary suggestion was that Council facilitates and resource administrative support for the heritage trust, which in the longer term would provide a number of benefits for the Council and the Central Otago region (Table 29).

Table 29: Key Informant Comments on Heritage values of Local Government.

Key Informant 7: For a number of years firstly Historic Places Trust, both in Dunedin and the branch here and now HNZ have attempted to persuade Council to have an officer committed and dedicated to heritage.

Key Informant 7: There's a very clear differentiation there - it's not heritage funding, we are looking for administrative assistance

Key Informant 7: If you take the view that heritage, whether it be the built heritage, whether it be the landscape, the environment, all of the things that fall within – (that's why I started off talking about the all-encompassing elements of the definition of

heritage) - if you take all of those things they actually make a significant economic contribution to CO, to the CODC's own bank account.

6.6. Public Participation

Differing perspectives were apparent when discussing opportunities for public participation in decision-making and interactions with the district council. On the one hand, respondents referred to Council-led initiatives seeking greater engagement from the community. On the other hand, some participants expressed frustration at the perceived lack of accessibility of engagement opportunities (Table 30).

Table 30: Key Informant Comments on Experiences with the Local Government in Alexandra.

Key Informant Group 9: I've always had very good service from people from council on a day to day basis, with info, I've had no problem. The problem is when you want to go past that, something that is out of the district plan, which involved the 50 or 100 years, that's where you have the problems because the district plan is not big enough.
Key Informant 2: It worries me sometimes. I can see vibrancy in other areas that I'm not detecting here. Again, it comes back to people. Who is actually out in front driving it for us.
Key Informant Group 9: Generally, I find the staff extremely cooperative, as a whole. And there was a period when you went in there, and it's hard to get past the front door. But now, it's actually very easy; there'll soon be planning person or whatever, I've got the information within 5 or 10 minutes from walking in the door, where I can get what I want without having an appointment or anything.

Respondents discussed a number of initiatives that Council undertook to facilitate public participation in decision making. The concept and nature of consultation were discussed by one respondent, as were the various forums within which participation occurred. Some respondents spoke favourably of their interactions with Council officials and the role that Council performs whereas others shared differing views, see Table 31.

Table 31: Key Informant Comments on Public Participation Initiatives in Alexandra.

Key Informant 6: So, I guess a classic example of that would be our long-term plan process, we're desperately wanting community input but ...what's the value inputting anyway cause no one is going to listen, I'm so busy in my life I don't want to be bothered with that, as long as my pipes are in why should I worry, so you're trying to get through that mindset.

Key Informant 6: So that last long-term plan there was a lot of work done around trying to make things more conversational rather than the consultation word which everyone defines that differently. To me, consultation I imagine people talking down, you know, 'I'm consulting, and you will listen'. One thing that we did with the Long Term Plan for example when we went out to Clyde cause it was quite affected, we had a couple of drop-in sessions. People could come in and just ask questions and talk one on one. I think that's quite key.

Perceptions of the effectiveness and legitimacy of the participation process were discussed heavily within one focus group discussion. While there were many other themes discussed at this meeting, public participation featured prominently. Views were expressed which suggested the community was disconnected from the decision-making process and that the various statutory instruments did not represent community aspirations. These views can be seen in Table 32.

Table 32. Key Informant Comments on Participation in Alexandra.

Key Informant Group 9: I think the consultation on the 10-year plan was appalling, picking up or reading through that 10-year plan online and then looking at the survey, there were all the things the council had decided were good had an asterisk.

Key Informant Group 9: And Alexandra was mentioned three times, and one of them was trying to take the library and put it in the museum ... and allowing Clyde's sewage to come here, and everything else was Cromwell and Clyde.

Key Informant Group 9: The planning thing is back to front, they're taking us down a road, that nobody has had any input into ... So that's where the planning is falling down. There's no input from the community.

In order to address this perceived breakdown in the participatory process, respondents suggested community-led consultation events could be enacted to identify the communities' aspirations, which

could then be conveyed to the Council for consideration and thus contribute to the decision-making process (Table 33).

Table 33: Key Informant Comments on Community Participation in Alexandra.

Key Informant Group 9: I think we need to have formal meeting. …host community meetings about being active as citizens in the area, being active and doing things.
Key Informant Group 9: If the community now get together and said, let's look at the 100-year plan or whatever, and we used those lessons that we've learned previously, to get at all correlate in the right way. I'm sure we have to invite member of the council so that they could convey what that they've heard. It's no use to hear it second hand.

6.7. Spatial Analysis

6.7.1. Fragmentation

Several key informants referenced the fragmentation of commercial development within Alexandra as a core concern moving forward. Two main areas were identified as contributing to this: the original main street, Tarbert Street, and State Highway 8/Centennial Avenue, Figure 11 shows this development pattern. Occupancy rates along the Tarbert Street section were lower, with several premises currently untenanted/vacant. Building types contrasted between the two sections, with the larger commercial developments typical of urban sprawl observed along the State Highway 8/Centennial Avenue. Much of the new build development was also observed along this section. This development pattern occurs in the opposite direction to the established cycling infrastructure, with the Alexandra-Clyde and Roxburgh Gorge tracks terminating at the SH8 road bridge and the Central Otago Rail Trail traversing the northern edge of Alexandra. At present, the only off-street cycle path that connects the Central Otago Rail Trail and the Alexandra town centre runs along the Manuherikia River and terminates at Rivers Street.

6.7.2. Enhancing Connectivity

KI1 mentioned the potential to offer a more immersive experience for the Central Otago Rail Trail users by offering a sign posted quick tour route for Alexandra. Other key informants also recognised the need for such a development to increase the exposure of Alexandra and

the cultural heritage features that within the town. A potential route that links up several of these features can be seen in Figure 12. This route was developed to incorporate features that key informants mentioned within interviews as contributing to the identity of Alexandra.
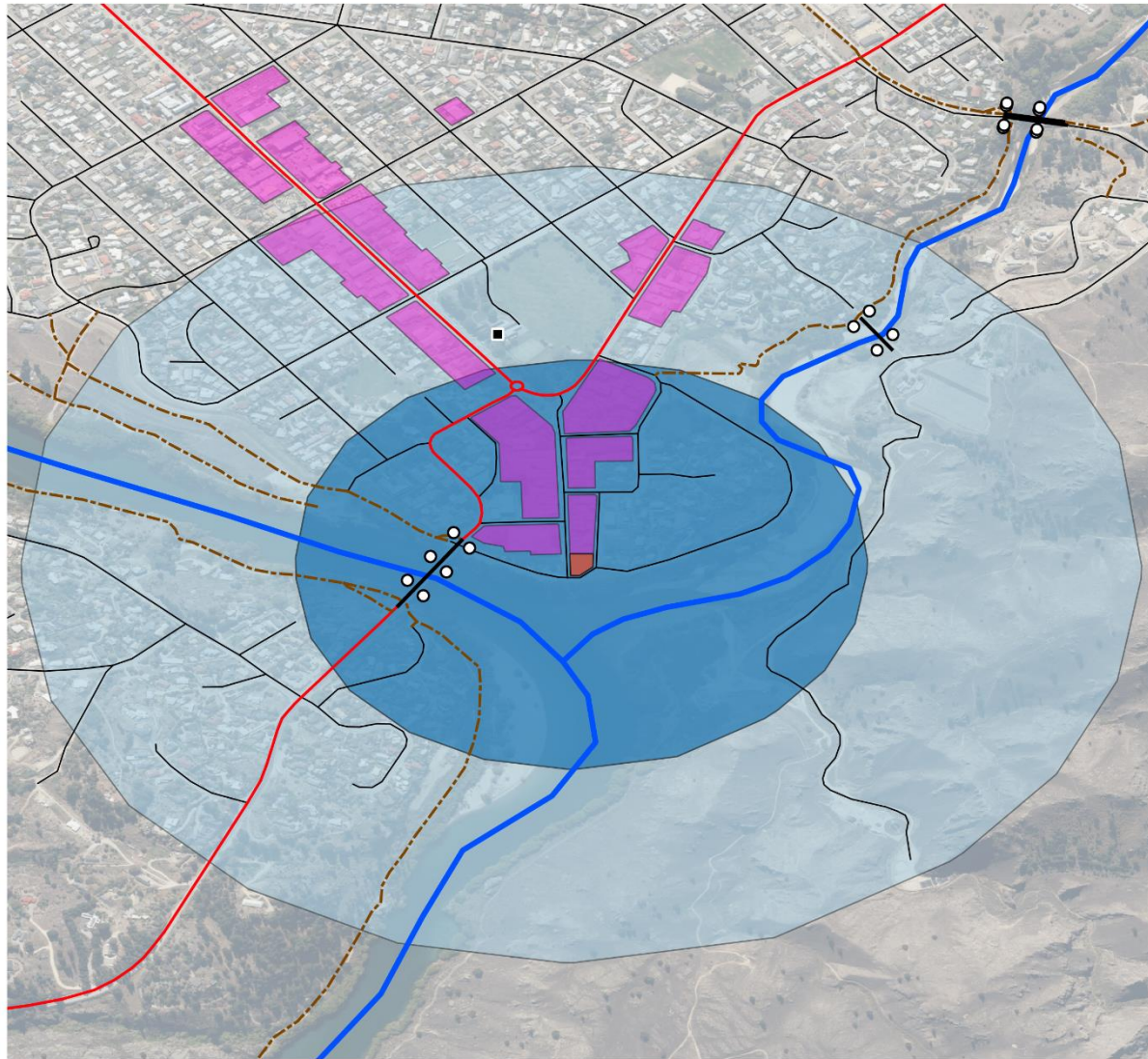
Figure 11. Land Use Classification Map with Walkability Buffers.
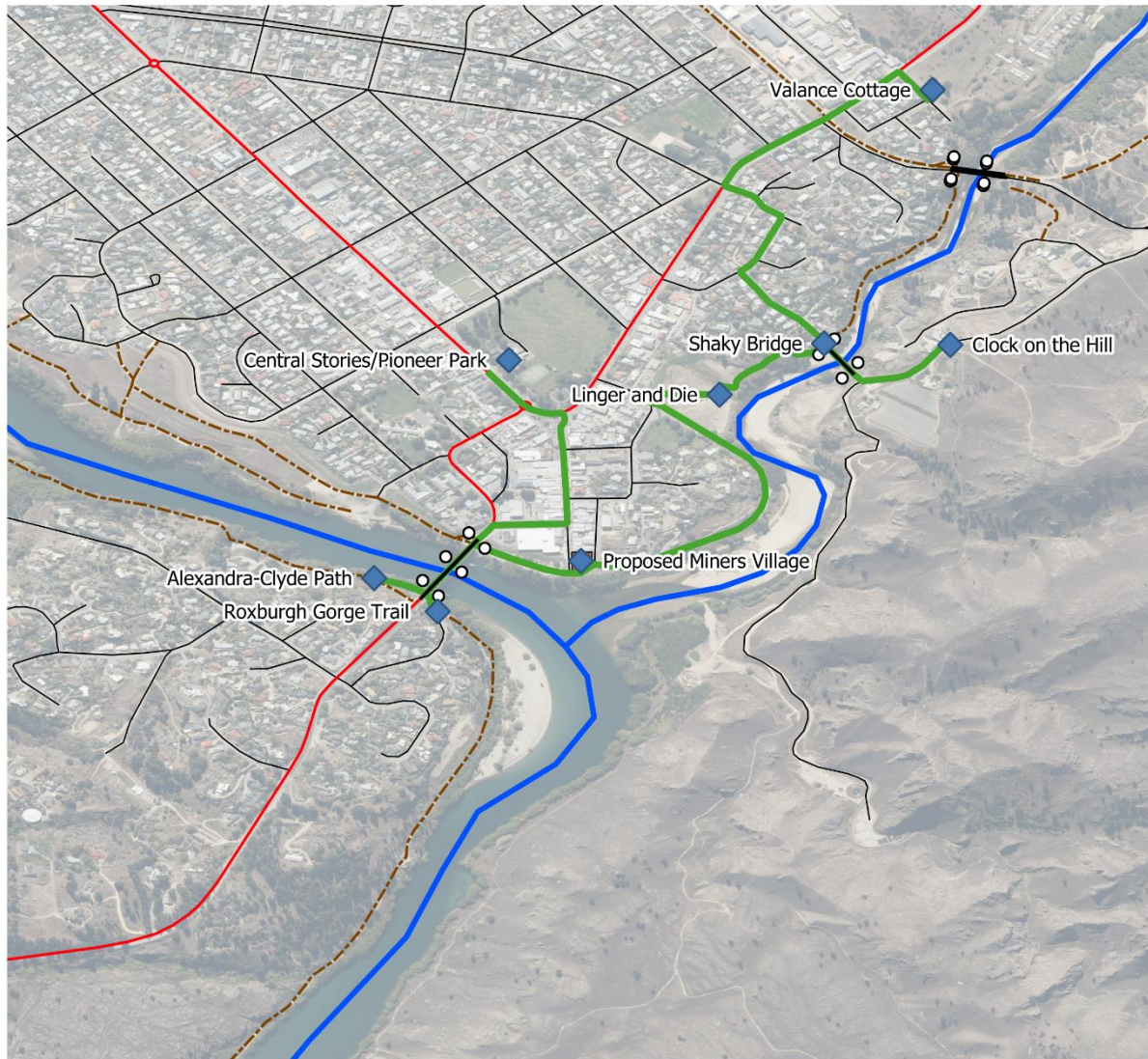
Figure 12. Potential new Walk and Cycle Tracks to features in Alexandra.

6.8. Conclusion

Interviews with 12 key informants and a focus group with 9 members have provided a range of perspectives on the identity, place branding and the potential opportunities for Alexandra. Perspectives on how the culture and heritage of Alexandra can be utilised to improve the town as a destination for residents and tourists emerged from some of the respondents. There were also varying opinions on the potential for a mining village and central hub, along with other community-led projects and festivals. It was evident that community-led projects make very valuable contributions to the town and are a significant method of development. Having adequate participatory processes were important to the key informants, and it was evident that they all had unique ideas on how to further promote both Alexandra and the Central Otago region as a whole. The following chapter will analyse these results within the broader context and draw out the significance of the various findings.

7. Discussion

This chapter provides a discussion of the results of the research within the context of our aims and objectives established within Chapter 1. The overarching themes established within the previous chapter provides the structure for this discussion. The results will be applied to the principles and findings established from the international literature that has been reviewed in Chapter 3. The contents of this discussion establish a foundation and justification for the recommendations contained in Chapter 8.

7.1. Identity

7.1.1. Connection to Place

It is apparent through the research findings that a strong relationship exists between the town identity and the unique landscape of the area. The schist rocks, the river running through the valley, the dry grassy hills, and the beautiful autumn colours are a source of pride to the residents of Alexandra (KI12, KIG9, KI8, KI5). These features are understood to be unique to the area and are sometimes underappreciated or overlooked by outsiders. In addition, the weather extremes of hot, dry summers and cold, dry winters are interwoven with the culture and identity of the town (KI6, KI11). Cultural activities, such as sports, make up a large part of the social activities and these are made possible by the climate and landscape in Central Otago. Ice skating and curling are popular in winter, and the almost guaranteed dry summers make it a good place for cricket (KI11). Mountain biking and trail biking are becoming more popular as well, bringing in local and international tourists. KI9 notes that this reflects the change in how people are participating in society. In the past, there have been very strong young adult's groups and organisations that would meet regularly, whereas now young adults might go out mountain biking together or play netball instead. These aspects of climate and landscape also contribute to the regional identity of Central Otago, which strengthens the ties between Alexandra and other towns. This helps to build a sense of community that extends beyond town boundaries. KI5 says that the towns in the region "are very proud they come from Central Otago and people

are very proud of that as a label and if you ask most people where they are from, they will say Central Otago" instead of naming the individual town.

7.1.2. Culture

While there are similarities such as climate and landscape between the towns in the region, there are also marked differences that locals take pride in holding onto. While these factors may also be true of other places, they are things that locals take pride in associating with the Alexandra identity. Most of these come down to culture, Alexandra residents view themselves as down-to-earth, friendly, and capable. When comparing Alexandra to other towns in the region, KI6 expressed it as having an "old school feel", whereas Wanaka and Queenstown are thought to be more "contemporary and classy" (KI6). KI8 and KIG9 talked of the relaxed atmosphere in Alexandra compared to the "hustle and bustle" (KIG9) of the busier towns like Queenstown, Wanaka or Arrowtown. Several people also commented on the benefits of Alexandra as a good place to raise a family. They talked of a culture where it is common for kids to walk in bare feet, climb trees, and build their own fun, such as a bike track at school (KI5, KI8).

A recurring theme that came up was the number of volunteers that are involved in community organisations and initiatives. Many projects and initiatives have happened because of the commitment that Alexandra residents have towards their town and community as well as their willingness to contribute their time and money. The sense of pride and ownership that this commitment suggests (Brown *et al.*, 2003) was reflected in comments from key informants (Table 7) that spoke of intergenerational effects, pride connected to new developments and is reflected in the way that people take care of their private property as well as public spaces.

7.1.3. Future Identity

While there are many positive associations with Alexandra, partly stemming from what it has been in the past, a fear of what the future holds was prevalent amongst key informants. Historically, Alexandra's identity has been centred on the town's role as a service town. During the gold rush years, it was the central hub for the entire region. As it became more focused on horticulture and viticulture, and industry works in the area brought in dam workers and government officials, it was still the place to come

for groceries, trade, equipment or anything official. Like many other small towns, this identity is going through a big change as its regional role changes (James *et al.*, 2016). Where Alexandra used to be the place to come and shop, now there are many more options available; either in the Frankton shopping centre close to Queenstown or online. As Alexandra's role has almost completely changed in the past decades, new questions have arisen. Crucially, what will the future of Alexandra look like? There is fear that with the rapid development of Queenstown, Wanaka, and now Cromwell, Alexandra is being left behind. On top of that, there are fears that it is being bypassed by the rising number of tourists that drive past on their way to Queenstown or Wanaka.

At the same time, however, there are also fears of what has been called "the Queenstown disease" (KI7). Respondents stressed they do not want the *same* sort of development that has happened in Queenstown, Wanaka, and more recently, Cromwell. One key informant was worried that without direction or discussion about how Alexandra should change, it might one day be "just another place" (KI7). This reflects the common practice of towns to reassert their local identity when outside hegemonic forces such as tourism and development threaten traditional practices or cultures (Dredge and Jenkins, 2003; Ferreira, 2007; Nel and Stevenson, 2014; Ryan & Aicken, 2010). Many of the key informants recognised that there are many issues with rapid development, including house price inflation, infrastructure pressures, sprawl or ribbon development, and a loss of character. Respondents were careful to clarify that development needed to happen in the right way and according to local values. This was the same for promotion in tourism. KI6 spoke of this as 'value tourism', arguing that Alexandra should be clear about what visitors will find there so as to attract visitors that value the landscapes, the culture, and the activities already present, not visitors that expect big-city facilities.

7.1.4. Conclusion

At present, the future of Alexandra is a question mark. Residents are unsure about what will happen, and there is concern that Alexandra will either end up like Queenstown and Wanaka, losing its individual identity in the process or that it will continue to decline. In order to achieve the right development, the town must build off the strengths that already exist and the culture and identity that people identify with.

Residents have a strong sense of pride and ownership of the place that drives them to engage in what happens in their town. This is a good place to start in planning for the future as people are wanting to participate and contribute to a vision that will bring Alexandra to a new place in the region.

7.2. Cultural Heritage

7.2.1. Introduction

Within the context of the research objectives, cultural heritage was anticipated to be a more significant contributor to the contemporary identity of Alexandra. The interviews with members of the community contradicted this assumption, revealing that this was not as a significant a component as first thought. The proximity of similar towns with shared origins such as Clyde with strong built heritage appeared to diminish the importance of such things to Alexandra. Subsequently, the results of the field research reflect a town that does not possess a strong affinity to typical heritage objects. Nonetheless, the community members interviewed were aware of the wider importance of cultural heritage to the identity of Alexandra. There are several opportunities present that have the potential to improve the connection between the community and visitors to the cultural heritage of the region.

7.2.2. Landscape Values

From the key informant interviews, it is evident that much of the cultural heritage exists within the environment the community occupies. This may be because of the lack of built heritage within the town due to the nature of Alexandra's evolution that KI6 spoke about. Opportunities for the development or promotion of these landscape values lie within the celebration of the stories that describe them. This is particularly true for the incorporation of Māori heritage within Alexandra. Initiatives such as the REAP education program mentioned by KI10 are recognized within the literature as being essential for the celebration and contribution of cultural heritage to identity within an area (Budruk *et al.*, 2008; Lazzeroni *et al.*, 2013). There was an awareness that more could be done to celebrate these values, particularly within the Central Stories Museum with the incorporation of the Māori language and with the increasing use of Māori place names.

7.2.3. *Tangible Heritage*

The contribution of mining and dredging operations along the Manuherikia and the Clutha Mata-au River was widely recognised by residents interviewed for our research. A common theme, however, was that the awareness of this rich history, particularly for visitors, was not as high as it could be as there was little left on display. Tangible and material heritage forms can be influential in creating connections to wider cultural heritage and intangible values (Tilley, 2006). The Central Stories Museum was pointed to as one of the few places that this heritage was visible. Support for elevating the importance of cultural heritage development within Alexandra was not universal. Many informants pointed to the competition provided by places with strong built heritage. However, this is only one component of the accepted definitions of cultural heritage outlined within the literature review (Ahmad, 2006). The potential for the development of a project like the proposed Miners Village to contribute to the renewal and development of the intangible facets of cultural heritage is significant. KI12 spoke of a strong desire to educate the children of the community through this project and facilitate passing on of knowledge and techniques such as stonemasonry that was perceived to be fading with the passage of time. The aims of this project complement the reported non-material and intangible benefits that the promotion of cultural heritage can provide (Tengberg *et al.*, 2012; Murzyn-Kupisz and Działek, 2013). A development of this kind has the potential to integrate the different elements of cultural heritage while facilitating the communication and consumption of the cultural heritage values that contribute to the local and regional identity of Alexandra (Lazzeroni *et al.*, 2013). Some within the community were sceptical about the worth of development in such a form. However, there is a void within Alexandra for a visible and material form that celebrates the mining heritage that is widely recognized as integral to Alexandra's historical identity. Fully embedding educational opportunities within this development only enhances the potential benefit that it can provide for contributing to both the communities and the visitors' perception of Alexandra's identity.

7.2.4. *Leveraging Heritage*

The potential for repurposing outstanding heritage features within Alexandra was raised by several key informants. The most mentioned project was the proposal for a

walk and cycle bridge using the Alexandra Bridge piers across the Clutha Mata-Au River. Other smaller projects such as the Valance Cottage site were also being explored. While there was a prominent attitude within the community that Alexandra should not attempt to become a heritage town, there was widespread support for capitalising on what already exists. This view fits within the wider competitiveness context of Central Otago, where Alexandra should complement rather than compete with other small towns in the region. Such an attitude reflects the wider discourse of leveraging cultural heritage for the formation and development of forms that assist regional competitiveness (Alberti and Giusti, 2012). The commercialization of heritage features can be of significant benefit to their sustainability, and positive experiences of this within the region (e.g. The Clyde Railway Station) should prove to be influential on the future support for such initiatives. Leveraging and developing cultural heritage features has proven to be an effective strategy for providing direct and secondary socio-economic benefits to the community (Bowitz and Ibenholt 2009; Labadi, 2011). The potential for similar benefits to occur in Alexandra should, therefore, be considered in evaluating the proposals for the development of significant heritage features within the area.

7.2.5. Conclusion

The perceived lack of built heritage as the absence of wider cultural heritage values may prove to be a barrier to further heritage focused development going forward. There are, however, influential members of the community that recognise both the importance of and the need for cultural heritage values to be visible within Alexandra. The proposal for the development of a visible display of this cultural heritage (the Miners Village) should be explored as it represents a significant opportunity for cultural heritage to be embedded within the fabric of Alexandra. The models for integrating existing built heritage elements into Alexandra by either commercialising them or repurposing them hold significant merit in achieving sustainable heritage outcomes. So, while heritage may not be the defining feature of Alexandra, it can still positively contribute to its contemporary and future identity.

7.3. Community-Led Development

As previously mentioned in the results chapter, the field research made it evident community initiatives are essential to development in Alexandra. Discussions with members of the town portrayed they were responsible for many of the key initiatives in the region.

7.3.1. Community Initiatives

From the results of the key informant interviews and the focus group, it is evident that the Alexandra community initiatives are responsible for many core projects in the town. Residents clearly dedicated a lot of time and investment into initiatives to improve the vibrancy of Alexandra. The participants stated that there is currently a range of community-led projects in action, but they often require more support either from the rest of the community or local government. The drive from the members of the community was also portrayed as a unique aspect of Alexandra. The key informants emphasised residents came together to ensure that proposed ideas were made possible. It was also recognised that Council has resource constraints, limiting what it can do in the Central Otago Region; therefore, the community should feel responsible for making necessary changes. This is reflective of the literature, as small towns have seen a decline there is a need for internal resources and skill to be utilised to encourage economic opportunities and social vitality (Force, 1998; Mayer and Knox, 2010; Nel and Stevenson., 2014; Tonts *et al.,* 2012). Having private stakeholders collaborate with local governments creates a positive relationship for all parties in Alexandra.

7.3.2. Unique Projects

In the results sections, current and potential projects in Alexandra were discussed with key informants. Key informants discussed the opportunity for a Miner's Village or something similar in the town, the potential for more festivals and an expansion of the walking and cycle trails in the area. It is clear without local support the Blossom Festival and Otago Central Rail Trail would not have been possible. Both of these are essential to the identity of the region and contribute to the culture, economy and social relations in Alexandra.

7.3.3. Miner's Village

A group of locals in Alexandra prepared a proposal for a Miner's Village to celebrate the history of the area and provide a space to connect the township. The site shown in Figure 10 was selected because of its proximity to the river, Tarbert Street and the current parking facilities. A Trust was formed to work on the development of a hub on the site, five members are involved, and feasibility studies have been undertaken to consider the viability of the Miner's Village. There was a lot of support for this project from the participants. A member of the local council believes that it will encourage revitalisation in this area of Alexandra and provide a space that is both recreational, educational and recognises the history of the region. Other participants that were not quoted in the results sections also supported this idea and thought a hub in this area would provide a unique opportunity for Alexandra. Key Informant 4 did not support it and perceived art and events to be a better avenue for promoting Alexandra.

7.3.4. Festivals

The Blossom Festival has been happening in Alexandra for over 60 years and draws in people from all over the country. It is organised by members of the community and requires a huge number of volunteers. From literature, it is evident festivals provide an opportunity for 'cultural consumption' and stimulates positive social relations and economic benefits (Dümcke and Gnedovsky, 2013). Having cultural events also contributes to place-branding and the perception of new residents and visitors (Tengberg *et al.*, 2012). As recognised in the results section, Key Informant 5 shared that it draws in thousands of people every year. As part of the Central Otago Tourism Strategy, it was recognised that there is a need to encourage new events and festivals to promote tourism in the region. Key Informant 5 also shared the potential for a festival that would involve hot air balloons. There have already been feasibility studies conducted, and it appears that there is a real opportunity for this to materialise in the region. Furthermore, in discussion with a participant, there was also a chance of destination weddings in Alexandra to capitalise on the scenery in the region. Looking to the future, it will be important to consider what events, activities and festivals can be promoted in the region and assist community-led development to make Alexandra an attractive destination for residents and visitors.

7.3.5. Connectivity

From the interviews and focus group, it was clear that the transport networks in Alexandra are essential to the progress of the region. Members of the community have made many of the core walkings, and cycle tracks possible. Physical routes assist in connecting people to their environment and spaces, which has positive cultural and social effects (Proshansky *et al.*, 1983). Community-led projects have enabled some of the greatest tracks to be developed in the Central Otago Region, including the renown Otago Central Rail Trail. Walking and cycle tracks enable residents and visitors to immerse themselves in nature and identify with the special landscape. Several participants discussed the potential to expand the current networks, which would only be possible by private stakeholders planning and developing these routes.

Support for current tracks, such as the Rail Trail is still required, and the Trust works hard to maintain the track and its reputation. Key Informant 2 discussed innovative activities that occur on the trail, including Arts on the Rail Trail and an interplanetary system with the correct dimensions that is immersive and educational and will be appealing to all groups of people from young families, school groups and general cycling enthusiast. The potential for more transportation networks was also discussed, with further detail provided later in the discussion chapter. The empirical research suggests that physical connectivity is important for the recreational functionality of a space and helps to promote the value of an area (Vaske and Kobrin, 2001). Evidentially, it is important that the connectivity of Alexandra and the wider Central Otago region is adaptive and is utilised to promote economic, tourism and cultural development in this area.

7.3.6. Māori Values

Recognising all of the history and stories of a place are essential to understanding the identity. In Central Otago and specifically Alexandra, there is Māori heritage, and it was clear when talking to participants there was a need to celebrate this more and provide education through signage or other tangible forms. Talking to Kai Tahu, it was clear that members of the Alexandra community feel passionate about aiding this and providing spaces that Māori groups can meet and share their experiences. There was also the perception that more information should be made available around the town and in the Central Stories museum.

7.3.7. Conclusion

Overall, our research suggests that there are several aspects of community-led development that can assist in developing Alexandra as a destination for residents and visitors. Many of the current community-led initiatives have promoted the town and made it a place worth visiting and residing in and have contributed to the unique identity of the town. It is also aligned with the strategic planning for the long-term tourism policies in the region. Due to the large area of land that the Central Otago Council operates for, there is a need for members of the community to lead projects that will improve the area.

7.4. Public Participation

Our research has identified that there are differing perceptions of the effectiveness of the participation process employed by the Central Otago District Council. Given the wide-ranging benefits associated with effective participation, we have identified areas where improvements can be made, as elaborated upon below.

On the one hand, a Council respondent suggested that '*we're desperately wanting community input*' whereas community respondents KI9 have suggested that '*the planning thing is back to front, they're taking us down a road that nobody has had any input into…So that's where the planning is falling down. There's no input from the community*'. A further respondent asked the question '*...where does the public give an input into all these things, before it goes too far down the track?'*. Such differing viewpoints implies that communicative work needs to be done to ensure that the participation process actually captures the communities' perspectives and aspirations. In doing so, the decision-making process could nurture legitimacy gains in terms of the adequacy of participation, representation and the fairness of the process (Quick and Bryson, 2016)

The current participation regime is perceived in some parts of the community as conforming with Arnstein's tokenism or non-participation and Pretty's passive or token participation typology definitions. Thus, what is clear is that the current process is perceived to lack legitimacy by various members of the public as they do not believe that they can have any influence over outcomes. The power to inform a decision is not shared in a collaborative sense, which will lead to a lack of

engagement in subsequent participatory attempts, as well as exacerbate adversarial relationships (Forester, 1999).

Judith Innes' purposes for participatory practices, as detailed in Section 3.5 of the literature review, are directly applicable to this research as the strengthening of the participation process can address a number of the frustrations expressed by respondents. Thus the formulation of a robust and collaborative participatory regime where the ' multiple interests can participate in a common framework' can: realise better decisions, identify the communities aspirations and preferences, realise legitimacy gains, and transform adversarial relationships (Innes and Booher, 2004).

Co-ordinators of Council's participatory process would be well served to consider the value in community-led workshops or charettes that provide an accessible and comfortable way for social learning and knowledge transfer amongst the participants (Innes and Booher, 2004). There were numerous references to a willingness for community engagement in order to inform the decision-making process. Therefore, what is required is guidance with respect to the best ways for the community to organise and run the information gathering workshops. Perhaps the drop-in sessions referred to by a key informant is a good start, but there may be a need for a more thorough consideration of mechanisms for participation.

Overall, while not immediately apparent, the strategic review of existing participation processes has the potential to lead to community transformation; a transformation that could permeate through Alexandra's people, landscape and urban environment. In terms of Arnstein and Pretty's typologies, Council should be looking to shift approaches towards empowering the community, as opposed to the tokenistic approach that appears to be the current participation strategy.

7.4.1. Conclusion

While not part of our original research scope, it became apparent during certain interviews that public participation in local government decision making was an important matter for some parts of the community. Although certain respondents expressed strong interpretations of Councils performance, these same quarters also offered significant insight into the latent potential that currently simmers within the Alexandra community. It is evident that the Council should strategise to identify the

best participatory methods to engage with the wider community to inform the decision-making process. Key questions that need to be addressed by the community relate to defining a community identity, establishing preferences for the future urban form and how best to capitalise on Alexandra's unique landscape, social and economic opportunities.

7.5. Industry-Led Development

7.5.1. Introduction

There was a general agreement amongst key informants about the role industry-led development plays in growth for Alexandra and the wider Central Otago district. This section will explore the need and opportunities for industry-led development within Alexandra. Discussions with informants highlighted the significant opportunities that exist within Alexandra for furthering the economic development of the town.

7.5.2. Public-Private Partnerships

Key informants repeatedly referenced high levels of place identity and ownership which manifested itself as high levels of community participation in initiatives to improve Alexandra. These attributes of Alexandra encourage the development of social capital that can be exploited for the development of the town (Manzo and Perkins, 2006). There are several examples of this that have already occurred within the area, KI11 spoke about how community involvement within the re-development of the Clyde Railway Station has resulted in a successful economic enterprise with the tenancy of He Bikes She Bikes. Public-private partnerships such as this will be an important aspect of the future development of Alexandra, as the social capital can become the foundations of efforts to bring further economic activity into the region (James *et al.*, 2016; Mayer and Knox, 2010; Nel and Steveson, 2014).

7.5.3. Tourism

The development of the Central Otago Rail Trail has had a significant impact on the economies of many Central Otago towns. Many key informants recognised the positive changes it has introduced across the region, with numerous services opening along its length to cater to this emerging market. KI12 spoke of the major

revitalisation that this has sparked in other small towns such as Ranfurly. Cultural heritage-based development strengthens collective identity and provides tourism opportunities to an area, thus, contributing to the local economic development (Ferreira, 2007; Murzyn-Kupisz and Działek, 2013). Bowitz and Ibenholt (2009) suggest that this connection increases entrepreneurship within a local context which can then provide a platform for economic growth through an expansion of hospitality and accommodation services (Labadi, 2011). This suggests how natural and socio-cultural resources can be utilised by industry-led development to increase economic growth (Ferreira, 2007). At present, the rail trail market does not appear to be exploited as much as it could be, with most traffic along the rail trail bypassing Alexandra. Exploring the potential for closer integration with the Central Otago Rail Trail should be a priority for Alexandra. This could be in the form of a quick tour that captures several important social, and cultural features of the town such as the route suggested in Figure 12. Leveraging these tangible features of cultural heritage could provide an important economic development opportunity for Alexandra, as services that cater to a greater influx of people would develop.

Residents within the wider Central Otago District could benefit from the integration of production and the tourist experience. KI11 spoke about the influx of baby boomers seeking an active lifestyle that is available in Alexandra and other areas of Central Otago. The established cycle trail network provides the infrastructure for integrating production and active lifestyles. This provides an avenue for economic growth as the transition in Alexandra towards consumption activities provides opportunities for employment generation, capital investments, buildings and infrastructures to service this demand (Ferreira, 2007; Ryan and Aicken, 2010). KI4 highlighted the potential for the packaging of several consumption activities together that bring people into the region to experience where what they are consuming is produced. This could be directed not just at Alexandra but including the wider Central Otago district and all the goods that are produced in the region. Cluster arrangements such as this have proven to be effective strategies for promoting economic growth (Alberti and Giusti, 2012).

7.5.4. Diversification

While the Central Otago Rail Trail has provided a significant boost to the local economy, several key informants referred to a desire for avoiding reliance on this for economic growth opportunities. This concern holds relevance for Alexandra, as it has undergone substantial changes in the dominant economic activity and role within the region in the past. Reliance on a single aspect of the local economy can lead to community instability and a loss of a sense of belonging when a decline of capital and production occurs (Marais, 2013). Several key industries still operate within Alexandra, KI6 pointed to Fulton Hogan as one such example, though reliance on too few employers within the district could be cause for concern.

Alexandra possesses recreational and lifestyle opportunities that few other places in New Zealand offer. Several key informants interviewed had migrated into the region from other parts of New Zealand for this reason. *KI3* mentioned that a benefit of this was that this migration does not just increase the population, but also increases the pool of business and professional skills that can contribute significantly to the local economy. This type of migration for alternative lifestyles has been shown to contribute significantly to the competitive edge in the global market (Dredge and Jenkins, 2003; Kargillis, 2011). Initiatives within Alexandra such as the Centre of Space, Science and Technology will provide the gravity for attracting a highly skilled workforce and has the opportunity to attract similar development. KI3 referred to the transportable skills of these migrants, and the potential that this has for secondary effects throughout Alexandra. The roll-out of ultra-fast broadband within Alexandra will only increase the potential for more highly skilled professionals to relocate to Alexandra. This type of economic development will, in turn, be built upon by the demand for professional services such as human resources (Radu, 2016).

Other opportunities for diversification exist, KIG9 spoke about the potential for a significant expansion of organic horticulture due to the climate and geography. Similarly, with the established viticulture industry, KI11 spoke about the potential for establishing winemaking as a central activity for the Alexandra area. It is important to consider this diversification in economic development, as it has been shown to create more sustainable communities (Daniel, 1989; Argent, 2002). While the desire for these activities to occur is strong, uncertainty surrounding the future of water

resources in the area will be a significant factor in its success. KIG9 made reference to the current water challenges surrounding the review of water rights and in the face of climate change. Maintaining the supply of water for these economic activities will become a higher priority in the near future as minimum flow rates are implemented for many waterways in the wider Clutha catchment.

7.5.5. *Conclusion*

One of the key informants suggested that it is a matter of going for a point of difference that establishes a local identity that is distinct from other areas of Central Otago. Establishing that point of difference and reaffirming the identity will benefit Alexandra in terms of economic development as it is a key factor for external investments and helps develop a competitive edge that motivates in-migration into the towns (Dredge and Jenkins, 2003; Kargillis, 2011). The development of an image that reflects the distinctive town heritage that communicates the community pride has the ability to contribute to the economic growth (Argent, 2002; Dredge and Jenkins, 2003; Ferreira, 2007). Alexandra has a solid platform to develop itself as a destination for residents and visitors. As stated by the key informants, industry-led development has provided major opportunities towards Alexandra and will continue to do so. However, Alexandra must set itself apart to address the competing growth and utilise the existing partnerships formed between the private and the public sectors.

7.6. Urban Form

The existing urban form in Alexandra has developed into one characterised by ribbon development, particularly evident through the main road of the town centre. With Central Otago facing significant development pressures, it is necessary to reflect upon the aspirations of the community for the future urban form of Alexandra. This is particularly important in view of the lessons learnt with respect to ad hoc development and the effects of urban sprawl as evidenced in other parts of Central Otago. Whilst Alexandra does not have the 'unlimited outward expansion of new subdivisions' that is typical of urban sprawl; there is a risk (as manifest in other parts of Central Otago) that development of this form may continue if not challenged through strategic policy. Thus, the unchecked continuation of this type of urban form has the potential to compromise the existing amenity of the area, hence have an

impact on the identity and desirability of Alexandra as a destination. With this in mind, Alexandra has the potential to re-orientate its urban form and inform future developments through targeted urban design initiatives. Such initiatives could incorporate design principles that support sound social, environmental and economic outcomes.

7.6.1. *Strategic Planning*

It was apparent during interviews that parts of the community do not understand what measures Council are undertaking with respect to strategic planning of the future urban form of Alexandra. Several questions were raised about the long-term vision for Alexandra with respect to urban form. Much of this trepidation can be traced to the development patterns of other growing urban areas in Central Otago such as Queenstown.

Some respondents believed that the extent of Council planning in this regard was contained in the 10-year planning process, and hence suggested that a longer-term view needed to be taken to provide the framework for future development initiatives. KI9 suggested that one limitation of a 10-year Plan is that the time taken to initialise and formalise the plan leaves little time for the plan to be operative before the subsequent plan needs to be developed. This leads to a responsive approach to development and growth, as opposed to a future-oriented ethic that planning theory promotes. Furthermore, as suggested by KIG9 the comparatively short-term vision has the potential to constrain growth through short-term initiatives as expressed by the following statement:

> *"part of that 10-year plan they're wanting to sell a piece of ground in mutton town they've put aside to put a sewage scheme on, and to me, they've taken away the future of any expansion of our system.*"

Respondents suggested a 50 to 100-year plan would be more appropriate, although it is noted that the respondents were not familiar with the comparatively recent implementation of the National Policy Statement on Urban Development Capacity. This policy requires local authorities with medium and high growth urban areas to ensure that sufficient infrastructure and land capacity for future growth and ensure they regularly assess this capacity. Some trepidation was expressed with the future

form of urban development that the Council will adopt, particularly when comparing the characteristics of development in other parts of Central Otago and the Queenstown lakes area. This was best expressed by KI11:

> *'So yeah, the Queenstown fungus, going out., it could happen here so that it would change the town completely'*

Thus, the community expressed a wish for a longer-term strategic outlook to inform the future development priorities of Alexandra, as well as an awareness of the type of development they preferred, and what they did not. In fact, the 'Queenstown fungus' was expressed as a threat to the identity of Alexandra and therefore was something to be avoided through good strategic planning. A preferred urban form was suggested by KIG9 when they stated:

> *'But to me, that old-fashioned design of the town should be redesigned and utilised and made into a very vibrant area. I think we should be looking at this town and sending it into a healthy green image'*

As has been demonstrated in the literature, urban form theorists advocate various design principles to achieve the 'essential equivalent of sustainable development' (Jepson Jr and Edwards, 2010). The 'healthy green image' referred to above by KIG9 alludes to the concept of sustainable development and the design principles of new urbanism and smart growth, as elaborated upon within the literature review. By prioritising smart growth design principles, the urban form can be revitalised regenerated, thus influencing a variety of social, physical and ecological outcomes for the community.

7.6.2. Rethinking Urban Form

With respect to urban form, our research considers that a strategic project such as the proposed miner's village in the CBD has the potential to revitalise the Alexandra township on a number of levels. The miner's village could function as a significant activity node that can draw people into the central township as a unique tourism destination. Specifically, the miner's village project is in a strategic location, although the location also brings with it some technical engineering matters to address in terms of flooding. Its favourable location can be integrated into the currently fragmented

cycle trail network to maximise accessibility to the site. As per Figure 12, the creation of a branded localised cycle-path route will directly service the proposed site and also integrate prominent heritage features along the way. The provision of a strong central node within a cycle network that provides services can strongly influence the willingness of users to deviate and offset the impact of repeat path traversal (Cerna *et al.*, 2014). The provision of a coordinated route that stays close to the centre of town will provide more incentives for visitors to remain close to the centre of the township, however, what is then required is supplementary services and features to support these visitors. Providing these services can aid in the formation of touristic attractiveness that contributes to the node development (Shcherbina and Shembeleva, 2014). Integrating the Alexandra town centre and features will positively impact upon the attractiveness and subsequent willingness for visitors to stop and experience Alexandra.

Significantly, the miner's village proposal should not be relied upon to revitalise the centre of town in isolation; rather, the development will need to be supported by other strategic initiatives that target the existing urban form. Such initiatives should include prioritisation of smart growth principles and associated policies that at the very least facilitate higher density, mixed-use occupancies and integration of active transport infrastructure into the central town area. Specific attention should be given to the areas contained within the 400m & 800m buffer zones, as identified in Figure 11. These buffer radii define the recommended walkability and accessibility limits for walkable and transit-oriented developments and should define the proposed limits for intensive application of the smart growth principles seen in Figure 7. In light of the aging population in Alexandra, providing opportunities for mixed occupancies within the 800m buffers can provide an opportunity for inter-generational interactions. If older populations could live in close proximity to a vibrant centre, then there are fewer opportunities for social isolation compared to a traditional low-density form of development, particularly when considering mobility limitations of some older residents. Therefore, providing a unique activity node in the centre of town, and complementing it with inspired urban development forms that promote sustainable development could be transformative for Alexandra.

Careful planning and thought need to be applied to the future growth of Alexandra. Many of the attributes that define the identity of Alexandra might be lost if development occurs in an unchecked manner. Strategic plan formulation that reflects the values and the visions of the community for future is a priority. There is a significant opportunity to secure the future of the town centre of Alexandra by applying smart design principles and promoting the creation of an activity node that can promote integration with the cycle tracks that are a prominent feature of the cultural landscape.

7.7. A View of Alexandra

Alexandra is a town used to change, from its historical roots to its contemporary form, Alexandra has been at the shaped by natural and external economic structuring forces. This research has found Alexandra is a place that possesses distinct strengths and weaknesses, there are also significant opportunities but also threats that will need to be overcome to continue its development and secure the town's future (See Figure 13 for full summary). As the growth rates within Alexandra increase alongside other areas in Central Otago, it is important to maintain and enhance the features of the town that residents feel capture and reflect the identity of the town. While features of the physical landscape that the community value may not change, the intangible values such as the down-to-earth, friendly culture and do-it-yourself mindset may be threatened. If these are impinged upon, it may impact upon the levels of ownership and the subsequent community involvement that results from this. Maintaining this high level of involvement in development initiatives will be a crucial element for the future of Alexandra. It is clear that while there is an abundance of opportunities for development, realising these in a positive way will require consideration of the issues and aspects of Alexandra that have been identified as areas for consideration within this report. Establishing a long-term vision that captures what the community feels embodies the core values they hold in regard to Alexandra is essential.

Strengths

-Older population highly involved in progress of
Alexandra
-Climate
-Location
- Landscape
-Strong sense of identity and ownership of
Alexandra
-Encapsulated within regional identity
-Tourists Activities
-Arts and culture
-Location on cycle trails
-Recreational amenity
-Festivals

Weaknesses

-Strategic Planning
-Demographics (generational gaps)
-Urban Form
-Visibility of important history
-Fragmentation of community initiatives and
Council engagement with community
-Lack of accommodation
- No sections available for land development
- No high-speed internet connection

Alexandra SWOT

Opportunities

-Organic horticulture
-Viticulture
-Education
-Wine making
-Cultural events; Festivals and Arts
- Centre for Science, Space and Technology
-Urban Renewal; CBD and Miners Village
- Improved physical connectivity
-Creation of tangible heritage forms

Threats

-Demographics
- Climate change
-Ribbon development to Clyde
-Community disillusioned with progress
-Competition
-Loss of economically significant soils
-Infrastructure
-Water Security
- Uncertainty among residents for the future

Figure 13. SWOT Analysis portraying key findings of the research.

8. Recommendations

8.1. Development of a strong vision for the future

A big strength of the community is the strong positive identity associated with Alexandra. Alongside this, the community is very involved with leading projects, volunteering and in general are interested in what is happening in the town. There is a strong sense of ownership over the place due to the strong connections to the landscape, sense of place attachment, and intergenerational connections to the area. However, there is concern among many people in the community about the future of Alexandra. People are unsure what direction Alexandra is heading in, where development is heading or what Alexandra will look like in the future. Specifically, there is concern that Alexandra will face the same issues that Queenstown, Wanaka or Cromwell are currently experiencing. The development of a vision by all members of the community would help to provide some more certainty about the future of the town and provide a clear path to follow. This would clarify the priorities of the town and what CODC should support or encourage. It might also provide priorities for community projects. There are a lot of different community groups in Alexandra and many different projects and focuses. While this is a strength of the town, some people have noted that these community projects often happen separate from each other and could perhaps benefit from some coordination. A vision could take the form of a strategic document led by the Council, or it could take the form of a community plan which some of the other towns in the region have found to be successful. Whichever method is chosen, the key aspect is that there is buy-in from all sectors. To ensure this, individual voices must be heard, and representatives from different areas of the community must participate.

Recommendation Priority
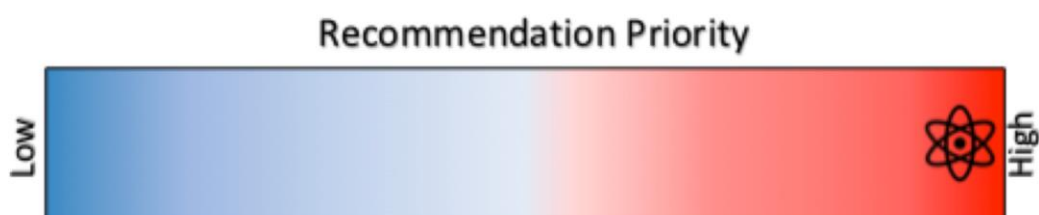
8.2. Development of a strong central hub

The commercial centre of Alexandra is currently stretched along the two main streets of Alexandra, Centennial Ave (State Highway 8) and Tarbert St. Because of the dispersed arrangement of shops and facilities, there is no clear centre of the town. This makes it particularly difficult for tourists and visitors to the town who are trying to find information about facilities or activities in and around Alexandra. It also makes it difficult to create a sense of vibrancy and activity in the town because people are dispersed rather than coming to a central point. A logical area for such a central hub is somewhere in between the area where the two main streets meet and the river, which a few key informants highlighted as a feature of the town which is not properly appreciated. The central hub could be created around a cultural heritage site; for example, there is a proposed 'miner's village' which is envisioned to act as a public space which the public can use but also tells some stories about the cultural history of the area. The 'miner's village' proposal would also have secondary effects upon the identity of Alexandra, as research suggests that tangible heritage forms can increase the exposure of the intangible values and history they represent which facilitates identity development. This hub could be built upon existing facilities, such as around the i-site and museum which already have toilet facilities and a playground, which may be an attraction to some people. This site could, however, exacerbate the existing fragmentation of commercial development within Alexandra, so consideration should be granted to the placement of this hub.

Recommendation Priority

Low — High
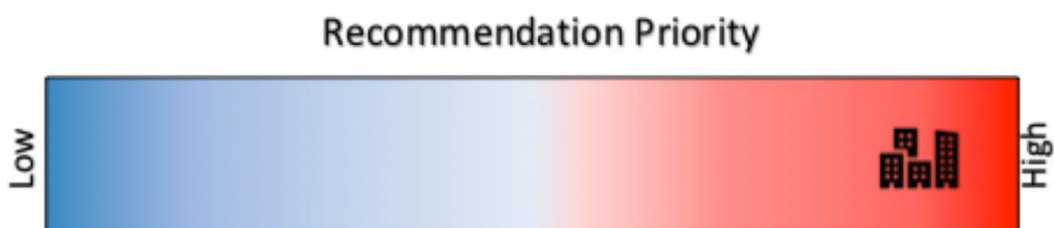
8.3. Integrate existing cycle networks into the town centre

Thousands of people ride past Alexandra on the Rail Trail every year but currently, it runs past the town without clearly leading people into the town itself. There is a

narrow track along the river that connects the Rail Trail partially into the town, but aside from this, cyclists would have to use the normal road which may not be as attractive or inviting to some users. The Rail Trail could be intercepted at Tarbert St and a connecting track down towards the centre of town created. This cycle path would ideally be off-street so as to reduce the stress and exposure that travelling on this route could induce. It would need clear, inviting signage and information to tell people what they can find (toilets, food, drink, etc.) if they follow the track into town. This recommendation would complement recommendation two, as cyclists could be led right to the central hub, and special facilities such as bike racks, drinking fountains and weather forecasts could be made available for their convenience.

8.4. Promote the packaging of high-value tourist activities

Promoting tourist packages was mentioned in several of the key informant interviews. People were of the view that a lot of the activities to do in and around Alexandra were unknown, and people generally did not appreciate all of the outstanding features of the area. There is an opportunity to group several activities or experiences that reflect these features of Alexandra. Many of these opportunities concern consumption activities such as winemaking and food, however, the incorporation of arts and cultural activities would be an important element of this as well. Regional features could also be included into these experiences so as to increase their attractiveness and capitalise upon the strong regional identity of Central Otago. These packages could be Alexandra branded which could then be used to advertise them in busy centres such as Queenstown in order to bring more visitors into the area. However, a key point that was made in relation to tourism was the emphasis on high-value tourism. While more visitors would be appreciated, key informants highlighted that they do not want the values or culture of the town to be compromised; the need for authenticity of the experience is paramount. By promoting the town according to the values already

present, it will help to attract visitors that hold similar values, rather than tourist buses that are perhaps looking for the amenities of big cities and have the wrong expectations.
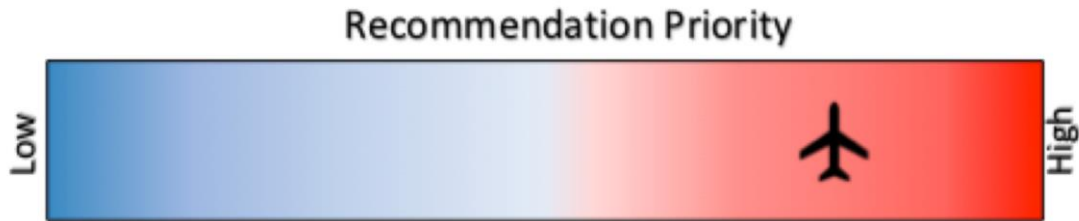
8.5. Framework of the Research

Figure 14 shows the framework that structures these recommendations and ideas to move forward. The four pillars represent the foundational aspects that will need to be considered when thinking about the town's future. Culture includes integrating cultural heritage into daily life and preserving the culture of the town while thinking about new development or growth. Economic aspects include thinking about what kinds of industries should be encouraged or supported, and about what issues might need to be addressed. Urban form is an essential expression of the identity of the town as it impacts how people interact and accessibility. Aspects to think about in this space include possible positive constraints on urban boundaries to reduce sprawl, increasing connectivity for different users, or ways to encourage development in positive places. Participation is the final pillar, without getting community participation and ownership of the ideas, projects will meet resistance or be forgotten so this is a key aspect affecting all other areas. These pillars all represent aspects to think about when creating a strategy or goals for the town's future. This does not need to be a formal council-led activity, it can be goals set by the community, for the community. As discussed, it cannot be successful without community ownership. Overarching everything is identity, establishing common aspects that all the community can relate to and thereby getting everyone on the same page is a crucial step in envisioning what the future may look like, and what the community *wants* the future to look like. Even just naming these aspects so everyone can see what is valued by the community, will provide guidance for future projects and development.
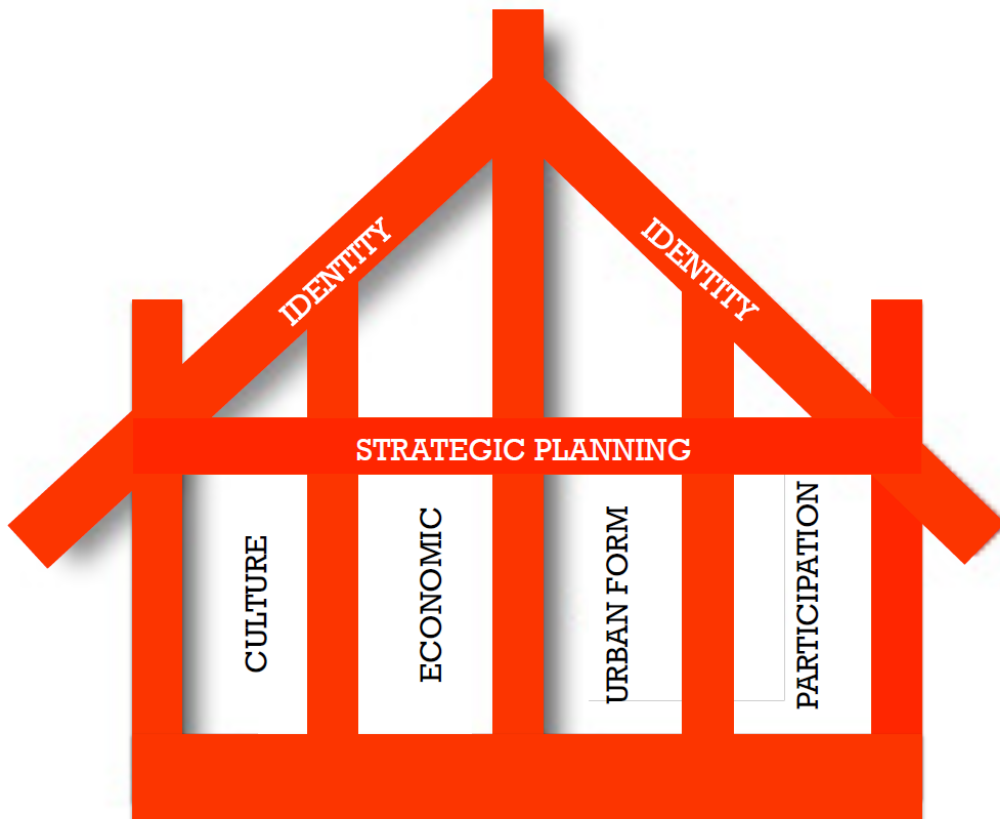
Figure 14. Whare model used to show final framework of the research in Alexandra.

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10. Appendices

10.1. Appendix 1

Table of Key Informants

Key Informant	Code
Council Staff	KI1
Central Otago Railtrail Trust	KI2
Council Staff	KI3
Heritage Expert	KI4
Community Group Organiser	KI5
Council Staff	KI6
Central Otago Heritage Trust	KI7
Community House	KI8
Business Group	KIG9
Iwi Member	KI10
Viticulturalist	KI11
Social Entreprenuers	KI12
Central Government Staff	KI13

10.2. Appendix 2

Form Updated: December 2017

UNIVERSITY OF OTAGO HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE APPLICATION FORM: CATEGORY B

(Departmental Approval)

Please ensure you are using the latest application form available from: http://www.otago.ac.nz/council/committees/committees/HumanEthicsCommittees.html

1.   University of Otago staff member responsible for project:
Surname   First Name   Title (Mr/Ms/Mrs/Dr/Assoc. Prof./Prof.)
Thompson-Fawcett   Michelle   Assoc. Prof.

2.   Department/School:

Department of Geography / Te Iho Whenua

3.   Contact details of staff member responsible *(always include your email address)***:**

Michelle Thompson-Fawcett
Level 4 Richardson Building
Ph : 64 3 479 8762
Email: michelle.thompson-fawcett@otago.ac.nz

4.   Title of project:

Opportunities for Alexandra as a Destination

5.   Indicate type of project and names of other investigators and students:

Student Research	**X**	**Names**	Cassino Doyle, Charlotta Heyd, Zheng Lee, James Nicol, Livi Whyte
Level of Study (e.g. PhD, Masters, Hons)			Masters of Planning

6.   When will recruitment and data collection commence?

Recruitment for data collection is expected to begin on the 1st of May and data collection will begin from the Monday 7th May 2018.

When will data collection be completed?

Friday 11th May 2018

7.   Brief description <u>in lay terms</u> of the aim of the project, and outline of the research questions that will be answered (approx. 200 words)**:**

This research will explore how Alexandra, Central Otago can use its unique identity to make the town a desirable destination to visit and live in. The aim of the project is to investigate what opportunities that are available to promote economic, cultural and tourism development in the town. To assist in achieving these broad aims, the following questions will be asked:

- How has Alexandra's identity evolved over time?
- What opportunities are there to (re)establish connections to features of Alexandra's historical and contemporary identity?
- What needs to be undertaken to achieve these opportunities and who should lead such initiatives?

To answer these questions, it will be vital to understand how identity contributes to small town economic development and what role cultural heritage plays in sustainable development. Tangible and intangible connections will be researched in an attempt to create an output that can inform potential ways forward in developing the town, particularly with regards to the tourism industry.

8.   Brief description of the method. Include a description of who the participants are, how the participants will be recruited, and what they will be asked to do <u>and</u> how the data will be used and stored *(Note: if this research involves **patient data or health information** obtained from the Ministry of Health, DHBs etc please refer to the [UOHEC(H) Minimal Risk Health Research - Audit and Audit related studies):-](#)*

Methods which this research will undertake include; a literature review, document analysis including grey literature, semi-structured interviews, intervention surveys (whereby members of the public will be stopped and asked to complete the survey), and network mapping with assistance of GIS.

Key informant interviews will be conducted with council officers, community group members, and people with specialist knowledge (related to the mining industry, history, tourism and cycle ways in the area). This research will draw on participants' experience of Alexandra and what opportunities they perceive are available to improving Alexandra as a destination for visitors and residents.

Participants will be contacted initially by telephone or email. They will be asked if they are willing to participate in a semi-structured interview that will take up to one hour, which will be undertaken in a location and at a time that is convenient for them. Participants will be found through websites, existing contacts and through snowball sampling.

Prior to all interviews being conducted, informed consent will be obtained from the participants. Before each interview, participants will be provided with an information sheet (attached), and they will be allowed time to read it and discuss key points with the researcher or researchers. The information sheet will include all of the relevant details of the project, which includes: the aim and focus of the research; which participants are sought and what is expected of them; how the interviews will be recorded and what will happen to the

information collected. Participants will be informed that every attempt will be made to protect their anonymity. All interviews will be semi-structured to enable conversation to flow naturally and develop in a nature that is appropriate for each participant. Participants will be asked to sign a consent form to confirm they have understood the information provided and what they are being asked to do.

The consent form will be clear that they do not have to answer all questions if they do not feel comfortable doing so. They will also be made aware that they can withdraw from the interview at any time without any disadvantage to themselves. They will also be informed that they may remove the information already provided at any time until the 1st of June 2018.

As the interviews will be semi-structured the exact questions have not been prepared, but the broad topics have been identified (see Appendix) that are related to the identity of Alexandra with a focus on the cultural heritage and tourism opportunities of the town. Participants will be informed that the Department of Geography is aware of the general themes of the questions but has not been able to review the precise questions.

A public, intervention survey will also be conducted as part of the research in Alexandra. The survey will take place in public places in Alexandra, mostly in busy hotspots, on walkways, footpaths and with the potential of outside restaurants or cafes if suitable. Consent will be sought from the relevant authority over access to the such spaces before the survey is undertaken.

Researchers will approach members of the public to take part in the survey. If they are interested they will be asked to complete a short questionnaire that will help provide an understanding of aspects of Alexandra that are valued by residents and visitors. IPads will be used on the field via a survey application (most likely Survey Monkey). This survey may also be emailed out to relevant participants. Prior to undertaking the survey, participants will be provided with a summary of the purpose of the study and a check box to indicate their consent to taking part in the research. If a participant wishes, they will be provided with a paper copy of the research details and contact information.

The questions of the survey have not been finalised, but the key intentions of the survey is to understand how different groups identify with Alexandra and what cultural heritage sites and stories need to be captured in the town. Images will be used to gauge people's association with the tangible and intangible values of residents and visitors. Questions will be structured in a multiple choice or ranking format. No personal information will be collected, other than confirmation they are over 18, and their ethnicity to understand if this affects their association with Alexandra.

9.   Disclose and discuss any potential problems and how they will be managed: (For example: medical/legal problems, issues with disclosure, conflict of interest, safety of the researcher, etc)

> The research is not expected to have involve any medical or legal issues, or to lead to any obvious conflicts of interest.
>
> Interview and site visits have the potential to pose safety risks but will only be undertaken with the prior consent of the appropriate landowners and all safety instructions and signs will be followed to ensure safe practices.
>
> One potential issue is that information could be disclosed to an informant regarding another informant during interviews. Therefore, every effort will be made to ensure that information remains confidential.
>
> All of the original transcripts will be anonymised to protect identities and any potential opinions expressed during interviews.

*Applicant's Signature: ....

Name (please print): ………………………………………………………..

Date: ....

*The signatory should be the staff member detailed at Question 1.

ACTION TAKEN

☐ Committee

☐ Approved by HOD   Approved by Departmental Ethics

☐ Referred to UO Human Ethics Committee

Signature of **Head of Department*: ....

Name of HOD (please print): ………………………………………………………..

Date: ....

**Where the Head of Department is also the Applicant, then an appropriate senior staff member must sign on behalf of the Department or School.

Departmental approval: *I have read this application and believe it to be valid research and ethically sound. I approve the research design. The research proposed in this application is compatible with the University of Otago policies and I give my approval and consent for the application to be forwarded to the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee (to be reported to the next meeting).*

IMPORTANT NOTE: As soon as this proposal has been considered and approved at departmental level, the completed form, together with copies of any Information Sheet, Consent Form, recruitment advertisement for participants, and survey or questionnaire should be forwarded to the Manager, Academic Committees or the Academic Committees Administrator, Academic

Committees, Rooms G22, or G26, Ground Floor, Clocktower Building, or scanned and emailed to either gary.witte@otago.ac.nz. or jane.hinkley@otago.ac.nz

10.3. Appendix 3

OPPORTUNTIES FOR ALEXANDRA AS A DESTINATION
INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you and we thank you for considering our request.

What is the Aim of the Project?

The aim of the project is to investigate potential opportunities to promote Alexandra as a destination for tourists and residents.

What Types of Participants are being sought?

We would like to speak to key stakeholders in Alexandra who have an insight into the development of the town. This could include Council officials, tourism industry stakeholders, heritage experts, community group members, educational institutes, residents, and visitors. Participants will be selected from websites and prior contacts in Alexandra, and we will also ask participants if they can recommend further potential participants. Through this research, we intend to document the potential forward steps that can be made in the town, and where possible, relate the local experience to national and international evidence of other successful small towns.

What will Participants be asked to do?

Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to participate in a semi-structured interview. No reward or compensation will be offered to participants; participation is purely voluntary. Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to provide your views in an interview at a location and at a time that is convenient, of up to an hour in duration. Interviews will be audio recording, and subsequently be transcribed for use in our research.

The questions that will be asked are not set prior to the interview, but will be based on several broad topics related to identity and opportunities for development of Alexandra. If you are hesitant or uncomfortable about answering any question, you have a right to decline to answer.

Please be aware that you may withdraw from the project at any stage before 1st June 2017 without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

What Data or Information will be collected and what use will be made of it?

We will transcribe the interviews and only our group supervisor and the members undertaking the research will have access to these transcriptions. The original transcripts will be anonymised (i.e. all references to individuals will be removed and replaced with pseudonyms), and stored in a way that only the researchers will have access to them. Once the interviews have been transcribed, the audio files will be deleted. Transcriptions of your interview will be analysed for further discussion in our research, and the final research report will be made available to the Central Otago District Council. Direct quotations may be used to provide evidence supporting key points made in the report. Every effort will be made to ensure that individual identities are not revealed through these quotations, unless you have chosen not to remain anonymous.

Data obtained as a result of the research and personal information held on the participant will be destroyed at the completion of research.

On the Consent Form you will be given options regarding your anonymity. Please be aware that, should you wish, we would make every attempt to preserve your anonymity. The participants will have the right to withdraw the information they have provided for the interview before June 1st 2017. Participants will be notified about the results of the study through email, if they request.

Since this interview is semi-structured in nature it will be based more on a discussion of themes that we are interested in, the nature of which will depend on how the interview develops. Although the Department of Geography is aware of the general themes to be explored in the interviews, the Department has not been able to review the precise questions to be used. If you are hesitant or uncomfortable about answering any question, you are reminded of your right to decline to answer and also that you may withdraw from the project at any stage without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

Can Participants change their mind and withdraw from the project?

If you feel uncomfortable with the interview, you are free to ask for the interview to discontinue. You may withdraw the information provided at any stage up to the 1st of June 2017.

What if Participants have any Questions?

If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:

Charlotta Heyd   or   *Supervisor: Michelle Thompson-Fawcett*
Department of Geography   Department of Geography
University Phone: 03 479 4220   University Phone: 03 479 8762
Email: heych050@otago.ac.nz   Email:
michelle.thompsonfawcett@otago.ac.nz

This study has been approved by the Department stated above. However, if you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph +643 479 8256 or email gary.witte@otago.ac.nz). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

OPPORTUNTIES FOR ALEXANDRA AS A DESTINATIONCONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:

1. My participation in the project is entirely voluntary;

2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;

3. Personal identifying information in audio recordings will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for at least five years;

4. This project involves an open-questioning technique. The general line of questioning includes identity, growth and development of Alexandra, Central Otago. The precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops and that in the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind.

5. The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand) but every attempt will be made to preserve my anonymity.

I agree to take part in this project.

....
                             ....
            (Signature of participant)   (Date)

....
            (Printed Name)

[*Options for Anonymity: in the case where your participants are public figures, artists, musicians, politicians or government officials, and it is anticipated that they will be identified/identifiable, you can offer the following options, which should match the paragraph in the Information Sheet which states "On the Consent Form you will be given options regarding your anonymity. Please be aware that should you wish we will make every attempt to preserve your anonymity. However, with your consent, there are some cases where it would be preferable to attribute contributions made to individual participants. It is absolutely up to you which of these options you prefer."]*

[8. I, as the participant: a) agree to being named in the research, ☐ OR;

                                b) would rather remain anonymous.] ☐

[9. I, as the participant: a) would like to receive the final report ☐ OR;
                                b) would not like to receive the final report.] ☐

If you would like to receive a copy of the final report please provide an email below:

Email address:……………………………………………………………..

10.4. Appendix 4

Key informant interview guide

- What opportunities they feel are present in Alexandra

- What barriers/challenges Alexandra faces

- What needs to happen to enable future development (Particularly in relation to policy, funding, support)

- How can the histories and culture of Alexandra help to promote the town?

- How involved do you feel the community is when it comes to the development of Alexandra?

- What tourism opportunities are available (connectivity seems to be very important)

- How does Alexandra fit into the Central Otago region's identity?

- **Remember:** this is a semi-structured interview guide, adapt the questions for individual participants and ask further questions that seem relevant.